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VOL. 3

1927

Nos. 1 & 2

A DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE ARABIC, PERSIAN AND
URDU MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BOMBAY BRANCH,
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

By

A. A. A. FYZEE, B.A. (Cantab.),

*Late Foundation Scholar, Taylor Research Student, and McMahon Law
Student, St. John's College, Cambridge*

I cannot offer this list to the readers of our journal without a certain amount of diffidence. The work has been done intermittently and piecemeal. And the lack of works of reference and catalogues of authority has been keenly felt. It may be said, generally, that barring those that are actually referred to, very few if any, catalogues were available to me. The Library possesses very few Arabic Catalogues; and perhaps I may be permitted to say that I had no access to the complete British Museum or the Bibliothèque Nationale or the Khedivial Library Arabic Catalogues; nor to Brockelmann's *Geschichte*. Yāqūt's *Mu'jam*, the *Lisān al-'Arab* or Vuller's *Persian Lexicon*, to mention only the most important of those whose need was felt most keenly. This, in addition to other shortcomings, makes me seek the indulgence of the critical reader.

IMPORTANT MSS.

Of all the manuscripts examined by me perhaps the most valuable is the *Kershāspnāma*, **Persian 3**. It would seem as if J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. III.

only ten other copies of this rare *Mathnawī* are known. Bombay has two, the other being at the Mulla Firoz Library.¹

We owe this and a very fine copy of the *Shāhnāma*, **Persian 1**, to the generosity of Mr. Hāmid A. Ali, I.C.S., Collector of Lārkanā, Sind.

The two Arabic MSS., **Arabic 2 and 3**, are useful for the study of the History of Yaman, and especially of the Ḥasanī Imāms of Ṣan'ā in the 11th Century A. H.

The Society possesses a very beautiful copy of the prose works of Jāmī, **Persian 4**, transcribed only 72 years after the author's death.

And the two MSS., **Persian 11 and 12**, might throw considerable light on the history of Jūnāgaḍh, Sōraṭh and Hālār.²

CONTENTS.

CLASS I.—ARABIC. 5 Notices.

1. Qur'ān.
2. History of the Ḥasanī Imāms of Ṣan'ā, 1000 to 1092 A.H.—
Ṭīb^u Ahl il-kisā.
3. Biography of the Ḥasanī Imām of Ṣan'ā', al-Mu'aiyad bi'l-lāh, d. 1054 A.H.—al-Jauharat al-Munīra.
4. History of the Bohras (partly legendary).
5. Collection of 5 *Khuṭbas*.

CLASS II.—PERSIAN. 19 Notices.

LITERATURE	{	<i>Poetry</i> — <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. } <i>Shāhnāma</i>. 2. } — 3. <i>Kerṣhāspnāma</i>.
	{	<i>Prose</i> — <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Prose works of Jāmī.
		[Nal-u-Daman—See Pers. 19.]

¹ This statement requires reservation, because two other MSS. have been brought to my notice since writing these lines. See **Pers. 3**.

² ḍh = $\overline{\text{د}}$, ḥ = $\overline{\text{ح}}$ and ṭh = $\overline{\text{ط}}$, $\overline{\text{ث}}$. See our scheme of transliteration.

HISTORY ..	Akbar— <i>Shāhjahān</i> —	{	5. Ā'in-i-Akbarī.	
			6. Pādīshāhnāma.	
			7. Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī.	
	Gujarat—	{	8. {	
			9. { Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī.	
	<i>Jūnāgāḍh,</i> <i>Sōraṭh and</i> <i>Hālār.</i>	{	10. Ḥadīqat-ul-Hind (Extract from).	
			11. History of Sōraṭh and its kings.	
			12. History of Jūnāgāḍh and Hālār.	
	<i>Bijapur.</i>	{	13. Basātin-i-Salāṭīn.	
	BIOGRAPHY	{	[Nafahāt-ul-Uns—See Pers. 4.]
				14. Muḫbir-ul-'Awliyā.
				15. Nasab Nāma-i-Wajīh ud-dīn.
				16. Tuḥfat-ul-Qārī.
ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION.			17. Desātīr.	
SANSKRIT (TRANS. from).	}		18. Mahābhārat.	
			19. Nal-u-Daman.	

CLASS III.—URDU. 3 Notices.

TALES ..	{	1. Naqliyyāt-i-Hindī.
		2. Qissa-i-Rustam 'Alī.
		3. Story of a famine, and how a saint relieved the situation.

CLASS IV.—MISCELLANEOUS. 1 Notice.

INSCRIPTIONS	1. Persian and Arabic Inscriptions from Bijapur.
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CLASS I.

Arabic 1.

Press mark—None.

Qur'ān.

ff. 306.

16 lines.

5½ × 6½ inches.

Fine copy. The original boards are well decorated, the back has been lately repaired. Well-written and illuminated. Interleaved legible Naskh. Marginal scholia in Persian, which is a clear and elegant Nasta'liq. The date mentioned after the last Sūra is A.H. 1242. No other names mentioned. On the back of the last page there is seal, which I am unable to read.

Arabic 2.

Press mark—ZZ-C-9.

طيب [اهل] الكسا³

Ṭib u ['Ahlī']-Kisā.

ff. 342.

24 lines.

8¾ × 11¾ inches.

Chronicles of Yaman from the year 1000 to 1092 A.H. i.e. 1591 to 1681 A.D. The work is part *one*, of a general History of the Ḥasani Imām of San'ā, al-Qāsim al-Manṣūr, and his progeny down to al-Mahdī al-'Abbās.⁴

³ See f.116a. The word اهل is not legible on the title-page and hence the title طيب الكسا baffled me completely for a time. I once proposed to read it 'kasā,' having regard to 'rasā' in the next line. But now I think that the correct reading is 'Kisā.' For *Ahl al-Kisā*, see Dozy, Sup., Sub. كسو. It means the Panjtan, i.e. The Prophet, 'Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan, and Ḥusain. Prof. Nicholson of Cambridge has kindly sent me a very important reference on this point. He refers to the explanation of the term اصحاب الكسا by Sharistāni, in his كتاب الملل والنحل Ed. Cureton, p. 134, l. 8. It would therefore seem that اهل الكسا and اصحاب الكسا are synonymous terms, and that طيب اهل الكسا refers to the Prophet's later descendants.

⁴ See S. Lane-Poole's Muhammadan Dynasties, p. 103, Qāsim-Manṣūr 1000-1591 to Mahdī-'abbās 1160-1747. Also Man. de Généologie et de Chronologie pour L'histoire de L'Islam, par E. de Zambaur, Hanovre, 1927, vol. i, p. 123, No. 106. Imams de San'ā, and Table B.

The name of the author appears from the title-page (which is decidedly confusing) and the colophon as **محسن بن الحسن بن** Moḥsin b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad b. al-Imām al-Qāsim.

The book was *begun* on Moḥarram one, 1163 A.H. i.e. 11 Dec. 1749.

Begins:— **والحمد لله جعل القديم للحديث حديثاً الخ**

The author says that he originally intended to write a complete history of Yaman. He begins with an account of al-Manṣūr bi'l-lāh Abu Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad [b. 'Ali],⁵ b. Rasūl al-lāh.

On f. 2a he gives the scheme of his projected work. He divides the book in *four* parts. Part I, account of Imām al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim. Part II, account of al-Mu'aiyad (for which see **Arabic 3, ZZ-c-50, al-Jauharat al-Munira**), al-Mutawakkil and al-Mahdī (Mahdī Aḥmad in Lane-Poole). Part III, account of Manṣūr (?) and the account of Mutawakkil and his sons. Part IV, account of al-Mahdī abū 'Abdullāh al-'Abbās. Our MS. however comprises only Part I and portion of Part II.

The first chapter begins on f. 2b, **سنة احدى بعد الف** and for each year there is a new heading, sometimes in bold red and sometimes in black letters. The margins contain useful paragraph head-notes.

Part II begins on fol. 116a,

الروضة النديه في اخبار الخلافة المويدية

Here we have **تمام اخبار سنة تسع و عشرين** i.e. 1029 A.H. (So Lane-Poole). On f. 255b, we have the death of al-Mu'aiyad bi'l-lāh, 1054 A.H. On f. 330a we have the death of al-Mutawakkil, 1087 A.H., and on the next page we have a chapter entitled

الشدود العسجدية في الخلافة المهدوية الاحمدية

The book ends with an account of the year 1092. On

⁵ See Ahlwardt, Ber. Cat., Index, Personennamen vol. X, p. 294 b.

f. 341b (and the colophon) we have the name of the book طيب الكسا والفلك الذى علي جودى⁶ النجاة رسا⁷ and he says that in the following volume we shall have an account of the reign of Mu'ayyad b. Mutawakkil, and then his successors till Mahdī 'Abbās.

The colophon gives the following data:—"Jumāda'l-'ūlā, A.H. 1065.⁷ Ṣan'ā. By the hand of the author. Moḥsin b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad."

Apparently an autograph copy. Legible Naskh [cp. Berlin Cat. No. 2175, 13 ; and Index.]

Arabic 3.

Press mark—ZZ-C-50.

الجوهرة المنيرة في حُمل⁸ من السيرة

Al-jauharat al-munira fi jumal in min as-sirat.

Author:— (i.e. المستنصر) المتجر بن محمد بن المتجر

ff. 363.

24 to 25 lines.

8×12 inches.

An account of the Ḥasanī Imām of Ṣan'ā, al-Mu'ayyad bi'l-lāh Muḥammad b. al-Manṣūr bi'l-lāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī by Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad b. al-Mustanṣir al-Hādawī al-Harmūzī (al-Jarmūzī?).

Begins:— الحمد لله الذي ابدالدين بالحجج والبراهين

The folios of the MS. are numbered from the end to the beginning (as the pages of an English work). Hence I shall refer to the folios according to the existing pagination. At the end of the book

⁶ For جودى See Qur'an 11,46 ; and Art. on Djūdi (Enc. of Islām).

I am indebted to my friend, Mr. M. Y. Hainday, Advocate, for pointing out the Qur'anic reference.

⁷ This is an obvious mistake. It ought to be 1105 A.H.

⁸ Read جمل. This can be used in a singular sense. Else, it means

'Chapitres, parties d'une science.' (Dozy, Suppl., sub. جمل).

(p. 2) some one has described the work as, "Isshurut-ool Moo-neerah ; a History of Yemen."

The introduction shows that this Imām, al-Mu'aiyad Muḥammad is the son of Qāsīm (b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī), whose full genealogy is given by Tritton in his monograph on the Rise of the Imāms of San'ā (1925, Milford) on page 5 (foot-note).⁹

On f. 354 (really f. 10) is given an interesting example of the Imām's letter to a king of Khorāsān, 'Abbas b. Ismā'il al-Ḥusainī.

The Imām died in Rajab, 1054 A.H./May, 1644¹⁰ and his son al-Mutawakkil succeeded him, f. 10. The MS. seems to be valuable as it was written only 10 years after the Imām's death. The colophon says that the author finished writing this book at midday, Wednesday, 23rd of Zu'l-ḥijja of the year 1065 A.H. or 25th October 1654 A.D.

Fairly legible Naskh. Many diacritical points are missing. Not vocalised, but as in old Manuscripts, there is usually a dot under Dāl and Šād and Tā ; e.g., المويّد and بعده and مطهر. The MS. is in good condition, is well repaired and newly bound in half leather. The title page contains numerous endorsements by different hands.

Cp. Ahl., Berlin Cat., No. 9744 (Vol. ix) الجوهرة المضية. في تاريخ الخلافة المويديّة where he reads الجرموزي.

Arabic 4.

Press mark—None.

رسالة الترجمة الزاهرة لفرقة بهرة الباهرة

Risālat at-tarjamat az-zāhira li firqati Bohrat al-bāhira.

f. 13 (at the end of the vol. The folios of the two MSS. are not numbered consecutively, as the first is a historical work in Persian *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari*, Pers. 8). 7 lines.

⁹ See also S. Lane-Poole's *Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 103 and E. de Zambaur, *Man. de Gén. et Chron. pour L'Histoire de L'Islam*, i, 123, No. 106 and Table B.

¹⁰ Cp. Lane-Poole and Berlin Catalogue.

Written in big Indian Naskh, with Persian translation in red ink under the Arabic text.

Begins:—الحمد لله الذي لا توفيق الا به ولا هدي الا من اسبابه الم
تمام تعريف مرخدائرا که نیست توفيق بر طاعت مگر از مدد او
و نیست هدايت مگر از اسباب راه نمودن او الم

The author is Hāji Ṣalāḥuddīn Ārā'i, the copyist of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari*. The date is 7 Ṣafar 1265 A.H.

CONTENTS.—Begins with the usual praise of God, etc. This is an essay describing the religious beliefs of a community known as Bohras¹¹ to which the author belongs (f. 2a). The Bohras are Muslims and follow the Sunna (2b). They follow a leader (3a); and on his death they obey his successor. The successor may or may not be the son of the leader (3b). This religion was started in Gujarat by a man who hailed from Yaman called 'Abdullāh al-'Ābid and who settled at Cambay (کهمبایت) (4a). Now we have the account of his meeting Kākā Kīlā and his wife Kākī Kīlī and wanting water (4b). Kākā shows him a salt well, and accepts Islām on 'Abdullāh's causing sweet water to flow from it in a miraculous way. 'Abdullāh returns to the town, argues with the learned and converts the Bohras (lit. merchants) by his miracles (5). سدار جیشنگ¹² was the name of the king there (6). He hears of the conversion of the people, and sends an army to capture 'Abdullāh. The miraculous escape of the *walī* ('Abdullāh) (6); and how the king begs pardon and asks to be shown the path (7a). 'Abdullāh causes the idol to speak and say that his path is the true one and the old religion is false (8). Whereupon the king and many others accept Islām (9). This king was later known as Maulāna Saifuddīn, and he appointed his son, Ya'qūb to be leader, in his own life. After Ya'qūb, his son, Mulla Ishāq succeeded him. The successorship ultimately comes to Zainuddīn (10a "who is the present chief, may God increase his life.")

¹¹ See Art. on Bohoras, Enc. of Islām.

¹² Evidently Sirdar Jaisingh; also Beharmal (9a).

Islām first appeared in Gujarāt in A.H. 460. The first exponent was ‘Abdullāh, his tomb is at Cambay (10). He acquired his knowledge in Yaman, and the origin of this religion goes back to Salmān-i-Fārisī (11). The high rank of Salmān (12). Death of Salmān A.H. 35 (13). Age of Salmān (according to ‘Abbās) 350 years ! (13 a), and that he had *met* “ Jesus, Son of Mary, on whom be peace.” The word Bohra means “ Merchant ”. (f. 13 a and b.)

A very amusing summary of the legendary history of the Bohras.

Arabic 5.

Press mark—None.

ff. 165-176 [of **Pers. 14**, *Mukhbir al-'Awwliyā.*] 11 lines.

A collection of five Arabic Khuṭbas. Inelegant, but clear Naskh ; copied probably 1265 A.H. (as the preceding Urdu Math-nawis). The last two Khuṭbas are for the عيد الضحى .

CLASS II.

Persian 1.

Press mark—None.

شاهنامه

Shāhnāma of Firdausī.

ff. 309.

9×16 inches.

A beautiful MS. with numerous paintings and very well ornamented headings in gold letters. Beautiful, small, clear, Persian Nasta'liq. The paper is fast decomposing. Held in a modern Indian portfolio and black cloth cover. The folios were originally stitched together but have now become loose.

The Gujarāṭī writing on the first folio says that this book was 'finished' (?) on 11 March 1843. This is written by the mehta of Hormusjee Dadabhoy Ghadiali. This writing is extremely faint and hardly legible.

The date, 11 March 1843, seems to have been that on which the name of the owner H. D. Ghadiali was written on the book; or perhaps, the pages constituting the actual text were pasted on to larger sheets and made into a book. A feature of the MS. is that many of the margins have separated from the central portion on which the text is written. The paper of the margins and the central portion differs considerably.

The colophon gives the name of the *copyist* as منعم الدين الالوحدي الساكن بشيراز, Mun'im ad-dīn al-Auḥadī of Shīrāz. He finished the book on Rajab 6, 910 A.H.=14 Dec. 1504 A.D.

في سادس شهر رجب المرجب سنة عشر وتسعمائة الهجرية

The MS. begins with two full-page paintings. Then follows a preface with an account of Firdausī. This preface seems to be the "older preface" of Ethé, see his Cat. of Pers. MSS. at the India Office Lib., Vol. I, No. 860, p. 544, (also Rieu, Brit. Mus. Cat., ii. 534); and begins

سپاس و آفرین خدا برا جل جلاله که این

جهان و آن جهان آفرید الخ

The first two pp. are beautifully written and illuminated and contain the famous, and perhaps apocryphal, *Hajw* beginning with

ایا شاه محمود کشور کشای
زکس گر نه ترسی بترس از خدای

The poem actually commences on f. 6. The first three headings are در آفرینش عالم, در ستائش خرد, and در آفرینش آدم. Then follows praise of the Prophet, etc. The book ends as usual with کفتار اندر تاریخ شاهنامه and خاتم کتاب.

This MS. was presented to the library by Mr. Hāmid A. Ali, I.C.S. He informs me that it belonged to one Shamsuddin "Bulbul" of Mehar, Larkana District, Sind, a well-known poet, who wished to present it to him in 1910 or thereabouts. Mr Hāmid Ali, of course, refused to accept it as a present and told Shamsuddin that he would give it to some library in his name, which he did later; and we are the richer for it.

As regards its earlier history, Mr. Hāmid Ali writes to say, "I learn that there was an officer called Young (military or civil, I don't know) who somehow obtained that copy of the Shāhnāma in Delhi in the confusion following the events of 1857—probably loot. He had a favourite Sindhi servant, called Pīr Baksh, whom he educated and to whom he gave the Shāhnāma at parting. Pīr Baksh returned to Sind, and on his death the book passed on to his brother, Shamsuddin, who, as بلبل was a well-known poet of Sind. Shamsuddin gave the book to me. More is not known. واللہ اعلم بالصواب".

Persian 2.

Press mark—ZZ-a-1

شاهنامه

Shāhnāma of Firdausī.

ff. 616.

25 lines (=50 bayts).

9×15 inches.

The first two pages are very beautifully ornamented. There are also a few paintings in the book. Probably an Indian MS. Does not seem to be ancient. Nasta'liq, clear and fairly elegant. No preface or colophon.

Begins as Vullers and Irani,

بنام خداوند جان و خرد کزین برتر اندازہ برنگزرد

but the later headings are different. For example, it begins with

؛ آغاز دفتر اول شاہنامہ. p. 2. بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم
 ؛ درتالیف شاہنامہ گوید. p. 4. ؛ در بیان فضیلت آدمی. p. 3.
 etc. مردن شاعری در تمناى شاہنامہ. p. 5.

Ends abruptly with سر آمد کنون قصہ یزدجرد
 بماء سفید دار آورد زرد
 ز اجرت سه صد سال و هفتاد و چار
 بنام جهان داور کردگار
 تم تم تم

The last three headings are ' آمدن برسام و بیژن و جنگ کردن ' کشته شدن یزدجرد از دست ماہوئی و بر تخت نشستن ماہوئی ' در اتمام کتاب شاہنامہ '

Daftar I, ff. 1-162 ends with: — خلعت سرفرازی فرستادن —
 افراسیاب بہ پیران ویسہ و سران و پہلوانان لشکر را جدا گانہ
 نواختن و کوس شادمانی نواختن

Daftar II, ff. 163-328 ends with: — بخشائش کردن کیخسرو —
 شاه از پہلوانان لہراسپ شاه و آفرین کردن بروان کیخسرو شاه
 در کردار او

Daftar, III, ff. 339¹³-498. Many of the headings of this daftar (in red ink) are missing and so are the last 32.

Daftar IV, ff. 499-616. Ends as already stated with the death of Yezdgird and the accession of Māhui.

As is seen from the above, there is considerable difference in the endings of these *three* texts, *i.e.*, (1) of Macan (Translated by Warner Vol. IX, p. 122), (2) of Irani (which is similar to Macan) and (3) of our MS.

See Bank. Cat., Vol. I, Nos. 1-9, etc.

¹³ 330 ought to be 329, but as the whole MS. is paginated, I have not changed the Nos.

Persian 3,

Press mark—None.

کرشاسپ نامه

Kershāspnāma.¹⁴

271 ff.

17 lines.

6½ × 10¾ inches.

Good Nasta'liq. Worm-eaten. Covered black velvet. The first two pages are well illuminated.

Acquired by Mr. Hāmid A. Ali, Esq., I.C.S., Hyderabad, Sind, June 3, 1911. Presented to the Library, 23 December 1921.

Begins :—

جلان جون مرورا کسی یار نیست
جو کردار او نیز کردار نیست

The colophon says :—

صورت امام یافت مقابله کتاب کرشاسپ نامه بتاریخ روز

آدینه ۷ شهر رجب المرجب سنہ ۱۵۴۵ در بلد فاخرہ شیراز

Copied, Shīrāz, 7 Rajab 625 A.H. = 13 June 1227 A.D.

At the back of the last folio there are two prescriptions (mainly salts for digestion, etc., as a medical friend informs me) and some verses. Folio 1a also contains selected verses by various hands.

¹⁴ The usual spelling of this work is Garshāspnāma, used by Ethé and Prof. Browne. But my friend, Dr. Jal Dastur C. Pavry, Ph.D., an accomplished Iranian scholar, informs me that "The correct name of the Iranian Hero... is Kershāspa, because that is how it is consistently written in the Avesta; cf. Yasna 9. 11, Yast 5. 37; and see Sacred Books of the East, 18. 369 ff. and Justi, Iran. Nam. 161." I have therefore gone back to the older, and more correct form.

¹⁵ The figure ۹ is, however, an obvious forgery. The MS. was examined by a handwriting expert, and in his opinion the original figure was ۱۰. The figure ۱ was changed into ۹ and • (zero) was deleted. The date ۹۲۵ occurs twice on the same page, and in view of the space between the figure ۹ and ۲ and the erasures, this theory seems to be a probable one. This brings down the date to 1045/1035.

According to Ethé, the Oxford MS., Bod. Cat., I., No. 507 (Garshāspnāma), has on f. 234b—

ز هجرت بدور سپهر که کشت
شده چار صد سال پنجاه و هشت

and we have in our MS. on f. 269b, the following :—

ز هجرت ز دوری سپهری که کشت
شده چار صد سال و پنجاه و هشت

Therefore the date of composition is 458/1066.¹⁰

This *Mathnawī* seems to be very rare. Excluding ours, there are only 10 known copies of the work, *one* each in the India Office Library, at Hannover, at Paris and at Bombay (Rehatsék, Cat. of the Mulla Firoz Library, VII, No. 129, p. 164); *two* in the Bodleian (Bod. Cat., I, Nos. 507 and 508); and *four* at the British Museum (apparently not described by Rieu but the Supplements to his Catalogue—to which unfortunately have I no access—may probably contain some information). See Ethé, in Grun. Iran. Phil., II, 234. For further information see India Office Cat., p. 558, No. 893; Bodl. Cat. I, p. 454, Nos. 507 and 508; and Grun. Iran. Phil., II, 233-235.

Since writing these lines, however, two other MSS. of the Kershāsp-nāma have been brought to my notice. Our esteemed Vice-President, Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, very kindly pointed it out to me that the Mulla Firoz Library, Bombay, contained an additional copy of this *Mathnawī*. This is described by Brelvi in his Supplementary Catalogue of the Mulla Firoz Library, p. xxxiii, No. 24. Unfortunately this copy is not traceable, and I have not been able to examine it. But I saw the copy described by Rehatsék, which I shall call *M*.

Dr. Modi, with his usual kindness, also lent me for my own use another copy of this work belonging to Mr. Māhyār Naoroji Kutār of Navsari. This I propose to call *K*.

Of the three MSS. ours, seems to me, by far the most valuable. *M* seems to be almost a different work, and *K*, though full, seems to be too modern, and—from what I could judge by a cursory examination of the earlier portion—is full of interpolations, which do not exist in our MS. which is much the older text.

These are merely tentative remarks. It is much to be desired that some scholar takes up the interesting work of examining these three Bombay MSS. of this very rare *Mathnawī*, more carefully.

¹⁰ So in *K*.

According to Ethé, this is an account of the exploits of Garshāsp, Prince of Sīstān and an ancestor of Rustam. Generally ascribed to Asadī, but as all MSS. are unanimous in giving us the date 458 /1066 and as Asadī died *before* this date, presumably this is by his son, Asadī, the younger.

However we must note that our copy does not begin in the manner in which the Bodleian and the India Office copies begin. Ethé gives the first line as (Ind. Off. Cat. No. 893 and Bodl. Cat. I, No. 507):—

سپاس از خدا ایزد بهنامی
که از کاف و نون کرد گیتی بنامی

From folio 270a (6th line from bottom) it appears that the poem consists of 9,000¹⁷ lines and that the author worked three¹⁸ years at it.

A valuable copy of this rare *Mathnawī*.

Persian 4.

Press mark—None.

Prose Works of Jāmī.

ff. 230.	27-29 lines.	6½ × 14 inches.
(i)	<i>Bahāristān.</i>	
(ii)	<i>Nafahāt ul-'Uns.</i>	
(iii)	<i>Risāla-i Lā'ilāha'illa'l-lāh.</i>	
(iv)	<i>Risāla-i Inshā.</i>	
(v)	<i>Risāla-i Kabīr-i Mu'ammā.</i>	
(vi)	<i>Risāla-i Mutawassit dar Mu'ammā.</i>	
(vii)	<i>Risālat un fi'l-'arūz.</i>	
(viii)	<i>Risālat un fi'l-qāfiā.</i>	
(ix)	<i>Risālat un fi'l-Mūsīqī.</i>	

¹⁷ K. = 14,000 lines.

¹⁸ K. = 2 years.

Fine paper. Wide margins. Beautiful small Persian Nasta'liq. In the beginning a list of the above works is given in English from which (viii) *Risālat un fi'l-qāfi'a* is omitted. The date of the MS. is given as 972/1564. (See description of (ii) below.) Jāmī died 898/1492. (See Browne, Pers. Lit., III, 507.) Therefore this MS. is fairly old as it was written only 72 years after his death.

(i) *Bahāristān*. بهارستان ff. 1-20 (pp. 1-41).

Begins:—

چو مرغ امر ذی بالی ز آغاز
نه از نیروی حمد آید پرواز

Ends:—

تک و بوی خامه درین طرفه نامه
که جامی بدو کرد طبع آزمائی
بوقتی شد آخر که تاریخ هجرت
شود نهد از هشت بروی فزائی

and *والمسؤل من اللہ ذی الجلال والاکرام الخ*. See Ethé, Ind. Off. Cat. No. 1383, col. 771; Rieu, Brit. Mus. Cat. II, 755; and Bank. Cat. II., p. (32) 48.

(ii) *Nafaḥāt ul-'uns*. نفاحات الانس ff. 22-174a.

Begins:— الحمد لله الذی جعل مرآئی قلوب اولیاء الخ

at the end the following line occurs:—

در هشتصد و هشتاد و سیوم کشت تمام *i.e.*, 883 A.H.=1478 A.D.

The colophon says:—

قد فرغ من تحریر هذا الكتاب الشریف العبد المذنب الضعیف
المحتاج الی ; حمه الله باری محمد الانصارى فی اواخر شعبان
سنه اثنی و سبعین و تسعمایه من الهجرة النبویه تم

This shows that this work, the *Nafaḥāt ul-'uns*, was copied by Muḥammad al-'Anṣārī, in 972 A.H., but there is nothing to show

that the whole MS. is of the same date. Bank. Cat. II., p. 55 and references.

(iii) *Risāla-i Lā'ilāha'illa'l-lāh.* f. 174b.

Begins :— لا اله الا الله ايمست از باغ هدايت اخ and consists of 11 lines (7 complete and 4 half).

Cp. Bank. Cat. II., p. 61 ; and Ind. Off. Cat. No. 1357, 20, both of which begin differently, *i.e.*, من طلب البر من الباري اخ.

(iv) *Risāla-i-inshā.* رساله انشاء ff. 175-197.

Full title : — كتاب منشآت من تاليف افصح المتكلمين مولانا نورالدين عبدالرحمان جامي عليه الرحم

Begins :— بعد از انشاء صحائف ثنا و محمديت لله الذي انزل علي عبده الكتاب اخ

A collection of letters written by Jāmī to different kinds of people, the first collection being letters to the Derwishes of Khwāja 'Abdullāh. Bank Cat. II., p. 50. (رساله منشآت).

(v) *Risāla-i Kabir-i Mu'ammā.* رساله كبير معما ff. 198-204a.

Begins :—

بنام آنک ذات او ز اسما بود پيدا چو اسما از معما

A short account of the art of Mu'ammā or Riddles. (*cp.* Bank. Cat. II., p. 45, No. XI.) In the Bank. Cat. this treatise is named معمای متوسط, No. XII.

(vi) *Risāla-i Mutawassit dar Mu'ammā.*

رساله متوسط در معما ff. 204a-210a

Begins :—

ای اسم توکنج هر طلسمي
قانع ز تو هر کسي باسمي

This is the same as Bank. Cat. II, 45, No. XIII. The *real* *Risāla-i Kabir* seems to be absent from our copy.

(vii) *Risālat un fi'l-'Arūz.* رساله فی العروض ff. 210a-220b.
An essay on Prosody.

Begins :—

سپاس وافر قادری را حرکت سریع دواہر افلاک را الخ

See Bank. Cat. II, p. 47, No. XV.

(viii) *Risālat un fi'l-Qāfiya*. رسالة في القافية ff. 220b-222a.

A short tract on Rhyme in Persian Poetry.

Begins :—

بعد از تیسیم بموزون ترین کلامی کہ قافیہ سنجان انجمن

فصاحت تکلم کنند الخ

See Bank. Cat. II, p. 48, No. XVI.

(ix) *Risālat un fi'l-Mūsīqī*. رسالة في الموسيقى ff. 222a-230.

A Treatise on Music.

Begins :—

بعد از ترنم بنغمات سپاس خداوندی کہ شعبہ دانان الخ

See Bank. Cat. II, p. 50, No. XIX.

Persian 5.

Press mark—ZZ-a-2.

آئین اکبری

Ā'in-i-Akbarī by Abu'l-Fazl.

ff. 417.

21 lines.

11×21 inches.

Magnificent copy ; beautiful, big, Nasta'liq. First two pp. beautifully illustrated. Wide margins.

The *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, or Institutes of Akbar is the *third* volume of the larger work entitled '*Akbar Nāma*.' This volume contains a description of Akbar's empire, the civil and military government, the revenue system, and a statistical description of the Indian Empire. Trans. 1873 and Ed. 1877, by H. Blochmann, Bib. Ind. Series, Calcutta.

Begins:— ای ہم در پردہ نہان راز تو
بیخبر انجام ز آغاز تو

There is no table of contents as is mentioned in the Bankipore, India Office and other catalogues. Numerous scholia (marginal). There is no colophon, and neither the name of the copyist nor the date appears. Probably 18th century.

See (1) Bankipore Catalogue, Vol. VIII, Nos. 554 and 556 (also No. 552 for an account of the *Akbar Nāma* and references.)

(2) India Office Cat., Nos. 264 to 269 (col. 107 to 108.)

(3) Brit. Mus. Cat., Vol. I., p. 251, et seq.

and (4) Būhār Catalogue I., p. 48, No. 65.

Persian 6.

Press mark—None.

پادشاه نامہ

Pādishāhnāma (Part III)
of Muḥammad Wārith.

ff. 646.

15 lines.

8×12½ inches.

Nasta'liq. Thin, modern, white and grey paper.

Begins:— بر سر هر نامه د بیرقلم آنچه کند بهر * (رقم

and after 4 such verses

تعالی الله گرفتار ظلمت کده امکانرا چه استطاعت که کند

نیستی پیوند الفخ :

The work bears no title. The long preface contains the following facts:—p. 2, Shaiikh 'Abd ul-Ḥamid Lāhori, whose style was similar to Abu'l-Fazl's, was ordered to write a history of the reign of Shāhjahān. Each Daftar contained the events of ten years, and the whole was revised by Sa'd ul-lāh khān. 'Abd ul-Ḥamid finished the history of the first two periods, but old age forced him to stop (p. 3), and the king appointed Muḥammad Wārith to complete the work.

* This word is not legible. Is تیمن according to other sources.

This, the *third* part, was revised by 'Alā'ul-Mulk Tūnī, whose title was Fāzīl khān. The historical narrative begins on p. 4.

چون خاطر خطیر خدیو جهانی الخ

See (1) Bank. Cat., Vol. VII, p. 68. (The author calls this work Part III of the *Pādishāh Nāma* following Rieu and Ethé).

(2) Brit. Mus. Cat., Vol. I., p. 260.

(3) Ind. Off. Cat., Nos. 329 and 330.

(4) Būhār Cat., No. 75 (Vol. I, p. 53).

Persian 7.

Press mark—None.

مرآت احمدی

Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī.

2 vols.

Vol. I 906 pp., Vol. II 835 pp.

15 lines.

9×13 inches.

Native full leather. Thin, bad paper. Indian Nāsta'liq. Vol. I has at the beginning the following in English.

"No. 5. MIRAT AHMADI.—A History of Guzerat by Mahomed Ali Khan—Padishāhi Diwan. Vol. I copied from MSS. in the possession of Mohammed Hoosein-u-din, Kazi of Ahmadabad.—1849." Contains a badly written table of contents extending to 10 pp.

Vol. I. Begins:—

فہرس نسخہ دفتر کل حمد پادشاہ مالکی الملکی کہ نصب
و عزل الخ

The first page contains a few scholia.

After the introduction, the History of the Hindu Rajas commences on p. 27. The volume ends with a colophon saying that it was copied at the instance of Alexander Kinloch Forbes, Esq., at the house of Qāzī Ḥusainud-dīn, at Ahmadabad and was finished on 3 Ramazān 1265 A.H.=24 July 1849, by Munshī Hājī Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn Ārā'ī.

Vol. II. Has a table of contents as in Vol. I and a similar title in English.

Begins with the Chapter entitled:—

مقرر گشتن پورہ را بر سکند بلده و احیای بدعت الخ

The colophon is exactly the same as Vol. I. At the end of the volume some documents which look like assessments of land revenue are given and extend to 43 pp. The first of these is as follows:—

العمل عمل را به قورد رمل و شهاب الدین در عهد حضرت
آشیانی - بلده احمد آباد

Mostly written in the peculiar script employed for financial statements in India.

For further information see Bank. Cat. VII, p. 145, No. 611 where an excellent table of contents is also given.

This work is now being edited in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. Vol. xxxiv, Part ii of the text, recently published, is the first of the series of three volumes of text and one of translation. Prof. Nawab Ali is the editor, and Mr. C. N. Seddon, I.C.S., the joint translator.

Persian 8.

Press mark—None.

مرآت سکندری

Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī.

327.

13 lines.

8×12½ inches.

Modern Indian Nasta'liq. Thick, modern, grey paper.

Begins:—الحمد لله الذي جعل فردا من افراد البشر الخ

The introduction gives the name of the author as سکندر بن ابن اکبر and the marginal note to this name says محمد منچهر and says that it is a complete history of the Sultans of Gujarat.

The colophon says that this copy was made for Alexander Kinloch Forbes, Esq., at the house of Qāzī Ḥusain walad Qāzī Muḥammad Šāleḥ in Ahmadabad, Gujarat in 1265/1849, by Munshī Ḥājī Šalāḥud-dīn Ārā'ī.

Many of the headings are obliterated and are not legible. At the end of the MS. there is a small Arabic MS. giving the history of the Bohras (رسالة الترجمة الزاهرة لفرقة بهرة الباهرة), **Arabic 4.** Then follow a few blank folios. At the end we have in English the following note: "No. I. Merat Sekandari copied from an old MS. in the possession of Mohammed Hooseinoodeen—Cazi of Ahmadabad. 1849."

This is later than the lithographed text.

See (1) Ethé, Bodl. Cat. I. No. 272-275, col. 144-145.

(2) Brit. Mus. Cat. I. 287.

(3) Bank. Cat. VII. No. 610, p. 144 (for information concerning author, etc.)

Persian 9.

Press mark—ZZ-b-22.

Mir'āt-i-Sikandari.

pp. 399.

12 lines.

10×13 inches.

Another copy. Clear Indian Nasta'liq. Thin paper.

The colophon says:—

تمام شد واقعه بتاریخ بیست و دویم ماه رمضان المبارک
 بوقت دو بهر تمام شد این کتاب والا جناب مسٹر وادین (?)
 صاحب والا قدر عالی شان فیض فیضرسان نویسانیده شد
 راقم الحروف لاله جیشنکر و بخششی رام منمقام کهنبايت¹⁹
 نوشته بماند سیر²⁰ برسند — نویسنده را نیست فردا امید
 نمت تمام شد

I cannot make out the name of the English gentleman for whom the copy was made. The copyists are (1) Lālā Jaishankar and (2) Bakshshī Rām. No date is mentioned, but the MS. cannot be old.

¹⁹ MS. کهنبايت

²⁰ MS. سیر

Persian 10.

Press mark—None.

حدیقة الہند

Extract from the *Hadiqat ul-Hind*.

An account of Gujarāt, Ahmedabad and Sūrāt.

By Shaikh Aḥmad, *alias* Bakhshū Miyān.

ff. 96.

11 lines.

9×12 inches.

Good Shikasta. The first page contains a complete account of how this MS. came to be copied. Copied for Alexander Kinloch Forbes, Esq. Shaikh Muḥammad Fāzil²¹, *alias* Dōlū Miyān, acting Munsif of Surat, says that his late brother Shaikh Aḥmad *alias* Bakhshū Miyān, [Munsif at Surat, died 1265 A.H.,] b. Sh. Ḥāmid b. Sh. Bahādur, had composed a historical work called *Hadiqa-i-Aḥmadi* in 3 vols. Shaikh Aḥmad had intended to re-write and divide this book into 15 parts. He completed only one of these and called it حدیقة الہند and died. Out of this work, the account of Gujarāt, which contains an account of Ahmedabad and its castles, etc., has been copied and sent herewith as a souvenir to Mr. Forbes. Dated, 18 Zu'l-Qa'd 1266. A.H.=26 Sep. 1850. The copyist is Faiz 'Alī b. Fath 'Alī.

Begins:—باب دوازدهم در احوال صوبہ گجرات

CONTENTS. Folio 1, Ch. 12. Account of the Province of Gujarāt and Ahmedabad.

Sec. 1.	folio	3a	Account of Āidar (Idar)
„ 2.	„	3a	Do. Jhalawar.
„ 3.	„	3b	Do. Nawanager.
„ 4.	„	3b	Do. Cutch.
„ 5.	„	3b	Do. Dongarpur.
„ 6.	„	3b	Do. ? (Rajpipla).

²¹ MS. فاصل

Sec. 7.	folio 4a	Account of Sirohi.
„ 8.	„ 4a	Do. ?
„ 9.	„ 4a	Do. Zamīndār of—.
„ 10.	}	„ 4a Do. Rājas of Sūrat.
		„ 4a Do. Rāmnagar.
		„ 4a Do. Zamīndār of Māndwī.
		„ 5a Do. Zamīndār of Bānsda.
„ 11.	„ 5b	History of Sōrath.
„ 12.	„ 6b	Do. Past Rajas and Kings (of Gujarat).
„ 13.	„ 24b	Account of Subedars of Gujarat until English Domination.
„ 14.	„ 30b	State of Jūnāgaḍh.
„ 15.	„ 32a	State of Samī (?) Rādhanpūr, etc.
„ 16.	„ 32b	State of J (ج'لور)
„ 17.	„ 33a	State of Cambay (Khanbāyat.)
„ 18.	„ 34a	Gaikwār of Baroda.
„ 19.	„ 43a	The Nāzims of Bharōch (Broach) and the Parsis.
		(45b How the Parsis came to India.)
„ 20.	„ 46b	Account of the Port of Sūrat.

The twentieth and last section, extending to 50 ff., contains important material for the History of Sūrat and its Kings, beginning with Sultan Qutb ud-dīn, A.H. 591. But from f. 47a, it is evident, that the History given here in detail, begins from A.H. 909. The account of individual chiefs begins from f.50b, (Maḥmūd khān, 995 A.H.)

The last person, to whom a separate section is allotted, is Nawab Mīr Afzal ud-dīn Khān, Qamar ud-dawla, Hīshmat Jang, f. 88a, who was accepted as the rightful successor by Mr. Elphinstone in 1237 A.H. Born 1196 A.H.=1781 A.D.; died 1261 A. H.=1846 A.D. *i.e.*, within about 5 years before this work was copied.

Persian 11.

Press mark—ZZ-c-51.

تاریخ سورت و راجہائش

A History of Sōrāth and its Kings,

By Ranchodji Amarji Dīwān.

ff. 82.

13 lines.

6 × 11½ inches.

Shikasta. Slightly worm-eaten. The fly-leaf says that the MS. was presented to the society by T. M. Dickinson on 30th September 1835.²² The book is also incorrectly named تواریخ گجرات both in Persian and English characters. This is due it seems to what is said on f. 2a, ll. 2 and 3.

On f. 2a, the name of the author appears as رنجہوری ولد امرجی دیوان and he says he had read a good deal about Indian History and particularly about the History of the province of Gujarat.

Begins:—

شکر جگنناٹہ

ذکر آن سلطان السلاطین از حوصلہ تقریر دور و بوصف آن

خاقان الخواقین الخ

Written apparently at the request of a certain Governor of Bombay whose name is not very legible. The colophon²³ says:—

این دو سطر تحفہ حقیر بدرگاہ والا جاہ گورنر صاحب

ملکین²⁴ صاحب دام دولتم از جونہ کبر مرسل کشت

تاریخ سیوم شوال سنہ ۱۲۴۵ چیترا شود پنجم سموت ۱۸۸۶

5 Chaitr Shudh, Samwat 1886 = 3 Shawwāl 1245 = 29 March 1830.

²² It is also possible to read the 3 in 1835 as 8. But, as the book is catalogued on p. 583 of our old Cat. dated 1874, as "Gujarath Tawarikh or History of Gujerath," the earlier date seems correct.

²³ I am indebted to my friend, Prof. Shaikh Abdul Kadir Sarfaraz, formerly of Elphinstone Colloge, Bombay, for deciphering the colophon.

²⁴ Probably Sir John Malcolm (1769-1833). Governor of Bombay, 1826-1830. Dic. of Nat. Biog., XXXV. 404 at 411.

Persian 12.

Press mark—None.

تاریخ جونا گھٹ و ہالار

History of Jūnāgaḥ and Hālār

by Ranchodji Amarji Dīwān.

ff. 155.

13 lines.

6×11¼ inches.

Slightly worm-eaten. Clear Nasta'liq. Certain names in Nāgarī characters in the margin. The MS. is written by two hands. [See ff. 12*b* and 13*a*, ff. 130 to 145 and the last 7 or 8 pp. These seem to be by the copyist of **Pers. 11**. ZZ-c-51.]

Begins:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
ذکر آن سلطان السلاطین از حوصلہ تقریر دوز و در وصف
آن خاتان الخواتین الخ

On f. 1*a* we have a seal which is hardly legible and the following words

این کتاب مستطاب بوالا شان مبارزت تزمین ہوسدین (?)

ہدیہ دارم

and in the left hand corner الجز اول تواریخ سورتہ و ہالار است

On f. 2 we have برخی از سوانحہ سرکار جونہ گھٹ و ہالار و زاجہایش

The colophon says this copy was written in Samwat 1892, six years later than **Pers. 11**. It also clearly says that the MS. is written by *two* hands. f. 155*b* :—

این نسخہ تواریخ سورتہی بتاریخ * * * ۲۵ نهم (۹) سموت ۱۸۹۲

از اول تا کوائف جونہ گھٹ بدستخط فقیر حقیر خاک پای

دیوان صاحب (نیچہورجی امرجی قلمی کشت

(In the margin we have میرشنکر

و دیگر جزہای آخرین وقایع سرکار نکر بدست دیوانجی

صاحب مرقوم است

(See f. 119*b* onwards, especially f. 130.)

²⁵ As it begins with آ it may be Āshwin or Āshād, but it is difficult to see how the actual writing can be so read. It may be آشور.

This MS. is the work mainly of Ranchodji's scribe 'Mir Shankar', and if the colophon is to be believed, some portions are by Ranchodji himself. If that be so, then **Pers. 11** would seem to be in the handwriting of the *Dīwān*, as the scribe of that MS. seems to be the same as that of ff. 130 fol. and of *some other portions also*.

ff. 156-161 contain additional notes on various matters, such as a diary of receiving property from Sarkār Jāmsaheb, f. 156; a list of Rajas of Jūnāgaḍh, 157*b*; list of Rajas of Jūnāgaḍh which is inscribed on a black stone tablet at the Fort of Gīrnār, and income from Talukas of Sōraṭh, Hālār and Jhālāwad, f. 158*a*; account of fort of the Jodhpūr (Mārṅwār) 158*b*, etc.

Cp. (1) Rieu, Brit. Mus. Cat., III, p. 1041*a*. *OR.* 1986, I.
This is only an extract. Sōraṭh and Sūrat seem to have been confused.

(2) *Tārīkh-i-Soraṭh*, a history of the provinces of Soraṭh and Hālār in Kathiawad, by Ranchodji Amarji, *Dīwan of Junāgaḍh*. Translated from the Persian by E. Rehatsek, Bombay, 1882. Introduction by Burgess. Our library has a copy, *DX-f-47*. Mentioned by Edwards, in his *Cat. of Pers. Books*, in the Brit. Mus., Col. 624.

COMPARISON OF CONTENTS OF **Pers. 11**, **Pers. 12**,
AND *DX-f-47*.

	A.	B.	C.
	<i>Pers. 11.</i>	<i>Pers. 12.</i>	<i>DX-f-47.</i>
	Ta'riKh-i-Soraṭh.	Ta'riKh-i-Jūnāgaḍh, wa Hālār.	Ta'riKh-i-Soraṭh.
	f.	f.	p.
Description of Jūnāgaḍh (Sn.Karan Kubj) Mahals which pay all the land and customs revenue to Jūnāgaḍh	2a	2a	24
Kutiana	4b	6b	48
Bantwa	4b	7a	49
Mangrol (MSS. Manglore)	5a	8a	51
	5a	8a	51

	A.	B.	C.
	Pers. 11.	Pers. 12	DX-f-47.
	Ta'rikh-i-Sorath.	Ta'rikh-i-Junagadh wa Halār.	Ta'rikh-Sorath.
	f.	f.	p.
Kesod (B has کيسوج)	7a	11b	62
Malia	7a	12a	62
Chorwād	7a	12a	62
Patan	7a	12a	63
Korinār	8a	14a	70
Ūna and Delvāda	8a	14b	77
Rānpūr	8b	15a	79
Visāvadar	8b	15b	79
Diva	8b	—	79
Muzaffarabad	8b	—	79
Kathiawād	9a	15b	81
Amreli	—	16a	82
Rajas of Jūnāgadh	9b	29b	83
Reign of Mandlik	10a	—	116
Naughan's conquest of Sindh	10a	32b	105
Sultān Mahmūd's conquest of Jūnāgadh. [Here there are some titles which I cannot read.]	13a	37b, 40b	116
The Bābis	17b	—	[137]
War with the Peshwas and Gaekwar .. [From here onwards A contains no titles in the margin until we come to f. 52b]	24a	68a	161
An account of Jām (History of Nagar).. [From here onwards I do not propose to give the name of each of the Jāms nor all the chapter headings]	52b	120a	240
Jām [Jasāji] makes a friend of Rao Saheb [Bhānji]	64b	139b	271
Meeting of Nawab Saheb Hāmid Khān with Mehrāman Khawās	66a	141b	275
Flight of Jām Jasāji	66b	142a	277
The English Army attacks Nagar	70a	—	287
MAHALS PAYING TRIBUTE TO JUNAGAD. Porebunder	—	17a	83
Gondal	78b	24a	93
Rajkot	79a	24b	94
Morbi	79a	25a	94
Bhavnagar	79b	25a	95
Jhālāwar	81a	27b	98
Account of Okh	80a	153b	290
Vankaner	81b	(20a)	—

From this comparison it is clear how closely connected the MSS. are. Only a deeper study would show how they are related to each other, but from certain chapters, e.g., Korinār (A. f.8a ; B. f.14a ; C. 76) and the section on the Kings of Jūnāgaḍh (A. f.9a ; B. f.29b ; C. 83) it seems that B is on the whole the fuller of the two and contains the signs of revision. C seems to be a translation of a MS. which has again a different arrangement from either of the above two.

Persian 13.

Press mark—ZZ-f-19.

بساتین سلاطین

Basātīn-i-Salāṭīn.

A History of Bijapur by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Zubairī.

ff. 760.

11 lines.

5½ × 8¾ inches.

Thin, bad paper. Legible Shikasta Āmīz Ta'liq.

This MS. was presented to the Society by T. M. Dickinson in 1835.

Begins :—

سپاس گوناگون و ستائش از حد افزون مر صانعی را الخ

A History of Bijapur beginning from the 'Ādilshāhis (The first of whom was Yūsuf 'Alī 'Ādilshāh, f. 6.) to the time of Aurangzib.

The author's name is given as محمد ابراهیم زبیری and the book is entitled بساتین سلاطین f. 5b. This agrees with the name given in the Bank. Cat. Vol. VII, p. 148, No. 612 ; whereas Rieu. Brit. Mus. Cat. I, 319 gives the author's name as غلام مرتضی. For contents, etc., see the two catalogues quoted above, and Morley, R.A.S. Cat., p. 79.

The colophon does not give the date of *composition*, but says that it was copied in 1245/1829.

Copyist: Saiyid Amīn.

Persian 14.

Press mark—None.

مخبر الاولياء

*Mukhbīr ul-Awliyā.*An account of Chishtī Saints buried at Ahmedabad, by Rashīd ud-dīn b. Aḥmad Chishtī.

ff. 148.

17 lines.

8×12 inches.

Nasta'liq inclined to Shikasta. Bound in full red Indian leather. Modern grey paper.

Begins:— سپاس وافر و نیايش متکثر مر شاهد غیب را الخ

The introduction begins with praises of Saiyid Muḥammad Aḥsan as-Sijzī who is the spiritual guide of the author and the head of the Chishtī order. The author, having paid a visit to this person, returned to his native town Ahmedabad, Gujarat. This book was apparently written for the benefit of the author's two sons Jamāl ud-dīn Muḥammad alias Jaman (Chaman?) Miyān, and Khūb Miyān Ḥusām ud-dīn Muḥammad Farrukh.

The author's full name and pedigree is given on f.2b. (3rd line from bottom) Rashīd ud-dīn [رشیدالدین مودود لالا?] b. Shaiikh Aḥmad Chishtī al-Fārūqī b. Shaiikh Ḥusāmud-dīn Muḥammad Farrukh as-Sūfī al-Chishtī. The title given on f.3a is (?)—مخبر الاولياء ومدارج. The first chapter begins:—

f. 4b. تمهید فی ذکر الولا والولی

1. Account of Mun'imud-dīn Saiyid Ḥasan as-Sijzī (السجزي بالكسر والسكون والزنا) ; Comp. Ethé, Ind. Off. Cat. col. 263. No. 637. سیر العارفين f. 5a.

2. Saiyid ' Abd al-Qādir Jilānī, f. 11b.

3. Khwāja Quṭb ud-dīn al-Chishtī, f. 16b.4. Khwāja Ḥamīd ud-dīn Nakōrī, f. 23a.5. Shaiikh Muḥammad Narnūl Chishtī, f. 29a.6. Shaiikh ' Abd ur-Raḥmān, f. 30a.7. Shaiikh Sirāj ud-dīn alias Shaiikh Qāzī Shu'aib, f. 31b.

Then follow short notices until we come to f. 37a to 45b Shaikh Khwāja Farid ul-Ḥaq wa'd-dīn Shaikh Mas'ūd Chishtī.

On f. 48a we have an account of Ḥājī Majd ud-dīn Ḥājarmī Dehlawī; then follows, f. 48b, Shaikh Shihābud-dīn and 4 lines later Ḥazrat Qāzī Khazīr. The MS. however ends abruptly at f. 48 and the account of the last mentioned saint is incomplete.

On f. 49b the MS. begins anew with بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم and gives an account of Ḥazrat Saiyid Aḥmad Ja'far Shīrāzī. The account ends at f. 51a and on 52b we have an account of Saiyid Jamāl ud-dīn. Henceforward every personage has a separate chapter to himself, beginning with a fresh Bismi'l-lāh and a fresh page. These saints are mostly buried in Ahmedabad.

On f. 81b begins a long account of Shaikh Muḥammad Chishtī d. 1040 A.H. (f. 93b) followed by an account of his four sons.

A Rifā'ī saint is described on f. 109a, and a fairly long account of Saiyid Qutb ud-dīn Qādirī is given on f. 112.

The last account begins on f. 146b Ḥazrat Saiyid Yūsuf known as Saiyid Rājū Qattāl (راجو قتال) Ḥusaini Chishtī d. 5 Shaw. 731 A.H. = 13 July 1331 A.D.

The MS. is not dated. But the Hindustani قصه رستم علي which follows after 4 blank pages is dated 1264 A.H. = 1848 A.D.—not an improbable date for our MS.

I cannot ascertain the name of the copyist. The Hindustani MSS. are in a different hand.

Persian 15.

Press mark—None.

نسب نامه شاه وجیه الدین

Nasab Nāma-i-Shāh Wajih ud-dīn.

ff. 178-193. of **Pers. 14.**

11 lines.

Incomplete. Very inelegant and unformed Nasta'liq.

Begins.

الحمد لله رب العالمين والعافيت للمتقين والصلوة الخ

Author: Saiyid Yuhya b. Saiyid Ḥusain.

Persian 16.

Press mark—None.

تحفة القاري

Tuḥfat ul-Qāri, by Shaiḫh Maṅṣūr.

ff. 216.

15 lines.

6×11 inches.

Wide margins. Legible Nasta'liq. Slightly worm-eaten. There is a confusion as regards pagination. Two or three persons have tried their hands at it, with not very felicitous results. I have endeavoured to give references to the folios as counted by me.

An account of Saints. Before the MS. begins, we have on the fly-leaf, dates of various anniversaries of saints. The folio actually preceding the commencement of the book contains various words giving dates of the death of different personages according to the *abjad* system.

Begins:— منت مرکریمی که انعام لطفش عام است

واکرام کرمش علی الدوام که منزه است از تفاول الخ

The author's name and pedigree is given on f. 5a and 198a; Maṅṣūr b. Shāh Chānd Muḥammad b. Shūh Muḥammad Mīr b. Shāh Ḥāmid b. Shāh 'Abd ul-Qavī b. Shāh Chānd Muḥammad b. Shāh Ḥāmid ud-dīn (known as Shaiḫh Chā'ilda).

The author was 40 in A.H. 1119=1707 A.D. i.e., at the date of the composition of the book, f. 10b, l. 3.

It would seem that the inspiration to write the book came from two dreams which the author describes on f.9 and f.11. On Ramazān 17, 1119 A.H., an old man appears to him and informs him, that the author's spiritual chief had appointed Shaiḫh Tājan as his successor. And later, an old Arab asks him to begin his work with an account of 'Abbās (a companion of the Prophet), from whom the author is descended. Hence the book begins with an account of 'Abbās, f. 12b.

The scheme of the book is described on f.12 b. It is divided into 3 parts, and two appendices.

Part I. ff. 12b-31b. Account of Ḥazrat ‘Abbās.

Part II. ff. 31b-85b. Account of Shāh ‘Alī Sarmast and how he settled in Gujarat and converted people.

Part III. ff. 85b-198 b. An account of Shāh Chā’ilda [d. 7 Ṣafar, 911 A.H., f. 112a] and Qāzī Maḥmūd, ‘Maḥbūb ul-lāh [d. 941 A.H., f. 184] and his sons.

APPENDIX.

Faṣl. I, ff. 198b-204a. Account of Shaikh ul-Islām Shāh Lār Muḥammad.

Faṣl. II, ff. 204a-216b. Account of Shāh Jamāl Muḥammad, [d. 985 A.H., f. 216 b.]

Copied, 19 Jumāda I, A.H. 1261 = 27 May 1845 A.D. by Gulāb ud-dīn b. ‘Abd ur-Rasūl b. Ḥazrat Shāh ‘Alī b. Gulābud-dīn.

Persian 17.

Press Mark—ZZ-e-13.

Desātīr.

pp. 195 (numbered in Guj.) 19 lines. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Clear, Fine Nasta‘liq.

Before the MS. begins, we have the following in English :—

“Bombay, 27 April 1819.

Presented to the Literary
Society of Bombay.

“This Manuscript copy of the DESATIR (which has been twenty-five years in the family of the PARSĪ at SURAT from whom it was obtained), is presented to the *Literary Society of Bombay*, to be deposited in the LIBRARY in consequence of a letter of this date which will appear in the *Bombay Gazette* under the signature of

VINDEX.”

“19th April 1819

SURAT.”

Begins :— بنام ایزد بخشاینده بخشایشگر مهربان
هوذا امیم هم فہ مزدان هم مرفاہرس هم وزماس هم مہشہور الض

See Ethé, Ind. Off. Cat. No. 2826 ; and Browne, Lit. His., i. 53, ftn. The Library possesses a copy of the Edition and Translation of the *Desātīr* by Mulla Firuz bin Kaus. Bombay 1818, 2 Vols. ZZ-1-2.

Persian 18.

Press Mark—ZZ-b-2.

صہا بہارت

Mahābhārat by Faizī.

ff. 565.

21 lines.

13½ × 8 inches.

Clear Nasta'liq. Not dated. Contains a few illustrations. Slightly worm-eaten.

A prose translation of the famous Hindu Epic by Faizī. The book is complete in xviii Parvas. There is no preface or colophon, and no dates are mentioned. The MS. cannot be old, perhaps 18th century.

Begins:— پر ب اول کہ آن را آد پر ب کویند در بیان
 حقیقت پیدائش مخلوقات و شرح کوروان و پاندوان و جگ
 مار کردن راجہ جیمینجی کوید
 آبرو بخش چشمہ سارسخن * آشنای محیط پی سروبن الفخ

At the very end it is said that Shri Vyas took three years to complete the work, f. 565b.

For further information see

- (1) Rieu, Brit. Mus. Cat., i. 57 b.
- (2) Ethé, Ind. Off. Cat. col. 1080, No. 1928 et. seq.
- (3) Ethé, Bodl. Cat. i., Nos. 1306-1314.
- (4) Pertsch, Pers. Hands. Berlin, No. 1079 (p. 1025).
- (5) And for Biographical Material, Bank. Cat. ii, 202.

Persian 19.

Press Mark—EX-d-68.

نل و دامن

Nal-u-Daman

By Faizī.

ff. 138.

15 to 17 lines.

5½ × 8 inches.

A free adaptation of the story of Nala and Damayanti in the *Mahābhārat*. The third of Faizī's *Khamsa* and probably the most popular of all his works.

Copy originally belonging to "—Blochmann 1868." No preface. Modern copy. Folios damaged, and have been remounted and repaired. Indian Nasta'liq. (ff. 70 to 109 *Shikasta Āmiz*).

Begins:— ای در تک پوی تز ز آغاز
عقاي نظر بلند پرواز

Three verses of the Epilogue mentioned in the *Bank. Cat.* are to be found on f. 134*b.*, ll. 3-5, where the author says that he finished the book in the 39th year of the Emperor's reign, *i.e.*, 1003 A.H. = 1594-95 A.D.

Colophon:—

تمام شد نسخه نل و دامن من تصنیف مولوی فیضی فیاضی
قدس سره

No date or name of copyist mentioned.

See (1) *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, ii. 670*b.*

(2) *Ind. Off. Cat.*, No. 1468 (Col. 805) to 1478.

(3) *Berlin Cat.*, No. 925 (p. 905).

(4) *Bank. Cat.*, ii. Nos. 263 and 264 (and references).

(5) *Būhār Cat.*, i. No. 369.

CLASS III.

Urdu 1.

Press Mark—Z-b-31.

نقلیات ہندی

Naqliyyāt-i-Hindī.

65 ff.

7 lines.

8×12 inches.

No title page. Some one has inserted a title in English at the end, as 'Nakliyat Hindi.' I have adopted this title. Author unknown. Not dated.

Written on modern white paper. Clear, but unformed and inelegant Indian Nasta'liq.

Begins :—

نقل پہلی²⁶
 در عورتیں ایک بچے کے واسطے جہاگرتی²⁶ توہیں

A collection of 69 stories beginning with the famous Biblical story of two women claiming the same child ; and ending with a story of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Ayāz. The slave is one day surprised by the Emperor in the treasure-house, and Maḥmūd finds that in spite of his position and wealth, Ayāz is wearing his old clothes in humility and in remembrance of his past. Maḥmūd is sorry for suspecting his slave, and makes amends by increasing his rank.

Urdu 2.

Press Mark—None.

قصہ رستم علی

Qissa-i-Rustam 'Alī.

ff. 152 to 159. Pers. 14.

After the Persian account of saints, *Mukhbir-ul-Awliyā*, Pers. 14, follows this short versified biography in Hindustānī. Written in a peculiar hybrid between Naskh and Nasta'liq.

²⁶ Note spelling. The spelling is curious :—e. g. Story 11, بوڑھے instead of بوڑھ and Story 12, مچھلی instead of مچھلی, etc.

Title:— این قصہ رستم علی ابراہیم قلی مندراجاست

Begins:— اہا ایک جوانمرد رستم علی
کہ تھی اسکی سب ہند میں کھلبلی

Ends:— این کتاب قصہ رستم علی خان بہادر امت تمام شد
تحریر فی التاریخ ششم ذی الحج سنہ ۱۲۹۴

Urdu 3.

Press Mark—None.

ff. 160-165*a*, **Pers. 14.**

Another Hindustani Mathnawī; describing a famine in Gujarat and how a saint relieved the situation. Peculiar language. No attention is paid to metre which seems to be
— — — / — — — — / — — —. Many Gujarati words occur.

Begins:— ملک میں کجرات گر پر نور ہے
شہر احمد آباد گر مشہور ہے

(Note scansion of احمد آباد = Am/dā/bād.)

Ends:— ای سلیمان کر حکایت کون تمام
ہونگا میں حضرت محمد کا غلام

Written 26 Zu'l-Hijja, 1264 A.H.

CLASS IV.

Miscellaneous 1.

Press Mark—None.

Inscriptions.

“Arabic and Persian inscriptions from Beejapoor collected and copied by Hoossein Saheb Bhaugay and Mahomed Ali Bhaugay, Brothers Rojendars of Beejapoor.

“1848-1849.

“Presented to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Sep. 1850.”

70 ff. = 140 pp.

8×12 inches.

At the beginning the Marathi (in Modi character) foreword says that the inscriptions are from Mosques, etc., at Bijapur. Copied at the instance of “Hazrat Bartle Frere Saheb Bahadur, Resident of Satara,” by Muhammad ‘Ali Munshī. 12 Jumāda II, 1264 A.H. = 17th May 1848.

Written on modern white paper. Fairly big clear hand. The inscriptions are usually in Arabic. Indian Nasḫ. 6 blank ff. at the beginning and a dozen at the end.

The Persian preface says:—

از عهد سلاطین دکن در عمارات و مساجد و مقابر و بالای
حصار و برجها بر تختهای سنگین تواریخ و غیره کندیده نصب
نموده بودند - بحکم فریر صاحب عالی شان بهادر زسیدنظ
علاقه ستاره نقل مطابق اصل تحریر و ترقیم بنده عاصی حافظ
محمد علی منشی کچهری بلده بیجاپور نموده
مرقوم دوازدهم جمادی الثانی سنه ۱۲۶۴ هجری مقدسه.

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Ya'qūb b. Saifuddin, 8.

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Zubairi, see Muḥammad Ibrāhīm.

SATAVAHANAS AND THE CONTEMPORARY KSATRAPAS*

By V. S. BAKHLE, M.A., LL.B.

I

THE EARLY SĀTAVĀHANAS.

A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of the Sātavāhanas necessarily excludes any account of their predecessors ; but history being something more than a mere chronicle of events, it is necessary for us to consider how and in what circumstances the foundation of the Sātavāhana power in Western India was laid, what forces contributed to their supremacy, and how the political changes that took place after the death of Aśoka, the first king we know with absolute certainty to have built up a vast empire embracing the whole of Northern India and a large portion of Southern India, influenced the destinies of the Sātavāhana dynasty. A brief account of the period which covered the century after the death of this great monarch is, therefore, necessary in order clearly to comprehend how, when the Sātavāhanas first raised aloft their banner, the ground was already well prepared for them.

From the inscription of Aśoka we learn that his empire extended far into the south. It certainly included Mahārāṣṭra and Aparānta; for at Sopārā, an important sea-port in ancient times, has been found an inscription of that monarch.¹ After his death, however, his successors, less capable and certainly lacking in that influence which alone enabled Aśoka to hold together his vast possessions, lost most of the provinces which formed his Empire. There is hardly any reliable historical or epigraphic evidence to show how one province after another fell out of the Empire, how the Maurya power which was supreme in practically the whole of India came to be restricted later to the small principality of Magadha.

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¹ *JBBRAS.* Vol. 10, where Pandit Bhagvanlal gives a facsimile of the inscr. Smith, *Asoka*, 75 ff., 129.

The provinces in the north-west, far removed from the metropolis and easy of access to foreigners, were, perhaps, immediately lost to the Mauryas; and within a decade after the death of Aśoka, even the provinces to the south of the Narmadā separated themselves from the Maurya Empire. A long and prosperous rule of a mighty monarch has always been followed by the dismemberment of his empire after his death; and the empire of Aśoka was no exception. As province after province fell out of his empire and formed itself into a separate kingdom under some chief, a branch of the Satiyaputras who are mentioned in the Edicts of Aśoka took advantage of this opportunity and founded a kingdom in what was known as Mahārāṣṭra with its capital probably at Paiṭhan.²

The Mauryas, who were ruling over Magadha and the adjoining territory, were not, however, allowed to rule in peace, in sweet contemplation of their past glory. With their possessions reduced to a few provinces adjoining Magadha, it was the disgraceful treachery of one of their own servants that finally extinguished this great dynasty. Bṛhadratha, the last king, while once reviewing all his troops, was stabbed by his commander-in-chief, Puṣyamitra. Love of power has wrought more heinous deeds; but the judgment of historians is always severe. Centuries later, the poet Bāṇa while mentioning this incident was constrained to call this master of treachery an *anārya*³; but the modern historian will not rest content with this mild condemnation.⁴

Puṣyamitra, the commander, was named Śuṅga and he founded the Śuṅga dynasty, which lasted for a decade and a century.⁵ The paucity of epigraphic evidence is made up here by a historical drama by Kālidāsa.⁶ The plot of the drama is taken from the numerous stories and legends that had gathered round the name of the Śuṅgas; but it reveals, nevertheless, some historical information which, corroborated by the Purāṇas in some places,

² See *infra*.

³ *Harṣacarita* (Nirnayasagar ed.), p. 198 f.

⁴ See, however, Jayaswal, *JBORS*, 4, 261.

⁵ Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 33.

⁶ *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

throws a faint light on the history of the period. It refers to a war between the Śūṅgas and the king of Vidarbha in which the former were victorious. The Śūṅga king mentioned is Agni, mitra, the second king of the Purāṇic list. "It seems clear," says Rapson, "from what is known of the general history of the period that any such incursion by the Śūṅgas into Vidarbha must inevitably have brought them into collision with the Āndhras whose power had at this time extended across the Deccan from the Eastern Coast. This was merely an episode in the struggle in which the Āndhras were finally triumphant."⁷ The Śūṅgas held the whole of Northern India till about 80 B.C. Bṛhaspatimitra mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription⁸ and probably in the inscription found at Mora⁹ seven miles south of Mathurā, was perhaps a king of this dynasty. For a hundred and twelve years—so the Purāṇas tell us—this dynasty held sway over Northern India while the Sātavāhanas were probably supreme in the south. In 80 B.C. Devabhūti, the last king of the Śūṅga dynasty, was put to death by his own minister of the Kāṇvāyana Gotra;¹⁰ and for about forty years thereafter this new dynasty ruled over the provinces or some of the provinces held by the Śūṅgas.

We have no more information of the kings of the Kāṇva dynasty than that supplied by the Purāṇas; and even this conflicts with the epigraphic evidence available. The last king of this dynasty was Suśarman; and he was assassinated by his servant, Śiśuka or Śimuka,¹¹ who, according to the Purāṇas, was the founder of the Āndhra dynasty, as it is popularly known, which will engage our attention in the following pages. It was not Śimuka, however but a later prince of that dynasty, who can claim the distinction of being the conqueror of the Kāṇvas; for Śimuka, as we learn from later epigraphic evidence, lived long before 28 B.C., in which year the fall of the Kāṇvas has been placed, relying on the account of the Purāṇas.

⁷ *Cambridge History of India*, 1, pp. 519, 531.

⁸ *JEORS*, 3, 473-479; also *Ep. Ind.* 2, 242 f.

⁹ *JRAS.* 1912, 120.

¹⁰ *Harṣacarita* (Nirnayaagar ed.), p. 199.

¹¹ Pargiter, *Dynasties*, p. 38.

Before we begin our account of the Sātavāhanas, it is necessary to determine the approximate year in which their dynasty was first started ; and also to consider the several views advanced by scholars about the home of the Sātavāhanas. We have remarked above that within about a decade after the death of Aśoka, province after province fell out of the Maurya Empire ; and amongst these were Mahārāṣṭra and Aparānta, which asserted their independence under one, Śimuka Sātavāhana. For placing the rise of the Sātavāhana dynasty soon after the death of Aśoka, we rely mainly on the Hathigūmphā inscription of Khāravela¹² and the Nānāghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā, the queen of the third king of this dynasty.¹³ The former is an inscription of the king of Kalinga and mentions a Sātakarṇi, Lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, against whom Khāravela marched in the second year of his reign. This Sātakarṇi is undoubtedly a king of the Sātavāhana dynasty ; but the Purāṇas mention more than one king of his name. If, however, in the light of the information supplied by this inscription and that at Nānāghāṭ we can determine who this Sātakarṇi was, it will be possible approximately to date the rise of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

The inscription at Nānāghāṭ is by the queen of Sātakarṇi who, according to Bühler's interpretation,¹⁴ was the son of Śimuka. This latter is the same king whom the Purāṇas declare as the founder of the dynasty. The alphabet of the Nānāghāṭ inscription agrees generally with that of the Hathigūmphā inscription¹⁵ of Khāravela ; and this justifies the identification of the Sātakarṇi mentioned therein with Sātakarṇi of the Nānāghāṭ, inscription, that is, No. 3 of Pargiter's list. The Hathigūmphā inscription of Khāravela being dated in the year 165 of Muriya Kāla, the initial year of which, according to Jayaswal, fell in 325-326 B.C.,¹⁶ we get the year 171 B.C. as the year in which Khāravela marched against Sātakarṇi. According to the Purāṇas this Sātakarṇi came to the throne thirty-three years after the accession of Śimuka ;¹⁷

¹² *JBORS*, Vols. 3 and 4.

¹³ *ASWI*, 5, 68 f.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *JEORS*, 3, 112.

¹⁶ *JBORS*, 3, 442, 451 ff.

¹⁷ Pargiter, *Dynasties*, p. 38 f.

and since he must have ruled for a few years before the invasion of Khāravela, we get 220 B.C. as the approximate year in which Śimuka founded the dynasty of the Sātavāhanas.

Jayaswal's reading of the date of the Khāravela inscription has not been accepted by all scholars. Ramaprasad Chanda, for instance, places the inscription later than that at Nānāghāṭ and identifies the Sātakarṇi mentioned therein with No. 6 of Pargiter's list, whose reign may be tentatively dated between 75-20 B.C.¹⁸ This makes no considerable difference, however, so far as the rise of the Sātavāhana dynasty is concerned; for the inscription at Nānāghāṭ has been assigned by Bühler, on paleographic grounds, to 200-150 B.C.¹⁹; and the inscription of Khāravela is placed later than that at Nānāghāṭ, the Sātakarṇi mentioned therein will have only to be identified with one of the several later princes of this dynasty bearing the same name. Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar places the rise of this dynasty in 75 B.C.; and D. R. Bhandarkar also advocates the same date. They regard the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas as contemporaneous and date the rise of the Sātavāhanas from the fall of the Śuṅgas.²⁰ This ignores, however, the statement of the Purāṇas about the rise of the Kāṇva dynasty which, unlike that about the Sātavāhanas, has been corroborated by Bāṇa. If we accept this date and calculate the periods of each king of the dynasty according to the Purāṇas, we shall have to place Puṣumāvi, who was a contemporary of Caṣṭaṇa, long after 130 A.D., the first date of Caṣṭaṇa's grandson.²¹ Unless, therefore, the evidence of the Purāṇas is to be entirely discarded, the only date that can be reasonably assigned to Śimuka, the founder of the dynasty, is circa 220 B.C.

It follows that Śimuka was not the destroyer of the Kāṇva dynasty; for it came to an end in about 28 B.C.²² This date depends on the periods allotted by the Purāṇas to the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas respectively. It is evident that it was one of the later kings of the Sātavāhana dynasty who killed the last Kāṇva

¹⁸ *Ind. Ant.* 1919, 214; also *Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. Ind.* No. 1.

¹⁹ *ASWI.* 5, 73.

²⁰ *Ind. Ant.* 1920, 30; also *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. 1, part 2.

²¹ *JRAS.* 1917, 273 ff.

²² Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 206.

king and even the Purāṇas help us to ascertain who he was. The Matsya Purāṇa, while giving the interval after Mahāpadma, makes the parenthetical statement : “ As to the Āndhras, they are the Pulomās, that is, those succeeding the king Pulomā or Pulomāyi.”²³ Jayaswal regards this Pulomā as No. 8 of Pargiter’s list. The first Pulomāvi we find in the list is, however, No. 15 ; and the name of No. 8 is given as Āpilaka, which cannot possibly be a mis-spelling for Pulomā. If we roughly calculate backwards from No. 15, we get the last quarter of the third century B.C. as the approximate period in which the rise of the Sātavāhanas must be placed. The dates which we tentatively assign to the various kings of this dynasty are given in a table at the end.

The question of the home of the Sātavāhanas has of late, engaged the serious attention of scholars.²⁴ The old theory that they came from the Āndhradeśa, based, as it was, exclusively on the mention of these kings in the Purāṇas as Āndhras, is now tottering as a result of recent investigations of scholars. The mere mention of certain kings in the Purāṇas as Āndhras and their identity with the names of some of the Sātavāhana kings as given in their epigraphic records cannot justify an inference that the Sātavāhanas were originally rulers of the Āndhradeśa. That has, however, been the generally accepted view. There can be no doubt that the names mentioned in the Purāṇas are the names of the Sātavāhana princes ; the genealogies as given in the Purāṇas and as disclosed by the epigraphical records agree in some cases. But with all this, to assert that the Sātavāhanas came from the Āndhradeśa is going further than is warranted by evidence. Majority of the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas are found at Nasik ; their earliest inscription is at Nānāghaṭ in Western India ; their earliest coins are found in Western India;²⁵ they are referred to all along in the epigraphic records not as Āndhras but as Sātavāhanas ; in the inscription of Khāravela they are said to be in the west of

²³ Pargiter, *Dynasties*, p. 58 ; *JBORS.* 3, 248.

²⁴ *QJMS.* 13, 59 ff. ; *Ind. Ant.* 1913, 276 ff. ; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1, 21 ff. ; *QJMS.* 13, 776 ff. ; also *Cambridge History of India.* 1, p. 599, n. 3.

²⁵ Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, p. 1 ff.

Kaliṅga²⁶; in the Jain legends Paiṭhan, in the Nizam's dominions, is called their capital²⁷; in the version of the origin of the dynasty given in the Kathāsaritsāgara, the founder of the dynasty is said to have been born at Paiṭhan²⁸. Even the language of their inscriptions is some kind of proto-Mahārāṣṭri, with no affinity with the Telugu, the language of the Āndhradeśa²⁹. These facts fully justify the conclusion that the Sātavāhanas were not Āndhras; for if they had anything to do with the Āndhradeśa, it is not too much to expect a mention of it outside the Purāṇas, a reference to their affinity with the Āndhras.

The question remains, however, whence did they come? Dr. Sukthankar, relying on two epigraphic records, suggests that their original home was in the Bellary District. "The Myākadoni inscription³⁰ of Siri Puḷumāyi mentions the 'Janapada Sātavahani-hāra' and the Hira-Haḍagalli copperplate grant³¹ of the Pallava Śiva Skandavarman supplies us with the place-name, Sātāhani-raṭṭha. These places, which are possibly identical, point definitely to the existence of a province or kingdom situated in the neighbourhood of the modern Bellary District, and named after the Sātavāhanas, which must have been so called on account of its being the original habitat of this tribe."³² But the Myākadoni inscription which Dr. Sukthankar assigns to Vaśiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi is in an alphabet which resembles the Jogayyapeṭa inscription of Puriśadatta³³ and it is very probable that the Puḷumāvi of the Myākadoni inscription is the last king of the Sātavāhana dynasty, in the list given in the Matsya Purāṇa³⁴. So is also the Hira-Haḍagalli copperplate grant an unquestionably later record; and thus the names Sātavahani-hāra and Sātāhani-raṭṭha, distinctly later names

²⁶ JBORS. 3, . 454; 4, 398.

²⁷ JBBRAS. 10, 134; Sātavāhanapurussarā nṛpās citrakāricaritā ihābhavan—Kalpaprādīpa.

²⁸ Kathāsaritsāgara, 2, 8.

²⁹ Ind. Ant. 1913, 278.

³⁰ Ep. Ind. 14, 153 ff.

³¹ Ep. Ind. 1, 2 ff.

³² Annals of the Bhandarkar Inst. 1, 40.

³³ Ep. Ind. 14, 153 ff.

³⁴ Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 51.

current probably in the beginning of the third century A.D. And, further, if this was their original home, how is it that we do not find any inscriptions of the early Sātavāhanas there? nor any mention of this Raṭṭha or Āhāra in any of the earlier inscriptions? The inscriptions of the later princes of the dynasty are found in the eastern part of the Deccan, where, perhaps, they migrated after their power was smashed by Kṣatrapa Rudradāman. To this time we must therefore trace the origin of the name, Sātavahani-hāra, which was not the original habitat of the tribe but which they made their home in later times.

It will thus appear that all the circumstances point to Western India as the original home of the Sātavāhanas. In the Edicts of Aśoka we find a mention of the Satiyaputras who were on the borders of his empire.³⁵ "The Sātavāhanas," observes Jayaswal, "according to tradition are out of a republican people, probably the representatives of Aśoka's Satiyaputras, their oldest coins being struck in the name of Sāta only."³⁶ Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar suggested that the independent state of Satiyaputra army was situated along the Western Ghats and the Konkan Coast below; and he further pointed out that along the westernmost portion of the Deccan tableland, we have Marāṭhā, Kāyastha, and Brāhman families, bearing the surname Sātpute which seems to be derived from the Satiyaputta of the inscription.³⁷ The Sātavāhanas, therefore, it would appear, were the Satiyaputras who asserted their independence after the death of the Aśoka and founded an empire in Western India. It is true that the identification of Satiyaputras has not been accepted by all scholars; yet the growing tendency among them to locate the Satiyaputra kingdom somewhere in Western India is, indeed, unmistakable.³⁸

The mention in the Purāṇas about these kings as Āndhras can be easily understood. The Purāṇas were written only after the third century A.D., when the Sātavāhanas, driven out of

³⁵ Smith, *Aśoka*, p. 160; Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, pp. 275 ff.

³⁶ *JBORS*, 3, 442, n. 24.

³⁷ *Indian Review*, 1909, 401 ff.

³⁸ *JRAS*, 1910, 581; *QJMS*, Vol. 12; and particularly *Cambridge History of India*, I, 599, 603.

Western India by the powerful forces of the Kṣatrapas, had migrated to the Āndhradeśa. At the time when the Purāṇas were written, the Sātavāhanas had lost all their connection with Western India ; and that explains their mention of these kings as Āndhras.³⁰

On the question of the origin of the name Sātavāhana, it is not possible to be definite. The name, as shown above, was perhaps derived from the Satiyaputras of Aśoka ; but there are various legends which attempt to give several other derivations of this name. The Abhidhānacintāmaṇi explains it as : sātām dattasukhaṁ vāhanaṁ yasya iti⁴⁰. The Kathāsaritsūgara says that the Sātavāhana was so called because he was carried by a Yakṣa named Sāta, who was the father of this prince⁴¹. The Kalpapradīpa explains : sanoter dānārthatvāl loke sātavāhana iti vyapadeśaṁ lambhitaḥ⁴². In these versions Sātavāhana is the name of a king, the founder of the dynasty. The colophon to Dr. Peterson's manuscript of the Sattasaī reads : Śātakarṇopānūmakāḥ⁴³ ; and this shows that later on, at least, it became a family name.

With the origin of the founder of the dynasty, we are not concerned except so far as to determine the caste of these princes ; but even here the evidence of the Jain legends is conflicting and of very little credence. One traditional account says that the Sātavāhana was born from a virgin aged four years⁴⁴ ; another traces his descent to a Yakṣa. The epigraphic evidence, however, points definitely to the Sātavāhanas as Brahmins. In the Nasik inscription No. 2, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi is called ekabrāhmaṇa and kṣatriyadarpaṁānamardana. These references clearly indicate that he was not a Kṣatriya but a Brahmin ; and we get further proof from the fact that he is therein said to have tried to do away with the varṇasaṁkara, which was prevailing in his times. The Śātakarṇi

³⁰ *QJMS.* 13, 598 ff. ; *JBBRAS.* (N. S.) 1, 161.

⁴⁰ *JBBRAS.* Vol. 10 : " Śālivāhana and the Śālivāhana Saptasati."

⁴¹ sātena yasmād ūdho'bhūt tasmāt tam Sātavāhanaṁ nāmnā cakāra kālena rāje caināṁ nyaveśayat.

⁴² *JBBRAS.* 10, 132.

⁴³ Third Report of Search for Skt. MSS. p. 349.

⁴⁴ *JBBRAS.* 10, 132.

of the Nānāghāṭ inscription is, no doubt, mentioned as the performer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice ; but although only Kṣatriya kings were in early times eligible to perform this sacrifice, this qualification seems to have been dispensed with later.⁴⁵

The first king mentioned in the Purāṇas is Śimuka Sātavāhana. We have pointed out above that he was not the "extirpator" of the Kaṇva dynasty; but one of those feudatories of the Mauryas who threw off their allegiance to the suzerain power after the death of Aśoka. We have no epigraphic records, nor any coins of this prince ; but he is mentioned in the Nānāghāṭ inscription of the queen of Sātakarṇi, his son.

Śimuka, according to the Purāṇas, was succeeded by his younger brother Kṛṣṇa who ruled for eighteen years. An inscription at Nasik⁴⁶ records that it was in his reign that the cave was made. The characters of this inscription are of the same type as those of the Nānāghāṭ inscription ;⁴⁷ and it is, therefore, evident that this Kaṇva was not far removed in time from the year of the Nānāghāṭ epigraph. Curiously enough, however, his name is nowhere mentioned in that epigraph ; nor is he given a statue in the cave itself, although Śimuka, his predecessor, figures there. This was perhaps because Kaṇva was a usurper after Śimuka's death ; and as the Nānāghāṭ inscription is by the widow of Śimuka's son whose claims Kaṇva overrode, we need not wonder at the way in which he seems to have been ignored in that inscription.⁴⁸

The successor of Kaṇva, the Purāṇas declare, was Sātakarṇi. The epigraphic evidence in the form of the Nānāghāṭ inscription shows that he was the son of Śimuka. We have said above that the Śuṅgas came more than once into conflict with the Sātavāhanas. This Sātakarṇi was probably contemporary with Puṣyamitra and the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice recorded in the Nānāghāṭ inscription can be explained by supposing that he was the actual conqueror of Ujjain. "It appears most likely," observes Prof. Rapson, "that Ujjain was wrested from the first Śuṅga

⁴⁵ Law, *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 44.

⁴⁶ No. 1144 of Eiders' List.

⁴⁷ Bühler, *ASWI*. Vol. 4 ; Vol. 5, p. 71.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

king by Sātakarṇi.”⁴⁹ This inference is strengthened by the coins attributed to this king and figured by Rapson in his Catalogue as of the Mālva fabric. The sacrifices and fees paid to the Brahmins testify eloquently to the wealth of his realm ; and his Aśvamedha sacrifice bespeaks his sārva-bhaumatva. But reverses of fortune are common to great men as well. Once, perhaps, during his régime he was defeated by the Śuṅgas ; but, ultimately, victory appears to have been on his side as a result of which he was able to annex Western Mālva. Once, again, he had to face the Lord of Kalinga, as we learn from the Hathigumphā inscription. It reads : dutiye ca vase acitayitā sātakaṇim pachimadiśam haya-gaja-nara-radha-vahulaṁ daṇḍaṁ pathāpayati kaṇhavenām gatāya ca senāya vitāpayati Muśikanagaraṁ.⁵⁰ It does not appear from this that Sātakarṇi was defeated by the Lord of Kalinga. The latter sent an army against him ; but had to be content with burning the Muśikanagara only.

Sātakarṇi had two sons, Kumāra Hacusiri and Vedisiri, who is also called Kumāravara. According to the Purāṇas, the successor of Sātakarṇi was Pūrṇotsaṅga. So either, as conjectured by Bühler, Pūrṇotsaṅga is a Biruda ; or Vedisiri, although heir-apparent at the time of the Nānāghāṭ inscription, never really ascended the throne.⁵¹ A Jain legend mentions Śaktikumāra, that is Hacusiri, as the successor of Sātavāhana who is described as a very lascivious king ;⁵² but an inscription at Nasik by the granddaughter of Hacusiri⁵³ mentions him only as a Mahāhacusiri, which does not indicate that he ever was a king. Furthermore, the Nānāghāṭ inscription indicates that Vedisiri succeeded Sātakarṇi and that as he was a minor, his mother was acting as regent for him. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar tries to identify Vedisiri with Āpilava or Āpitaka ;⁵⁴ but on what grounds he does not say. Āpilava is No. 8 of Pargiter's list ; there are four other kings that intervene between him and Sātakarṇi ; and there is no similarity between the names,

⁴⁹ *Cambridge History of India*, 1, 532.

⁵⁰ *JBBRS.* 4, 398.

⁵¹ *ASWI.* 5, 72.

⁵² *JBBRAS.* 10, 134.

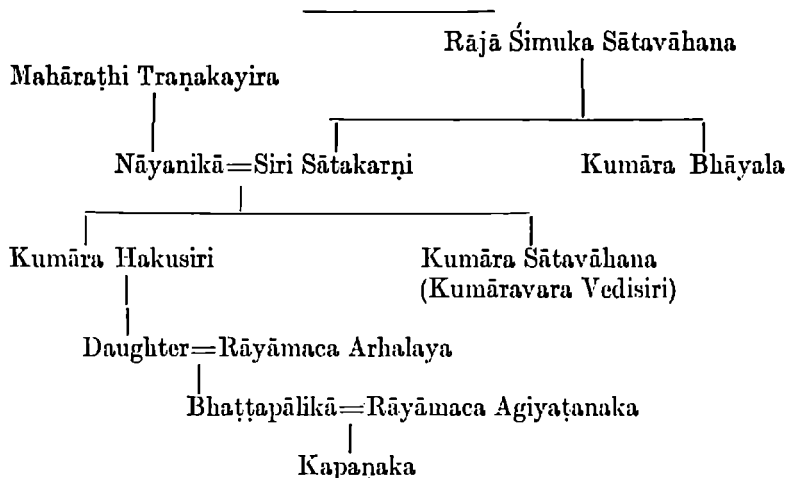
⁵³ Lüders' No. 1141.

⁵⁴ *Ind. Ant.* 1918, 72.

Āpilava and Vedisiri, to enable us to identify them. If after all, we have to resort to conjectures, it is preferable to follow Bühler and identify him with Pūrṇotsaṅga.

It was during the reign of this king that the Nānāghāt inscription was engraved and conformably to the practice amongst the Buddhists and Jains, Śalikas set up. The situation of the inscription proves that the Sātavāhanās now held the Nānā Pass which leads from Junnar in the Deccan to Koṅkan, the coastal regions of Western India. Putting the legends under the statues in the cave and the main inscription together, Bühler deduced the following genealogy of the early kings of this dynasty. The names of the descendants of Hacusiri are taken from the Nasik inscription of his grand-daughter.

Genealogy of the Early Sātavāhanas



We have noticed the progress of the Sātavāhana power from their stronghold Pratiṣṭhāṇa to Ujjain; its subsequent extension to Vidiśā is evidenced by an inscription on the Sanchi Gateway, which records a donation by the foreman of the artisans of Śri Sātakarṇi, who was identified by Bühler and Cunningham with the Sātakarṇi at Nānāghāt.⁵⁵ But this latter identification is

⁵⁵ Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 264; Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 13; *Ep. Ind.* 2, 88; *Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. Ind.* No. 1.

impossible on various grounds.⁵⁶ We have shown above that when the Sātakarṇi of Nānāghāṭ held sway over the Dakṣhināpatha, the Śuṅgas were ruling over Eastern Malva at Vidiśā. On paleographic grounds also, Bühler's arguments fall to the ground. The characters of the Sanchi inscription he regards as almost identical with those of the Nānāghāṭ inscription. It is difficult to dispute the opinion of so great an authority as Bühler on such questions; but on the whole it appears "more probable that Bühler is mistaken in assigning so early a date to this inscription." The letters in the Sanchi inscription with a serif or a thick-headed vertical and its *ta* with a round lower part justify us in placing this inscription later than the Nānāghāṭ inscription of the queen of Sātakarṇi.⁵⁷ Both paleographic and architectural considerations require the reign of this Sātakarṇi to be assigned to the middle of the latter half of the first century B.C.⁵⁸ Consequently, he was one of the several other Sātakarṇis who appear in the list given in the Purāṇas.

After 72 B.C. when the Śuṅga power came to an end, the Sātavāhanas extended their dominions as far as Eastern Malva. "The conquest of East Mālva marks the north-eastern limit to which the progress of the Āndhra power can be traced from the evidence of inscriptions and coins."⁵⁹ After this inscription at Sanchi, there is a long interval during which there are no epigraphic records, no coins, which can be dated with precision. It is possible that this period may have been uneventful historically and marked by no great political changes such as would have found their records in monuments or necessitated an abundant coinage to supply the needs of a great military expedition; but it is perhaps more probable that both inscriptions and coins remain to be discovered in

⁵⁶ Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, pp. xxiii-xxiv. "On the whole it seems more probable that Bühler was mistaken in assigning so early a date to this inscription and that this king Vaśiṣṭhiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi is to be identified with one of several Sātakarṇis who appear later in the Purāṇic lists."

⁵⁷ Chanda, *Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. Ind.* No. 1, p. 7.

⁵⁸ Sir John Marshall assigns the reliefs on the four gateways of Sanchi to the latter half of the first century B.C. See his article in *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1; also Chanda, *Memoirs Arch. Surv. Ind.* No. 1, p. 15.

⁵⁹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, p. 531.

a country the greater part of which still awaits systematic archaeological investigation.⁶⁰

Two other kings have been referred to not in the epigraphic records but in the literature of the period. The *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana mentions one Kuntala Sātakarṇi⁶¹ who may be No. 13 of Pargiter's list. His name indicates that he ruled over the country which was known as Kuntala and which certainly included Mahārāṣṭra. After him the Sātavāhanas were driven out of a greater part of Kuntala and forced to take refuge in Southern Mahārāṣṭra. The dynasty of foreigners that succeeded them in Northern Mahārāṣṭra and Malva was known as the Kṣaharātas; and it will engage our attention in the following chapter.

The other king is Hāla, No. 17 of Pargiter's list, who is the reputed author of a collection of erotic verses.⁶² He ruled probably in the second half of the first century A.D.

II

THE KSATRAPA RULERS.

We have seen how after the death of Aśoka, the various provinces under him, no longer controlled by a strong central government, asserted their independence and severed their connection with the empire. Taxila and the adjoining provinces in the North-West Frontier, far removed from Magadha, were probably the first to assert their independence; and situated as they were, close to the Gate of India, they fell an easy prey to the ambitions of the Hellenistic princes from Bactria. "An attempt was probably made in the life-time of Euthydemus to annex those territories which had been ceded to Chandragupta Maurya by Seleucus Nicator and with the break up of the Maurya kingdom on the death of Aśoka, this was quite feasible."⁶³ In about 190 B.C.

⁶⁰ Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, p. xxiv.

⁶¹ *Kāmasūtra* (ed. Parab). p. 154.

⁶² Hāla *Saptaśati* (ed. Parab). It is possible that the collection is due to some court poet, but is known as the work of Hāla.

⁶³ Rawlinson, *Bactria*, p. 65.

they moved further under Demetrius, son-in-law of Antiochus the Great, and brought the Kabul Valley, the Punjab and Sindh under their powerful sway. The concentration of his attention on these provinces, however, weakened the hold of Demetrius on Bactria; and in about 170 B.C. another Bactrian named Eucratides rebelled against the authority of Demetrius and wrested from him Bactria and subsequently a part of his Indian possessions. The rival houses of Demetrius and Eucratides continued their feud even in India and encroached from time to time on each other's dominions. This continued till the break up of their power in Taxila in about 85 B.C. under the force of the invading hosts from Parthia.⁶⁴

The Scythians, who drove out the Greeks from Taxila, were originally a barbaric tribe from Middle Asia, who had settled in Parthia early in the second century B.C. There they became the ruling race; they were invested with large landed property and formed the council of the king. The country that was later permanently occupied by them received the name Seistan.⁶⁵ From there, marching northwards, they brought Arachosia under their sway; and Vonones, who led one section of the Scythians, settled in that country. Another section under Śaka Maues overran and annexed Taxila in about 85 B.C. and thus put an end to the Greek dynasty ruling there.

Maues was succeeded in about 58 B.C. by Azes I, who had been intimately associated with the family of Vonones in the government of Arachosia and was in fact perhaps as much a Parthian as a Śaka. The reign of Azes was long and prosperous. He extended and consolidated the Śaka power in India. In the administration of his government he adopted the old Persian system of government by Satraps which had long been established in the Panjab; and this system was continued by his successors, Azilises and Azes II. Azes I has been credited with being the founder of an era. An inscription discovered by Sir John Marshall

⁶⁴ Marshall, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1912-113.

⁶⁵ Sakastan or Seistan is mentioned in inscr. P on the Mathura Lion Capital.

in his excavations at Taxila is dated in the year 136 of Azes;⁶⁰ and it is probable that the inscriptions of the Western Ksatrapas are also dated in the same era.

Gondophernes, a successor of Azes II, finally brought about a union between the two rival sections at Taxila and Arachosia; but after his death his empire was disintegrated and his Satraps became independent. And with this event the Kushanas, who later made a mark in Indian history, came on the scene.

While Azes and his successors were ruling as suzerains, their vast Indian possessions were, as we have said above, divided into Satrapies. This form of government is not certainly Indian; nor is the word Satrap, which was given an Indian form by changing it into Ksatrapa, an Indian word. This latter word is met with nowhere else than in the coin-legends and inscriptions after the second century B.C. With characteristic subtlety of intellect, however, the Indian Pandits have attempted to change the original word into an Indian form and explain it as: kṣatrapāti or kṣatrapaḥ. The old Persian has Khshathrapāvan and the corresponding Greek term is σατραπίες. The Hebrew term is Sakhshadrapan. In ancient history it is the name given by the Persians to their provincial governors. As the name itself is of Persian origin, it will not be out of place to mention here the functions and duties pertaining to the office of Satrap in Persia. The empire of Darius, we are told, included as many as thirty Satrapies. Darius did not attempt to subjugate the races that peopled his dominions; on the contrary he encouraged them to retain their languages, customs and religions, their laws and their particular constitutions. Centuries later, when the Parthian and Schythian hordes brought a large part of India under their sway, they followed, it would appear, the example set down by Darius and accepted the manners, customs, and the religion of the people over whom they ruled. The Satrap in Persia was the head of the administration of his province; he collected the taxes, controlled the local officials, the subject tribes and cities, and was the supreme judge of the province to whose chair every civil and criminal case could be brought. He was

⁶⁰ *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1912-13; *JRAS.* 1914, 975-976 ff. "Sa 100. 20. 10. 4. 1. 1. Ayasa, aṣaḍhasa masasa divase 10. 4. 1."

assisted by a council to which also provincials were added and was controlled by a royal secretary and by emissaries of the king.⁶⁷

Such were the Satraps of Persia and with the name Satrap it may be assumed, the Śāka overlords in India invested them with all powers and functions enjoyed by the Persian Satraps. The epigraphic evidence testifies, so far as it can, to the truth of this assumption. Probably the system of government which succeeded in Persia was but a failure here, as the control of the king could not be equally effective.

One more title we find used in India is the title of Mahākṣatrapa. It is common amongst the Satraps of Mathurā, Taxila and amongst the successors of Caṣṭana, the Ujjain Satrap. The title itself indicates that the Mahākṣatrapa occupied a position of greater power and independence than a Kṣatrapa, but was nevertheless subservient to his overlord. The peculiar circumstances of India necessitated the creation of this office; and it appears that the whole empire of the "King of Kings" was divided into several provinces, each under a Mahākṣatrapa; and each of these Great Satrapies was divided into Satrapies. Later on, probably, the significance of these titles seems to have undergone a change; and those who were called Kṣatrapas were subordinate to the Mahākṣatrapas or some foreign kings who conquered them and those who styled themselves as Mahākṣatrapas were independent and owed fealty to none.⁶⁸

The principal Satrapies as known to us from coins and inscriptions are those at Kapisa, at Taxila, at Mathurā, at Ujjain and the Western Satrapy at Junnar. We are, indeed, concerned with the last; but the Satrapy at Mathurā deserves particular mention, as it appears from the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas and an inscription at Mathurā to be connected with the latter. The Satraps at Taxila were Liaka-Kusulaka and Paṭika; and those at Mathurā were Rajūvala and Śoḍāsa. From the inscription on the Mathurā Lion Capital,⁶⁹ we learn that at the time it was inscribed, Paṭika had become a Mahākṣatrapa and that Rajūvala was also a Mahākṣa-

⁶⁷ *Historians' History of the World*, 2, 608.

⁶⁸ *JBBRAS.* 20, 281, n. 35.

⁶⁹ *Ep. Ind.* 9, 139.

trapa, his son Śoḍāsa being then only a Kṣatrapa. And from the Anohini record of the year 72 of Azes we learn that in that year Śoḍāsa had become a Mahākṣatrapa in succession to Rajūvala. Paṭika and Rajūvala have thus to be placed between 10 B.C. and 10 A.D.; and Śoḍāsa after 10 A.D.⁷⁰

Kṣaharāta, the family name by which the Satrapas at Junnar are known, appears to be a Sanskrit form of the Prakrita word Kharaoṣṭa, which we find used as a family or tribal name of the dynasty ruling at Mathurā, in the inscription on the Mathurā Lion Capital,⁷¹ on the coins of the Satrap Artas, in the Taxila copper-plate grant of king Moga,⁷² and in the Ganeśrā inscription.⁷³ The form is either Kharaoṣṭa or Chaharāta; but the Ganeśrā inscription alone mentions Kṣaharāta. It would thus appear that Nahapāna, who called himself a Kṣaharāta, belonged to the family of the Mathurā Kṣatrapas; and this would furnish a connecting link between the Northern and Western Kṣatrapas.⁷⁴

It is evident that the Western Kṣatrapas were of foreign origin. Their title, their names, their coins, which resemble in some respects those of the Mathurā Kṣatrapas and in others of Spalirises and Azes,⁷⁵ and the use of Kharoṣṭhī script on their coins, place their northern origin beyond doubt. As regards their race, the names of the only two princes we know are the only test. "It seems to me as certain that the name of Nahapāna is Persian and the name of Ysamotika, the father of Caṣṭana is Scythic."⁷⁶ But the names of these Kṣatrapas are not certainly a sure test; nor is it possible to find one, for the Śakas and the Pallavas had intermingled long before they came to India. Whether they were Śakas or Pallavas, however, it is sufficient for our purposes to know that they belonged to or were the

⁷⁰ Marshall, *JRAS.* 1914, 985.

⁷¹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. 9.

⁷² *Ep. Ind.* 4, 54; *JRAS.* 1994.

⁷³ *JRAS.* 1912, 121.

⁷⁴ Rapson, *Catalogue of Andhra Coins*, Coin No. 238; *JRAS.* 1890, 641 ff.; *Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum*, 1, 159.

⁷⁵ Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, cvii-cviii.

⁷⁶ Thomas, *JRAS.* 1906.

descendants of those nomadic tribes who overran India under Śaka Maues.

The Kṣatrapas being the governors of a province, another question that we must consider is about their suzerains. Both in his inscriptions and coins, Nahapāna calls himself a Kṣatrapa ; so also does Bhūmaka, his predecessor, on his coins. Having now seen that they were either Śakas or Pallavas, we must naturally look for their suzerains amongst the Śaka-Pallava kings. But they have been so long regarded as the Satraps of the Kushana sovereigns. The whole question depends upon the date we assign to Nahapāna. That question has been fully discussed of late ; and it has been satisfactorily established that Nahapāna lived in the last quarter of the first century B.C. This means that he was not a Sātrap of Kujula Kadphises (circa 40-78 A.D.) nor of Wima-Kadphises (circa 78-110 A.D.). It is obvious that Nahapāna was a contemporary of Rājūvala, the Mathurā Satrap of the Śaka-Pallava kings. An examination of the coins of Nahapāna and of Azes and Spalirises only justifies this inference. The close similarity, further, between the coins of the Northern Satraps who were Mahākṣatrapas and those of Nahapāna who was only a Kṣatrapa leads us to the conjecture that Mathurā was the seat of the Mahākṣatrapa who appointed a man of his own dynasty as his Kṣatrapa in charge of Western India.

Bhūmaka, the first Western Kṣatrapa, is known entirely from his coins found "in the coasting regions of Gujerat and Kathiawad and also sometimes Mālva."⁷⁷ No inscription of this Kṣatrapa has yet been discovered. His coins, which are all of copper, bear legends on them both in the Brāhmī and the Kharoṣṭhī scripts. The insignia on the coins are an arrow and a thunderbolt and a discus on the obverse ; and a lion-capital and dharmacakra on the reverse. "The obverse type which is continued by Nahapāna as the reverse type of both his silver and copper coinages, may perhaps have been the distinctive badge of the Kṣaharātas."⁷⁸ The coins issued by Spalirises and Azes bear the

⁷⁷ Rapson, *Catalogue*, Plate IX.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. cvi.

insignia, bow, discus and an arrow; and those issued by the Mathurō Kṣatrapas have a lion-capital and a dharmacakra. These similarities considerably strengthen the conjecture that Bhūmaka was a Kṣatrapa under the Mahākṣatrapa at Mathurā,⁷⁹ both subservient to the Śaka overlords. How this Bhūmaka was related to Nahapāna, his successor, there is no evidence to show; and it is only the type of Bhūmaka's coins, their fabric, their find-spots and the legends they bear that lead us to suppose that he was a predecessor of Nahapāna and ruled over Western India.

Nahapāna is the only other Kṣatrapa of the dynasty whose coins and inscriptions have been found in Western India. On none of his coins, however, is Nahapāna mentioned as a Kṣatrapa; nor also in the inscriptions of his son-in-law, Uṣavadāta, and in the Junnar inscription of Ayama. On the coins he styles himself as a Rājā⁸⁰; and the conjectured reading of the first word in the Junnar inscription⁸¹ is also Rājā. If this reading is correct, it would set at rest any doubt raised by his mention on the coins as a king only. Two explanations can be offered for the addition of this title. It may be perhaps that this Satrap was gradually drifting away from the central government; or perhaps he used the term Rājā as it was applied to him by the people over whom he ruled. It was probably difficult for Indians to understand this new form of government by the Satraps as the deputies of the Imperial Power; and as the real kings were far removed and their functions virtually exercised by the Satraps, these latter were regarded as kings.

Nahapāna had a daughter named Dakṣamitrā who was married to Śaka Uṣavadāta. We have inscriptions of this Uṣavadāta at Karla and Nasik⁸² in which he records his benefactions at various places. Some of these benefactions are grants of lands and villages, construction of rest-houses, erection of drinking places, etc. The nature of his benefactions and especially his landgrants show that Uṣavadāta was not an ordinary donor; and that he exercised

⁷⁹ Probably Hagāna or Hagāmāshā, the predecessors of Rajūvala.

⁸⁰ Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. 65 ff.

⁸¹ *ASWT.*, Vol. 4 : Junnar inser. No. 32.

⁸² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 8 : Nasik insers. Nos. 10-14.

some authority over the provinces in which the places of his benefactions are situated. Thus we may infer that Ajmer, Kathiawar, Gujerat, Western Mālva, North Konkan and the Nasik District were consigned to his charge. Nahapāna himself obviously ruled over the remaining provinces; and these latter are indicated by the inscription of Gautamī Balaśrī at Nasik, which enumerates all the provinces which Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, several years later, wrested from the Kṣaharātas. It seems probable that Ākara, Vidarbha, Aśmaka, and Mūḷaka were under the direct rule of the Kṣatrapa.⁸³

The capital of the kingdom of Nahapāna was probably at Junnar. Minnagara mentioned in the Periplus as the capital of the kingdom of Mambaros and all India and Omenogara mentioned by Ptolemy should rather be identified with Junnar than with Mandasore as suggested by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.⁸³

Nahapāna's rule was in all probability a long and prosperous one. Trade with Western countries thrived during his regime; and we have ample evidence of this on his coins which resemble the Roman dinarii. Benefactions were bestowed on Brahmins and Buddhists; ferries, rest-houses, places for drinking water and public halls are some of the comforts that he bestowed on his subjects. But what redounds greatly to his credit is his revival of the Nigama-sabhā. There was also a Registry Office where all important documents were registered after being read out. Only once during his regime do we come across what may be called trouble on the frontier; and that was the rebellion of the Mālavas, which was effectively crushed by Uṣavadāta.⁸¹ But for this, the country enjoyed peace and prosperity as is evidenced by the numerous benefactions and the glorious monuments of the period.

. When exactly the rule of Nahapāna came to an end, it is not possible to state with preciseness. The Junnar inscription referred to above is dated in the 46th year, which, as we shall show below, means the 46th year of the era of Azes, that is, 12 B.C. That

⁸³ *Ind. Ant.* 1926 : "The Capital of Nahapāna."

⁸¹ No. 1131 of Lüders' List.

was the last year of Nahapāna mentioned in the epigraphic records and it may, therefore, be assumed that his rule came to an end in the last decade of the first century B.C. It has been regarded that it was Nahapāna whom Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi "the restorer of the glory of the Sātavāhanas" defeated. The Jogeltembhi hoard of the coins of Nahapāna contains a large number of coins restruck by Gautamīputra, and relying on this, scholars have regarded these two princes as contemporaneous. Dr. Scott, who examined these coins, was, however, of opinion that possibly "the various members of the family caused their own likenesses to be engraved on them while keeping the inscription of Nahapāna unchanged as he was the founder of the dynasty." The faces on these coins vary greatly in age and also in features; and it is not possible that they were of the same person. Further, an examination of these coins revealed that they must have been very long in circulation before they were restruck by Gautamīputra and that all the coins probably covered a century.⁸⁵ This proves conclusively that Nahapāna and Gautamīputra were not contemporaries but were separated by a very long period. This conclusion cannot be shaken by the reference in a Nasik inscription of Gautamīputra⁸⁶ to Uṣavadāta who, there is no indication to show, was the son-in-law of Nahapāna.

Of the successors of Nahapāna we have no information worth the name. They have not left any epigraphic records; and we have only these coins which bear their effigies. The Mambáros mentioned in the Periplus was perhaps one of these successors. For nearly a century, the successors of Nahapāna held together his vast possessions. The vast empire consolidated by Gondopernes fell in about 60 A.D.; and while the Kushanas got possession of the Punjab, the king of the Deccan, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Pallavas and seized Mahārāṣṭra, Kathiawar and Mālva.⁸⁷ With the Empire of the Śaka-Pallava overlord parcelled into petty principalities, it was in this state of

⁸⁵ *JBBRAS.* 22, 223 ff.

⁸⁶ Nasik inscr. No. 4.

⁸⁷ *Ind. Ant.* 1923, 84.

chaos that this king from the tablelands of the Krishna⁸⁸ marched northwards and after destroying the Kṣaharātas, who ruled over the Dakṣiṇāpatha, once more reconquered the territory which was held by his ancestors.

The inscriptions of Uṣavadāta at Nasik mention the years 41, 42 and 45; and the inscription of Nahapāna's minister, Ayama, at Junnar mentions the year 46. These dates do not certainly refer to the regnal years of Nahapāna. A reign of forty-six years is certainly rare; and these dates must, therefore, refer to some era. Scholars are not unfortunately agreed as to what particular era is referred to in these inscriptions. One view is that these dates refer to the Śaka Era beginning in 78 A.D., which makes them equivalent to 119, 120, 123 and 124 A.D. respectively. This view was widely accepted as it fitted in well with the chronology of the later Śātavāhanas, based as it was on the assumption that Gautamīputra Sāta karṇi and Nahapāna were contemporaries. As we have said above assumption is clearly wrong; and Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Nahapāna were separated at least by half a century. The paleographic difficulties in the way of regarding them as contemporaries were pointed out by Mr. R. D. Banerji in 1908. "The characters of his [Nahapāna's] inscriptions are earlier than those of the inscriptions who are now held to be his contemporaries, and so much earlier than those of the Junāgadh inscription that it is impossible to place Rudradāman 26 years after Nahapāna."⁸⁹ But inferences from paleographic evidence are not always above doubt; and the discovery of the Andhau inscriptions may be said to have fully established the truth of Mr. Banerji's contention.

With the wider question of the origin of the Śaka era, we are not concerned. Various theories have been adduced on this question. Pandit Bhagvanlal and Jackson suggested the possibility of the era being founded in commemoration of Nahapāna's conquest of Gujerat.⁹⁰ Cunningham and M. Dubreuil regard Caṣṭaṇa as

⁸⁸ Nasik inscr. No. 4, where Gautamīputra is called Benākaṭakasvāmī, referring to Benākaṭaka or the tablelands of the Krishna where he was ruling before the extirpation of the Kṣaharātas. See further Section IV.

⁸⁹ *Ind. Ant.* 1908, 63.

⁹⁰ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. 1, part 1, p. 26.

the founder of this era ;⁰¹ and Dr. Fleet bestows that honour on Nahapāna.⁰¹ The recent discoveries by Sir John Marshall have thrown considerable light on this question ; and if his interpretation be correct, we shall have to place the epoch of the Śāka Era in the reign of Wima-Kadphises. The whole question has not yet been settled ; and howsoever tempting it may be to enquire into the origin of the Śāka era, such an enquiry does not pertain to the subject of this paper.

If we regard the years mentioned in the Junnar and Nasik inscriptions of the Kṣaharūtas as referring to the Śāka era, the last date of Nahapāna would be 124 A.D.; and as the Andhau inscription of Rudradāman is dated in the year 52, which admittedly refers to the Śāka era, we shall have to huddle up, during the intervening period of five years, events which must have taken more than that time. Mr. Banerji has thus fully exposed the impossibility of referring these dates to the Śāka era ; and has also shown that the Andhau inscription does not refer to the conjoint rule of Caṣṭaṇa and Rudradāman. It being then established that Nahapāna's inscriptions are not dated⁰² according to the Śāka era, we have next to consider what other era they refer to.

The date of Nahapāna can be determined independently of this question. The characters of the inscription of Uṣavadāta are very much earlier than those of the Sātavāhana inscriptions. The script of the former is of the Northern type and appears to be earlier than even the script of the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription of Śoḍāsa ; and on paleographic grounds also Nahapāna must be placed prior to Śoḍāsa.⁰³ Śoḍāsa lived after 10 A.D., and Nahapāna, therefore, who preceded him must be placed in the last quarter of the first century B.C.

This then being the approximate date of Nahapāna, we have next to consider in what era his inscriptions are dated. Nahapāna was a Satrap of the Śāka-Pallava kings ; and it is but natural

⁰¹ *JBBRAS.* 20, 277 ff. *JRAS.* 1913, 992-993 ; *Ind. Ant.* 1923, 82 ff ; Cunningham, *Coins of India*, pp. 104 ff.

⁰² *JRAS.* 1910, 273 ff.

⁰³ *JBBRAS.* 20, 275.

that he should date his inscriptions in an era founded or observed by his overlord. Such an era, we know, was founded by Azes I. The Taxila inscriptions discovered by Sir John Marshall is dated in the year 136 of Azes. As the inscription belongs to a period far removed from Azes, we need not be surprised at this "bald designation of an era by a king's name."⁹⁴ This Azes, the first, has been placed in about 58 B.C.; and it appears, therefore, that the era referred to in the Taxila inscription is the Vikrama are beginning in 58 B.C., which was perhaps founded to commemorate the accession of Azes I. "The Interpretation," observes Prof. Rapson, "may well be correct in spite of the tradition that this era was founded by Vikramāditya of Ujjain to commemorate the defeat of the Śūkas; and whatever may have been the origin of this era, the assignment of the reign of Azes to this period is justified by other considerations. It is consistent with the date assigned to his predecessor (75 B. C.) and with the date of his third successor on the throne, Gon-lophernes, who almost certainly began to rule in 19 A.D., and supported by evidence drawn from the epigraphy of the Greek coin-legends."⁹⁵ We have expressed the view above that Nahapāna was a Kṣātrapa of the Śāka-Pallava kings and was perhaps subservient to the Mahākṣātrapa at Mathurā. There is nothing unnatural, therefore, in the use of the era of Azes in his inscriptions.

Paleographic considerations justify the date we have assigned to Nahapāna on this calculation. The architectural characteristics of his splendid monuments also point to the latter half of the first century B.C. as the probable date of Nahapāna. The style of the finest Caitya Halls at Karla and Nasik resembles that of the balustrade of the grand Stūpa at Sanchi. "In the Caitya hall at Nasik the form of the entrance doorway, the lotus design of the face of the jambs, the miniature, Persepolitan pilasters, the rails of the balustrade flanking the steps and the treatment of the Dvārapāla figure all bespeak a date approximately contemporary with the Sanchi Torāṇas,"⁹⁶

⁹⁴ *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1912-13; *JRAS.* 1914, 275 f.

⁹⁵ *Cambridge History of India*, 1, 571.

⁹⁶ Sir John Marshall assigns the reliefs on the four gateways at Sanchi to the latter half of the first century B.C. (Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi: Memoirs of Arch. Surv. Ind.* No. 1.)

at least a century later than the work at Barahut"; and "Messrs. Fergusson and Burgess were not far removed from truth when in their work on the Cave Temples of India they assigned the Nasik hall to the latter half of the first century B.C."⁹⁷

The earliest date of Nahapāna would then be 17 B.C.; and as the reign of his predecessor, Bhūmaka, was probably very brief, the conquest of Mahārāṣṭra by the Kṣaharātas must be placed in about 25-20 B.C. We have said above that the Kaṇvas were defeated by the Sātavāhana king, No. 8 of Pargiter's list. It appears, therefore, that the supremacy of the Sātavāhanas, after defeating the Kaṇvas, lasted for hardly a decade. By the defeat of the Kaṇvas, the Sātavāhanas probably came in contact with the dynasties of the North; and it may be near the end of his reign that Puṣomāvi, that is No. 8 of Pargiter's list, was defeated by the Kṣaharātas, who later held the country for about half a century. We have so many instances in Indian history where one of the two warring princes takes the aid of foreigners; and although he succeeds against his enemy, his foreign ally becomes all powerful. It is probable that the last king of the Kaṇva dynasty tried to regain the country wrested from him by the Sātavāhana king; and in doing so he took the aid of the Kṣatrapas who were ruling at Mathurā. The result was that not only the Sātavāhana king but also the heir to the Kaṇva throne were both subjugated by these foreigners.

The Kṣaharātas held power in Northern Mahārāṣṭra till about 78 A.D., that is, till a few years after the Kushana invasion of India. Whoever was the founder of the Śaka Era, it cannot certainly be denied that the association of the Sātavāhanas with this era, and the numerous stories current in Jain literature have some truth for their basis. In about 78 A.D. the Kṣaharātas were exterminated by Gautamīpura Sātakarṇi; and it is natural, therefore, that the era founded in that year whether by Kaniska or by Wima-Kadphises or by Caṣṭaṇa came to be associated in the south with the defeat of the Sakas by the Śālivāhana king.

⁹⁷ *Cambridge History of India*, 1, 637 ff.

III

THE LATER SATAVAHANAS

Having dwelt in the last section on the intermediate period during which the country was held by the Kṣaharātas, we now proceed with our account of the Sātavāhana princes. In the first section we have given an account of the early kings of this dynasty who are known from epigraphic records. Thereafter we have a reference to some princes of this dynasty in Jain and other literary works ; but no epigraphic records. Some coins of the period which belong undoubtedly to some of the princes dealt with in the first section have been discovered ; but the difficulty is about assigning them to any one of the several kings mentioned in the Purāṇas. Indeed, the chronology of the Sātavāhanas has not yet been fully ascertained ; and recent discoveries have upset the results of laborious research carried on by scholars like Bühler, Bhagvanlal and Bhandarkar. The dates we assign to the princes of this dynasty are obviously tentative ; and although we have tried to support them wherever possible by literary and epigraphic evidence, still the material at our disposal is too meagre to allow us to depend entirely on them. In these circumstances any account of the Later Sātavāhanas must be necessarily scrappy and more or less conjectural.

In about 78 A.D. Sātakarṇi, a prince of the illustrious Sātavāhana family which once held the whole of the Dakṣiṇāpatha under its sway but had later to retire against the power and might of the foreigners to the hilly country on the banks of the Krishna, saw a good opportunity offering itself to reconquer the countries held by his ancestors till about a century ago. Seeing that the power of the Kṣatrapas in Western India was necessarily weakened by the wars between the Kushanas and the Śaka-Pallavas in the North-West Provinces, he mustered together his band of victorious soldiers and marched north-westwards towards Govardhana to reconquer his ancestral regions. A detailed account of the war that ensued, of the military movements and of the battles that were fought, is impossible in the present state of our knowledge of those times ; nor are there very strong reasons to hope that it will be

possible one day to reconstruct a detailed account of this period of warfare without any interruptions, without any important links missing. We only know of one battle that was fought between the Sātavāhana and the Kṣatrapa armies and which resulted in a disastrous defeat of the latter. It was a decisive battle which probably struck a deadly blow to the supremacy of the Śaka-Pallavas in Mahārāṣṭra. This event happened in about 78 A. D. which was the eighteenth regnal year of the conqueror; and thenceforward for about a century Mahārāṣṭra at least, if not all the territory conquered by Gautamīputra, continued under the power of the Sātavāhanas.

Our knowledge of Gautamīputra, "the restorer of the glory of the Sātavāhanas," is based on four inscriptions, three at Nasik and one at Karla, and the coins of Nahapāna from the Jogheltembhi hoard which were restruck by him. Two of the inscriptions at Nasik are by Gautamīputra himself, and the third is an inscription of his mother Balaśrī. The inscription at Karla,⁹⁸ which has undoubtedly to be attributed to Gautamīputra although the name of the king is missing, records a grant similar to the one we find in Nasik inscription No. 4.

After the decisive battle of Govardhana, Gautamīputra, now master of the vast territory which was so long under the Kṣatrapas, issued orders granting villages to the Buddhist monks living in the caves at Nasik and Karla,⁹⁹ conformably to the practice prevailing in those times of restoring peace in a conquered country by bestowing rewards and remitting taxes.¹⁰⁰ There were two centres of Buddhist Saṅghas in Mahārāṣṭra, one at Nasik, the headquarters of the Bhadrāyaṇiyas, and the other Karla the headquarters of the Mahāsaṅghikas.¹⁰¹ The gift at Nasik, a field, measuring two hundred nivartanas and free of all taxes, which was formerly

⁹⁸ *ASWI*, 4, inser. No. 20; *Ep. Ind.* 8, Nasik insers. Nos. 2, 4 and 5.

⁹⁹ Both the Karla and Nasik grants are issued from the camp of the victorious army; I read "Govadhana" with "Vijayakhadāvārā" and regard that the battle was fought somewhere in that district, which is quite probable since Govardhana was an important place and held by the Kṣaharātas till their extermination by Gautamīputra.

¹⁰⁰ Kautilya, *Arthaśāstra* (ed. Shama Sastri), p. 409.

¹⁰¹ Keith, *Buddhism*, p. 157.

acquired by one Uṣavadāta was bestowed by the king on the monks living on the Tiraśmi Hills. He ordered the excavation of a cave and on the east wall of the veranda when it was complete, the inscription recording this grant was engraved. For reasons which it is not possible to ascertain, however, the field was not cultivated by the people; it may be perhaps that it was far removed from the headquarters of the Buddhist monks. The king had a right to confiscate the land if it was not cultivated¹⁰² and even in this case Gautamīputra had probably to exercise this right of resumption, as the Buddhist monks did not care to cultivate the field. That also explains why the intervention of the queen-mother was necessary to grant another field in exchange five years later. This latter field was on the boundary of the city and although measuring only a hundred nivartanas enjoyed the same privileges. It is worthy of note that the former grant was to the ascetics living on the hill (pavajitāna tekiraṣiṇa) and not, as in other epigraphs, to those dwelling in "my cave" (mama leṇe vasantānam). This distinction clearly indicates that when the first grant was made, immediately after the defeat of the Kṣaharātas, there was no cave already existing, made by Gautamīputra. When the grant was made, the work of making a cave where it could be recorded, in keeping with the usual practice, was begun; and as soon as the outer veranda was complete, the inscription, which commemorated the victory of Gautamīputra, was incised thereon.¹⁰³

The second grant referred to above gives the last recorded date of Gautamīputra, the year 24. He ruled for eighteen years over the territory he had inherited from his predecessor, and for five years more over the Dakṣiṇāpatha, Gujerat, Kathiawar, and Malva, the countries he took from the Kṣaharātas. An inscription of his mother dated in the 19th year of Puṣumāvi enumerates the

¹⁰² Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra, p. 47: akṛṣṭām ācchidyānyobhyaṅ pra-yacchayet.

¹⁰³ Leṇa does not necessarily mean a completed cave; it can as well stand for a portion thereof; cf. Nasik inser. No. 24. Junnar inser. No. 18 shows that it was not the custom to cut the inser. only after the cave was finished; but as soon as work was begun and a proper place was available, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. 18, part 3, p. 178.

vast territorial possessions of her son.¹⁰¹ They included Mahārāṣṭra obviously and the coast-line along the Arabian Sea as far as Broach, Gujerat, Kathiawar, Malva, Anūpa, the modern Berar and the countries to the south of it, Mūlaka and Aśmaka, the former comprising the district round about Paithan, and the latter the country watered by the Godavari, that is, the south-east province of the Nizam's dominions and the Godavari district. Such was the extent of his vast dominions; and many of these provinces came under his rule after the defeat of the Kṣaharātas in the battle of Govardhana.

In all probability Gautamīputra did not issue new coins after his conquest of the Kṣaharātas; but the coins of Nahapāna were called back and restruck with his own insignia. An examination of these restruck coins shows the Āndhra types, Caitya and inscription on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. "So far as is known at present," observes Prof. Rapson,⁶¹ "the types are not used for any independent silver coinage, but simply employed for the purpose of re-issuing the existing currency."¹⁰⁵

The inscription of Balaśrī gives us perhaps the truest description of Sātakarnī, the Conqueror. Reconquering the country which had remained under foreign domination for about a century, he re-established the glory of his family. He was very agreeable in appearance, brave, courageous and physically well-built. All the neighbouring princes trembled before him and devoutly obeyed his behests. He never lost a battle and yet never harmed a defeated enemy. The subjects found in him a kind and solicitous king; in their weal was his happiness; in their woe his misery. A great champion of Brahmanical Hinduism, he took particular care to re-establish the caste system, which was getting weaker under the foreigners. Reasonable taxation, liberal gifts bestowed on his subjects, and his polished manners, these contributed immensely to his popularity amongst his subjects. The mother's tearful praise of her departed son indicates his devotion to her; and it was but proper that she should finish off, before her own death, which

¹⁰¹ Nasik inscr. No. 2.

¹⁰⁵ Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. lxxxix. For coins of Nahapāna restruck by Gautamiputra see Plate IX; also, *JBRAS.* 22, 223.

took place a few years later, the cave which was begun by him to commemorate his victory. He ruled only for five years after his conquest; and had it not been for his premature death, he would have ranked as one of the greatest kings of India. Yet as a king he was undoubtedly great, a king of whom any nation would feel proud.

Before concluding our account of this king we must refer to the prevailing belief that Gautamīputra ruled at his capital Dhanakaṭa, the modern Amaravati. It is a part of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar's theory of conjoint rule by Gautamīputra and Puḷumāvi, where he maintains that the former ruled over the Āndhradeśa and the latter in the Mahārāṣṭra. But even those scholars who reject this theory maintain that the capital of the Sātavāhanas was at Dhanakaṭa. Thus, G. Jouveau Dubreuil remarks in his *Ancient History of the Deccan*, "When the Kṣaharātas occupied Northern Deccan, the capital of the Sātavāhanas was probably Amarāvati on the lower course of the Krishna. The legend that Sri Kakulam was the capital has no foundation.¹⁰⁶ At the time of Gautamīputra and at the beginning of the reign of Puḷumāvi, it was Amarāvati that was the capital. The king was called the Lord of Dhanakaṭa. Puḷumāvi removed the capital to Paiṭhan."¹⁰⁷ Inscr. No. 3 at Nasik refers to Puḷumāvi as the Lord of Dhanakaṭa (Benākaṭaka?) and also as the Lord of Navanara. Now even if the inscription indicates that Dhanakaṭa was the capital of Puḷumāvi it is undoubtedly hazardous to infer from this that it was also the capital of Gautamīputra. During the twenty-seven years that followed the conquest of the Kṣaharātas by Gautamīputra, it is but natural to suppose that several changes took place; and because Puḷumāvi calls himself here the Lord of Dhanakaṭa, it cannot follow that the same place was the capital of his father twenty-seven years before. M. Dubreuil adds that later Puḷumāvi took his capital to Paiṭhan; but in the twenty-second year of his reign, in which the inscription is dated, the capital of Puḷumāvi must have been at Dhanakaṭa. In the same inscription he is called the Lord of both Dhanakaṭa and Navanara. We agree with Sir

¹⁰⁶ *Ind. Ant.* 1913, 276.

¹⁰⁷ Dubreuil, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 f.

Ramkrishna Bhandarkar in holding that Navanara is only another name of Paiṭhan. The capital of the early Sātavāhanas was probably destroyed by the Kṣatrapas ; and when Puḷumāvi took it back to Paiṭhan after rebuilding it he called it Navanagara, somewhat like the New Delhi of our own times. M. Senart was inclined to read Benākata in place of Dhanakata in inscription No. 3 at Nasik ; and accepting this reading we suggest that before the extirpation of the Kṣaharātas, Gautamīputra was ruling over Benākataka and till the 19th regnal year of Puḷumāvi, the capital of the Sātavāhana kings continued to be there. In that year Puḷumāvi removed it to Paiṭhan after rebuilding it. If Dhanakata was the capital of Gautamīputra, it is really a matter of surprise that not one of his coins or inscriptions have been found there, and, what is more important, that this province is not mentioned in the list of his vast possessions given in inscription of Balaśrī.¹⁰⁸ We shall revert further on to a fuller discussion of this question ; and it will be sufficient to state here that Gautamīputra had no connection with Dhanakata and during a quarter of a century that covered his reign, his capital was at Benākataka.

After the death of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi in about 83 A.D. he was succeeded by his son, Puḷumāvi who is mentioned in the inscriptions, and coins as Vasiṣṭhīputra Siri Puḷumāvi. Our knowledge of this king is based on seven inscriptions, four at Nasik,¹⁰⁹ two at Karla¹¹⁰ and one at Amarāvati.¹¹¹ We have one more inscription at Kanheri¹¹² which has often been ascribed to this king. It is an important inscription which enables us to determine the relationship that subsisted between the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kṣatrapas of Ujjain ; but, as we will show later, we cannot ascribe it to this king. Reference to a Sātakarṇi who is

¹⁰⁸ *Ind. Ant.* 1913, 280 : "The conjecture of Bhandarkar is the only source of assertion made by most writers on Āndhra history that Dhanakata near Amarāvati was the Āndhra capital from the time of the second Āndhra king, Kṛṣṇa" and the name Dhanakata is as much a myth as that Amarāvati or any place near it was the Āndhra capital.

¹⁰⁹ Nasik inscrs. Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 25.

¹¹⁰ *ASWI.* 4, Karla inscrs. Nos. 17 and 21.

¹¹¹ *ASSI.* 1, 100.

¹¹² *ASWI.* 5, 78 ; inscr. No. 11.

called the Lord of the Dakṣināpatha is found in the Junāgadh inscription of Rudradāman and scholars have generally held that the Sātakarṇi referred to therein is this Puḷumāvi. Coins which have been generally attributed to this king have been found in the Āndhradeśa and the Krishna and Godavari districts.¹¹³ Amongst the notices of foreign authors, Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, mentions Siro Polomeios at Baithan who has been identified with this king. The mention in Ptolemy is considerably useful since, in another place, he mentions Tiastenes of Ujjain, who has been identified with Caṣṭaṇa, the founder of the Ujjain dynasty of Western Satraps.

It is but natural to suppose that Puḷumāvi succeeded to his father's possessions; but that later he lost some of them is certain enough. After the extirpation of the Kṣaharātas, the Kushana king Wima-Kadphises, who consolidated the empire conquered from the Śāka-Pallavas, probably sent his Satrap to re-conquer the territory taken by Gautamīputra. The name of this Satrap was Caṣṭaṇa; and his dynasty held sway over Gujerat and Kathiawar till Chandragupta II conquered them in about 395 A.D.¹¹⁴ The inscription of Balaśrī indicates that these provinces were in the possession of Gautamīputra till about 85 A.D. It was probably after his death that Caṣṭaṇa took Malva and established his capital at Ujjain. Ptolemy mentions Caṣṭaṇa and Puḷumāvi as contemporaries; and whatever the extent of Puḷumāvi's dominion, it is certain that Mālva at least was no longer in his possession. It is hardly probable that it was lost by Gautamīputra himself; for in that case, it would not have been mentioned in the inscription of Balaśrī. It was, therefore, Puḷumāvi who lost Mālva, probably while he was busy on his campaign in the Āndhradeśa.

This statement, however, needs some elucidation, especially as it controverts the prevailing theories about this period. Having seen in the first section above that the home of the Sātavāhanas was not in the Āndhradeśa, the question naturally arises as to who it was that conquered the country with which they came to be associated in the Purāṇas. Our answer to this question depends

¹¹³ Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. 20.

¹¹⁴ Allan, *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, p. xxxix.

on the evidence supplied by the inscriptions and coins. The first Sātavāhana king who has left epigraphic records and coins in the Āndhradeśa is undoubtedly Puḷumāvi. No inscription of a king earlier than he has so far been traced in the Āndhradeśa; nor have any coins of the earlier kings of the dynasty been found in that country, unless we attribute the coins mentioned on pp. 10 and 11 of Rapson's Catalogue, which show only a part of the legend, "... śakasa (da?) sa," to one of the earlier princes. We do not see any justification to identify this Śakasada with any of the predecessors of Puḷumāvi; the coin-legend, or so much of it as can be deciphered, is too inadequate to draw any inference to the contrary.¹¹⁵ We feel, therefore, no hesitation in asserting that Puḷumāvi was the first Sātavāhana king whose coins and inscriptions are found in the Āndhradeśa. The obvious inference is that the Āndhradeśa was annexed by Puḷumāvi, now that we have seen that it did not belong to his predecessors.

Having ascertained the extent of Puḷumāvi's dominion in the east, we have next to see how far it extended in the north and in the west. The very fact that Caṣṭaṇa was ruling at Ujjain indicates that that province, at any rate, and possibly Ākara were taken by Caṣṭaṇa from Puḷumāvi. The coins of Caṣṭaṇa have also been found in Gujerat and Surāṣṭra. Rapson has figured three kinds of coins in his catalogue. The first two mention him as a Kṣatrpa; and the third as a Mahākṣatrpa. The second kind of coins shows on the reverse type of a Caitya which is placed between a crescent and a star which are figured on the coins of variety (a). With regard to this Caitya, Prof. Rapson observes: "Whatever its origin or significance may have been, its use by Caṣṭaṇa is probably due to association with the Āndhras; and it may well signify some extension of his power at their expense, some reconquest of territories previously taken by them from his predecessor, Nahapāna."¹¹⁶ That some of the coins of Caṣṭaṇa were found in Gujerat and Surāṣṭra should indicate that these provinces also were lost to

¹¹⁵ Dr. Sukthankar, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Inst.* 1, 38f. Pandit Bhagvanlal identifies Śakasada referred to above with Māḍhariputra Śakasena and Bhandarkar with Māḍhariputra Vilivāyakura of Kollhapur coins.

¹¹⁶ Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. cxv.

the Sātavāhanas; and the northernmost limit of Puḷumāvi's dominion will thus appear to be the Narmada. In the inscription of Balaśrī at Nasik, Puḷumāvi is called the Lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The title, no doubt, was the hereditary title of the Sātavāhanas; but since Dakṣiṇāpatha signified all the territory to the south of the Narmada excluding the Malabar and Tamil countries,¹¹⁷ the title assumed by Puḷumāvi would thus appear to be significant.

We shall further refer to two of the prevailing opinions with regard to this king. Mention has been made above of the Kanheri inscription No. 11 and of the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman. The former refers to the queen of Vaśiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi who was the daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Rudra. . . ., who has been identified with Rudradāman of the Junāgadh inscription, the letters of which are an exact counterpart of those of the Kanheri inscription.¹¹⁸ Scholars have often identified this Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi with Puḷumāvi; and it is, therefore, necessary to consider whether Puḷumāvi is the king meant here. Assuming that the Kanheri inscription mentions Rudradāman, his daughter could not have been the wife of this Puḷumāvi. We must date Rudradāman between 130-150 A.D. in which years the Andhau and the Junāgadh inscriptions are respectively dated. Caṣṭaṇa was a predecessor of Rudradāman. Ptolemy mentions Caṣṭaṇa and Puḷumāvi; but since he lived in 150 A.D. his statement can be of no avail in determining the dates of these two princes. Even Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, in spite of his theory of conjoint rule of Gautamīputra and Puḷumāvi and his reading Śāka years in the inscriptions of Nahapāna, found it necessary to refer Ptolemy's account to a much earlier period, that is, about the year 132 A.D. as Caṣṭaṇa and Puḷumāvi could not have been contemporaries in 150 A.D.¹¹⁹ The first date of Rudradāman then known was 150 A.D.; but now that we have seen from the Andhau inscription that he was ruling even in 130 A.D., we are required to push back the period to which Ptolemy refers to 110 A.D. A difference of forty years in the case of Ptolemy is not much. His geography is based on

¹¹⁷ Kane, *Ancient Geography of Mahārāstra*, p. 8.

¹¹⁸ Bühler, *Ind. Ant.* 1883, 372.

¹¹⁹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 159.

the accounts of navigators. "Olympiodorus says that when Ptolemy was at Canopa in 147 A.D., he had already been making astronomical observations for more than forty years, which will place Ptolemy's works between 104-147 A.D."¹²⁰ Thus in about the first decade of the second century A.D. Puḷumāvi and Caṣṭaṇa were contemporaries; and having shown this, it needs not a word more to disprove the contention that Puḷumāvi married the daughter of Rudradāman, the grandson of Caṣṭaṇa.

For the same reason the view that Rudradāman defeated Puḷumāvi, the Lord of Dakṣināpatha referred to in the Junāgadh inscription of that Kṣatrapa, has to be rejected. The Sātakarṇi referred to therein could not have been Puḷumāvi as he lived at least a decade before Rudradāman became a Mahākṣatrapa.¹²¹

The last date on Puḷumāvi's inscriptions is his 24th regnal year. We must, therefore, suppose in agreement with the Purāṇas, which assign only twenty-eight years to this king, that he ruled for twenty-eight years. Although he lost a part of the territory inherited from his father, his acquisition of territory in the east more than counterbalanced his loss of Gujerat, Surāṣṭra and Mālva. In order perhaps to be able effectively to control his possessions, he carried his capital, as we have said above, in the 19th regnal year to Paiṭhan after rebuilding the city which was destroyed by the Kṣaharātas. Like his father he bestowed gifts on the Buddhist monks; and it was during his regime that cave No. 3 at Nasik begun by his father was completed. There are not many records of his gifts, however, and this we attribute to the fact that he was busy for many years on his campaign in the Āndhradeśa.

Although in the history of the Sātavāhanas, there is no period about which we can speak with certainty, we find ourselves treading on more controversial grounds after the death of Puḷumāvi. The Purāṇas mention two of his successors, Śivaśri and Śivaskanda, Pargiter's Nos. 25 and 26 respectively, each of whom, according to the same authority, ruled for seven years. Śivaskanda exists, how-

¹²⁰ Dubreuil, *Ancient Hist. Deccan*, p. 40.

¹²¹ See, further, the section in which the relationship between the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kṣatrapas of Ujjain is fully discussed.

ever, in the Purāṇas; there are no inscriptions, no coins yet found which mention his name. After these two princes, we have Yajñaśri whose inscriptions have been found at Cinna¹²² and in Western India. He was followed by three other kings; and with the last, Puḷumāvi, the dynastic list of the Purāṇas comes to an end. There is yet another king who is not mentioned in the Purāṇas, but in the inscription on a cistern at Nanāghāṭ and also, according to Pandit Bhagvanlal, on a coin of Yajñaśri Sātakarṇi¹²³. The Purāṇas have probably ignored this king as his rule was confined to Western India and mentioned his viceroys in the Āndhradeśa which was nearer the place where the Purāṇic account grew up. It is worthy of note, however, that the Vāyu Purāṇa mentions a Sātakarṇi after Puḷumāvi; and this probably refers to Vaśiṣṭhīputra Śri Sātakarṇi of the Nānāghāṭ inscription.

Pandit Bhagvanlal, who discovered the inscription at Nānāghāṭ, regarded Catarapana Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi mentioned therein as the immediate successor of Puḷumāvi. The common metronymic indicates that he was Puḷumāvi's brother. At Sopara the Pandit also discovered a coin of Yajñaśri with the legend :

Catarapanasa Gotamiputakumāru Sirisātakarṇi

and from this he inferred that Catarapana was the father of Yajñaśri. Prof. Rapson, however, has shown that his reading of the first word is wrong; and as regards the inscription he rejected the suggestion that Catarapana was the name of a king. He further identified the king mentioned therein with Puḷumāvi.¹²⁴ There is no similarity, however, between the name of the king mentioned in the Nānāghāṭ epigraph and that of Puḷumāvi. Even if, further, Catarapanasa means "of Catarapana," the name Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi is sufficiently distinctive. The king referred to in the Nānāghāṭ epigraph would thus appear to be Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi; and that this was the name of the king is corroborated by the Kanheri inscription which records a grant of the confidential minister of the queen of Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi.

¹²² *Ep. Ind.* 1, 96.

¹²³ *JBRAS.* 15, 313.

¹²⁴ *JRAS.* 1905, 797 ff.

An important event during the reign of this king was probably his conquest of Kathiawar and Gujerat. We have seen that while Puḷumāvi was engaged in his conquest of the Āndhradeśa, Caṣṭaṇa, who was a Satrap of the Kushana kings, conquered Malva, Gujerat and Kathiawar and established his capital at Ujjain. It is natural to suppose that either Puḷumāvi or his successors made some attempts to regain the lost territory. We will see later on that coins of Yajñaśri have been found in Kathiawar; and this shows that such an attempt was not only made but was also successful. The question remains, however, whether it was Yajñaśri who conquered these provinces or his predecessor.

The name, Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, indicates that this king was identical with the king referred to in the Kanheri inscription.¹²⁵ It cannot be argued in this case that it was one of the other names by which the king was known. While considering a grant made by the queen herself or by her confidential minister in her behalf, we must presume that the queen knew the name of her husband as it figured on his coins. Nor can the identification of the king referred to in that inscription with Candraśri or Śivaśri hold good. Apart from the fact that these two kings ruled in the Āndhradeśa as evidenced by their coins, there is not the slightest similarity between the names that can justify an identification either with Candraśri or with Śivaśri. Thus, if Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi of the Nānāghāṭ inscription is the same as Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi of the Kanheri inscription, it would appear that the connection between the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kṣatrapas of the Ujjain branch began with the marriage of this king with Rudradāman's daughter.

Another fact that will help us in determining the conqueror of Gujerat and Kathiawar is that although Caṣṭaṇa styled himself as a Mahākṣatrapa, his son Jayadāman calls himself only a Kṣatrapa which indicates that he had lost some of the territory held

¹²⁵ It is wrong to suppose that 'Sātakarṇi' was a family name like 'Sātavāhana.' The name 'Sātakarṇi' was assumed by some kings of the dynasty; and the identity of the metronymic only will not indicate that Puḷumāvi and Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi were the names of the same king. It might show at the most that they were brothers.

by his father Caṣṭaṇa and owed fealty to some other foreign king. The foreign king was undoubtedly one of the Sātavāhanas; for Yajñaśri's coins found in Kathiawar show conclusively that this province and probably Gujerat were held by him. This territory which was lost by Puḷumāvi was not certainly reclaimed by him; and it must have been his successor, Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi who did it. The relationship of the Sātavāhanas with the Western Kṣatrapas has, it seems, much to do with the conquest of Surāṣṭra. We can only, in the present circumstances, hazard a conjecture that Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi conquered that country while it was under Jayadāman; and the latter made peace with him by a matrimonial alliance. "It has usually been assumed," observes Prof. Rapson,¹²⁶ "that during his [Jayadāman's] reign the power of the dynasty suffered some diminution probably through an Āndhra conquest."¹²⁷

The extent of the dominions of Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, it will thus be seen, was as far as Gujerat and Kathiawar in the North. The Āndhradeśa which was conquered by Puḷumāvi must also have been included in his dominions. But over these eastern provinces, was appointed a viceroy, probably his brother Śivaśri who has been mentioned by the Purāṇas. We have said above that the Purāṇas mention Śivaśri and Śivaskanda as the successors of Puḷumāvi. Of these the latter is not known from coins or epigraphic records; and Rapson tries to identify him with Candraśri of the coins. The facts, however, that the names Śivaśri and Śivaskanda are very similar, and the total period assigned to these two kings is fourteen years in all, the period which we have to assign to Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi on quite independent evidence, may justify a conjecture that the Purāṇas have given two names of one and the same king, the Śivaśri of the coins. The Purāṇas mention only the viceroy who was ruling in the Āndhradeśa, instead of the king himself who ruled over Mahārāṣṭra. The Purāṇic account grew up with Magadha as its centre,¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. cxvi.

¹²⁷ See further for a fuller discussion of the question of the relationship of the Sātavāhanas and Western Kṣatrapas.

¹²⁸ Pargiter, *Dynasties*, pp. x. f.

and as it was nearer the Āndhradeśa, we can easily understand why Śivaśri alone is mentioned here and not the western king.

The Nānāghaṭ inscription is dated in the 13th regnal year of Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi; and it seems, therefore, that the rule of this king came to an end about fourteen years after the death of Puḷumāvi. He was succeeded by Yajñaśri, who was, if we accept Pandit Bhagvanlal's reading of the Sopara coin legend,¹²⁰ the son of Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi.

When Yajñaśri succeeded to the kingdom, his dominions extended as far as Gujerat and Kathiawar in the north. But before his 18th regnal year,¹³⁰ he was not only deprived of these two provinces; but also of Mahārāṣṭra and Aparānta. This inference is corroborated by the Junāgadhi inscription of Rudradāman. We have seen that Jayadāman, the predecessor of Rudradāman, had lost the title of Mahākṣatrapa and is mentioned in the coins and inscriptions as a Kṣatrapa only. The inscription of Rudradāman referred to informs us that he won the title of Mahākṣatrapa by his own valour. Jayadāman, we have said above, owed fealty to the Sātavāhana king; and Rudradāman could have become independent only by defeating him or his successor. The inscription at Junāgadhi says that Rudradāman twice defeated the Lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha.¹³¹ The Andhau inscription dated in the year 130 A.D. calls Rudradāman a Rājan; and the conquest of Kutch, where the inscription was found, implies the conquest of Gujerat and Kathiawar. Thus by the first defeat inflicted on Sātakarṇi, Rudradāman took Gujerat and Kathiawar, the provinces which were lost by his father, and became independent attaining the title of Mahākṣatrapa by his own valour. Not content with this, however, he again marched against the Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha and conquered Mahārāṣṭra and Aparānta. This happened before 150 A.D.; for the Junāgadhi inscription which is dated in that year mentions him as the Lord of Aparānta, and Mr. Banerji has shown that it is impossible to conquer Aparānta without at the same time subjugating

¹²⁰ *JBBRAS*, 15, 305.

¹³⁰ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. 1, part 2, p. 166.

¹³¹ Dakṣiṇāpathapateḥ Sātakarṇer dvir api nirvyājam avijityāvijitya.

Northern Mahārāṣṭra and that Rapson's view, that Aparānta only went to Rudradāman and Northern Mahārāṣṭra continued under the Sātavāhanas, is untenable.¹³² Thus, before 150 A.D., Rudradāman had driven the Sātavāhanas out of Mahārāṣṭra and Aparānta.

Scholars are not agreed as to what king is mentioned in the inscription of Rudradāman at Junāgadh. We have shown above that Rudradāman lived after Gautamīputra and Puḷumāvi; and since Yajñaśrī's coins are found in Kathiawar, he must have been the last king of the dynasty to rule over these provinces. Rudradāman lived certainly from 130-150 A.D.; and during this period he held Gujerat, Cutch and Kathiawar; and it is not possible that Yajñaśrī reclaimed them after they were once conquered by Rudradāman.

The last date on the inscription of Yajñaśrī in Western India is his sixteenth regnal year. In that year or a little later he sustained the second defeat from Rudradāman. After this event, the Sātavāhanas moved to the Eastern provinces and settled in the Āndhradeśa, the Krishna and the Godavari Districts. The inscription at Cinna gives the twenty-eighth regnal year of Yajñaśrī. His rule, therefore, lasted for about twenty-eight years; and for the last ten years he ruled over the eastern provinces.¹³³

With the second defeat inflicted by Rudradāman, the Sātavāhana power in Western India comes to an end. The dynasty, no doubt, continued for a few years more in the Eastern Provinces. The Purāṇas mention three kings, Vijaya, Candrasīri and Puḷumāvi. Of Vijaya we know nothing. But the coins of Caṇḍrasāti, we would attribute, agreeing with M. Dubreuil, to Candrasīri of the Purāṇas, and Caṇḍasāti of the Koduvolu inscription in the Godavari District.¹³⁴ The inscription at Myākadoni¹³⁵ which is dated in the

¹³² *J.R.A.S.* 1917, 286 f.

¹³³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. 1, part 2, p. 166.

¹³⁴ Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. xlvi. There can be no doubt in any case that it indicates recent transfer of government in the Nasik District from the Kṣaharātas to the Āndhras."

¹³⁵ Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. 40. Dubreuil, *Anc. Hist. Deccan*, p. 42. *Annual Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1907-1908, for Koduvolu inser. *Ep. Ind.* 14, 153, for the Myākadoni inser.

8th year of Puḷumāvi, though assigned by Dr. Sukthankar to an earlier prince, belongs undoubtedly to this period as it shows a distinctly later alphabet. Puḷumāvi ruled for about eight years and with him the glorious dynasty of the Sātavāhanas comes to an end.

IV

SATAVAHANA POSSESSIONS DURING THE KSATRAPA PERIOD.

In all attempts to reconstruct the history of the Sātavāhana period, the question, "What part of the country was still under the Sātavāhanas while the Kṣaharātas were in possession of Northern Mahārāṣṭra?" has unfortunately not received the attention that it deserves. And in one way, that is quite natural; for with Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar's theory of conjoint rule of Gautamīputra and Puḷumāvi from their capitals, Dhanakaṭa and Paiṭhan respectively, still holding ground, any attempt of the kind was clearly unnecessary. But now that it has been generally admitted that Puḷumāvi succeeded Gautamīputra after the latter had ruled for nearly twenty-four years, and that the inscription at Nasik on which mainly Sir Ramkrishna based his theory of conjoint rule and its position in the cave itself, do not raise any presumption of the kind, it is necessary for us to try to determine the tract of country over which the Sātavāhana king was ruling before he finally extirminated the great dynasty of the Kṣaharātas. While doing so we shall have to bear in mind that the home of the Sātavāhanas was not in the Āndhradeśa, that they did not hail from the east, wherever else we might locate their original habitat.

In inscription No. 4 at Nasik, the donor styles himself as the Lord of Benākaṭaka. This grant which is dated in the 18th year of the king was issued immediately after the defeat of the Kṣaharātas and Benākaṭaka has been regarded as a place in the Govardhana Āhara or the modern district of Nasik. It is, however, certain enough that the territory adjoining Nasik was held by the Kṣaharātas till they were extirminated by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi; and the fact that this inscription and another at Karla, probably dated in the same year, are the first inscriptions of this king,

although he had already ruled for eighteen years, leads us to the inference that till the eighteenth year of his reign Gautamīputra was ruling over some other province and his first grant at Nasik was issued after his conquest of Mahārāṣṭra conformably to the practice prevailing in those times of establishing peace in a conquered country by favouring learned men with gifts of land and money and with remission of taxes.¹³⁰

The inscription reads :

Siddham senāye vejayantiye vijayakhadāvarā Govadhanasa Benākaṭakasvāmi Gotamiputo siri Sadakaṇi ānapayati..

M. Senart translates it thus :

“Success! from the camp of victory of the Vejayanti army Siri Sadakaṇi Gotamiputra, Lord of Benākaṭaka of Govardhana commands..”

This interpretation, however, is not quite unexceptionable and before we proceed to identify the territory denoted by the name, Benākaṭaka, it is necessary to determine the meaning of vejayantiye and also whether Govadhanasa governs Benākaṭakasvāmi or vijayakhadāvarā.

M. Senart regards vejayanti as a local name and as alluding to the town of Vaijayanti, and adds that it is not identical with vijayanti, the form of the particle vijayat meaning ‘victorious.’ Now, Vaijayanti has been identified with Banwasi in North Kanara. If, therefore, the word Vejayanti is to be taken as alluding to the town of Vaijayanti, the latter must have been included in the dominions of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Nasik inscription No. 2 mentions all the countries which were included in his dominion. Banwasi or Vaijayanti or Jayanti was the name of North Kanara ; but no such name occurs in the list of countries mentioned in that inscription forming the vast possessions of Gautamīputra, nor do any of the countries mentioned therein include this province. Assuming also that it was so included within the dominions of that king, it is difficult to understand what the army of Vaijayanti had

to do with the Lord of Benākāṭa in Govardhana.¹³⁷ On the whole, therefore, it seems preferable to take vejayantiye as meaning 'victorious' rendering senāye vejayantiye as 'of the victorious army.'

Although M. Senart took Govadhanasa with Benākāṭakasvāmi he observed: "It seems, however, much more probable that it must be construed with skandāvārāt. The sequence of words would then appear somewhat less regular; but the presence of another genitive, senāye vejayantiye may have caused Govadhanasa to be placed after skandāvārāt." We might also add that the love for alliteration was no less responsible. The first line in the inscription would then be translated thus: "Success! from the camp of victory in Govardhana of the victorious army, Siri Sādakaṇi, Lord of Benākāṭaka, commands..."

In order to deserve a mention of the kind we have in inscription No. 3 at Nasik, Benākāṭaka must have been a place of great importance; it has not been yet identified, however, and all that we learn about it is that it was somewhere in the Nasik district, a deduction based exclusively on the mention in the inscription as Benākāṭaka of Govardhana. If the interpretation of the first line in the inscription, as suggested above, be accepted, we shall have to look for Benākāṭaka outside the district of Govardhana.

It must be remembered that the order which forms the subject matter of inscription No. 3 at Nasik was issued by Gautamīputra Sātakaṇi immediately after his conquest of Mahārāṣṭra from the Kṣaharātas. The battle which resulted in their defeat made him the master of Dakṣiṇāpatha and even of countries beyond. In the first grant which he issued after this battle, we cannot expect him to call himself the master of all these countries. A new conqueror is known by his old designations for some days. While making his first grant to commemorate his victory, the king is

¹³⁷ Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. xlv. He regards that the army had encamped at Vaijyanti and at the same time observes that the inser. indicates transfer of government to the Sātavāhanas. If, obviously, the transfer had recently taken place the army could hardly have returned to Banvāsi; and as Southern Mahārāṣṭra was all along under the Sātavāhanas, the battle between them and the Kṣaharātas could not have taken place round about Banvāsi.

obviously mentioning his original possessions, the country over which he was ruling before the extirmination of the Kṣaharātas. At one time, masters of the whole of the Dakṣiṇāpāṭha, the Sātavāhanas were driven out of their possessions by the advancing hoards of the Śaka-Pallavas. For at least half a century, they were ruling over a part of Southern Mahārāṣṭra; and when Gautamīputra re-established the glory of the Sātavāhana family by driving out the Kṣaharātas, he naturally described himself as the lord of the country over which he was ruling during the period when the fortunes of his glorious family were on the decline. The fact that he styles himself as the Lord of Benākaṭaka should really lead us to the inference that while the Kṣaharātas were in possession of N. Mahārāṣṭra, the Sātavāhanas were ruling over the tract of country which was known as Benākaṭaka.

That Benākaṭaka had some connection with the Beṇā was recognised by M. Senart himself; for while considering the two readings, Benākaṭa and Dhanakaṭa he observes, "Of the two readings, Benākaṭa seems to me to be the better secured one. I should like to introduce it here. In No. 40, line 2, we shall find a river, Karabeṇū. Several Beṇās are known. Benākaṭa is, therefore, quite satisfactory." The word Benākaṭaka is composed of two words, Benā and kaṭaka. Benā was obviously the name of a river; and kaṭaka means a girdle, a valley, a dale, a table-land, etc. The whole word appears to indicate the country watered by the river Beṇā; and we will now try to ascertain which of the several Beṇās is meant here.

M. Senart was right when he observed that there are several Beṇās known to us; we know of three Beṇās, one is a tributary of the Kṛṣṇā, the other is a tributary of the Godavari, the Wain-Ganga, and the third is the Kṛṣṇā itself.¹³⁸ The Mahābhārata¹³⁹ mentions the Veṇā as next to the Godavari. It also mentions the Kṛṣṇaveṇā, or the Kṛṣṇaveṇī. Our modern Veṇā is a tributary of the Kṛṣṇā; and it is probable that the main stream was known as Veṇā, then as Kṛṣṇaveṇā and finally as Kṛṣṇā, the name

¹³⁸ Nandoolal Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 29.

¹³⁹ Bhīṣmap. ix. 20, 28, 33; Sabhāp. 16.

Veṇā, being given to its tributary. Thus there can hardly be any doubt that in ancient times the Kṛṣṇā was also known as the Veṇā. There was yet one more river which was known by the same name, the river Wain-Ganga which is a tributary of the Godavari; and we shall have to consider whether Benākaṭaka refers to this river.

We have tried to show above that the dominions of Nahapāna stretched as far as Malva in the north, and Nahapāna himself ruled over Ākara, Vidarbha, Aśmaka and Mūḷaka; and the mention of these countries in the inscription of Balaśri at Nasik shows that they were wrested from the Kṣaharātas by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. And as all the northern provinces were under the rule of the Kṣaharātas, it is not possible that Gautamīputra ruled over the country watered by the Wain-Ganga.¹⁴⁰ Southern Mahārāṣṭra was not under the Kṣaharātas; and after the conquest of Northern Mahārāṣṭra by the Kṣaharātas, a portion of Southern Mahārāṣṭra must have continued with the Sātavāhanas. That portion was probably Benākaṭaka, the hilly district watered by the river Kṛṣṇā. Over this district ruled the Sātavāhanas during the days of their faded glory; and it was hence that Gautamīputra issued forth to reconquer his ancestral regions. For more than half a century the Sātavāhanas were unknown in the district of Govardhana; no wonder then that a prince of that dynasty who reconquered the country after such a long time, should introduce himself to the Buddhist mendicants on the Tiraśmi Hills as the Lord of Benākaṭaka.

As an instance that similar names were current, we may point to Karad in the Bombay Presidency. That it was originally the name of a country is evidenced by the Mahabhārata.¹⁴¹ An inscription on the Barahut Stupa, No. 705 of Lüder's list,

¹⁴⁰ The name Kṛṣṇaveṇā is met with in the Hathigumphā inscription of Khāravela; but Mr. Jayaswal regards it as identical with the Modern Wain-Ganga. It cannot, however, be denied that Kaṇhaveṇā was a name of the Kṛṣṇā as well; for a Raṣṭrakūṭa grant of Karṇamahārāja found at Karād in Satara district mentions a Kaṇhavaṇṇānadi which is obviously the Kṛṣṇā. (*Ep. Ind.* 4, 282 ff.). It is even probable that the river mentioned in the Khāravela inscription is the modern Kṛṣṇā; for the Muśika country appears to be a part of the Malabār coast between Quilon and Cape Camorin (*Fleet, Bom. Gaz.* Vol. 1, part 2, p. 281; *JBORS.* 4, 374 f.).

records the grant of the Karahakatakanigama.¹⁴¹ Kuḍā inscription No. 18 also mentions Karahakaḍaka.¹⁴² It is obvious, therefore, that the name Karahakataka was the original name. Not far from Karad and certainly included in the country which went by that name in ancient times is a river known as Kera, as spelt on the map, but which the inhabitants still pronounce as Karhā. That the origin of the name of this country is to be traced to the name of this river can now hardly be in doubt. Karahakataka meant, as it were, the girdle of the river Kera, and this name was later corrupted into Karahāṭa from which we get our modern Karād. The modern name, Varhād (Berar) owes its origin in the same way to the river Varadā which flows through it.¹⁴³

We have shown that Benākaṭaka denotes the country watered by the Kṛṣṇā; it remains yet to identify the exact position of this country. The Harivaṃśa while enumerating the kingdoms founded by each of the Pañcaputras says :

padmavarṇo'pi rājarṣis Sahyapṛṣṭhe purottamam
cakāra nadyā Veṇāyās tīre tarulatākule
viṣayasyūpatām jñātvā sarṃpūrṇam rāṣṭram eva ca
niveśayāmāsa nṛpas sarvaprāyama anuttamam
padmāvataṃ janapadaṃ karavīraṃ ca tatpuraṃ
nimittaṃ Padmavarṇena Prājāpatyena karmaṇā.¹⁴⁴

It seems from this that the kingdom of Padmavarṇa which was on the banks of the Veṇā and the table-lands of the Sahyagiri included Karavīra, the modern Kolhapur country. Kaṭaka also means a table-land and it is not improbable that the Kolhapur country which was on the Sahyapṛṣṭha and the banks of the Veṇā, the modern Kṛṣṇā, was the Benākaṭaka referred to in the inscription.

The ancient name of Kolhapur was Kollapura¹⁴⁵; and curiously enough this name is mentioned in a grant of the Vākā-

¹⁴¹ Barua and Sinha, *Barahut Inscri.*, p. 33; see also pp. 11, 12, 17, 34 also Mahābhārata, Sabhā, pp. 32, 72.

¹⁴² No. 1055 of Lüders' list.

¹⁴³ Kane, *Ancient Geography of Mahārāṣṭra*, p. 32, n. 5.

¹⁴⁴ Harivaṃśa, adh. 38, verse 24.

¹⁴⁵ Fleet, *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. 1, part 1, p. 538.

ṭakas, the Seoni copper-plate grant of the Vākāṭaka king Mahārāja Pravarasena which is placed by Fleet in circa 430 A.D.¹⁴⁶ The plate is known as the Seoni copper-plate grant ; but Dr. Fleet himself has observed that there is no indication as to where the plate was originally found. It records the grant of a village named Brahmapuraka which was in the Beṇṇākārparabhāga. The village was to the east of Kollapura. Bühler with reference to this grant observed that he was not in a position to identify the places mentioned therein ; but the document contains an allusion to Beṇagaṅgā, Wain-Gaṅgā on the maps, which flowing southwards falls into the Pāṇagaṅgā.¹⁴⁷ Dr. Fleet could only identify Kollapura with the modern Kolāpur near Amraoti in Berar. But this place is in no way contiguous to the river Wain-Gaṅgā ; and it could not possibly have been included in the territory which derived its name from that river. We have said above that several rivers are known which bear the name Beṇā or Veṇā. If the grant were found at Seoni and the places mentioned therein could all be traced in Central India, in the country which was contiguous to the river Beṇā or Wain-Gaṅgā, we shall not be in a position to doubt that the Beṇā referred to here is the Wain-Gaṅgā. As it is, however, none of the places, except perhaps the very doubtful identification of Kolapur, being identified and, further, there being no indication of the place where the plate was originally found, we must pause and consider which of the several Beṇās is referred to here. The district in which the village granted was situated is here called Beṇṇākārparabhāga ; and Bühler changes Bhāga to Bhoga meaning an Ināmi district or Zilla. If, however, we can regard the Beṇā referred to here as the one in Southern Mahārāṣṭra, we shall further have more substantial evidence to regard Benākāṭaka as the country watered by the Kṛṣṇā, the tract round about modern Kolhapur.

The main reason why Bühler and Fleet regarded the Beṇā referred to here as the Wain-Gaṅgā was that until recently, the Vākāṭakas were regarded as a dynasty in Central India. The

¹⁴⁶ Fleet, *Gupta Inscrs.* 244 f.

¹⁴⁷ *ASWJ.* 4, 117 f.

Poona Plate¹⁴⁸ of the Vakāṭaka queen, Prabhāvati Guptā grants a village in the Supraṭiṣṭhāhāra, which means, of course, the district round the modern Paithan. "The inclusion of the Supraṭiṣṭhāhāra," observes Hemchandra Ray Chaudhari, "in the Vākāṭaka territory proves that the Vākāṭakas were not merely a dynasty of Berar but ruled over a considerable part of Mahārāṣṭra. The dynasty lasted from about 300-500 A.D. ; it is no longer correct to say that for some three centuries after the extinction of the Āndhra dynasty, we have no specific information about the dynasties that ruled over the country, that is, Mahārāṣṭra".¹⁴⁹

A further proof of the fact that the Vākāṭakas ruled over Mahārāṣṭra is furnished by the Ajanta inscription of the Vākāṭaka king Prthiviṣeṇa who, it records, conquered the country of Kuntala.¹⁵⁰ "In my opinion Kuntala may be roughly described as the country from the Bhīmā and the Kṛṣṇā to some distance beyond the Tuṅgabhadrā and included Kolhapur and other Southern Maratha States such as Miraj, Belgaum and the Dharwar districts, a portion of the Nizam's dominions and of the Mysore State and the North Kanara".¹⁵¹ The exact extent of Kuntala is not yet ascertained; but the stone-tablet inscription¹⁵² at a shrine of the god Basavaṇṇā, at the temple of the god Someśvara, on the north side of the village of Yewur or Yehur in the Sorapur Ilakha on the eastern frontier of the Kaladgi District describes the Kuntalaviṣaya as follows :—

vikhyātakṛṣṇavernṇātūlasnehopalubdhasaratvaḥ

Kuntalaviṣayo nitarām virājate mallikāmodaḥ

The district of Kuntala is here described as having attained fertility through the moisture of the celebrated river Kṛṣṇavernṇā, which is the same as the modern Kṛṣṇā or, as we have shown above the Veṇā or Beṇā of ancient times. Whatever, therefore, the

¹⁴⁸ *Ep. Ind.* 15, 39.

¹⁴⁹ *Ind. Ant.* 1920, 174.

¹⁵⁰ See Dubreuil, *Ancient Hist. Deccan*, p. 71 ; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Inst.* 5, 35 ff.

¹⁵¹ Kane, *Ancient Geography of Mahārāṣṭra*, p. 38.

¹⁵² *Ind. Ant.* 1879, 17.

extent of Kuntala, it is certain that it included the country which attained fertility through the moisture of the river Kṛṣṇā or Veṇā.

The country of Kuntala, as we have said above, was conquered by the Vākāṭaka king Pṛthiviṣeṇa, son of Rudrasena. The Seoni grant referred to above was of the time of Pravarasena II, who came after Rudrasena II, the successor of Pṛthiviṣeṇa I. who is referred to in the Ajanta inscription as the conqueror of Kuntala. Prabhāvati Guptā of the Poona copper plates was the queen of Rudrasena II and was ruling as regent for her son Divākarasena, who might have died shortly or ascended the throne as Pravarsena II. At the time of Pravarsena II, the Vākāṭaka kingdom included a greater portion of Mahārāṣṭra, an inference which is supported by the Ajanta inscription which says that one of his predecessor defeated the Kuntalendra,¹⁵³ by the Poona copper-plate which mentions the Supratīṣṭhāhāra, and the Ajanta inscription which says that one of his successors was the Lord of Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa, Kosala, and Āndhra.¹⁵⁴ Since Mahārāṣṭra was under the Vākāṭakas during this period, it is highly probable that the Beṇṇākārparabhāga mentioned in the Seoni grant is the country watered by the Beṇa or the modern Kṛṣṇā and Kollapura mentioned in that grant is the modern Kolhapur in Southern Mahārāṣṭra.

A further corroboration of this inference is furnished by the fact that the same grant mentions Brahmapuraka, which was probably a village at the foot of the hill known to this day as Brahmapurī, a hill on which many antiquarian remains have been traced. Neither Dr. Fleet nor any other scholar has identified the places mentioned in the grant; perhaps this was due to the view which prevailed so long that the Vākāṭakas were a dynasty of Central India.

If Beṇṇākārparabhāga of the Vākāṭaka grant was in Southern Mahārāṣṭra, that is, the country round about the modern Kolhapur, which was watered by the river Kṛṣṇa, it can be easily identified

¹⁵³ *ASFI*, 4, Kuntalendram vijitya Pṛthiviṣeṇah (the lacuna have been supplied).

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid* : sa Kuntālavanti-kaliṅgakosalatrikūṭalātāndhra.

with that tract of country that was known long before the Vākā-
 takas as Benākāṭaka, the country which looked, as it were, like
 the girdle of the river Beṇā. As it was in Southern Mahārāṣṭra
 and as the inscriptions of the Kṣaharātas do not give any
 indications of that country being included in their dominions, the
 epigraphic evidence also does not conflict with this identification.

We may also point out that in another inscription, No. 3 at
 Nasik, Pandit Bhagvanlal read :

Sātakaninā chato Binikaṭavāsakahi hathachatā datā
 paṭikā.

The document has been touched by the king in Binikaṭavāsaka
 and the plate touched by the hand is given. . .¹⁵⁵ The Pandit adds
 in a note that it appears to have been the custom for the king to
 touch a document after it was completed and as regards the phrase,
 Binikaṭavāsaka, he says that vāsaka seems to stand for canton-
 ment and this is probably the same place as Benākāṭaka. M.
 Senart, no doubt, rejected this reading; the visible traces made
 it a puzzle to him how Pandit Bhagvanlal made such a restoration.
 But as M. Senart himself has proposed no other reading, we shall
 assume that Pandit Bhagvanlal read the line correctly. So this
 Benākāṭaka where the king touched the plate, that is, where he
 probably made the formal grant which was engraved in the cave
 later, was the same of which he styles himself as the Lord in Nasik
 inscription No. 4. Inscription No. 3 referred to above is dated in the
 22nd regnal year of Puḷumāvi and records that the village of Sudiśānā
 given to the monks in the 19th regnal year of Puḷumāvi should be
 exchanged for the village of Sāmaliṭpada. The position of the
 inscription and the date of the first grant leave no doubt that
 Sāmaliṭpada is the same as Piśājipadka of inscription No. 2. No. 3
 is unfortunately mutilated in many places; yet its general meaning
 is unmistakable. It mentions Puḷumāvi in the beginning as Nava-
 narasvāmi and proceeding to mention the original grant it says :

Ya ambhehi sava 19 gi pa diva 13 dhanakaṭasāminehi ya etha
 pavate tiraṅhumhi.

The lacuna leaves us in doubt as to the exact bearing of the
 word Dhanakaṭasāminehi. M. Senart is inclined to introduce the

¹⁵⁵ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. 10, pp. 555, 557, 635.

word, Benākāṭaka for Dhanakāṭa; and as regards saminehi, it is preferable to read sāmiyehi since *ya* and *na* are so very similar in Brāhmī as to be easily mistaken for one another. The phrase Benākāṭasamiyehi, would, therefore, mean "by the Lord of Benākāṭa."

In inscription No. 3 Pulumāvi styles himself as the Lord of Navanara; and Navanara has been generally admitted to be the name of his new capital. The question remains, "What was his old capital?" The fact that he does not style himself as Navanarasvāmi in inscription No. 2 and that in inscription No. 3 wherein he repeats the grant in No. 2, he styles himself as Benākāṭasvāmi, as shown above, and the mention further at the end of inscription No. 3 that the original document granting the village of Sāmalipada was touched by the king while at Binikāṭa, all these lead to the inference that Pulumāvi had his capital at Benākāṭaka till about his 19th regnal year. The peculiar significance of the title, Navanarasvāmi, will now be fully appreciated. Between the 19th and 22nd regnal years of Pulumāvi, the capital of the Sātavāhanas was shifted to Paiṭhan. The capital of the Early Sātavāhanas was at Paiṭhan; and after the conquest of N. Maharāṣṭra by the Kṣaharātas, it was taken to Benākāṭaka. After the defeat of the Kṣaharātas, Gautamīputra lived for only four years; and he could not have during that short period shifted his capital back to Paiṭhan after rebuilding it, for it is natural to expect that the Kṣaharātas, when they conquered the Sātavāhanas, had also destroyed their capital. Pulumāvi rebuilt it and took his headquarters there in his 22nd regnal year and as he had to rebuild it, he called it Navanara. Ptolemy when he refers to Siro Polomeios of Baithan refers evidently to this period after the transfer of the capital to Paiṭhan was effected.

V

THE KSTRAPAS OF UJJAIN AND THEIR RELATION WITH THE SATAVAHANAS.

We had to refer above to some of the Ujjain Kṣatrapas who are also popularly known as Western Kṣatrapas. It is proposed

to give below a brief but connected account of the first three Kṣatrapas of this dynasty.

It has been generally assumed that these Kṣatrapas were Satraps of the Kushana sovereigns in the North. The Kṣatrapa princes themselves might have been of Parthian origin as observed by Prof. Rapson;¹⁵⁶ but the period that can be assigned to them points undoubtedly to the Kushana sovereigns as their overlords. If the Śaka era was started by one of the Kushana kings, as maintained by some scholars, the use of that era on the coins and inscriptions of these Satraps would set at rest any doubts on this question.

Although the first two Satraps of this dynasty issued coins which have been recovered, it was the third Kṣatrapa, Rudradāmani who has left any epigraphic record. The earliest date in his inscriptions is the 52nd year;¹⁵⁷ and the latest date is the 72nd year¹⁵⁸ which means that he ruled from 130 A.D. to 150 A.D. The inscriptions of this Satrap give the geneology of the dynasty and it seems therefrom that the first Satrap was Caṣṭaṇa. He was, therefore, the founder of the dynasty. He is called in the inscription a Mahākṣatrapa, and, as Ptolemy informs us, was a contemporary of Pulunāvi. On his coins Caṣṭaṇa figures both as a Kṣatrapa and also as a Mahākṣatrapa.¹⁵⁹ The peculiar significance of the title, Mahākṣatrapa, has been pointed out above; those who were Kṣatrapas were subordinate to the Mahākṣatrapas or some foreign kings who conquered them. The period during which Caṣṭaṇa ruled as a Kṣatrapa was probably not considerable he soon attained independence and struck coins on which he styled himself as a Mahākṣatrapa. He ruled over Malva, Gujerat and Kathiawar; and Rapson has assigned to him and his successors the period between 124-150 A.D. It will be necessary in the light of the information supplied by the Andhau inscription, to carry the date of the origin of the dynasty to the last quarter of the first century A.D. It was Cunningham who first suggested that

¹⁵⁶ Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. cxiii.

¹⁵⁷ Andhau inscr. of Rudradāman.

¹⁵⁸ Junagadh inscr. of Rudradāman, *Ep. Ind.* 8, 42.

¹⁵⁹ Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. 72 ff.

Caṣṭaṇa was the founder of the Śāka era; and although his suggestion was generally rejected by scholars, the dates he assigned to Rudradāman, the third Satrap, have been confirmed by later researches.¹⁶⁰

Jayadāman, the successor of Caṣṭaṇa, figures both on inscriptions and coins¹⁶¹ as a Kṣatrapa only. This indicates that he owed fealty to some other king. Such a king was probably one of the Sātavāhanas; and we have shown above that it was in all probability Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi who subjugated Jayadāman. We are confirmed in this view because Jayadāman's predecessor was Caṣṭaṇa, who was a contemporary of Puḷumāvi, who was succeeded by Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi.

Jayadāman was followed by Rudradāman, who ruled from about 125 A.D. to 150 A.D.¹⁶² In the Junāgadh inscription he calls himself svayam adhigatamahākṣatrapanāman¹⁶³ which shows that he regained the independence which was lost by his father. He twice defeated Sātakarṇi, the Lord of the Dakṣināpatha; and, as he says, he left him unharmed on account of the nearness of the relationship.¹⁶⁴ This, if read in conjunction with the Kanheri inscription, will enable us to ascertain the sambandha between Rudradāman and Sātakarṇi. We have shown in the last section that the Sātakarṇi he defeated was probably Yajñaśri Sātakarṇi, the last Sātavāhana king whose coins are found in Kathiawar. The place where the inscription of Rudradāman dated in the 52nd year was found and after which it is known, is situated in Kutch; and this indicates that Rudradāman conquered Kutch and a part of Gujerat certainly before the 52nd year, that is, 150 A.D. Mr. Banerji observes that the territories mentioned in the Junāgadh inscription of that Satrap were conquered before 130 A. D.¹⁶⁵ No such inference can be drawn, however, from the mere inclusion

¹⁶⁰ Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 104 ff.

¹⁶¹ Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. 76; see also *Ind. Ant.* 1911 for his copper coins.

¹⁶² Dates assigned by Cunningham.

¹⁶³ *Ep. Ind.* 8, 44. Line 15 of the inscr.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* line 12 of the inscr.

¹⁶⁵ *JRAS.* 1917, 295.

of Cutch, the province where the inscription was found, amongst the countries mentioned in the Junāgadh inscription. The conquest of Kutch implies the conquest of Surāṣṭra and Gujerat; and these provinces were certainly conquered by Rudradāman before 130 A.D. That means that the first defeat he inflicted on the Sātavāhanas was before this year. The second defeat of the Sātavāhanas took place subsequently, probably between 130-145 A.D.; and after this event the Sātavāhanas abandoned Mahāraṣṭra and retired to the Krishna and Godavari Districts.

The predecessor of Rudradāman must have ruled for about fifteen years, from 110 to 125 A.D. approximately; and to the first Satrap of the dynasty, Caṣṭana, we can assign the period between 86-110 A. D. We believe that it is not possible to place Caṣṭana's conquest of Gujerat and Mālva in 78 A.D.; and thus make him, with Cunningham and M. Dubreuil, the founder of the Śaka era.¹⁰⁶ Apart from the fact that the founder of this era was one of the Kushana kings in the North-West, probably Wima-Kadphises who was ruling in 78 A.D. as disclosed by Sir John Marshall's discovery of the Taxila inscription or Kanīṣka, who succeeded Wima-Kadphises in that year according to Rapson,¹⁰⁷ it becomes difficult to distribute the period, 78-130 A.D., between Caṣṭana and Jayadāman. There is a general consensus of opinion amongst scholars that the period of Jayadāman's reign was a very short one on account of the extreme rareness of his coins.¹⁰⁸ Although he certainly ruled for more than three years, the period assigned to him by Pandit Bhagvanlal,¹⁰⁹ and the rarity of his coins might be due partly to his subservience to the Lord of the Deccan, implying disturbed political atmosphere, it is hazardous to assign more than 15 years to his reign. That being the case, the date of Caṣṭana must be taken to be 85-110 A.D., since the assumption that he ruled from 78 A.D. would result in assigning to him a rule of 32 years which is, indeed, rare. For the Kushana sovereign who

¹⁰⁶ *Ind. Ant.* 1923, 82 ff.; Cunningham, *Coins of India*, pp. 104 ff.

¹⁰⁷ *Cambridge History of India*, 1, 581 ff.

¹⁰⁸ *JBBRAS*, 20, 280.

¹⁰⁹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. 1, part 1.

founded the Śāka era on his accession, it would have taken five years at least to establish his Satrapy in the far of Malva.

Having ascertained the dates of the first three Kṣatrapas, we shall proceed to determine their relationship with the Sātavāhanas. We have shown in the last section that it was Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi who could have married Rudradāman's daughter. He could not have been Puḷunāvi, because Caṣṭaṇa and Puḷunāvi were, according to the reference in Ptolemy, contemporaries. We have three other Vaśiṣṭhīputras after Puḷunāvi; of whom Candraśri, we have said, was undoubtedly a later king. Of the other two, Śivaśri and Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, the fact that the former ruled in the Āndhradeśa disposes of the possibility of his being the prince referred to in the Kanheri epigraph. The only other king who remains is Catarapana Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi; and whatever the word Catarapana may mean, the name Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi confirms Bühler's and Bhagvanlal's conjecture that he is the king who married Rudradāman's daughter.¹⁷⁰ Puḷunāvi had lost Gujerat and Kathiawar; and Yajñaśri, we find, possessed them. These provinces must, therefore, have been conquered by some king who was intermediate between them; and this was Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi. Looking to the Western Kṣatrapas, we find that Caṣṭaṇa was first a Kṣatrapa and then a Mahākṣatrapa, Jayadāman was a Kṣatrapa only and Rudradāman was again a Mahākṣatrapa. Does this not indicate that Jayadāman lost a part of the territory he inherited from his father, Caṣṭaṇa, and became a vassal and hence a mere Kṣatrapa of some other king? And would not the fact that Yajñaśri's coins have been found in Kathiawar point to him or his immediate predecessor as the king who subjugated Jayadāman? The name of Yajñaśri's mother was Gautamī; he was not, therefore, the king who married Rudradāman's daughter. It must have been Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi who conquered Jayadāman and married his granddaughter. With our knowledge of the chronology of the Sātavāhanas, this inference cannot be corroborated by the dates assigned to the Sātavāhana king who entered into this alliance. But since, as we have said, Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi was the immediate

successor of Puḷumāvi, who was a contemporary of Caṣṭaṇa, it is possible that Vaśiṣṭhīputra was a contemporary of Caṣṭaṇa's successor, Jayadāman. The portrait on Rudradāman's coin of variety (b) is of an older man than on the coins of variety (a).¹⁷¹ This portrait on coin No. 271 figured in Rapson's Catalogue as of variety (a) shows an old man; and that on coins of variety (b) shows an older man still. This indicates, if it can indicate anything, that Rudradaman did not succeed his father while young. He rose to power when he was about forty years in age; and yet ruled for about twenty-five years thereafter. There is nothing improbable in this and the portraits on the coins support this inference. And now, having seen this, we can easily understand how Vaśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi could marry his daughter. It was perhaps one of those marriages which are not infrequent in the history of this country, especially of Malva and Rajputana, which take place more or less as a political necessity. Seeing that the Sātavāhana king had conquered Gujerat and Kathiawar, Jayadāman made peace with him by offering him his grand-daughter. Even the father of the bride had to acquiesce; but avenged himself nobly for this wrong a few years later by driving the successors of his son-in-law not only out of Gujerat and Kathiawar, but also out of Aparānta and Mahārāṣṭra. And yet he left him unbarred considering his relationship with him, an act of grace which added to the popularity and the greatness of this great Satrap.

(To be continued.)

¹⁷¹ Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. 79, n. 2; Plate IX.

THE BAPPA BHATTI CARITA AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE GURJARA EMPIRE

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THE WORK *Prabhāvākacarita*, written by Candraprabhā Sūri, is a work which purports to give the lives of the Jaina saints extending over a very considerable period of time. They profess to be biographical in character, and are based on the material preserved by a continuous tradition among the Jainas. Among these the life of Bappa Bhaṭṭi contains details of a historical character, and has been drawn upon freely by scholars dealing with the history of the period. It would be of some value, therefore, to consider the whole account with a view to appraising its historical value, as it has come to be regarded as a source of great authority chronologically and otherwise. That we are not overstating the matter will be clear from the following extracts from the works of scholars who have utilised the material.

Dr. Klatt who has given a summary account of the Tūpagaccha Puṭṭāvali, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. 11, p. 253, has the following extract and note on page 253 :—“ 1270 (V) or Sam. 800, Bhādra Śukla, 3 Bappa Bhaṭṭi,¹ who converted king Āma was born ; died 1365 V, or Sam. 895, Bhādra Śukla, 6.” It will be seen from the extract that the precise *Samvat* dates are borrowed from the *Prabhāvākacarita*, as also the matter incorporated in the note.

The next in order is a note which occurs in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. 14, p. 179, note 3. Here Pandit Gaurisankar Hirachand Ojha, editing an inscription of Gūrjara Mahendrapāla II, has the following note : “ The *Prabhāvākacarita* speaks of the death of king Nāgāvaloka of Kānyakubja, the grandfather of Bhoja, as taking place in Sam. 890 (A.D. 833-34)”. (*Nirṇaya Sāgara* edition, page 177, v. 720-725.)

¹ At this time lived Vākpatirāja at Lakṣaṇāvati (in Gauḍadēśa) author of *Gauḍavadha* and king Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja. See *Prabhāvākacarita* XI.

The Nāgāvaloka of the Prabhāvākacarita can be identified with no other than Nāgabhaṭa II of Kanauj, and the date seems to be accurate, as the first known date of Bhoja is A.D. 843.

The next one is from the article on the Gūrjara Pratihāras by Dr. R. C. Majumdar of the Dacca University. On page 45 of Volume 10, of the *Journal of the Department of Letters* of the Calcutta University, occurs the following sentence:—"As regards the Gūrjara Pratihāra power, we learn from a Jaina Book, Prabhāvākacarita, that king Nāgāvaloka of Kānyakubja, the grandfather of Bhoja died in 890 (V. S.) and this Nāgāvaloka has been rightly identified with Nāgabhaṭa II." Dr. Majumdar quotes for authority the extract given above from the *Epigraphia Indica*.

These extracts make it clear that the first accepts the dates as confirming that of the Paṭṭāvali, the two others make also certain identifications on the basis of the statements in this work. Can we accept these as altogether beyond question? That is the point that we shall investigate in what follows.

As a rule, writings of this kind, wherever found, partake more or less of the character of what may perhaps be described as legendary history as they necessarily incorporate in them a considerable amount of the miraculous as almost essential parts of the scheme. The really miraculous side of it is somewhat subdued in this account, and it may be easily separated from what may really be historical. Divested of all miraculous matter, the history of Bappa Bhaṭṭi, as recorded in this work, may be considered as a whole. In the city of Pāṭala in Gujarat there lived a venerable Jaina saint Siddhasena, by name, of great fame among the Jainas, respected even by monarchs for his learning. While sleeping in the temple of Mahāvira on the occasion of a visit to it, he dreamt that a lion cub was playing about on the top of the temple spire, which, when he awoke, he interpreted to the assembly of the orthodox the next morning as indicating the accession to the Saṅgha, the Jain body of monks, of a lad of extraordinary intelligence. Next morning while he went into the temple for worship, after performing the three rounds, he saw there a lad of about six, by himself alone. To the question who he was and where he came from, he gave the answer that he

belonged to the Pancāladeśa, was the son of a man by name Bhaṭṭi ; and that his mother's name was Vapyā (Bappā). Having been prevented by his affectionate father from his continuing in the destruction of his enemies, with the name Śūrāpāla, as his father did not quite understand that, in the performance of the heroic, age is a matter of no consequence, he came away to the presence of the holy one out of sheer affection for being there.²

The saintly Siddhasena, seeing the beaming intelligence of the lad, assented and allowed him to live with the Saṅgha. After a year of stay, the ācārya admitted him to the Saṅgha by giving him the *dīkṣā* and the name Bhadrakīrti. At the request of the father however, he allowed the lad to be known and spoken of by the name of Bappa Bhaṭṭi which combined in it the names of both his father and mother. The boy continued to reside with the Saṅgha receiving his education from the seniors there.

Once upon a time, owing to rain, the lad went for shelter into a temple ; a young boy looking like one from heaven, also came there. Lad Bappa Bhaṭṭi kept reading works in Sanskrit to while away the tedium of waiting. While so occupied, he interpreted what he read to the other to whom he was attracted by his looks. The Prince in his turn felt equally drawn to the other as a result of his extraordinary intelligence. They became friends in consequence, and when the rain gave over they went back together to Bappa Bhaṭṭi's residence. The elders of the assembly offered their blessings to the new arrival, and enquired who he was. Somewhat shame-faced at having to give an account of himself, the boy detailed his illustrious birth by stating that he was the son of Yaśovarman, the illustrious ruler of Kānyakubja, who was the head-jewel of the famous dynasty of Candragupta, by whom was made illustrious the already illustrious family of the Mauryas. So saying he also wrote on the ground, with a piece of chalk, his name Āma. Closely scrutinising the boy, because of his illustrious looks and parentage, some of the elders of the assembly recollected that they had seen

² kaskaḥ kautaskutastavaṁ bho asau pṛṣṭas tadāvadat
pancāladeśa vapyākhyaputro'haṁ Bhaṭṭidehabhūḥ
śūrāpālākhyayā śātrūn nighnan pitrā nivāritāḥ
ajānateti vātsalyādaheotur vikrame vayaḥ.

him, as a baby of six months, in a place called Rāmasainya, where they learnt from his mother that she was the queen of Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja, and that she was there leading the life of an exile having had to give up her position as chief queen through the intrigues of a co-wife. Not willing to go to her parents as a neglected wife she chose to live in the forests although she was enciente. After a few months of forest life she had the baby. The co-wife having come to her deserved end, Yaśovarman called her back again and installed her in her due place. Having recollected these details and seeing the illustrious look of the boy, they told him to live with his companion Bappa Bhaṭṭi in the Jaina hermitage, and asked him to learn as quickly as he could all the arts that were being taught to the young novitiates there. He picked up with remarkable rapidity all the seventy-two Kalās and the more important branches of learning came to him without particular effort on his part. Through this continuous course of life with Bappa Bhaṭṭi, the boy's affection for him grew to such a degree that he told him that, if ever he succeeded to the throne, he would make over his kingdom to his friend. A few years after, the father sent for him for installing him as a ruler. The chief officials of the court obtained permission with great difficulty to take the lad away to his father. When, in course of time, king Yaśovarman died, Prince Āma performed the due funeral ceremonies for his late father, and sent some of his ministers to bring Bappa Bhaṭṭi from Gujarat. They obtained permission with the greatest difficulty, and brought Bappa Bhaṭṭi from Moṭera. Āma received him with royal honours. After some stay there, Bappa Bhaṭṭi was sent with a suitable escort to the saint Siddhasena at Moṭera with a request that Bappa Bhaṭṭi may be initiated into the mysteries of Jainism, and sent back to Kanauj as a Jain Ācārya. Although Siddhasena was unwilling to part with such a brilliant lad, he at last yielded when it was pointed out to him that it was the cardinal teaching of Jainism that Jaina saints lived for the benefit of others and not for their own selfish ends. Siddhasena, therefore, taught him the Arhattatva (the secret teachings of Jainism) and other accessory arts required for a regular full-blown Jaina teacher in A.D. 754 (in V. S. 811 Caitra, Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī). After this the principal minister of Āma took leave

of Siddhasena and brought Bappa Bhaṭṭi over to Kanauj again. As soon as he reached the outskirts of the city Āma arranged for his royal entry into the town, placed him on the royal throne, and conducted himself as his humble servant.

While living at court, Bappa Bhaṭṭi took occasion to point out that the performance of acts of Dharma was the only way to attain to a good life hereafter, and in such deeds of charity he pointed out the most important was the building of temples to Jina in the seven holy places. Next to that was the making of statues of Jina and placing them in these temples. Then came the getting of the holy books on Jainism written out. Then came in order the kind and respectful treatment of the four orders of the Jains. Among these good deeds the best is, of course, the building of Jain temples as the Śrutas (those that actually heard the teaching) living in them were the upholders and teachers of Jainism. King Āma accepted the recommendation with all his heart, and issued orders for the provision of funds to the treasurer, and instructed his officers of the Works Department to put in hand the construction of a Jain temple at the capital. In a short time they completed the building, rising to a height of 101 hastas (hands literally). They also constructed for the temple a golden statue of Vardhamāna weighing 18 great weights (bhāra). Bappa Bhaṭṭi officiated at the installation of the image in the temple. Similarly at Gopagiri (Gwalior) Āmarāja got constructed another temple along with a statue of Jina rising to a height of sixty hastas. He also spent a lakh and a quarter of gold pieces in the construction of a pavilion. He got these constructed there "as if in his own kingdom." Bappa Bhaṭṭi continued to live in court after this, perpetually teaching humility and control of passion, and other virtues according to the Jain persuasion. Both of them being scholars of great ability, they whiled away their leisure time in propounding questions in a part verse, which were to be answered by completing the verse. In one of these intellectual contests, Bappa Bhaṭṭi gave an answer to a question propounded by the king regarding his queen which somewhat displeased the monarch. Noticing a change of countenance, Bappa Bhaṭṭi thought it best to leave the court, and took himself away without taking leave either of the king or the Saṅgha.

He left behind a verse written on the outer gate of his residence and travelled away from the country of Kānyakubja, and reached the capital of Bengal, Lakṣnavatī (Lakhnauti of the Muhammadan historians). Vākpatirāja, the head-jewel among the wise, the most excellent among writers of classical works, was there at the court of king Dharma of Bengal. Vākpatirāja intimated to the king of the arrival of the saintly Bappa Bhaṭṭi. King Dharma asked him to reside at his court on one condition, as a consequence of his long cherished great desire for war against king Āma of Kanauj. The condition was that Bappa Bhaṭṭi was to remain at his court and should not think of returning to Kanauj until king Āma should personally come to his court and invite the Jain saint to return. Bappa Bhaṭṭi agreed and stayed there as at the court of Āmar, respected by the king and admired of the learned at the court.

Disconcerted as Āma felt at the departure of his friend, his search for him was all in vain. He consoled himself as best he could, till some time after he came upon a very strange sight in one of his solitary wanderings. He was wandering about alone outside his capital when he saw a reddish cobra attacking a mongoose and killing it. He was struck with wonder at the achievement, and looking closer, discovered that the cobra carried on its head a jewel of uncommon brilliance. In order to examine it closer, he took hold of the cobra by the neck firmly and carried it home. Keeping it well secured, he went into the assembly and propounded a puzzle in the following words:

śāstram śāstram kṣīr vidyā anyo yo yena jivati

By what means could one manage to live other than by weapons of war, or science, or agriculture, or learning? All the efforts of the poets at court did not please him, and he therefore advertised that he would make a present of a lakh of gold pieces to him that would give a satisfactory solution. A gambler who had lost his all at dice was anxious to recover his position by this opportunity. He wandered far and wide in search of one who could give a satisfactory solution of the puzzle. He came at last to the court of Dharma at Lakhnauti, and hearing that Bappa Bhaṭṭi was there, appealed to him with profound reverence to help him out of his

position. Without hesitation Bappa Bhaṭṭi gave the solution that the hold must be made fast as in the case of the mouth of the kṛṣṇasarpa (dark cobra).³

So saying he gave the name Nāgāvaloka, to king Āma which thereafter became the title by which he was known "the world over." The gambler brought the half verse to king Āma, and obtained the prize, informing the king in reply to a question, that he got the answer from Bappa Bhaṭṭi, who was in residence at king Dharma's court. King Āma immediately sent some of his chief ministers to the court of Lakhnauti to fetch the sage. Bappa Bhaṭṭi sent back a message in verse that he was under an obligation not to leave the court of King Dharma except at the personal invitation of king Āma delivered at Dharma's court. He may assume some disguise and appear at the court if he wanted Bappa Bhaṭṭi to return to Kanauj. Āma immediately made up his mind to do so notwithstanding the fact that he was placing himself within the power of his mortal enemy by proceeding to the capital of Bengal. He mounted a fast camel, and went south to the banks of the Godāvārī. Staying there for a while in a temple of Khaṇḍadeva, he started again towards Lakṣhaṇavatī and arrived there in course of time. Assuming the guise of a betel bearer, he arrived at the court sending out in the meanwhile an invitation to Bappa Bhaṭṭi in proper form indicating how sorry he was at the parting from Bappa Bhaṭṭi. The sage read the letter couched in moving terms to the king. King Dharma asked the messenger what king Āma looked like. The messenger answered that he looked exactly like the betel-bearer beside him. Finding that the messenger had in his hand a pomegranate, Bappa Bhaṭṭi asked what he carried in his hand to which the messenger gave an answer in Prakrit that it was a bījapūra (full of seeds). When the messenger again showed a paper the sage pointing to the betel bearer said it was an aripatta (aripatra or letter from the enemy). When the messenger was dismissed and the court broke up, Āma took himself away from court, and having spent the night in a dancing woman's house, gave her for reward one of the bracelets that

³ sugṛhitam hi kartavyam kṛṣṇasarpamukham yathā.

he wore before he left early in the morning. He left the other at the gate called Indrakila, and took himself away from the capital. When the court assembled for the day Bappa Bhaṭṭi asked for permission to return to Kanauj. King Dharma evinced some surprise at the request and asked how it was that he wanted to go when the conditions had not been fulfilled.

Bappa Bhaṭṭi interpreted the verse and all that took place at court somewhat elaborately to indicate the true significance of what had actually taken place. It was only then that Dharma understood that Āma of Kanauj had been there at court, and blamed himself for having been so dense as not to be able to grasp the meaning of what took place at court, and in consequence for not having entertained his enemy with the hospitality due to a guest, or put him to death as a mortal enemy. Then Bappa Bhaṭṭi explained that Āmarāja was actually at court, and that he did actually make his invitation to him in the letter which he called *aripatra*, and the presence of two kings in the assembly was indicated when the messenger used the term 'Dora' (prakrit for two rajas) as part of his reply Bijapūra (Prakrit *Bijaūrāta*). While this colloquy was taking place, the chief of the guard brought the bracelet that was found at the gate and handed it over to the king. When the king looked at it, he found written on it the name Āma. Thus confirmed, he had no alternative but to let Bappa Bhaṭṭi go, the condition having been fulfilled.

Bappa Bhaṭṭi took leave of him, and soon was with Āma, in the outskirts of Lakhnauti. They soon arrived in Kanauj, and in a short time after, information came to court that Siddhasena at Moṭera was drawing near his end, and was meeting death by an act of voluntary starvation, as was the custom among the Jain saints. The messengers intimated that he desired to see Bappa Bhaṭṭi. Bappa Bhaṭṭi obtained leave to go to Moṭera and saw his Guru. He prayed Siddhasēna to confer upon him the Saṃnyāsa, the life of an ascetic. Siddhasēna, however, prevented him from assuming asceticism, but entrusted him with the management of a community, giving the particular offices of the headship of the gaccha and the saṅgha to Govindasūri and Nanna-

sūri respectively. After discharging the last duties to the saintly preceptor, Bappa Bhaṭṭi returned to the court of Āma at Kanauj. After this, some time was spent by the two together at Kanauj in their usual avocations when they received a messenger from king Dharma of Gauḍa (Bengal) with a commission from Dharma to invite king Āma and Bappa Bhaṭṭi for a disputation which he had arranged on the border of his kingdom adjoining that of King Āma. The messenger said in the words of his master, that there was a great Buddhist controversialist by name Vardhanakuñjara in his kingdom. He had sent out a challenge to controvert anybody that would meet him, and invited Āma and his court to be present at the controversy with those among his court Pandits who would like to accept the challenge. King Āma told the messenger that his master was anything but a suitable man to judge between controversialists, as he showed himself incapable of understanding that which was conveyed to him as plainly as circumstances admitted, of his own presence at his court. Notwithstanding this feature of king Dharma's judgment in learning, he would certainly accept the invitation if his own presence was desired by the King of Bengal. He, however, insisted on the condition that if, in controversy with the Buddhist divine of Bengal, his own nominee should win, then king Dharma should agree to surrender the whole of his kingdom (*saptāṅgam rājyam*). After some further conversation, he dismissed the ambassador with the message and suitable amenities. Dharma fixed up a place for the controversy and arranged for invitations to issue to all concerned. On the day appointed, everybody assembled at the place, and among them was Vākpatirāja "the head-jewel of the Kṣatriyas and born of the Paramāra clan of the Kṣatriyas." He was counted unparalleled among the learned, and was therefore particularly welcome on the occasion. A great learned assembly came together, and along with them Vardhanakuñjara. From Kānyakubja Āmarāja, Bappa Bhaṭṭi and other learned men arrived and installed themselves in a separate camp of their own. When the necessary arrangements of getting a learned meeting together were completed, the Saugata, the Buddhist controversialist, was asked to begin. He stated his case with great ability. Bappa Bhaṭṭi

took up the opposition with equal ability and the controversy continued for six months without reaching a conclusion. King Āma got impatient and asked Bappa Bhaṭṭi whether he had no thoughts of concluding the disputation. Bappa Bhaṭṭi with great confidence, told him that he could have silenced his opponent long ago, but as the assembly seemed interested, he was letting them have the pleasure of it. He promised that he would bring the controversy to a close the following day. Having taken upon himself this resolution, he went to bed praying to the goddess Sarasvati, and had a dream in which Sarasvati herself appeared as usual and explained to him the secret of the Buddhist controversialist's possession of a little pill which gave him facility of expression. She said it was a favour done by herself alone in response to his prayer, and if, by a device of washing the face and rinsing the mouth, he could be got to throw out his pill even by chance, the Buddhist would be at the end of his wits. Bappa Bhaṭṭi took care to mention it to Vākpatirāja, his friend. Vākpati arranged it in the course of the controversy that everybody was provided with water to wash himself, and Vardhanakuñjara also joined the rest. As was anticipated he threw out the pill by chance and could no longer continue the argument with the facility with which he had done previously. Bappa Bhaṭṭi easily got the better of him, and Āmarāja insisted upon the bet with Dharma. Through the intervention of Bappa Bhaṭṭi, however, Āmarāja restored his kingdom to Dharma, and, having become friends with him after a life-long enmity, Āma returned to his capital with the victorious Bappa Bhaṭṭi. Taking the Buddhist to Gopagiri (Gwalior), Bappa Bhaṭṭi showed him the image of Mahāvira there and recited a prayer within his hearing. Seeing the Buddhist moved by it and inclined to give up the Buddhist garb and assume that of the Jaina, he initiated him into the secrets of the Jaina religion. After a further demonstration of Bappa Bhaṭṭi's superiority they parted company, each one to his own particular place. So also the two kings, who had by now got rid of the long-standing enmity and become friendly like brothers, each one returning to his own capital. On another occasion, the defeated Buddha told king Dharma that, defeated

though he was by Bappa Bhaṭṭi, he had no grievance against him, but that he felt really aggrieved against Vākpatirāja, who was responsible for having brought about the device by which he was actually worsted. King Dharma however took no notice of it because of the great respect he had for Vākpatirāja's learning. Vākpatirāja had previously been in the court of Bengal under another ruler Dharma by name. Yaśovarman invaded Bengal, defeated Dharma, and finally put him to death. Vākpatirāja was taken prisoner with him to Kanauj. He composed the poem Gauḍavadha, and by means of that got himself released from prison. He now again came to Kānyakubja and met Bappa Bhaṭṭi there. He was received with due respect by Āmarāja, and lived there a respected guest with ample provision for his living. He composed two works while at Kanauj in the court of Āma. These were Gauḍabandha (distinct from Gauḍanavadha) and Madra-mahī-vijaya (conquest of the Madra country).⁴ Learning from Vākpatirāja that Dharma had ceased to treat him with the usual consideration because of the dissatisfaction implanted in him by the Buddhist controversialist, king Āma doubled the provision that he had made for him and thus made Vākpatirāja live for a long time with him.

In the course of conversation one day king Āma remarked that Bappa Bhaṭṭi was unparalleled for learning and that even in the court of Indra there was not likely to be his equal. Bappa Bhaṭṭi remarked that there were many people in the good old days, and that, even at the time, there was a considerable number that could be regarded superior to him in point of learning, and quoted for example his own gurus, Govindasūri and Nannasūri. Āma went to Gujarat incognito to verify this statement, and came back with a rather mixed feeling when he found Nannasūri teaching Vātsayāna's Kāmasūtras to his disciples in the hermitage of the Jains. The bad opinion formed by the king was somehow known to them, and they found means to correct him by a demon-

⁴ Gauḍabandho Madramahivijayaśceti tena ca
kṛtā vākpatirājena dvīśāstri Kavitanidhiḥ
vṛttim Kṛtā hēma tanka laksham taddviguṇīkṛtam
nīpēṇāsau mahā saukhyāt kālam gamayatīśma saḥ.

stration at his court that the teaching or the learning of a work like that could do no harm to those who had sufficient discipline of mind. Thereafter some time passed away without incident at the court.

One day there appeared at court a troop of dancers anxious to exhibit their skill. Among them happened to be one, a Mātangi by caste, whose beauty and accomplishments attracted the king so much that he fell a prey to her charms so far as to forget that the object of his affection was a Mātangi by caste. The king so far lost himself as to provide for her residence near by and to give himself up to her company. Bappa Bhaṭṭi, however, managed to wean him from his newly-found object of affection by pointing out how unbecoming it was in a ruler of men. Āma admitted that he had done wrong and wished Bappa Bhaṭṭi to prescribe a method by which he could get clear of the effects of the commission of sin. Bappa Bhaṭṭi referred him naturally to those proficient in the Dharma Śāstras, who after consulting authoritative law, prescribed that the only expiation for the wrong, according to the Śāstras at any rate, consisted in the king embracing a heated copper figure made in the form of the woman that he loved so much. That meant certain death. Bappa Bhaṭṭi now struck in and pointed out that the sinful deed was the result of sinful thought, and if he would keep his mind pure from sinful thought, there would not be the sinful deed and the best way of expiating for the sin was practising austerity, if need be, and by the eschewing of all sinful thought. The king agreed and returned to the capital and his old blameless life.

Vākpatirāja having come to know of this transformation in the king obtained his permission with great difficulty, and retired to Mathurā, there to end his days. He engaged himself in daily contemplation of Viṣṇu, in the form of Kṛṣṇa, and had taken upon himself the vow of starvation till death should come on (prāyopaveśa). While he was in this condition here at Mathurā, Bappa Bhaṭṭi was one day exhorting the king on Dharma, and happened to mention in the course of the exhortation that the king might usefully examine the Jaina Dharma with a view to

adopting it in preference to that in which he was born. The king pointed out that, having been born a Śaiva, and having been brought up in the Śaiva faith, he found that, somehow or other, he could not wean himself of his devotion to Śiva, and put it to Bappa Bhaṭṭi that, if he was really of the conviction that the Jain Dharma was the best of it all, he might then and there proceed to Mathurā and convert, if possible, Vākpatirāja, the Sāmanta, who was in the last stages of meditation upon Viṣṇu in the temple of Varāhasvāmi. Bappa Bhaṭṭi started immediately, and in due course was in the presence of Vākpatirāja completely wrapped in contemplation. In order to wake him from the reverie of contemplation, Bappa Bhaṭṭi recited a few charming verses in praise of Viṣṇu in the form of Kṛṣṇa. Vākpati who was almost unconscious at the time, just exhibited signs of returning consciousness, and waking up, remarked in surprise: "How kind of you, my good friend, that at this moment you should have arrived here and should have awakened me by pouring into my ears such delicious psalms in praise of Viṣṇu"? Bappa Bhaṭṭi said in reply that he did so to wake him up from his reverie, and make enquiry of a particular point or two from him. "My question is this," Bappa Bhaṭṭi said, "that if the God whose form I described in my chant is the Truth, how is it that you appear to feel somewhat out of mind about it? If your being out of mind implies that you are not convinced of the Truth, would you please consider whether the Jaina Dharma would appeal to you? Vākpatirāja requested him to expound his Dharma which Bappa Bhaṭṭi did with clear impressiveness and concluded by saying that he would worship that god, by whatever name he be described, provided he had a mind which is absolutely clear of the impurities of desire. Vākpatirāja, the king of *Brahmavids*, (those that had knowledge of Brahmana) delighted with what he heard, said that till then he was in a delusion, and that he was quite prepared to accept the teaching of the Jina from him. Bappa Bhaṭṭi initiated him into the mysteries of Jainism in the temple (stūpa) of Pārśvanātha in the immediate vicinity of Varāhasvāmi temple. Assuming the garb of a Jain mendicant, he received the teaching and, after remaining for eighteen days in contemplation, gave up

life. Bappa Bhaṭṭi returned to Kanauj a few days after. The king had already heard of what had taken place at Mathurā, and told Bappa Bhaṭṭi that, convinced though he was of the teaching of the Jina, there was something within him which made it impossible for him to reconcile himself to the giving up of Śaiva Dharma ; probably some kind of a bondage which he inherited from his previous existence. Bappa Bhaṭṭi expounded his condition in a previous existence, and showed how fruitless all his devotion to Śiva was by evidence brought from the Kālāñjara hill.

After some time spent in the usual way, a painter came to the court of Āma. Not meeting with the king's approval for the paintings of the king that he made, he was about doing something violent when Bappa Bhaṭṭi came to his rescue, and got him to make four copies of a representation of Vardhamāna. He distributed the four for being suitably set up among the Jain temples of Kānyakubja, Mathurā, Anahillapura (Anhilvād) and Satavakapura. After this, king Āma laid siege to Rājagiridurga, which was ruled over by king Samudrasena. Finding it impossible to take the fortress, he consulted Bappa Bhaṭṭi, who told him, after consulting the Śāstra, that king Āma's grandson Bhoja would take it and not Āma himself. Disinclined to give up the effort, the king settled down before the fortress till twelve years after a son was born to his son. The boy at birth was casting his looks on the top of the hill, and ultimately Āma was able to take it. Having successfully achieved this, he consulted a Yakṣa that was living in the fortress how long he was going to live and the Yakṣa replied that he would be informed of it when there were six months left before him, and as he was departing, he said that Āma would meet his death in the holy place called Māgadha in the midst of the Ganges as he was crossing by a boat near a village, the name of which began with Mā. He was to take note of the spot where smoke should come out of the water. King Āma undertook a pilgrimage to holy places. He went to Puṇḍarikādrī and there worshipped Ādinātha; he went to Raivatāka and offered worship to Neminātha. After overcoming the Digambaras in disputation, Bappa Bhaṭṭi enabled him to worship Ariṣṭanemi ; from the top of the hill Raivatāka, he wor-

shipped Samudravijaya, and passed on after worshipping Viṣṇu, Dāmodara and Mādhava. He went on to Dvārakā, and worshipping Kṛṣṇa there, made great gifts to people. He then passed on to Someśvara and performed the worship of Somanātha with gold. Having completed this round of pilgrimage, king Āma returned to his own capital. Placing his son on the throne at the proper time, he started for the place indicated in the kingdom of Magadha on the banks of the Ganges. Taking a boat, he sailed across the Ganges for taking bath when he saw in the middle of the river smoke rising. Bappa Bhaṭṭi, who was near, then advised him to accept the Jaina teaching, to which the king agreed. After due ceremony, he was initiated into the mysteries of Jainism and Bappa Bhaṭṭi told him to pass away happily, as he himself would follow him, having only five more years of life left yet. In the Vikrama year 890 in the month of Bhādrapada, Śukravāra, Śukla Pañcamī in the nakṣatra Caitra, in the Rāśi Tulā, king Nāgāvaloka gave up his life after worshipping Pañcaparameṣṭhi (the Five Great Ones), pinning his faith firmly in Jina and his own Guru Bappa Bhaṭṭi.

After Āma's death Bappa Bhaṭṭi returned to Kanauj, now ruled by Dunduka. Dunduka had already begun devoting himself to a dancing woman by name Khandya and made himself very obnoxious to his subjects and even his own relations. Even his queen felt so disgusted with him that, under the excuse of celebrating the birthday of her son, she accompanied her brother to Pāṭalipura. After five years of life spent somehow, Bappa Bhaṭṭi himself gave up his life in the practice of Yoga, rather than comply with the king's request to go and fetch Bhoja from Pāṭalipura. Bappa Bhaṭṭi was born in the Vikrama year 800, Bhādrapada, Tṛtīyā, Sunday, Hastanakṣtra; in his sixth year he was initiated, in his eleventh year he received the dikṣā, in his ninety-fifth year he came to the fulfilment of his life in this world. The date of his death was Vikrama year 895, Nābha, Śuddha, Aṣṭamī Svāti nakṣatra.

On hearing of the death of Bappa Bhaṭṭi, Bhoja was very much affected on his part, and wanted to put an end to his life, when his own mother dissuaded him from doing so. He did hi

duty by the dead very much as his grandfather would have done it, and very much as he himself would have done it for his grandfather. He put on the burning pyre his upper cloth in lieu of himself, out of respect for his mother's feelings. One day afterwards he made up his mind to go to Kanauj to offer condolence to his father. At the entrance he saw the royal garland-maker carrying three pomegranates in his hand. At sight of the prince the garland-maker made a present of these to the prince in token of respect. Entering the court, he saw king Dunduka seated on the throne wearing a jewelled necklace. The prince at sight of him killed him by throwing the three pomegranates at his chest. The dead body had been dragged out of the royal palace and thrown out contemptibly because of his having entertained the thought of bringing about the death of his own son. The son then ascended the throne of his father, and received the fealty of the Sāmantas, the leading citizens, the leading inhabitants of the country and the ministers. Going to bathe in the tank constructed by Āma he there discovered two of the disciples of Bappa Bhaṭṭi. Finding them not showing due respect because of his cruel deed, he sent for Bappa Bhaṭṭi's gurus, Govindasūri and Nannasūri from Moḍera, and after showing them the respect due, he sent back Nannasūri and retained Govindasūri at court. Having thus provided himself with good advisers, he conducted the government even better than his grandfather, Āparāja, and brought back into submission to him such territory as had been allowed to fall out of control.

The above is a somewhat abridged account of the work Bappa-Bhaṭṭi-Carita. It is hoped that there is no omission of any material point which may be important to this investigation, although it is just possible that I have not in all cases brought out the niceties of the somewhat obscure text. The first point that challenges attention is the name or title Nāgāvaloka which has been the subject of an important identification. The first point to note in this connection is that the period during which this Nāgāvaloka lived and ruled is practically coeval with that of the Jaina divine Bappa Bhaṭṭi. Bappa Bhaṭṭi is stated specifically to have lived from V. S. 800 to 895, or A.D. 743 to 838, and the Nāgāvaloka, under reference in this work, was his contemporary. He prob-

ably was somewhat older, but died five years earlier. He is clearly described by his ordinary name *Āmarāja*, as the son of *Yaśovarman*, ruler of *Kānyakubja*, who is said to have descended from the family of *Chandragupta* the *Maurya*. He acquired the title ' *Nāgāvaloka* ' in the somewhat peculiar circumstances of his taking hold of a poisonous cobra which succeeded in killing a mongoose in fight. So much being clear from the story, we have now to examine whether the identification of this *Nāgāvaloka* with *Nāgabhaṭa* II of the *Gūrjaras*, the son of *Vatsaraja*, is satisfactory.

The one date that we have for the *Gūrjara Nāgabhaṭa* II (*Nāgāvaloka*) from inscriptions is A.D. 815. The period, therefore, seems to agree since *Āma-Nāgāvaloka* died in A.D. 833. *Nāgabhaṭa* II had for his son *Rāmabhadra* and had a grandson who had the name *Bhoja* among others. *Āma-Nāgāvaloka* had a son by name *Dunduka* who had a son *Bhoja*. Both of them therefore had a grandson by name *Bhoja*. But the names of the sons differ. We have no clear evidence that *Nāgabhaṭa* II had a title *Nāgāvaloka*. It is just possible however he had it, as the title *Nāgāvaloka* is given to his grandfather in the *Sagar Tal* or *Gwalior* inscription of *Bhoja*, the *Gūrjara*. Assuming that *Nāgabhaṭa* II had the title *Nāgāvaloka*, have we enough ground for identifying *Āma-Nāgāvaloka* of *Kanauj* with *Nāgabhaṭa* II? On the actual evidence available, the answer to this question must be in the negative. But the position is not so simple as to admit of that categorical negative. The history of the times in respect of *Kanauj*, of *Bengal* and of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* and the *Gūrjaras* throws light upon the question, and all that light only contributes perhaps to make the darkness more clearly visible. We shall examine that position a little more in detail.

Yaśovarman was undoubtedly ruler of *Kanauj* in the generation immediately preceding, and must have died about A.D. 750 from what is said of him in *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇi* and such evidence as is available from *Chinese History* of the *T'ang* period. This point is confirmed by what is said in the *Bappa-Bhaṭṭi-Carita*, according to which he must have died a little before A.D. 754 (V.S. 811, the year of the *dikṣā* of *Bappa Bhaṭṭi*). According to the

same authority, prince Āma succeeded to the throne of his father. He obtained the title "Nāgāvaloka" as stated already, later in his life.

We have a special datum for the Śaka year 705 or A.D. 783 from a verse in the Jain *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasena. The verse, which has been the subject of a considerable amount of discussion and of even different interpretations, is as follows:—

śakeḥ śabdaśaterṣṇu ṣaptasu pañcottarēṣūttarām
pāti Indrāyudhanāmnī Kanṛpaje Śrīvallabhé dakṣiṇām
pūrvām Śrīmad Avantībhūbhṛti nṛpe Vatsādhirāje aparām
śoryā (ra) ṇām adhimandāle (dalam) jayayute vīre Varaheavati.

That in the Śaka year 700 increased by 5, the north was ruled by king Indrāyudha, king Kṛṣṇa's son Śrīvallabha ruled in the south; the east was ruled by a king who was ruler of Malva, the west was ruled by Vatsarāja. The last line proceeds to state that the work was composed in the rule of Jayavarāha, who was ruling in Śauramaṇḍala or Gujarat.

Leaving aside grammatical possibilities and taking the verse as a whole, these points stand out clear, and any interpretation of the verse, therefore, must be in accordance therewith. The author who was a resident of Wadhwan in Gujarat wishes to define his position in place and time, as is usual in the orthodox habit, of the completion of his work. The time datum is quite precisely the Śaka year 705; the place is defined equally precisely as in the province (adhimandāla) of Gujarat, land of the Śūras or Śauryas. Viravarāha with the attribute "Jaya" was then ruling; in other words, the work was completed in the region of the valiant king Jayavarāha. That disposes of the first and the last lines. The intervening two lines have reference to the political disposition of India at the time. This ought not to be interpreted as having any specific reference to the centre where he lived and wrote. It is more or less a rough distribution of political power among the well-known rulers of the times. Among these the ruler that stood out in the north was one by name Indrāyudha; the corresponding ruler of the south was a Śrīvallabha, son of Kṛṣṇa. The east was ruled by a person describable as the king of Malva, and the west

by Ādhirāja-Vatsa. That seems to be the clear meaning of the verse. Indrāyudha is a specific name, and there can be no mistake about it. Śrīvallabha is a generic name and has to be defined by the adjunct Kṛṣṇa's son to make it intelligible. Therefore the attributive phrases could not be taken with Indrāyudha as it is taken by some of those scholars who have set themselves to the task. Again in the following lines Vatsādhirāja is clear and definite, at any rate, to the contemporaries of Jinasena. There can be no mistake about the king of Avanti who was ruling in the east. It seems therefore unnecessary to work the verse into yielding meanings other than these. There is no reason for us whatever to imagine that the directions here indicated are with reference to Wadhwan or for equating Vatsādhirāja with the ruler of Avanti which seems to be contradicted by statements in inscriptions and other records referable to this time and to the period immediately following. Two definite points however have been made out by interpreting the verse otherwise. While it is grammatically possible, this interpretation has been made to yield the meaning that the northern ruler Indrāyudha was the brother of Govinda III.⁵

It is clear therefore that whoever the Avanti ruler was, he certainly was not Vatsādhirāja, or any one of his successors. Therefore it is clear that the interpretations put upon the verse are forced, as the conclusions drawn therefrom lead to palpable historical absurdities. We have to take the meaning of the verse plainly. Indrāyudha was ruling in the north, Śrīvallabha, son of Kṛṣṇa in

⁵ On the face of it it seems absurd. The name given in the verse in Indrāyudha, who is spoken of as Indrarāja in the Bhagalpur plates of Nārāyaṇapāla. But this possible equation need not be carried farther by making Indrāyudha the same as prince Indra of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who is specifically stated in Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants to have been appointed ruler of the Lāteśvara maṇḍala and nothing farther north. The second point is that Vatsādhirāja in the third line is taken along with the king of Avanti in the previous part of it, and a whole theory has been hung upon it that the Gūrjaras of historical fame were rulers of Malva as distinct from the Jodhpur Gūrjaras their cousins. This is contradicted by contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions where once again they say that the king of Malva always looked up for support from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the wars of the latter with the Gūrjaras.

the south, a king of Avanti was the dominant ruler in the east, and Vatsarāja was the most influential ruler in the west. Beyond this the verse gives us no warrant to proceed.

This brings us face to face with the position as to who Indrāyudha referred to in the phrase is and where exactly he ruled. In connection with him, the verse of Jinasena makes no mention of who the ruler of Kanauj at the time was. Kanauj having been the headquarters of an imperial sovereign to the date of the death of Yaśovarman, the omission of any mention is certainly very significant. We know from the Bappa-Bhaṭṭi-Carita that we are actually discussing that, at the date A.D. 783, Kanauj was under the rule of king Āmarāja, who may on the strength of the account, be taken to have by that time acquired the title "Nāgāvaloka." But the ruler of the north referred to is not in Jinasena's verse the ruler of Kanauj, and is actually referred to by another name Indrāyudha, who is neither Āmarāja nor Nāgāvaloka, his new title. We shall return to this point. Another significant omission is in regard to the mention of the ruler of the east. We are told that the ruler of the east is the ruler of Malva. There is no mention whatsoever of the ruler of Bengal. If A.D. 783 could be taken to refer to the period of rule of king Dharmapāla of Bengal on the basis of the dates ascribed to him by historians, the omission would certainly be very significant indeed. Dharmapāla had become comparatively early in his reign, it cannot be very early, a powerful ruler whose influence prevailed westwards, dominated Kanauj at one time, and his name figures in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions of the period among those against whom the Rāṣṭrakūṭas intervened in the politics of the north. The fact that his name is not mentioned in the specific year A.D. 783 as the ruler of the east ought to be interpreted as a clear indication that he had not as yet advanced to the position of power and influence to which he had attained early in his reign. It would, therefore, be permissible to draw the inference that in the year A.D. 783 either Dharmapāla had not ascended the throne at all, or, if he had, it was still too early in his reign for him to have achieved the ascendancy that would have warranted his mention as the most important ruler of the east, where the ruler of Avanti is mentioned.

Inscriptional records upon which the history of the Gūrjaras have hitherto been built are very few of them datable to this period; whether they be Gūrjara records or Pāla records. The most important dated records bearing upon the history of this period are all of them dated in the period following. The only records of contemporary date are those of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, not to mention the work under examination, the biography of Bappa Bhaṭṭi. From the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records we can fix almost with certainty two special invasions of Upper India, in the course of which the names of certain of the Gūrjara rulers, that of Dharmapāla, the Pāla ruler of Bengal, and Indrāyudha and Cakrāyudha, the successive rulers of Kanauj figure. Taking note of these, therefore, and proceeding on these bases, we shall have to rearrange the succession list of these rulers and fix their chronology. It is in this arrangement that the position of Āmarāja as the ruler of Kanauj and his date of death in A.D. 833 introduce a disturbing factor of consequence.

From the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records we can date the first invasion of the North under Dhruva, the father of Govinda III. The Rādhānpur plates of A.D. 808 state that Vatsarāja playfully conquered Bengal (Gauḍarājya). Dhruva turned him back from there into the middle of the Maru country (Marwar) and captured from him two white umbrellas belonging to the kingdom of Gauḍa (Bengal). This verse makes it clear that Dhruva invaded the North and turned Vatsarāja back from Bengal into the country of Maru, *which must have been his ancestral territory*. We may perhaps assume that the invasion was undertaken on behalf of the ruler of Bengal who had suffered defeat at the hands of the aggressive Gūrjara (Vatsa). We can fix the period of the invasion as in the reign of Dhruva, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa. It is now certain that Dhruva's elder brother, Govinda II, ruled in succession to his father Kīṣṇa I, and his rule extended up to Śaka 701 or A.D. 779.⁶ Dhruva must have set him aside subsequent to this year. He could not have undertaken a northern invasion very soon after, having regard to the character of the succession. The northern invasion, therefore, could have taken place some time after A.D. 780, and before A.D. 794 when his son Govinda III succeeded to the throne. Perhaps A.D. 792 just a

⁶ Dhulia plates of Karkarāja, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. 8, p. 183.

decade after Jinasena's date, would be the date of this northern invasion. About that year, A.D. 792-3 Vatsarāja, the Gūrjara ruler of Marwar (Maru) must have been active and aggressive, and carried on his aggression into Bengal, from which he was turned back by the exertions of Dhruva. How did this ruler of Marwar (not Malva, be it remembered) advance into the territory of Bengal (Gauḍa)? Was it through the territory of Kanauj, or did he avoid the territory of Kanauj and march into Bengal through the territory of Malva. He could have got into Bengal only by either of these two ways; which was the more likely at the time to which this invasion has reference, say about A.D. 790? In the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records the Gūrjara is generally stated to have been hostile to the interests of Malva, and Malva therefore constantly turned to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas for countenance and support. It is probable therefore that he invaded Bengal through Malva. The Bappa Bhaṭṭi Charita however states that through a considerable period of the reign of Āmarāja, son of Yaśovarman at Kanauj, he was at enmity with the ruler of Bengal, who is there stated to have been one by name Dharmā, Dharmabhūpa or Dharmabhūpāla, almost certainly Dharmapāla of Bengal. Dharmā actually states, in the course of the narrative, that, having been thwarted several times, his long cherished feeling of enmity to king Āma of Kanauj became almost undying in its character, which would mean that he made several aggressive attempts on Kanauj and was baulked in his effort. The enmity, therefore, between himself and the ruler of Kanauj was almost a permanent factor of their existence, for which a very good reason is not wanting. Speaking of Vākpatirāja, the poet, the Bappa Bhaṭṭi Charita has the reference that at one time previously, another Dharmā of Bengal was defeated by Yaśovarman and ultimately killed on the field of battle. Vākpatirāja himself was taken prisoner, carried over to Kanauj and was kept in prison there.⁷ He then composed the poem, Gauḍavadha (which had for its subject the killing of the Bengal ruler by Yaśovarman) and, presenting it to the king, he secured his release from prison. It was probably this disgrace to his family that was rank-

⁷ Vide my article in the *Journal of Indian History* on Forgotten Episodes of Medieval Ind. Hist. Vol. 5 p. 312 ff. and note on pp. 328 and 29.

ling in the Bengal ruler, contemporary of Āma, another Dharmapala. Dharmapala's efforts to overthrow the Kanauj ruler and bring Kanauj under his influence was more or less a permanent factor of his foreign policy, which he was not able to carry into effect during the lifetime of Āma, if the Bappa Bhatti Charita is to be believed. Having regard, therefore, to the fact of the contemporaneity of Dharmapala II of Bengal and Āma through much of the lifetime of the latter, Vatsarāja's invasion of Bengal must have been an invasion of the Bengal territory under Dharmapala. Therefore the Bengal ruler defeated by Vatsarāja is Dharmapala, and Dhruva's intervention in the affairs of the north was in favour of Dharmapala either explicitly or in effect, on the basis of the current chronology of the Pālas.

One of the most glorious achievements of Dharmapala, according to Pāla inscriptions, was the defeat of an Indrarāja of Kanauj, also referred to as Indrāyudha, and the installation upon the throne of Kanauj again of another ruler Cakrāyudha by name. This statement comes out clearly from the inscriptions of the Pālas and is confirmed by the inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūtas. Therefore we may accept it as an established historical fact of Pāla history. Who was the Indrāyudha of Kanauj, and who was Cakrāyudha? Could we identify either name with that of Āmarāja Nāgāvuloka of Kanauj?

The answer to the question propounded above would depend a great deal upon what we can glean of contemporary history from other sources, particularly in regard to the light that it throws upon the history of Bengal generally. The Pāla dynasty is generally taken to be founded by a certain Gopāla, whom, according to the inscriptions⁸ of the Pālas, people elected to recover the country from anarchy. Dharmapala is regarded as the ruler who succeeded this Gopāla, although the Tibetan lists interpose two or three names⁹ between. Leaving this aside for the present, what is likely to be the period of anarchy referred to? A starting point is provided in the Nepal inscriptions of Jayadeva, dated 153 (A.D. 759).

⁸ Khalimpur plates. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. 4.

⁹ See Appendix, *History of Medieval Indian Logic*, S. C. Vidyabhusana.

when Jayadeva's father-in-law, Harṣa, was a powerful ruler in the east including in his kingdom Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kalinga and Kosala in addition apparently to his ancestral territory of Assam. Soon after this ruler, or his successor, disappears the dynasty of Bhagadatta, and a revolution takes place in the course of the rest of the century, and Assam passes under the ruler of another dynasty. About that time, or a few years after, Jayāpīḍa of Kaśmir is said to have undertaken an invasion of Bengal, in the course of which he defeated the Bengal ruler. When Jayāpīḍa retired, Aramuḍi, king of Nepal, undertook an invasion of the same territory as well as Tirabhukti, and carried his arms successfully down to the Bay of Bengal. There is a significant remark in the chronicle of Kalhaṇa that at the time of Jayāpīḍa's advent into Bengal, Bengal was in possession of five chieftains, apparently independent of each other. After this invasion of Bengal and when he entered into a treaty with the ruler, having married his daughter previously, he got rid of this anarchic condition and brought all Bengal under the single rule of his father-in-law, Jayanta in all probability. It cannot be to this particular state of anarchy that the Pāla Inscriptions refer. That anarchy was got rid of and order was introduced. When Jayāpīḍa had returned and the Nepal invasion took place, as was said above, anarchy must have supervened, and this could have taken place only comparatively late in the seventies of the eighth century. Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa's rule must have extended up to A.D. 760 on the basis of Kalhaṇa's chronology corrected by the more reliable dates in the T'ang Annals of China, and there was a quick succession of three or four rulers for a period of about ten or eleven years. Jayāpīḍa, therefore, could not have come to the throne earlier than A.D. 770. His invasion of Bengal in the Digvijaya could not have taken place earlier than about A.D. 775, and Aramuḍi's invasion must have taken place soon after, that is, the next year or soon after. So the anarchy in Bengal referred to in the Pāla inscription must be in the period following the year A.D. 777 more or less. Gopāla's accession, therefore, could not have been much earlier than A.D. 780 or even a few years later. If Bengal had been in a condition of anarchy till about A.D. 780, Gopāla's

election could not have introduced order at once, and therefore Bengal should have exercised no influence upon the politics of northern India at the time. This would be a justification for the omission of Bengal under the Pālas in the verse of Jinasena quoted above. Dharmapāla's accession to the throne must be dated therefore much later than this, even on the assumption that Gopāla's was a short rule. But Gopāla's could not have been a short rule if he succeeded to an anarchy and was able to pass the kingdom down to his son without trouble. A period of about fifteen years may not be too long for him, and that would bring the succession of Dharmapāla, to a time very near that of the accession of Govinda III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas if not even later. If Dharmapāla therefore succeeded to the throne somewhere about A.D. 795, his transactions in Kanauj, such as the displacement of the ruler Indrāyudha and the placing of Cakrāyudha on the throne instead, must have been considerably later than A.D. 795. Vatsa's invasion of Bengal and Dhruva's intervention therefore must have taken place in the reign of Gopāla and not that of his successor, Dharmapāla. Vatsa's aggression against Bengal on this occasion probably kept clear of Kanauj and took place by way of Malva. That perhaps is the justification for the reference to Malva in the Radhanpur plates themselves, in connection with Govinda III, that the ruler of Malva found his safety only in obedience and loyalty to Govinda III.¹⁰ This finds some confirmation in the reference to "Citrukūṭagiri Durgasthāna" in the Nilgund inscriptions of Amoghavarṣa I in reference to Govinda's intervention in the north. The Mālavas, the Gauḍas, together with the Gūrjaras are there stated to have been met by him at Citrukūṭa. Citrukūṭa would be on the borderland outside the territory of Kanauj at the time, as the Bappa Bhaṭṭi Carita itself refers to Gwalior as being outside the territory of Kanauj. Dharmapāla's accession, therefore, could not have taken place earlier than A.D. 795, though it is possible that it did actually take place later.

Assuming then that Dharmapāla ascended the throne about A.D. 795, he and Āmarāja of Kanauj would have been contempora-

¹⁰ Verse 3, Bhagalpur plates of Nārāyaṇapāla, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. 15, pp. 304 ff.

ries for a period of about thirty-eight years before the latter's death. Āmarāja's date of death is given as A.D. 833 in the Bappa Bhaṭṭi Carita. It is possible that Dharmapāla lived for some years after Āmarāja's death, it may even be for about twenty-five years if the Tibetan historian Tārānātha is to be believed as he gives Dharmapāla a reign period of sixty-four years. The intervention of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva could, on this datum, have reference to the period previous to this, and therefore could refer only to the reign of Gopāla. Dharmapāla is said in the Pāla inscriptions, to have attacked Kanauj, set aside an Indrarāja, possibly Indrāyudha who was ruling there, and set up instead, to the delight of the feudatories and subjects of the kingdom of Kanauj, Cakrāyudha.¹¹ That is one incident in his life. Another time he figures as almost a suppliant in the camp of Govinda III along with his friend Cakrāyudha. These incidents could not have taken place after Govinda had ceased to reign in A.D. 814. Therefore Dharmapāla's attack on Kanauj and the displacement of the ruler Indrāyudha or Indrarāja, must have taken place before the year. It must be after this that Cakrāyudha was a fugitive guest of Dharmapāla, as otherwise it would be difficult to understand how he came to be with him, and the two together made their submission voluntarily to Govinda III.

In the Rādhanpur plates of A.D. 808 mention is made of the defeat of the Gūrjara who would not think of again going to was against him even in a dream. The Mālava ruler looking up to him as the only guarantee of his prosperity is another statement of importance in it. The conquest of the Gūrjara referred to above is not mentioned in the Wani grant of the previous year, and therefore this conquest and what followed must have taken place in the year A.D. 807-8. The statement in the Baroda grant, as well as in the Kavi grant, of the appointment of Indrarāja to the ruler of the Lāṭeśvaramaṇḍala, and of Indra's defeat of the Gūrjaras referred to therein, may be connected with the above, though it is just probable that they actually took place somewhat later as Indra is said to have defeated the Gūrjara single-handed and by

¹¹ Verse 22, Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. 18, pp. 235 ff.

himself alone. The whole of this series of transactions may be taken together as one set of warlike operations of Govinda III.

The statement made about Govinda III in the Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarṣa I, dated 866 and in the Sanjan plates of the same king of A.D. 771 must have reference to a period subsequent to the date of the Baroda grant of A.D. 812-13. Two clear statements appear in those grants. One is that he brought a number of rulers to subjection, among whom are mentioned the Keraḷas, the Mālavas, the Gauḍas, and the Gūrjaras at Citrakūṭagiri-durga, as also the ruler of Kāñci. By this achievement against all these he got the title Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa. The Sanjan plates give the same title, Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa, and refer to his invasion of the territory right up to the Himalayas as giving him the justification for the title. But before proceeding on this distant expedition, or in the course of that expedition, he received the voluntary submission of Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha, obviously Dharmapāla of Bengal, and Cakrāyudha the former's nominee. These incidents follow in the order of recital. Regarding his defeat of two other rulers, Nāgabhaṭa and Candragupta, there can be no doubt that the Nāgabhaṭa here referred to is the Gūrjara king Nāgabhaṭa II, Candragupta is identified with a Kosala king, but that identification is not of importance to us just at present. What is the meaning of this northern invasion of Govinda III? Against whom did he proceed, as he had defeated his neighbour Candragupta, as he had vanquished his chief enemy Nāgabhaṭa II, and as he received the voluntary submission of Dharmapāla of Bengal and Cakrāyudha, the ruler of Kanauj, if the Pāla inscriptions are to be believed? Was it Cakrāyudha as ruler of Kanauj that rendered submission, or was he a fugitive with Dharmapāla wherever the latter was? These are the questions that would have to be answered, but for another complication that the Bappa Bhaṭṭi Carita introduces.

According to this last, Āma was still a powerful ruler of Kanauj, and Dharmapāla professed himself to be his life-long enemy, although he was not able to effect much against him and gratify his wish to subdue the enemy. How are we to reconcile these statements? One easy solution would be to dismiss the Bappa Bhaṭṭi Carita as absolutely unreliable from the point of

view of history, and therefore every statement made in it necessarily of no historical value whatsoever. Admitting the worst that could be said against the *Bappa Bhaṭṭi Carita* as falling short of a historical composition in many ways, it would be still demanding too much to dismiss the whole work as completely worthless from the point of view of history. The work was compiled by Candrabhā Sūri in the year A.D. 1277, and, as he says, the narrative is taken from the tradition handed down by learned men and well known to all. Such a tradition coming about six or seven generations later cannot be all altogether false, and would not admit, therefore, of that summary treatment. We must, therefore, seek other alternative explanations possible, rather than adopt this somewhat drastic one. The *Bappa Bhaṭṭi Carita* is the life of Bappa Bhaṭṭi, and the other characters that figure in it do so only to the extent that they come in contact with the life career of Bappa Bhaṭṭi. If therefore we find none of the historical incidents mentioned in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions or the Pāla inscriptions, or of the Gūrjara inscriptions is even so much as referred to in it, it would be reasonable not to ascribe it either to the ignorance or perversity of the writer, but as lying outside his particular sphere of work. Therefore the omission of any reference to these incidents does not amount to the incidents not having taken place or of the author not having known them necessarily. So then we have no alternative but to regard that in so far as Amarāja is said to have been ruler of Kanauj from circa 754 to 83 A.D., he was the ruler of Kanauj in the period of the transactions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gūrjaras and the Pālas referred to above. If so, which of the two rulers of Kanauj should we indentify him with? Is it with Indrāyudha, or Cakrāyudha who supplanted him according to the Pāla inscriptions? There being no doubt that the incident of setting aside Indrarāja and of placing, in his stead, Cakrāyudha upon the throne took place in the decade on either side of the beginning of the ninth century, they must refer to incidents of the reign of king Āmarāja of Kanauj. In the circumstances, the more reasonable course would seem to be to regard Āmarāja as the Indrarāja or Indrāyudha under reference. Cakrāyudha must be regarded as a rival claimant to the throne whose claims

received support from Dharmapāla. The Bappa Bhatti Carita may not be regarded as altogether silent on the matter. Dharmapāla says openly that it was a long-cherished object of his to defeat Āmarāja of Kanauj, only that he had not had the good fortune to give effect to his idea successfully. If so the only inference seems to be the possibility that Dharmapāla defeated Āmarāja and displaced him just for a while by placing Cakrāyudha on the throne. Āmarāja very soon after turned out Cakrāyudha and occupied the throne again, all Dharmapāla's influence being unable to place Cakrāyudha again on the throne of Kanauj. That probably is the occasion when both Dharma and Cakra voluntarily rendered submission to Govinda, whose northward march up to the Himalayas could only have been against the kingdom of Kanauj.

Another point comes out clear. It becomes quite open to doubt whether all the activities of Nāgabhaṭa II gave him possession of Kanauj. It may be Nāgabhaṭa's attack on Kanauj that gave the occasion for the temporary success of Dharmapāla which enabled him to place Cakrāyudha upon the throne of Kanauj and when Āmarāja asserted himself again, all the work of Dharmapāla was without doubt undone, and Nāgabhaṭa's efforts could have made no impression upon him either. It is a reflection of this position that we find in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions where they speak of the Gūrjaras being near Citrakūṭagiri and no farther north. Therefore we shall have to regard the capture of Kanauj by the Gūrjaras to have been an achievement of possibly the Gūrjara Bhoja, and not by any of his predecessors, namely his father, Rāmabadhra and even his grandfather Nāgabhaṭa II.

From this examination of the Bappa Bhatti Carita the following points seem sustainable :-(1) That during the period of struggle for empire up to the end of the reign of the Gūrjara Nāgabhaṭa II, Kanauj continued to remain under the rule of the successor of Yaśovarman, that is Āmarāja. The throne even passed to his son for a short period of five years, and then to his grandson, another Bhoja. (2) That Dharmapāla's achievement does not seem so well proved nor could it be stated that it had any permanent or lasting effect, Kanauj still remaining an important factor, if not a dominant

one, in contemporary politics. The Pāla empire probably reached its height under Devapāla, the son, and not Dharmapāla, the father. Incidentally, it is also sustainable that whatever was the original possession of the imperial Gūrjara Pratihāras, it certainly was not Malva.

The late Dr. Vincent Smith has assumed, in the fourth edition of the *Early History of India*, that the ruler of Kanauj whom Jayāpīḍa of Kaśmīr defeated and whose throne he is said to have carried in the *Rājatarāngiṇī* was probably Vajrāyudha, referred to as ruler of Kanauj by Rajeśékharā. This is a position for which there is hardly any support other than the statements of the Kaśmīr chronicle. Jayāpīḍa's invasion, if the Bappu Bhaṭṭi Carita is to be believed, must have taken place in the reign of Āmarāja himself, and unless we are prepared to make Vajrāyudha another name of his, we must leave the statement of the chronicler open till we find evidence of a more definite character either to support it or to reject it.

Having gone so far in regard to the doubtful validity of some of the identifications accepted, we may draw attention to another point which arises from the Paṭhāri Pillar inscription of Parabala of A.D. 861. That inscription states clearly that Parabala's father Karkarāja invaded the territory of a king Nāgāvaloka¹² and defeated him in an extraordinarily bloody fight. Paṭhāri, it must be remembered, is in the region not far removed from Citrakūṭagiri-durga, and Parabala at the time of the inscription A.D. 861, was apparently ruling the province there in the interests of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Parabala's father is said to have distinguished himself in a campaign against Nāgāvaloka. More than this, an uncle of this father Karakarāja, named Jejja, is stated in the inscriptions to have defeated certain Karṇāṭas and taken possession of the Lāṭa kingdom. Starting from the point of reference in A.D. 861, it is not difficult to see what campaigns these actually refer to. Jejja's conquest of the Karṇāṭas and the taking of Lāṭa probably has reference to the conquest of the Lāṭa kingdom by Govinda III, and the appointment of his younger brother Indra to

¹² Paṭhāri Pillar inscription (vv. 14 ff.), *Ep. Ind.* Vol. 9, p. 253.

the rule of Lāṭeśvaramaṇḍala, which occurs in other inscriptions. Jejjā, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief, probably bore an honourable part in this conquest of Lāṭa by Govinda III. His son Karkarāja found chances of distinction, in all probability, in the later campaigns of Govinda as he reduced to submission several enemies, among them the Gūrjaras, the Gaudas, etc. It would be a justifiable inference from these that the Nāgāvaloka defeated by Karka was no other than Nāgabaṭa II, if we could equate, without uncertainty, the title "Nāgāvaloka" with Nāgabaṭa II. But all the while we have no direct evidence that Nāgabaṭa II actually bore that title "Nāgāvaloka." On the contrary, we have the definite statement that Āmarāja of Kanauj was known by the title "Nāgāvaloka" after the particular incident in his life when he is supposed to have taken hold of a living cobra. Could not Karka's achievement be in the course of the invasion of Govinda III that took him up to the Himalayas, and which has been referred to the year A.D. 812-13 above. After Govinda's achievement in the region of Citrakūṭa, he is said clearly to have marched up to the Himalayas. He could have done this only by going through the territory of the ruler of Kanauj. According to the Bappa Bhaṭṭi Carita, the ruler of Kanauj was still Āma-Nāgāvaloka. Dharmapāla's supersession of an Indrarāja of Kanauj by a Cakrāyudha has been held to justify the inference that Cakrāyudha was still ruling in Kanauj. If this position is accepted and if Cakrāyudha and Dharmā, both of them voluntarily submitted to Govinda III, where was the reason for Govinda III to march up to the Himalayas? The more reasonable inference therefore seems to be that Govinda actually undertook an invasion of the kingdom of Kanauj under Āma-Nāgāvaloka, it may be on behalf of Cakrāyudha and in alliance with Dharmapāla of Bengal. When he retired from the territory of Kanauj, it may be as a result of agreement with Āmarāja, or by some other method of pacification between the contending powers; Āmarāja might have recovered his kingdom or might have retained it as a result of the treaty, Cakrāyudha's claims being abandoned. Whatever was the actual character of the settlement, Govinda's death and the disturbance in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire as a consequence left the northern powers again free, each one to follow his own course

of ambition. It seems likely that Dharmapāla found it not possible to overcome Āma-Nāgāvaloka of Kanauj, and place Cakrāyudha on the throne again, and that was probably the reason for his disappointment that he was not able to get the better of his enemy, as recorded in the *Bappa Bhaṭṭi Carita*. Āma having been succeeded by Dunduka, for a short period of about five years at least, and he being followed, after he met a violent death, by his son Bhoja. Kanauj still maintained its integrity till about A.D. 840, whatever change might have come over it afterwards. As a consequence Dharmapāla's empire cannot have been as great as it is claimed to be by the historians of the Pālas.

This conclusion is reinforced to some extent by another reference in the *Bappa Bhaṭṭi Carita*, this time in connection with the poet Vākpatirāja. Hitherto, we had known of Vākpatirāja only from what is contained in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇi* of Kalhaṇa. This chronicle lets us know that he was a court poet of Yaśovarman of Kanauj and the author of the poem *Gauḍavadha* in Prakrit, and *Gauḍavadha* itself does not give us more information than to state that he was a devout disciple of Bhavabhūti and ultimately attained to the position that the latter held as a "Vidyapati" in the court of Yaśovarman himself. The *Bappa Bhaṭṭi Carita* throws a good deal more light upon the life and work of Vākpatirāja. Vākpati is described as belonging to the Kṣatriya lineage of the Paramāra clan of the Rajputs as they are called by historians. He is described in one place a *Sāmantaṅyaka*, chief of the *Sāmantas*. In another place he is described as chief of the *Brahmavids* (those versed in Brahmanical learning and philosophy). He was a poet at the court of a king Dharma of Bengal, a predecessor of Dharmapāla. Yaśovarman undertook an invasion of Bengal, defeated Dharma in war and subsequently killed him in battle. Vākpati was among the prisoners whom Yaśovarman kept in prison after his victorious return at Kanauj. Vākpati composed the *Gauḍavadha* celebrating the exploit apparently of Yaśovarman's invasion of Bengal, and thus got released from prison. In all probability, he took himself away from Kanauj, and returned to the court of Bengal, and was a much-respected court poet in the court of Dharmapāla of Bengal himself. He felt at one time that Dharmapāla did

not show him the respect due to his position because of the intrigues of a Bauddha teacher and controversialist who had some influence with Dharmapāla. Therefore he retired from Bengal and reached the court of Āmarāja of Kanauj, where he became very soon a *persona grata* with king Āmarāja and his friend the Jaina divine. He lived at court a great honoured poet, and composed during his stay there two poems, Gauḍa bandha (a different work from Gauḍa-vadha) and Madra-mahī-vijaya (conquest of the Madra country, East Punjab) both of them apparently in honour of Āma, who doubled his annuity in consequence. After some time, feeling dissatisfied that Āma was not up to the height of his position in respect of his conduct, he retired to Mathura, the staunch Vaiṣṇava that he was, and was about putting an end to himself by a process of religious starvation when he was rescued from imminent death by Bappa Bhaṭṭi at the instance of Āmarāja. He is said to have changed to the religion of the Jina as a result of Bappa Bhaṭṭi's intervention, as was related already. These are details in regard to the life of Vākpati which to our knowledge have not been noticed before. There is nothing improbable as far as we can judge of them just at present, in the details of his life. It would be well if the various manuscript collectors and libraries keep an eye to discovering one or other of these new works of his which may ultimately settle the question how far the Bappa Bhaṭṭi Carita could be held to be reliable in regard to these particulars.

THE AUTHORS OF THE RĀGHAVAPĀṆḌAVĪYA AND GADYACINTĀMAṆI¹

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH

IT IS WELL-KNOWN that there are two poems in Sanskrit named Rāghavapāṇḍavīya, one, known also by the name of Dvisandhānakāvya, written by Dhanañjaya (published in 1895 as no. 42 of the Kāvya-mālā Series) and another written by Kavirāja (published as no. 62 of the above series). Mr. K. B. Pathak has published articles on the authors of both these works in *JBBRAS.* 20, 1 ff., 22, 11 ff., in which he has concluded, on the basis of some statements contained in Kannaḍa inscriptions and books, that the first-mentioned Rāgha. or Dvisandhānakāvya was composed by Dhanañjaya, who had the cognomen Śrutakīrti, in A.D. 1123-40 and that the second-mentioned Rāgha. was written by Kavirāja whose real name was Mādhavabhaṭṭa, in A.D. 1182-1197; and these conclusions have been accepted and repeated by Prof. Winternitz in his *Gesch. der ind. Litt.* (III, 75). It is my purpose to show in this article that these conclusions are wrong and also to determine, with the help of Kannaḍa inscriptions, the time when these two poems and also Gadyacintāmaṇi were written.

I.

Regarding the Rāgha. of Dhanañjaya, the reasons which Mr. Pathak has put forward in support of his conclusion that it

¹ The following abbreviations have been used in the course of this article :—

- Durga. for Durgasīmha the author of the Kannaḍa Pañcatantra.
EC „ *Epigraphia Carnatica*; the inscriptions in these volumes are referred to as Nagar 35, Bêlûr 17, etc.
EI „ *Epigraphia Indica*.
Rāgha. „ Rāghavapāṇḍavīya.
ŚB „ Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa; the no. in brackets is that of the second edition of “Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa Inscriptions.”

was composed in A.D. 1123-1140 and that the author's real name is Śrutakīrti, are, briefly, as follow :

1. In I. 25 of his Rāmacandracaritapurāṇa or Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa, Abhinava-pampa (or Nāgacandra) mentions the name of a Jaina guru named Śrutakīrti-traividya who had "achieved brilliant fame by composing the Rāghavapāṇḍaviya which must be read forwards and backwards and which is the wonder of the learned."

2. A Jaina guru named Śrutakīrti-traividya is mentioned in a Kannaḍa inscription at Terdāḷ² (*Ind. Ant.* 14, 14 ff.). This inscription does not say that he was the author of the Rāgha., but states merely that he was proficient in the six systems of logic and quite extinguished opposing disputants, and that he was a disciple of Māghanandin, who was the head of the Rūpanārāyaṇa *basadi* at Kolhapur and belonged to the Pustaka-gaccha, Deśi-gaṇa of the Mūla-saṅgha.

3. Since the author of the Terdāḷ inscription of Śaka 1045 (A.D. 1123) does not know of the Rāgha. while the Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa (composed in Śaka 1076 or A.D. 1154) and the ŚB. inscription no. 40 (dated Śaka 1085 or A.D. 1163) know of it and mention it, it is easy to conclude that Śrutakīrti's work had not been composed in Śaka 1045 and that it had become well-known in Śaka 1076 and 1085.

4. Durgasimha, a contemporary of the Cālukya king Jagadekamalla II (Śaka 1061-1072) says that Dhanañjaya became the lord of Sarasvatī by composing the Rāghavapāṇḍaviya. It would be absurd to suppose that two Sanskrit poems bearing the same title and having a double meaning could have been produced by two Jaina writers of the Digambara sect in the short interval between Śaka 1045 and 1062; and hence the Rāgha. of Dhanañjaya must be identical with the work of Śrutakīrti who was living in Śaka 1045.

Mr. Pathak has therefore concluded (1) that the Śrutakīrti mentioned in the Terdāḷ inscription is identical with the one men-

² The inscription is there edited by Mr. Pathak himself.

tioned in the Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa as the author of the Rāgha.; (2) that Śrutakīrti was the real name of the author and Dhanañ-jaya a mere pen-name or pseudonym; and (3) that this fact was known to Abhinava-pampa who therefore referred to him by his real name in his Rāmāyaṇa.

All this is wrong :

1. Mr. Pathak's opinion that Durga, the author of the Pañcatantra was a contemporary of the W. Cālukya Jagadekamalla II (A.D. 1139-1150) is a mistake. Durga, mentions in verses 30-32, 36, 38 and 57 of his book that his patron was the Cālukya king who was known as Jayasīrṇha and Jagadekamalla and who had the birudas *kīrtividyāhara*, *kodaṇḍa-Rāma* and *Coḷa-kālānala*. Now, of the three Cālukya kings who had the surname Jagadekamalla, only one, namely, Jagadekamalla I, had, so far as we know, the name Jayasīrṇha; and likewise, it is this Jagadekamalla I or Jayasīrṇha II only who had, as we can learn from a Belgāme inscription (*EC.* 7, Shikarpur 126; see also nos. 20a, 125 and 153 of the same tāluka), the birudas *kīrtividyādhara*, *kodaṇḍa-Rāma*, and *Coḷa-kālānala* mentioned by Durga. It is therefore clear that Durga's patron was not Jagadekamalla II, but Jagadekamalla I or Jayasīrṇha II who, as I have shown elsewhere (*Ind. Ant.* 47, 288), ruled in A.D. 1015-1042.

2. Again, Abhinava-pampa did not write his Rāmāyaṇa in Śaka 1076 as Mr. Pathak has said. A verse from this Rāmāyaṇa in praise of a Jaina guru named Meghacandra is cited in a ŚB. inscription (no. 47 or 127) which records the death of Meghacandra on Thursday, 2nd December 1115 A.D. and which seems to have been incised not later than 1116 A.D. This shows that Abhinava-pampa's Rāmāyaṇa was well-known before 1116 A.D. or Śaka 1038 and that it must have been, in all probability, composed not later than 1100 A.D.

Mr. Pathak is likewise mistaken when he identifies (*loc. cit.*) the Kannamayya mentioned in verse 22 by Durga, with the author of the Nemināthapurāṇa who has said in it of Abhinava-pampa that 'though modern (*adyatana*), he is the equal of the ancients (*ādya*).' The Kannamayya mentioned by Durga, is, as is said

in verse 22 itself, the author of the *Mālavī-mādhava*, which is apparently a *Kannaḍa nāṭaka*; and he lived before 1042 A.D. The author of the *Nemināthapurāṇa*, on the other hand, informs us in that work that he was the protégé of Lakṣma or Lakṣmidhara, the chancellor and minister of the Śilāhāra Mahāmaṇḍa-lośvara Vijayāditya of Karahāṭa or Karāḍ (? A.D. 1143-1174) and that he composed it when the latter was reigning; he is therefore quite a different person from the *Kannamayya* mentioned by Durga.³

A verse from the *Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa* is cited in the *Bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa* of Nāgavarma. This Nāgavarma is currently believed to be identical with the Nāgavarma who wrote the *Kāvya-avalokana*, *Karṇāṭaka-kādambarī* (a *Kannaḍa* version of Bāṇa's work) and *Chandombudhi*, and who, as we learn from the last-named two works, was the subject of *Rakkasa-gaṅga* (c. 1000-1030 A.D.) and the recipient of gifts from Bhojarāja, *i.e.*, the well-known king of Dhārā (A.D. 1019-1060). We learn also from the *Anantanāthapurāṇa* of Janārdana or Janna (completed in A.D. 1228) that this Nāgavarma was the *kaṭakopādhyāya* at the court of king Jagadeka, that is, of the *Cālukya* king Jagadekamalla I (A.D. 1015-1042). It would therefore follow from this that the *Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa* was written before c. A.D. 1042 and that Śrutakīrti's *Rāgha.*, too, (which is extolled in this work) was written before c. A.D. 1042.

3. Mr. Pathak's contention, too, that it would be absurd to suppose that two Sanskrit poems, bearing the same title and having a double meaning, could have been produced by two *Jaina* writers of the *Digambara* sect in the short interval between Śāka 1045 and 1062 does not seem to me to be quite valid; and in any case, it loses such force as it may have when it is remembered that Dhanañjaya's *Rāgha.* was not written (as Mr. Pathak thought) between Śāka 1045 and 1062, but far earlier, to wit, before 1042

³ This and other matters mentioned here about *Durgasiṅha*, *Nāgacandra* (*Abhinava-pampa*), *Kannamayya* or *Karṇapārya*, and *Nāgavarma* are discussed very fully in my articles on the above authors and *Sumanobāṇa* which have been published in the *Kannaḍa* journal *Prabuddha-karṇāṭaka*, no. 22 (March 1925) ff. and to which I refer *Kannaḍa*-knowing readers.

A.D. Moreover, though Śrutakīrti's Rāgha., too, was likewise written before c. 1042 A.D., Mr. Pathak's opinion that this Rāgha. is like to that of Dhanañjaya is a mistake, as was pointed out long ago by Mr. R. Narasimhachar in his learned introduction (p. 4) to his edition of Nāgavarma's Kāvyaśālokana (a book on Kāvyaśāntāra written in Kannaḍa by the abovementioned Nāgavarma). "It has to be observed," writes Mr. Narasimhachar there, "that the description of Śrutakīrti's work given in the Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa, namely, that it is a *gatapratyaḡgata-kāvya*, i.e., a poem the verses in which when read one way give the history of Rāma and when read the other way the history of the Pāṇḍus, does not at all apply to Dhanañjaya's *Dvisandhāna-kāvya*. The latter, though giving the history of Rāma and the history of the Pāṇḍus by its susceptibility, through a play upon words, to two interpretations, is not a *gatapratyaḡgata-kāvya*."

The *Rāgha.* of Śrutakīrti, therefore, instead of being of the same type (as, for instance, that of Kavirāja is) as that of Dhanañjaya, is in fact of a quite different type altogether; and hence it is not in the least unlikely that the two books may have been written within a few years of one another. Moreover, it is quite clear from what has been said above that the Rāgha. of Dhanañjaya is not the same as that of Śrutakīrti, and that, therefore the authors of the two books, Dhanañjaya and Śrutakīrti, are not identical.⁴

As I have already remarked above, Dhanañjaya's Rāgha. is mentioned in the Pañcatantra by Durgā., who was a contemporary of the W. Cālukya king Jayasīma II or Jagadekamalla I (1015-1042 A.D.) It is similarly mentioned by Vādirāja in verse I, 26 :

aneka-bheda—saṁdhānāḥ khaṇanto hṛdaye muhuḥ /
bāṇā dhanañjayonmuktāḥ karṇasyeva priyāḥ katham ||

⁴ This is the opinion of Mr. Narasimhachar also; but the sentences in which he has given expression to it contain so many mistakes that the force of such opinion is weakened to a very considerable extent. For, referring to the verse :

Dvisandhāne nipuṇatām satām cakre Dhanañjayaḥ !
yaḡyā jātām phalām tasya satām cakre dhanañ jayaḥ !!

in praise of Dhanañjaya that is found in Sūktimuktāvali and Subhāṣitalāhāvali and is ascribed to Rājaśekhara, he writes (pp. 4, 5; l. c.) : "Again

Dhanañjaya, who besides the above Dvisandhāna-kāvya, has also written the Sanskrit dictionary called Dhanañjaya-kośa or Dhanañjaya-nighaṇṭu, is praised by Rājaśekhara the author of the Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa and other works, who quotes Ānandavardhana (about 850 A.D.) and is quoted by Somadeva in his Yaśastilaka written in 950 A.D. Dhanañjaya must therefore have lived before Rājaśekhara who belongs to about 900 A.D. Consequently, Dhanañjaya mentioned as an earlier poet by Nāgavarma I is quite different from Śrutakīrti of the 12th century." The reference in the last sentence is to the stanza—

*jīta-Bāṇam Hariy-ant adhaḥ-kṛta-Mayūram Tārūkārāṭiy-ant
ati-Māgham śiśirāntiyad-ante Surapa-proccaṇḍa-kodaṇḍadan—!
te tirobhūta-Guṇāḍhyan abja-vanad-ant āvirbhavad-Daṇḍi Bhā-
ratad-ant ātta-Dhanañjayaikavibhavam vāg-guṇphadoḥ Nākigam !!*

found in Nāgavarma's Chandōmbudhi. The Dhanañjaya mentioned here, says Mr. Narasimhachar, must be the Jaina poet who wrote the Dvisandhāna-kāvya; but it is possible that the reference here is to Dhanañjaya, the author of the Daśarūpaka and in any case, it is not safe to assert, on the strength of this verse, that Dhanañjaya's Dvisandhanakāvya was known to Nāgavarma. Again, it is the opinion of Mr. Narasimhachar that the Nāgavarma who is the author of this Chandōmbudhi and the Karṇāṭaka-kādambari is different from the Nāgavarma who wrote the Kāvyaśālokana and Vastukōśa, and that the work on Chandas which Nāgavarma has, in his Kāvyaśālokana (verse 965), said that he has written, is not the above-mentioned Chandōmbudhi but another work which has not come down to us! All this is wrong as I have shown in my (Kannaḍa) article on Nāgavarma referred to above (p. 4 n. 3) and the above-named four books have all been written by one Nāgavarma.

Similarly, it is apparent from Mr. Narasimhachar's remarks (on pp. 4, 5 l. c.) that he agrees with Mr. Pathak in thinking (1) that Durga was a contemporary of the W. Cālukya king Jagadekamalla II; (2) that the Kannamaya mentioned in verse 22 of his Pañcatantra by Durga is the author of the Nemināthapurāṇa in which Abhinava-pampa is praised; (3) that this Abhinava-pampa lived in the 12th century A.D.; and (4) that the Śrutakīrti mentioned by him as the author of the *gatapratyāgata-kāvya* Rāgha is identical with the Śrutakīrti mentioned in the Terlāl inscription and in ŚB. inscription no. 47, and that he was living in 1123 A.D. These opinions are wrong as I have shown above.

Lastly, it may also be observed that it is not certain that Rājaśekhara, the author of the above-cited verse *dvisandhāne nipuṇatām...* (and similar verses on other poets) is identical with the author of the Bāla-rāmāyaṇa; see Winternitz, *op. cit.*, III, 33; and hence it is not advisable to conclude on the strength of this verse that Dhanañjaya wrote his Dvisandhanakāvya before 900 A.D.

of his Pārśvanāthacarita. Since this book was completed by its author on Kārttika-śuddha-trītiyā of Śaka 947, Krodhana, *i.e.*, on Wednesday, 27th October 1025 A.D., it follows that Dhanañjaya's Rāgha. was written before that year.

We learn from the *praśasti* at the end of the Pārśvanāthacarita that its author Vādirāja lived at the court of the W. Cālukya emperor Jayasīṃha-Jagadekamalla and that he was the disciple of Matisāgara, who was the disciple of Śrīpāla-deva of the Nandisaṅgha. He has therefore justly been identified with the Vādirāja or Jagadekamalla-Vādirāja mentioned in SB. 54 (67), Belūr 117, Nagar 35-40, and other inscriptions and who was a guru of the Aruṅgulaṅvaya of the Nandi-gaṇa of the Draviḍa-saṅgha. A brief account of this guru and of other gurus of this line has been published by Dr. Hultzsch in *ZDMG.* 68, 695 ff.

In the introductory verses (18-30) of the first canto of the above-named Pārśvanāthacarita, Vādirāja has praised in order Ḡḍhrapiccha, Svāmi (Umāsvāti ?), Deva (Pūjyapāda ?), author of the Ratnakaraṇḍaka (*i.e.*, Samantabhadra), Akalaṅka, Saṃmati (Sumatibhaṭṭāraka ?), Jinasena author of the Mahāpurāṇa, Anantakīrti author of the Jivasiddhi, Palyakīrti, Dhanañjaya author of the Dvisandhānakāvya, Anantavīrya (author of Prameyaratnamālā?), Vidyānanda author of Ślokavārttikāṅkāra, the Ācārya who was the protagonist of the *viśeṣa-vāda*, and Vīranandin author of the Candraprabhacarita. As these authors, with the exception of Vīranandin,⁶ seem to belong to the above-mentioned Aruṅgulaṅvaya and to have been the predecessors of Vādirāja in the pontifical seat, Dhanañjaya the author of the Rāgha. was, in all probability, a predecessor of Vādirāja. Now the inscriptions giving the succession-lists of the above line of pontiffs do not mention any Dhanañ-

⁶ Vīranandin informs us in the *praśasti* at the end of his poem that he belonged to the Pustaka-gaccha of the Deśi-gaṇa of the Mūla-saṅgha, and that he was the disciple of Guṇanandin who was the disciple of Abhayanandin who was the disciple of another Abhayanandin. Of the other authors mentioned by Vādirāja, the names of Ḡḍhrapīccha, Umāsvāti, Pūjyapāda, Samantabhadra, Akalaṅka, Saṃmati-bhaṭṭāraka, Vidyānanda or Pātrakesarin, and Anantavīrya are mentioned in Nagar 35 and ŚB. 54 (67) which give the succession-lists of the pontiffs of the Aruṅgulaṅvaya.

jaya at all ; but the ŚB. inscription no. 54 (67), referred to above, mentions (in verse 36) after Matisāgara the great sage Hemasena who was pontiff in c. 985 A.D. and who was also known as Vidyā-Dhanañjaya. It is not unlikely therefore that this Homasena is the author of the Rāgha. or Dvisandhānakāvya and that it was written at some time in A.D. 960-1000.

* * * * *

The Rāgha. of Śrutakīrti has not come down to us. There can however be no doubt that this too was written in Sanskrit and not in Kannaḍa ; for, though *gata-pratyāgata* verses are found in Kannaḍa books (for an instance, see p. 239 of Karṇāṭaka-kavi-carite, Vol. 1, where such a verse from Ācaṇṇa's Vardhamāna-purāṇa is cited), it seems to me that it is not possible to write in Kannaḍa a whole book of such verses.⁶ Śrutakīrti's book therefore must have been written in Sanskrit.

The question as to when this book was written, whether before c. 1025 A.D. or after, is a difficult one to answer as it involves some complications. The fact that Śrutakīrti wrote such a book is known to us only from verses 24, 25 of the first *uccheāsa* of the Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa, verses which are found in ŚB. inscription no. 40 (64) also. This inscription records the setting up of an epitaph in memory of the Jaina guru Devakīrti, disciple of Gaṇḍavimukta-siddhānta-deva, who was a disciple of Māghanandin, head of the Rūpanārāyaṇa-basadi of Kolhapur; and it mentions amongst the *sadharmas* of the above-named Gaṇḍavimukta-siddhānta-deva, Śrutakīrti-traividya who wrote the poem Rāghavapāṇḍavīya in *gata-pratyāgata* verses and Kanakanandin. This Śrutakīrti-traividya is, as observed by Mr. Pathak, mentioned in the Terdāl inscription also as are likewise the above-named Māghanandin and Kanakanandin. He was therefore living in 1123 A.D., and his Rāgha., in case he wrote one, could not have been written earlier than 1060 A.D.

6 Mr. R. Narasimhaচার has similarly suggested (Karṇāṭaka-kavi-carite, I, p. 33) that the *gata-pratyāgata-kāvya* written (this, too, has not come down to us) by the poet Ponna on whom the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III conferred the title of *Ubhaya-kavīcakravartī* or Emperor of Sanskrit and Kannaḍa poets, is written in Sanskrit.

The Śrutakīrti mentioned by Abhinava-pampa is not the same as the above Śrutakīrti who was the *sadharna* of Gaṇḍavimukta-siddhānta-deva, Kanakanandin and others, and who was the disciple of Māghanandin, disciple of Kulacandra, disciple of Kulabhūṣaṇa, who was the disciple of Kaumāradeva and the *sadharna* of Prabhācandra. Abhinavapampa, on the other hand, mentions Śrutakīrti-traividya after the gurus Bālacandra, Meghacandra-traividya, Subhakīrti and Vāsupūjya and before Vīranandin, mentioning that this Śrutakīrti was the author of a Rāgha. written in *gatapratyāgata* verses. Now it is the custom of Jaina authors who have written in Kannaḍa to praise, in the beginning of their book, their *guru* and other *gurus*, in due order, belonging as a rule to the same lineage, and not to mix up *gurus* of different lineages; see for instance, Aggaḷa's Candraprabha-purāṇa where he has praised the *gurus* of the Iṅgaleśvara-bali of the Mūla-saṅgha, Deśi-gaṇa and Pustakagaccha; Kumudendu's Rāmāyaṇa where he has praised the *gurus* of the Balātkāragaṇa of the Mūla-saṅgha; Janna's Anantanātha-purāṇa where he has praised the *gurus* of the Kāṇūr-(Krāṇūr-)gaṇa of the Mūla-saṅgha; and Nayasena's Dharmāmṛta where he has praised the *gurus* of the Senāuvaya of the Mūla-saṅgha. It becomes evident therefore that the Śrutakīrti mentioned by Abhinava-pampa in his Rāmāyaṇa was the disciple or *sadharna* of one of the *gurus* named before him, namely, of Bālacandra, Meghacandra, Subhakīrti or Vāsupūjya, and that he is not identical with Māghanandin's disciple Śrutakīrti mentioned in the above inscriptions. As it would be absurd to suppose that both these Śrutakīrtis wrote poems named *Rāgha*. and consisting of *gatapratyāgata* verses, we have to conclude that one only of the above-mentioned two Śrutakīrtis was the author of such a book, and that the verses praising this Śrutakīrti and mentioning this fact, have been used, either in the Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa or in the ŚB. inscription referred to above, to extol a later Śrutakīrti who did not write such a book at all. And since it is unthinkable that a poet like Abhinava-pampa would include in his book verses composed by others, we may also conclude that the *gatapratyāgatakāvya Rāgha*. was written by the Śrutakīrti mentioned in the Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa and not by the Śrutakīrti mentioned in the above inscriptions.

I have said above (p. 4) that a verse from Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa is cited in the Bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa of Nāgavarma and that this Nāgavarma is believed to be identical with the author of the Chandombudhi and other (three) works. But whereas we have Nāgavarma's own statement (at the end of his Kāvya-āvalokana) and that of Janna in the Anantanātha-purāṇa to testify that he was the author of the Chandombudhi, Kādambari, Vastukośa and Kāvya-āvalokana, there is no such evidence at hand to show that he wrote the Bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa also; and in fact the belief that he wrote that work seems to be founded solely on the identity of name of the authors. Also, the above-mentioned four books are all written in Kannada while the Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa, which is a work on the grammar of the Kannada language, consists of Sanskrit *sūtras* followed by a Sanskrit *ṛtti*.⁷ There are thus on the whole sufficient grounds for one so inclined, to dispute the opinion that the Bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa was written by the Nāgavarma who was the author of the Chandombudhi and other works, and the contemporary of the W. Cālukya Jagadekamalla I.

There is however other evidence to show that the Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa was written before 1042 A.D. Durgasimha has extolled in verse 25 of his Pañcatantra,⁸ the greatness of Pampa's work which was an object of admiration to learned people that were well-acquainted with Sanskrit and Kannada poems. This verse is but a paraphrase of a verse⁹ of the Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa itself; and this shows conclusively that the Pampa mentioned in this verse is not the original Pampa (ādi-Pampa, author of the Pampa-Bhārata and

⁷ It must also be observed in this connection that Nāgavarma has treated in a fairly exhaustive manner of this subject of Kannada grammar in the first *adhikaraṇa* of his Kāvya-āvalokana, which, as said above, is written in Kannada.

⁸ mārga-dvaya-pariṇata-kavi-
mārga-manōhāriy ādud-ēnd akhila-budbar /
nirgarvar āgi Pampana
gir-gumphada pempan āgaḷum baṇṇisuvar //

⁹ kṛtavidyar samacittar āgi padapind-ārayye karṇāta-sam /
skṛta-kāvyaṅgaḷoḷ arthadiṁ racaneyiṁ nēr-paṭṭa vidvachchama //
kṛtiy app-antire Nāgacandra-vibudham pēḷd-andadind ādyar a /
dyatanar pēḷd-abhirāma-Rāma-kathey ēm saypiṅ aḍarpp-akkuṁe //

Ādi-purāṇa) but Abhinava-pampa, the author of the Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa and Mallinātha-purāṇa. The Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa was thus known to Durga, who wrote his Pañcatantra in 1015-1042 A.D. ; and Śrutakīrti's Rāgha, which is mentioned in the Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa, must therefore have been written before c. 1025 A.D.

As I have said above, Dhanañjaya's Rāgha, and Śrutakīrti's Rāgha, belong to two different types, and either of these authors may have been the earlier. But it seems to me that a *gatapratyāgata* Rāgha, is more difficult to write than a poem like the Dvisandhānaī kāvya and that therefore the latter poem was written first and Śrutakīrti wrote his in emulation of Dhanañjaya. If this opinion be correct, Śrutakīrti must have been later than Dhanañjaya and may have written his book in c. 1000-1025 A.D.

It is very strange that Dhanañjaya's book has been so much extolled by later writers (*e.g.* Durga, Vādirāja) and that they, with the exception of Abhinava-pampa, have so completely ignored Śrutakīrti's book.

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It is of interest to note, in passing, that Prabhācandra, mentioned above (p. 142) as the *sadharma* of Kulabhūṣaṇa, is the author of the well-known Nyāya work Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa, which is a commentary on Māṇikyanandin's Parikṣā mukhasūtra. It was the opinion of the late Prof. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa that Māṇikyanandin lived in c. 800 A.D. (*History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic*, p. 28) and his commentator Prabhācandra in c. 825 A.D. Prof. Winternitz, on the other hand (*op. cit.* II, 353) agrees with the late Dr. Fleet (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 407) that the author of Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa is identical with the Prabhācandra who was a disciple of the great Jaina teacher Akalaṅka who lived (as is said in a Digambara Kathakośa) in the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa I (754-782 A.D.), and that the ŚB. inscription no. 1 is the epitaph of this Prabhācandra. He would therefore place him in the 8th century A.D. ; or rather, since the Digambara Kathakośa mentioned above cannot be said to be a reliable authority, and since the above epitaph, to judge

from the palæography, is not later than 700 A.D., he is inclined to believe that Prabhācandra and Akalaṅka both lived before the 8th century A.D.

These opinions are wrong. In the first place, there is not the least basis for Dr. Fleet's belief that the ŚB. inscription no. 1 is the epitaph of Akalaṅka's disciple Prabhūcandra. Secondly, it is clear from the following *praśasti* given at the end of Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa :

śir-Padmanandi-saiddhanta-śiṣyo' neka-guṇzlayaḥ |

Prabhācandraś ciraṁ jīyād Ratnanandi-pade rataḥ ||

śrī-Bhōjadēva-rājyē śrīmad-Dhārā-nivāsinaḥ parāpara-parameṣṭhi-pada-praṇāmārjitāmala-puṇya-nirākṛta-nikhila-mala-paṅkena śrīmat-Prabhācandra-paṇḍitena nikhila-pramāṇa-prameya-svarūpod-dyota-Parikṣāmukhapadam idam vivṛtam iti |

that the book was written at Dhārā in the reign of King Bhōja (1019-1060 A.D.) and not in the 7th, 8th or 9th century A.D.

Similarly Pandit Vamśīdhara Śāstri's opinion, too (preface to his edition of Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa) that the author Prabhācandra is the *sadharmā* of Gopanandi-muni whose feet were, as mentioned in the *śilālekha-pustaka* ('Book of Inscriptions') worshipped by King Bhoja of Dhārā, seems to me to be wrong. I do not know what 'book of inscriptions' the Pandit has in mind; nevertheless there can be no doubt that the Gopanandi-muni whom he mentions is identical with the Jaina guru of that name who is mentioned in the ŚB. inscription no. 55 (69) as a most learned person¹⁰ and the most eminent of the 84 disciples of Vṛṣabhanandin or Caturmukhamuni of the Vakra-gaccha, Deśi-gaṇa and Mūla-saṅgha. This

¹⁰ He is mentioned in Cannarāyapaṭṭaṇa 148 also. This inscription records that he was the *guru* of the Hoysala prince Ereyāṅga and received from him in December 1094 a grant of some villages.

It is, however, not unlikely that Gopanandin, too, was honoured by Bhoja. For the rest, we learn from the above ŚB. inscription that one of his colleagues or disciples named Vāsavacandra was honoured in the 'camp' of the Cālukya king, and another, named Yaśaḥkīrti was honoured by the king of Siṁhaḷa.

inscription mentions among his many *sadharmas* a Prabhācandra also whom it describes as—

*śrī-Dhārādhipa-Bhōja-rāja-makuṭa-protāśma-raśmi-cchaṭā-
cchāyā-kuṅkuma-panka-lipta-caraṇāmbhojāta-Lakṣmīdhavaḥ |
nyāyābjākara-maṇḍane dinamaṇiś śabdābja-rodo-maṇi
stheyāt paṇḍita-puṇḍarīka-taraṇi śrīmān Prabhācandramāḥ |
śrī-Caturmukha-devānāmsiśyo " dhṛṣyaḥ pravādibhiḥ |
paṇḍita-śrī-Prabhācandro rudra-vādi-gajānkuśaḥ ||*

and who was therefore a contemporary of King Bhoja of Dhārā and honoured by him ; and it is, without doubt, this Prabhācandra whom Pandit Varmāsīdhara credits with the authorship of the *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa*. This however is a mistake ; for the guru of this Prabhācandra was, as we saw above, Vṛṣhabhanandin or Caturmukha-muni and not Padmanandin as stated in the above *prasasti*.

The Prabhācandra mentioned in ŚB. inscription no. 40 (64) as the *sadhārma* of Kulabhūṣaṇa is, on the other hand, described therein as the author of a well-known work on Logic¹¹ and it is also related in this inscription that the real name of his guru Kaurmāra-deva was Aviddhakarṇa-Padmanandin or Padmanandin-whose-ears-were-not-bored. There is no doubt therefore that it is this Prabhācandra, disciple of the above Padmanandin who is the author of the *Pramēyakamalamārtaṇḍa*, and that it is this work that is referred to in the above epithet. He belonged to the *Pustakagaccha* of the *Deśi-gaṇa* of the *Mūla-saṅgha* ; and since it is related in this inscription that Devakīrti the fifth guru in descent counting from his *sadhārma* Kulabhūṣaṇa, died in A.D. 1163 we may, allowing 23 years for each generation, conclude that Kulabhūṣaṇa lived till c. 1048 A.D. and that therefore he and his *sadhārma* Prabhācandra were contemporaries of King Bhoja of Dhārā.

¹¹ *tac-chiṣyaḥ Kulabhūṣaṇākhyā-yatipaś cāritra-vārānnidhis
siddhān-tāmbudhi-pārago nata-vineyas tat-sadharmo mahān |
śabdāmbhoruha-Bhāskaraḥ prathita-tarka-grantha-kāraḥ Prabhā-
candrākhyo muni-rāja-paṇḍita-varaḥ śrī-Kundakundānvayaḥ ||*

Prabhācandra's work is referred to by Anantavīrya in the following verses—

*Prabhendu-vacanodāra-candrikā-prasare sati |
madṛśāḥ kva nu gaṇyante jyotiringaṇa-sannibhāḥ ||
tathāpi tad-vaco-'pūrva-racanā-ruciram satām |
cetoharam bhṛtam yadvan nadyā nava-ghaṭe jālam ||*

of his commentary (known as Prameyaratnamālā) on Māṇikyanandin's Parīkṣāmukhasūtra. As, in all probability, it is this Anantavīrya who is referred to by Vādirāja in his *Pārśvanāthacarita* (see p. 140 above) we may conclude that both Prabhācandra and Anantavīrya wrote their commentaries on the Parīkṣāmukhasūtra between 1019 A.D. (the commencement of Bhoja's reign) and 27th October 1025.

II

Regarding Kavirāja, the author of the Brahmanical Rāgha. Mr. Pathak, after observing (*JBBRAS* 22, 11ff.) that Prof. Macdonnell places this author in about 800 A.D., and that Dr. Bhandarkar has said that he is anterior to Dhanañjaya and both these authors lived between A.D. 996 and 1141, goes on to say that these views are wrong and that Kavirāja was later than Dhanañjaya and wrote his work in A.D. 1182-1197. The reasons on which he bases this opinion are, briefly, as follow :

1. The Brahmanical author Durgasimha, who was a contemporary of the W. Cālukya Jagadekamalla II (Śaka 1061-1072), mentions in his Pañcatantra the Rāghavapāṇḍaviya of Dhanañjaya, a Jaina, and not that of Kavirāja who was a Brāhmaṇa. This shows that Kavirāja's Rāgha. was not in existence at the time when the above Pañcatantra was written, as, in case it was known at that time, it is inconceivable that Durga. would have overlooked it and given the preference to the work of a Jaina author.

2. The verse 1, 13 : *asti Kādamba-santāna-santānakanavānkuraḥ* in Kavirāja's Rāgha., which contains the word Kādamba shows that Kavirāja's patron Kāmadeva belonged to the family of the later Kādambas : this is shown by the mention

in verse 1, 18 of King Muñja of Dhārā also, who died in about 996 A.D. There are two dynasties of the later Kādambas known (see Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kan. Districts*); but the word smaradhara-dharaṇī in verse 1, 23 indicates that this Kāmadeva belonged to the Hānangal dynasty (compare the words tryakṣa-kṣamā-saṁbhava and hara-dharaṇī-prasūta in *EC. VIII*, Soraba 179). He is therefore identical with the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kāmadeva mentioned by Dr. Fleet (*op. cit.*, p. 563) and his protégé Kavirāja must have written his Rāgha. at some time between Śaka 1104, the year in which he began to rule, and Śaka 1119, in which year his forces were defeated by those of the Hoysala Vira-Ballāla II.

3. A copper-plate grant of Belgāme (*EC. VII*, Shikārpur 117) issued by the Kādamba king Soma, son of Malla and grandson of Kāmadeva, records donations to a kavirāja Mādhavabhaṭṭa, among others. Kāmadeva is described in this grant as the son of Tailama and grandson of Vikrama-Tailapa and is therefore certainly identical with the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kāmadeva mentioned above. Kavirāja Mādhavabhaṭṭa, mentioned in the grant, is therefore without doubt identical with the Kavirāja, author of the Rāgha. and protégé of Kāmadeva. The real name of the author is therefore Mādhavabhaṭṭa and Kavirāja is merely a title.

Now I agree with Mr. Pathak in his view that Kavirāja's Rāgha. is posterior to that of Dhanañjaya and that it was not in existence when Durgā. wrote his Pañcatantra. But his remarks about Durgā. being a Brāhmaṇa and Dhanañjaya a Jaina have no bearing in this connection; and his opinion that, if a Rāgha. of a Brahmanical author had been known at that time, Durgā. would surely have mentioned that work in his Pañcatantra in preference to that of Dhanañjaya, seems to me to be merely a gratuitous assumption. For, Durgā. has mentioned amongst Kannaḍa authors Kannamayya (author of the Mālavī-mādhava), Asaga, Manasija, Candra-bhaṭṭa, Ponna, Pampa, Daṇḍanāyaka Gajāñkuśa and Kavītāvilasa; of these Ponna and Pampa are Jains, and some at least, if not all, of the remaining authors must have been Brāhmaṇas. If Mr. Pathak's assumption were correct, Durgā. ought not to have men-

tioned the Jaina authors Pampa and Ponna at all. Besides, in the 11th century A.D. Jainism was, for all practical purposes, part of Hinduism and with the exception of a few fanatics, the worship of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Jina and Buddha was common amongst all people, whether of Brahmanical, Jaina or Buddhist faith.

I also agree with Mr. Pathak that the mention of King Muñja and the form Kādamba show that Kavirāja's patron Kāmadeva belonged to the dynasty of the later Kādambas. Of these, however, there were not, as Mr. Pathak says, two dynasties only that ruled in the Kannaḍa country ; for, besides the two families of feudatory Kādambas that were ruling at Gopaka (Gon) and Hāngal and that are referred to by Dr. Fleet and Mr. Pathak, we meet in the inscriptions of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* with at least three other families of feudatory Kādambas that were ruling at Uccaṅgi, Bāndhavapura or Bandaṇike and over Bayal-nāḍu. Of these, the birudas of Nāgatiyarasa, who belonged to the Uccaṅgi branch of the Kādambas and who was ruling the *manneya* of Sāyiranāḍu in 1170 A. D., were, according to Dāvaṇagere 32 (dated 25th December 1170) :—

Samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda mahāmaṇḍaleśvaram Bana-
vāsi-puravarādhīśvaram vānara-dhvaṅga-mṛgendra-lāñcchanam
permatti-tūrya-nirghoṣaṇam caturaśīti-nagarādhiśṭhita-Lalāṭalo-
cana-Caturbhujam jagadviditāṣṭādaśśvamedha-dīkṣā-dīkṣitam
Himavad-girindra-rundra-śikhara-śakti-saṁsthāpita-nijānvaya-pra-
katītorjṅgita-pratāpa-śilāstambha-baddha-mudagaja-mahā-mahim-ābhi-
rāmum Kādamba-cakri-Mayūracarma-vaṁśodbhavam Ucca-ngigi-
rinātham.

It is said in this inscription that he was the son of Ketarasa and Kanakabbe and that he had two sons, Ketarasa and Mācarasa, a brother named Hariyarasa, and two paternal uncles, Hamparasa and Sattiyarasa. (2) The Kādambas of Bandaṇike are mentioned in Dāvaṇagere 35, Shikārpūr 225 and 236, Soraba 384, 389 and other inscriptions. One of these (Soraba 346) gives the birudas¹² of Soma who was ruling at Bandaṇike in 1170 A.D. as

¹² The failing letters in the birudas have been supplied from Soraba 170 and other inscriptions.

*Samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda-mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Banavāsi-
puravarādhiśvara Jayanti-Madhukeśvara-devalabha-varaprasāda
mṛgamadāmoda Tryakṣa-kṣamā-sambhava cāturasīti-nagarādhi-
ṣṭhita-Lalāṭalocana-Caturbhujā jagadviditāṣṭādasāśvamedha-
dikṣita Himavad-girindra-rundra-śikhara-saṁsthāpita-sphaṭika-
śilā-stambha-baddha-madagajendra-mahāmahimābhīrāma Kādamba-
mahāmahīpāla-Mayūravarma-kulabhūṣana permatti-tūrya-nirgho-
ṣaṇa śākhācarendra-dhvaja-virājamāna mānottunga-simha-
lāñchana dattārthi-kāñcana samarajaya-kāraṇa Kādamb-
ābharuṇa jagad-orbba-gaṇḍa pratāpa-Mārtanḍa maṇḍalika-
gaṇḍa-bangāra.*

This Soma was the son of Siriyā-devi and Boppa who was the son of Barmadeva and Kāḷala-devi; he married Laccala-devi and had by her a son Brahma or Barma-deva who succeeded him and was ruling at Bandaṇike in 1203 A.D. Shikārpūr 236 gives a short genealogy of this Soma and mentions among his ancestors Kirtivarma, Mailavarma, Taila, Sānta and Maila. Some of these names are found in the genealogical table of the Kādambas of Hāngal (Dr. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 559); and this, as well as the biruda *Tryakṣa-kṣamā-sambhava* which is common to both these, seems to indicate that the Bandaṇike dynasty was an offshoot of the Hānga, branch of the Kādambas. (3) Of the Bayal-nāḍu branch of the Kādambas, the birudas of Kandavamma who was ruling over the province in A.D. 1079 are given in Heggaḍadevanūkōte 56 as—

*Samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda mahāmaṇḍaleśvara vira,
Maheśvara kalana-Trīnetra malepar-Āditya Kādamba-kapthirat
vam vallī-kālānalām satya-Rādheyam sāhasōttungam nirbhujā-Rāma
nītiśāstrāgama-dāna-vinōdan dharma-sāṁgatya duṣṭa-niṣṭhul
ram śrī-Viṣṇu-pada-śekharam Banavāsi-viṣayādhiścaram
Maheśvara-bhaktam śrīmamahāmaṇḍaleśvara rājābhīrāja.* This inscription does not mention the name of any other ruler of this branch; but there are other inscriptions in that taluka which mention the names of other rulers of Bayal-nāḍu who may or may not have been Kādambas.

In addition to the above-named, we meet with the names of three or four feudatory Kādambas who belonged to other

branch or branches of the Kādamba family. Thus, Soraba 67 mentions a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Goravarasa or Goravadeva who was ruling the Banavāse province in 1198 (?) and had all the birudas mentioned above in connection with Somudeva of Bandaṇike and some more. Soraba 47 mentions a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Koṇḍemarasa who was likewise ruling the Banavāse province in 1187 and had the birudas Banavāsi-puravarādhiśvara, Jayanti-Madhukeśvara-labdha-varaprasāda, and Kādamba-cakri. Soraba 415 (dated in A.D. 1135) and Sāgar 58 (dated in 1143) mention respectively a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Madhukarasa and a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Tribhuvanamalla-Mallidevarasa who were ruling the Banavāse (?) and Haive provinces and had the birudas Banavāsi-puravarādhiśvara and Jayanti-Madhukeśvara-labdha-varaprasāda. Moḷakāl-muru 41 in *EC. XI*, of uncertain date but later than A.D. 1108, mentions the name of a Kādamba feudatory Buñceyarasa; and Mañjarābād 18 (in *EC. V*), dated in A. D. 1095, a Kādamba feudatory named Dayasiṃha of Vikramāditya VI Tribhuvanamalla. Soraba 63 mentions a Kādamba-Nārāyaṇa Śāntayya who was the ruler of some division that is not mentioned in the inscription. As this inscription is dated in 1032 A.D. this Śāntayya seems to be different from Śāntivarma II of the Hāngal dynasty mentioned by Dr. Fleet (*op. cit.* p. 561). And finally Sāgar 30, dated in c. 1260 A.D., mentions a Kādamba-cakravartiarirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi Tailapa of Candāvura and his son *Kādamba-Rudra* Kāmadeva and also a *Kādamba-cakravarti arirāyagaṇḍara-dāvaṇi* Tribhuvanamalladeva and his son Caṭṭayya.

Among the Kādamba feudatories mentioned by Dr. Fleet in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, the name Kāmadeva is borne by one person only, to wit, by the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Kāmadeva of Hāngal who began to rule in 1182-23 A. D.; and Mr. Pathak, therefore, who apparently knew nothing of other Kādamba feudatories of this name, naturally concluded that it is this Kāmadeva who was the patron of Kavirāja. I do not, however, feel so sure that this was the case; for, in the first place, we have met with, in Sāgar 30 referred to above, another Kādamba feudatory named Kāmadeva; and secondly, the name of Kavirāja's patron is given as Vira-Kāmadeva in the colophon: *iti Hara-dharaṇi-prasūta-Kādamba-kula*

tilaka-chakravarti-Vīra-Kāmadeva-protśāhita-Kavirāja-paṇḍita-vra-
cite at the end of the first canto ¹³ of the Rāgha, while the name of
 the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kāmadeva mentioned by Mr. Pathak is given
 as Kāmadeva only in the inscriptions. The epithet *vīra* is not applied
 to this Kāmadeva in any inscription that I know of; see Soraba
 472, 179, 439, 478, 171, 307, 59 and 276 in *EC. VIII* in
 all which this Kāmadeva is mentioned. It is, on the other
 hand, applied to another Kāmadeva of Kādamba lineage in
 Soraba 79, 371, 190, 187 and in Sāgar 32 (*EC. VIII*). I shall call
 this Kāmadeva as Kāmadeva II in order to distinguish him from
 the Kāmadeva mentioned by Mr. Pathak, whom I shall call
 Kāmadeva I.

We learn from an inscription at Kuppagaḍḍe (Soraba 179) that
 Kāmadeva I was the grandson (*pautra*) of Kīrtideva I ¹⁴ and that
 he succeeded his elder brother Kīrtideva II. This must have taken
 place shortly after Sunday, 30th January 1183 A.D. (date of Sora-
 ba 50), which is the latest date for Kīrtideva II found in inscrip-
 tions. The earliest inscription (Soraba 472), however, in which
 Kāmadeva I is rementioned as ruling, is dated 12th December
 1188 and therefore belongs to his 6th or 7th regnal year; the latest
 (Soraba 59) is dated 10th October 1211 and records the death of a
 Kañca-gauḍa in a fight with the army of Vīra-Ballāḷa II. Accord-
 ing to the above Kuppagaḍḍe inscription, Kāmadeva I had the
 birudas :

Samadhigata-pañcamahāśabda mahāmaṇḍaleśvaram Banavāsi-
puravarādhiśvaram Jayanti-Madhukeśvara-labdhavaruprasādam
mṛgamadāmodam Tryakṣa-kṣmā-sambhava catuṣṣīti nagarā-
dhiṣṭhita-Lalāṭalocana Himavad-girindra-rundra-sikhara-
saṁsthāpita-sphaṭika-śilāstambha permaṭṭi-tūrya-nirghoṣaṇam śāk-
hācarendra-dhvaja-virājamāna mānottunga-siṁhalāñchanam dat-

¹³ In the colophons at the end of the 3rd, 6th, 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th
 and 13th cantos the name is given as Vīra-śrī-Kāmadeva.

¹⁴ According to the genealogical table given by Dr. Fleet on p. 559
 (l.c.), Kāmadeva I's father, Tailama, was the son of Tailapa, younger brother
 of Kīrtideva I, and not of Kīrtideva himself. It is this relation, perhaps,
 which the writer of the above Kuppagaḍḍe inscription had in mind when he
 described Kāmadeva I as the grandson of Kīrtideva I.

*tārthi-kāñcanam samara-jaya-kāraṇam mārkkolvara-gaṇḍam
kadana-pracaṇḍam jagad-orbba-gaṇḍam pratāpa-Mārtanḍam
satya-Rādheyam śaraṇāguta-vaḥra-prākāra kaligaḷ-ankuṣam ;*

and he had a queen named Kāḷaladadevi who bore him three sons, Barmadeva, Somadeva and Mallideva.

Of these, we have no inscriptions of the reign of Barmadeva and Somadeva and do not know whether they reigned at all. Of Mallideva's reign, however, we have seven inscriptions in the Soraba taluka (nos. 224, 188, 178, 58, 221, 222, and 227), the earliest of which (no. 224) is dated 12th January 1219 and the latest (no. 221), 1st October 1231, in his 15th year. Mallideva's reign therefore must have commenced in A. D. 1216 or 1217.

We know from the Belgāme grant mentioned above that Mallideva was succeeded by his son Somadeva ¹⁵ who issued that grant in the year Vilambin, that is, apparently, in the northern luni-solar year of that name corresponding to A.D. 1234-1235.

The Kādamba inscriptions of the Soraba taluka that are posterior to A.D. 1235, namely, nos. 79, 371, 297, 393, 190, 187 and 530 and likewise two inscriptions (nos. 32 and 45) of the Sāgar taluka belong to the reign of Kāmadeva II. The earliest of these, (Soraba 79), is dated 10th May 1267 in the 31st year of Kāmadeva's reign, and the latest, (Sāgar 32), on 24th July 1307. Kāmadeva's reign must therefore have commenced in A.D. 1236 or 1237 ; and it continued till at least 24th July 1307 on which date he is said, in Sāgar 32, to have been ruling. His reign was thus a long one and

¹⁵ There seems to be no doubt that this Somadeva is identical with the Somadeva mentioned by Dr. Fleet (*op.cit.*, p. 564), and that the Mallikārjuna or Mallideva whom he mentions there as beginning to rule in A.D. 1215-16 or 1216-17 is the same as the Mallideva whom I have mentioned above. But A.D. 1231 is the last year of his reign and he was succeeded in that year by his son Somadeva. The records therefore that are referred to by Dr. Fleet as furnishing dates in A.D. 1241 and 1252 for him must, if the dates are correct, refer to some other ruler of that name.

The Kādamba Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kotarasa of Uccaṅgi that is likewise mentioned by Dr. Fleet on that page, is, of course, the same as the one mentioned by me above (p. 149).

covered at least 70 years.¹⁶ It is probable therefore that he was a son of the abovementioned Somadeva who issued the Belgāme grant and that he succeeded his father when he was quite young. His birudas, according to an inscription at Ekkasi (Soraba 187), were :

*Samadhigata-ṣaṅca-mahāśabda mahāmaṇḍalesvaram Bana-
vāsi-puravarādhisvaram Jayantī-Madhukeśvaradeva-labha-vara-
prasādam mṛgamadāmōdam satya-Rādheyam śaraṇāgata-vajra-
ṣaṅjaram Kādamba-kula-kamala-Mārttaṇḍam kaligal-ankuṣam
gaṇḍara-dāraṇi*

while Śāgar 32 and Sorab 79 mention, besides, the biruda Kādambacakravarti, nigalaṅkamalla, satya-ratnākara, sāhasot-
tuṅga and husivaraśūla in connection with him. His name is given as Vīra-Kāmadeva in five inscriptions and as Kāmadeva simply in three.

Owing to the usurpation of the Kaḷacūrya Bijjala and his being succeeded by his sons in A.D. 1156-1183 (see Fleet, *op. cit.* pp. 474 ff.), and the rising into power of the Hoysala Vīra-Ballāḷa in the south and the Sevuṇa Bhīllama in the north, the power of the Cālukya emperors who were the suzerains of the Kādambas of Hāṅgal, was crippled to a considerable extent after 1156 (and disappeared totally by about A.D. 1200). In consequence, we find that these Kādambas became almost independent; for, not only do the inscriptions of Kīrtideva I and his successors make no mention, except rarely, of their Cālukya suzerain, and not only moreover are the inscriptions of Kāmadeva I and his successors frequently dated in the regnal years of those chiefs, but they occasionally apply to

¹⁶ All this is based on the assumption that the regnal year of the date has been correctly given by the writer of the inscription and correctly transcribed. Since, however, mistakes occur not infrequently in the dates of inscriptions, it is not improbable that there is one here in respect of the regnal year; in which case, Kāmadeva would not, in all likelihood, be the son of the abovementioned Sōmadeva at all. For the rest, we know from the above inscription that Kāmadeva was ruling in May 1267 and that his reign thus covered at least 40 years. There is no means of determining if this Kāmadeva is the same as the one mentioned in Śāgar 30, though it may be noted that the *biruda gaṇḍara-dāraṇi* is common to both these Kāmadevas and that it is not found used in connection with either Kāmadeva I or his son Soma and grandson Mallideva.

these Kādambas themselves the title of Cālukya-cakravarti. Thus, an inscription at Dyāvanahaḷḷi (Soraba 279) of c. 1160 A.D., that refers to an attack by the army of Jagadeva (the Śāntara chief of Humca and an adherent of Bijjala) calls Kirtideva I as Cālukya-cakravarti. Similarly, an inscription at Siddahaḷḷi (Soraba 302) of A.D. 1207 applies to Kāmadeva I the birudas śrī-prṭhvīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, and Satyāś-rayakula-tilaka in addition to Kādamba-vaṁśōdbhava and kaligaḷ-aṅkuśa; and another at Birudavaḷi (Sāgar 45) applies to Kāmadeva II the birudas Cālukya-cakravarti and Satyāśraya-kula-tilaka in addition to Kādamba-cakravarti, nigalaṅka-malla and gaṇḍara ḍāvāṇi.

The prefix *vīra* is found used first in the inscriptions of Kāmadeva I's son Mallideva (see Soraba 221, 222); it is used of his son Soma in the above-mentioned Belgāme grant, and, as mentioned above, of Kāmadeva II in five inscriptions.

It therefore seems to me, in the light of what has gone above, that, of the Kāmadevas mentioned above, it is Kāmadeva II who was the patron of the poet Kavirāja; for, as I have already observed, the colophon at the end of the first and other cantos of the Rāgha. mentions his patron's name as Vīra-Kāmadeva, and this name was, so far as we know, borne by Kāmadeva II only and by no other Kādamba ruler. We may therefore conclude that Kavirāja's Rāgha. was written at some time between A.D. 1236 (or 1267; see note above on p. 154) and 1307 and not in A.D. 1182-1197 as Mr. Pathak suggests.

Likewise, there seems to me to be no doubt that Mr. Pathak's opinion that the real name of the poet is Mādhavabhaṭṭa and that Kavirāja is merely a title, is also incorrect. The Belgāme grant of Soma which mentions Kavirāja Mādhavabhaṭṭa among the donees does not say that he is the author of the Rāgha.; and it is difficult to see what connection this Kavirāja Mādhavabhaṭṭa can have with that poem. The epithets kavirāja, kavīśvara, etc., occur not infrequently in Kaunāḍa inscriptions as titles of persons. Thus kavirāja is found used as a title of Devapārya in an inscription at Arasiḱere (*EC. V*, Arasiḱere 71), of Māḷeya in an inscription at Belgāme (*EC. VII*, Shikarpur 105), and of Sankaṇṇa in an inscrip-

tion at Kallūru (*EC.* VIII, Soraba 294) ; Kavirājavallabha is found as the title of Kappaṇabhaṭṭa in an inscription at Kuppagaḍḍe (Soraba 184) and of the unnamed writer of a Hoṭṭūr inscription (*EI.* 16, 83) ; and kavīśvara is found used as a title of Trivikrama in an inscription at Bommenahalli (Arasikere 118) and of Cidānanda in an inscription at Basarālu (*EC.* IV, Maṇḍya 122). Kavirāja, too, in the Belgāme grant of Soma appears to be similarly used as a title of Mādhavabhaṭṭa ; and it does not seem to me to be legitimate to conclude therefrom that this kavirāja Mādhavabhaṭṭa is identical with the Kavirāja who was the protégé of Soma's son Vīra-Kāmadeva and the author of the Rāgha. As a matter of fact, the word Kavirāja-sūri that is used in verse 1, 35 :

vinoda-hetoḥ Kavirāja-sūrir
nibandhana-dvandvam idam vidhatte

shows conclusively that Kavirāja here is a personal name ; for the word sūri is added at the end of personal names and not of titles.

III

Regarding the Gadyacintāmaṇi of Vādībhasimha, the concluding verses :

śrīmad-Vādībhasimhena Gadyacintāmaṇiḥ kṛtaḥ |
stheyād Oḍeyadevena cirād āsthāna-bhūṣaṇaḥ ||
stheyād Oḍeyadevena Vādībhahariṇā kṛtaḥ |
Gadyacintāmaṇir loke Cintāmaṇir ivāparaḥ ||

make it clear that Vādībhasimha is not a personal name, but a title, and that the author's real name is Oḍeyadeva. And similarly, it becomes clear from the sixth verse in the beginning :

śrī-Puṣpasena-muniṇātha iti pratīto
dīvyo manur mama sadā hṛdi sannidadhyāt |
yac-chaktitaḥ prakṛti-mūḍhamatir jano 'pi
Vādībhasimha-munipungavatām upaiti ||

that the author held the name of Puṣpasena-muni in reverence.

Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri has observed, in the foreword to his edition of the book, that the name Oḍeyadeva is common in the Tinnevely District of the Madras Presidency and suggests therefore that the author was a native of that part of the country. But the

names Puṣpasena and Oḍeyadeva Vādībhasimha are found mentioned in several inscriptions that have been published in the volumes of *EC.* and that give the succession-list of the Jaina pontiffs of the Aruṅgulānvaya of the Nandi-gaṇa of the Draviḍa-saṅgha ; and Dr. Hultzsch, when speaking of the Guru Oḍeyadeva or Śrīvijaya who had the title Vādībhasimha, writes in his above-mentioned article (p. 697) : " I think it improbable that Kanakasena's disciple Oḍeyadeva Śrīvijaya is identical with Puṣpasena's disciple Oḍeyadeva Vādībhasimha whose two works *Gadyacintāmaṇi* and *Kṣatracintāmaṇi* have been published by P. T. Kuppuswami Sastri. The cognomen Vādībhasimha is elsewhere applied to Akaḷanka(*EC.* V, 441), Ajitasena and Śrīpāla-traividya II."

This seems to me to be a mistake ; and there can be no doubt that Oḍeyadeva Śrīvijaya, who is mentioned in these inscriptions and had the cognomen Vādībhasimha is identical with Oḍeyadeva Vādībhasimha who is the author of the *Gadyacintāmaṇi*.

It is true that Śrīvijaya is described as the disciple of Kanakasena-vādirāja¹⁷ in the inscription referred to by Dr. Hultzsch (Nagar

¹⁷ This Kanakasena-vādirāja was the disciple of Vimalacandra-bhaṭṭāraka (Nagar 35) and the guru of King Rācamalla. He succeeded Paravādimalla-Śrīpāladeva, who was the contemporary of King Kṛṣṇa (the Rāḥṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III ?), as pontiff. The King Rācamalla mentioned above is not the Gaṅga king Rācamalla I who reigned before 940 A.D. as Dr. Hultzsch thinks (l. c., p. 696), but is, without doubt, one of the three Gaṅga kings of that name who ruled after A.D. 974 (see Rico : *Mysore and Coorg in Inscriptions*, p. 50).

Dr. Barnett's identification (*EI.* 16, 53) of this Kanakasena with the Kanakasena mentioned in a Muḷgund inscription is without doubt incorrect. The latter Kanakasena belonged to the Senānvaya or Candrakavāṭānvaya of the Mūlasaṅgha, and was the disciple of Ajitasena. Kanakasena-vādirāja, on the other hand, belonged to the Aruṅgulānvaya of the Nandigaṇa of the Draviḍasaṅgha (see Nagar 35 and ŚB. 54) and was the disciple of Śrīpāla I. The two gurus are therefore quite different from each other though both lived in the last quarter of the 10th century A. D.

Dr. Barnett's identification (l. c.) of the abovementioned Ajitasena with Ajitasena-vādībhasimha, the disciple of Śrīvijaya, is likewise incorrect. These two Ajitasenas belonged respectively to the Senānvaya (of the Mūlasaṅgha) and Aruṅgulānvaya (of the Draviḍasaṅgha); and the former lived in c. 970 while the latter lived in c. 1087 (see Nagar 41).

35 ; this inscription is at Humca) ; but this is in no way incompatible with his holding in reverence the name of Puṣpasena-muni. For, another inscription at Humca (Nagar 39) relates that Hemasena, Dayāpāla author of *Rūpasiddhi*, Puṣpasena, Śrīvijaya and Vādirāja became pontiffs in the order named in the Aruṅgūḷānvaya of the Nandi-gaṇa of the Draviḍa-saṅgha. Of these, Hemasena is mentioned immediately after Matisāgara in verses 36, 37 of ŚB. 54 (67) ; and he seems therefore to have been a disciple of Matisāgara and the senior *sadharna* of Dayāpāla author of *Rūpasiddhi*, who is mentioned in verses 38, 39 of the same inscription. This Dayāpāla and also Vādirāja¹⁸ are said in Nagar 35 to have been disciples of Kanakasena-vādirāja while verse 39 of the abovementioned ŚB. inscription describes these two *gurus* as disciples of Matisāgara. They must therefore have been pupils of both Matisāgara and Kanakasena-vādirāja.

The name of Puṣpasena is mentioned after that of Dayāpāla in Nagar 35, 36 and 39. Nagar 35 describes him as a pupil of Kanakasena ; but there can be no doubt that, like his *sadharna* Dayāpāla,¹⁹ he was a pupil of Matisāgara also.

The name of Śrīvijaya, followed by that of Vādirāja, is mentioned immediately after Puṣpasena's name in Nagar 39. Nagar 35 and Cannarāyapaṭṭaṇa 149 (E.C.V), however, mention the name of Vādirāja before that of Śrīvijaya ; and the latter inscription likewise mentions the name of Śrīvijaya before that of Puṣpasena. These are manifestly mistakes (see Dr. Hultzsch l. c.), and there is no doubt that the order of succession given in Nagar 39, namely, Hemasena, Dayāpāla, Puṣpasena, Śrīvijaya and Vādirāja, is correct.

Puṣpasena was thus the immediate predecessor of Śrīvijaya in the pontifical seat and must no doubt have instructed him in Jaina doctrine and other subjects. It is this fact, presumably,

¹⁸ Vādirāja, as we have seen above (p. 140), describes himself as the disciple of Matisāgara in his *Pārśvanāthacarita*.

¹⁹ Nagar 35 mentions two *gurus* of this name, one who was the author of *Rūpasiddhi* and the senior *sadharna* of Puṣpasena and Śrīvijaya, and another who was a disciple of this Śrīvijaya.

Another Dayāpāla of the same lineage is mentioned in Nāgamaṅgala 103 (E. C. IV) which is much defaced. He seems to have been a disciple of Malliṣena-maladhāri-deva.

that is referred to in the above-cited verse : *śri-Puṣpasena-muni-nātha iti pratito*. . . . of the *Gadyacintāmaṇi* whose latter half is generally interpreted as : 'through whose ability (in teaching), even a person who is naturally dull becomes a teacher who is a lion to the elephants of (hostile) disputants.' It is, however, possible, that the author intended it to also signify : 'through whose might, even a person who is naturally dull, becomes (when he succeeds him as pontiff and occupies his seat (a teacher who is a lion to the elephants of (hostile) disputants'. A similar idea, it may be observed, is given expression to in verse 46²⁰ of the above-cited ŚB. inscription where it is said that Śrīvijaya's eminence in learning and austerities were due to his being the successor of Hemasena who was noted for these. This verse seems, moreover, to imply that Śrīvijaya was a pupil of Hemasena, a thing which is not at all unlikely.

Now, it is not probable that there could have existed another Oḍeyadeva, different from the abovementioned Śrīvijaya Oḍeyadeva who had the cognomen Vādibhasiṁha and who had reason to hold in reverence the name of Puṣpasena-muni. There is therefore no doubt that Śrīvijaya Oḍeyadeva Vādibhasiṁha mentioned in the inscriptions is identical with Oḍeyadeva Vādibhasiṁha who is the author of the *Gadyacintāmaṇi* and that the Puṣpasena-muni mentioned in this book is identical with the Puṣpasena²¹ who is mentioned in the inscriptions as the immediate predecessor of Śrīvijaya in the pontifical seat.

It is the opinion of Dr. Hultzsch (l. c., pp. 697, 699) that Śrīvijaya lived in c. 977 A.D. ; and he bases this on a statement

²⁰ yad vidyā-tapasoḥ praśastam ubhayaṁ śrī-Hemasene munau-
prāg āsit sucirābhiyoga-balato nitam parām unnatim /
prāyaḥ Śrīvijaye tad etad aklīḷam tat-piṭhikāyām sthite
samkrāntam katham anyathā' nati-cirād vidyedḡ idṛk tapaḥ. //

²¹ Besides this Puṣpasena (whom Dr. Hultzsch calls Puṣpasena II), the inscriptions mention two other Puṣpasenas also belonging to the Aruṅgu-
lānvaya. One of them, whom Dr. Hultzsch calls Puṣpasena I, is said by him to have been a *sadharma* of the great teacher Akalaṅka (l. c., p. 695). The other (who is not mentioned by Dr. Hultzsch) is said in Nagar 44 to have been the disciple of Vādirājamuni (who is of course different from the Vādirāja mentioned above) and to have committed suicide by the rite of *sallekhana* and passed away from this world on Tuesday, 20th December, 1254 A.D.

in Belur 17 that Śrīvijaya was the *guru* of the Gaṅga king Būtuga. Dr. Hultzsch identifies this Būtuga with the Gaṅga king of that name who reigned in 940-953 A.D. ; and he likewise identifies the Rakkasagaṅga who is mentioned in Nagar 35 as Śrīvijaya's lay-disciple with the Gaṅga king of that name who was reigning in 978 A.D. and characterises as inaccurate the statement in Nagar 35 and 40, both dated on 27th April 1077 A.D., that Kamalahadra was the disciple of Śrīvijaya.

All this is incorrect and seems to be due to a misapprehension. It is stated explicitly in Nagar 35 and 36 that Śrīvijaya was the *guru* not only of Rakkasagaṅga Permānaḍi, but also of Caṭṭaladevi, the daughter of Rakkasagaṅga's younger brother Arumuḷideva, who was brought up by her uncle Rakkasagaṅga himself and given in marriage to the king of Kāñcī, and who, after the death of her husband, lived with her sister's sons Bhujabala-Śāntara (or Tailapa-Śāntara), Nanni-Śāntara (or Gōvinda-Śāntara), Udaya-Śāntara and Barma-Śāntara who were likewise lay-disciples of Śrīvijaya. Rakkasagaṅga, therefore, who is mentioned in this inscription is not the Gaṅga king of that name who was reigning in 978 A.D. but another person who must have been living about 40 or 50 years before the date of the above inscription, that is, in 1047 or 1037 A.D. Line 58 of this inscription seems to indicate that the real name of this Rakkasagaṅga was Būtuga ; and it is doubtless this Būtuga, and not the one mentioned by Dr. Hultzsch, who is referred to in Belur 17.

Since it is said in the above inscriptions of the Nagar taluka that Śrīvijaya was the *guru* of Bhujabala-Śāntara and his brothers it follows that he must have been living in c. 1037 A.D. As we have seen above, his junior *sadharna* Vādirāja wrote his *Pārśvanāt-hacarita* in 1025 A.D., which also makes it probable that Śrīvijaya was living in the beginning of the 11th century A.D. As neither the *Gadyacintāmaṇi* and *Kṣatracintāmaṇi* nor their author Śrīvijaya is mentioned in that book, I am inclined to believe that they were written after 1025 A.D. ; but, in any case, there is no doubt that Śrīvijaya wrote the above two books in 997-1037 A.D. Perhaps, one will not be far wrong when one believes, for the present, that they were written in c. 1027 A.D.

THE POSITION OF WOMAN IN RABBINICAL LITERATURE

PART I

(Read on 5th April 1927)

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The object of this paper is to present a view, that can be traced from passages scattered about in the Talmud and in the Midrash, of the dignified position *woman* held in Hebrew Society. In the classic writers who have made original contributions to philosophy, there is generally a comprehensive term which expresses the whole essence of their doctrines, forming as it were a key to the tenor of their writings : as in Plato the *idea*, in Aristotle the *form*, in Democritus *motion*, in Galen *body*, in Maimonides *soul*, in Descartes the *innate idea* (*cogito ergo sum*), in Spinoza *common notion*, in Leibnitz the *individual force* (Monad), in Kant *space and time, categories and transcendentalism*, in Goethe *pantheism*, in Hebbel *harmony and agreement*, in Wagner *exemption*, and in Einstein *motion in relative unity* (ZDMG. Bd. 78, 1924, p. 101). But no such comprehensive term can sum up the varied contents of the Talmud which, in its rich unity, embraces different aspects of human life and society. "The Talmud", says a Jewish historian, "must not be regarded as an ordinary work composed of twelve volumes. It possesses absolutely no intrinsic similarity with any other literary production ; but it forms, without any figure of speech, a world of its own which must be judged by its peculiar laws. It is, therefore, so extremely difficult to give a sketch of its character in the absence of all common standards and analogies" (Graetz, *History of the Jews*, Eng. Trans. Vol. II, p. 639). In a work such as this, distinguished by elevated thoughts and flashes of wit, humour and genius, *woman* could not escape a penetrating inquiry. The common view is that with the Africans and the Eastern nations, Hebrews included, *woman* represents the simple centrifugal force. With their deep rooted prejudice, critics insist that, in accordance with the Hebrew J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. III.

notion, woman's legitimate career is confined to domestic activity alone. There may be isolated texts in the Hebrew Scriptures that do not show a high mark of appreciation for the woman; but the Post-Biblical Literature shows remarkable progress in the social institutions of the Jewish nation, and the respect accorded to woman is one of the conclusive proofs of their attaining a high grade of civilization among the nations of antiquity. Even in ancient times Hebrew women had rights in law, could inherit and own property, took prominent part in festivities, and were awarded highest praise for their distinguished valour. With this brief preface we enter upon our subject.

In a woman's life the Rabbins recognise three stages: (1) minority, (2) majority, and (3) ripeness. The first stage extends to twelve years, the second lasts only *six* months, when the third begins and lasts for life (Maim. Ishuth, Ch. II).¹ Hence it is but the physical development that has guided the Rabbins to fix the legal age of majority in case of girls. In fixing these three stages the Rabbins have used parabolical expressions to describe the woman's physical growth borrowed from the growth of a fig, which in Jothan's parable (Jud. IX) is distinguished for its sweetness and good fruit. The terms are: (1) *paggah*, a hard undeveloped berry, (2) *bohāl*, a fig in the stage of ripening, and (3) *tzemel*, a fig in its last stage of growth. Thus in the case of a woman's growth *paggah* denotes undeveloped puberty, *bohāl* a stage intermediate between childhood and full womanhood, and *tzemel* complete puberty (Nid. V. 7; Nid. 47a; Sanh. 107a).

Birth.

The Hebrew word for male is *jakhar*. With a play upon it they read *je* (this) *kar* (cake), this cake. Hence they remark that a male comes into the world with a cake with him; a female comes into the world empty handed (Nid. 31b). At the birth of a girl, they planted a cypress (Rashi "a pine")—cypress being a tree of great endurance and hardness. In the case of the boy they planted a cedar (Gitt.

¹ In the preparation of this paper the writer has freely consulted, among other works, *The Jewish Encyclopedia*; *Hamburger: Realencyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*; *Snarschütz: Das Mosaische Recht*; *Klugmann: Vergleichende Studien zur Stellung der Frau in Altertum*; *Boer: Die Soziale und religiöse Stellung der Frau in Israelitischen Altertum*.

57a). "Cedar" is metaphorically used in the Talmud to signify a man of prominence. R. Jose b. Halafsta (2nd century) alluding to his five renowned sons remarks: "I have planted five cedars (Sab. 118-b). R. Simeon (3rd century) was gifted with a girl and felt discomforted. His father Judah I (135-220), the redactor of the Mishnah, consoled him by saying that the birth of a girl was productive of a large progeny in the event of her early marriage. Bar Kappara (2nd and 3rd centuries), a fellow student of R. Simeon, exclaimed: "Vain consolation! It is impossible for the world to exist without men and women; but happy is he whose children are males, and woe to him whose children are females (Bath. 16b; Pes. 65a)."

"When the birth of a daughter is announced to one of them, dark shadows settle on his face and he is sad," says the Qur'an (Sura 16:60) in presenting the view of the Arabs of the pre-Islamic period. The famous authoress Pan-hoei-pan records a custom in China: "When in ancient times a girl was born, none cared for her for three days. They let her lie on the ground on a few rags by the side of her mother's bed, and the family life continued as if nothing had happened." (Nahida Remy, *Das Jüdische Weib*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 5.)

F. S. Kraus records the view of the South-Slavonic people: "On the birth of a girl, weep all the four walls." A pregnant woman questioned her husband: "Which wouldst thou prefer, if I bear to thee a son or a daughter?" The husband replied: "Dearer is a dead son than a living daughter (*Sitte und Brauch der Sudslaven*, Wien, 1885, p. 540). Thus in the Canton of Schaffhausen, Switzerland, remarks Grimm, the woman carried two nose-gays if she were brought to bed of a boy, but only one if she gave birth to a girl. In the village of Neftenbach, to one who became father of a boy, was given two waggon-loads of firewood; but only one waggon-load in the case of the birth of a daughter (*Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, Göttingen, 1881, p. 403). In the upper Palatinate in Germany it was customary, reports Heberland, for the bestman to present the newly married couple with the tail of a roasted calf, so that they might have the good luck of getting a boy.

These facts stand in striking contrast with the following remark of one Rab Hisha (d. 309 C.E.): "If the first child be a girl, it is a good omen to the family; for, as some think, she raises up the next children, or, as others say, she stands between them *and* evil eye" (Bath. 141a). The eastern gloomy view of the female progeny may be attributed to the blended fears and anxieties with which the position of parents is fraught. The Talmud in quoting Ben-Sirah observes: "A daughter is for her father a vain treasure. Through his anxiety about her he cannot sleep in the night; during her minority lest she should be enticed; during her majority lest she should commit adultery; when she has ripened lest she should not marry; when she has married lest she should have no children; when she has grown old lest she should practice witchcraft" (Sanh. 100b).

Mosaic Law has prescribed for a woman a certain period of purification after the birth of every child. It is twice as long in the case of a female (*i.e.*, 80 days) as in the case of a male child (*i.e.*, 40 days).² Lecky pronounces this an evident trace of the common Oriental depreciation of women. Bähr views it in the light that the female sex, standing a step lower than the male, is more imperfect, weaker, and in a certain respect even more unclean (*Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, Heidelberg, 1839, Vol. II, p. 490).

The reason for this significant difference is ascribed by the ancients to the belief that the physical derangement of the system being far greater at the birth of a girl than at the birth of a boy necessitates a longer time for the effects to pass away (Ginsburg, *Leviticus*, p. 387; Nid. 31a). The defilement was deemed as due to secretions from the body. The Hebrews never regarded the newborn child itself as impure. The strict seclusion in which the woman after child-birth remained "unclean," gave her the necessary rest. She was, in that condition, exempted from approaching the Tabernacle, or later on the Temple (Maim. Guide III. 47). This idea of a period of purification meets with its parallel in the usages and customs of antiquity, including the Parsis, Hindus, Greeks, and Romans,

² On the general notion of the sacramentally "unclean" nature of woman consult Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, Vol. I, p. 603 *sq.* and Chapman Cohen, *Religion and Sex*, p. 102.

and is not overlooked by Hippocrates (*De Natura Pueri*, I, 393, Ed, Kuhn). In the opinion of R. Hilda (3rd century) the birth of a girl is more conducive to joy than that of a boy, but rarely has such extravagant reason been given for it as R. Simeon ben Zemach remarks in his gloss to Kinnim III that mothers rejoice in the birth of a boy, since they fancy that their delivery will not involve very difficult labour. At any rate there lies the essential principle that the Hebrews welcome their progeny to begin with the birth of a girl, and as such they esteem the first-born girl as a happy Divine gift (Bath. 141a.)

Exposure of Infants.

Among ancient people, the father seems to have held unlimited power over the life and death of his children, which naturally included the right to offer them as sacrifice. This power quickly degenerated into a custom so perilous to the race that it easily led to the merciless exposure of new-born children. This custom seems to have gained such universal sanction, and so little shocked the feelings of humanity that Plato admitted it into his Utopian Republic: "Children born to wicked men, misshapen, illegitimate, and of parents advanced in years, shall be exposed, that the state be not burdened with them" (Döllinger, *The Gentile and the Jew*, 1906, Vol. II, p. 260.) In China, Polynesia, and Australia the murder of infant girls was the order of the day (Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, 1899, p. 592). Among the pre-Islamic Arabs female children were buried alive (Qur'an Sura, 81 8). For exposure of children in Greece and in Rome one may consult Döllinger, *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 259, 287, and Roper *Ancient Eugenics*, Oxford, p. 8 1913. The Jews have looked upon physical deformity as no crime, and, reserving all their condemnation for the moral deformity which comes in the way of a child's healthy development into a man honest and pious, have considered this custom with extreme horror (Sab. 80b; Ket. 49b). No instance, such as the one quoted by Lecky from Latin literature of Chremes charging his pregnant wife to have her child killed provided it was a girl, can meet with its parallel in the Hebrew literature (*European Morals*, 1902, Vol. II, p. 28). The Hebrews have been enjoined to bring up their offspring. Abortion, as well as infanticide, is strictly forbidden to their women (Josephus, *Against*

Apion, II, 25). In the face of such rigid command it is curious to find that Tacitus (*Hist.*, V., 5) ascribes the prohibition of infanticide among the Jews to their desire to increase the population. In the case of Moses being exposed on the banks of the Nile by his mother, Rabbi Isaac Abarbanel (1437-1508) is of opinion that by concealing the babe longer the mother would have brought upon herself and her family the punishment of death, as having contravened the decree of Pharaoh, without at the same time saving the child. We have in the prophecies of Ezekiel (Chap. XVI) a powerful as well as beautiful allegory of an outcast (female) ; but one is meant whose father was an Amorite and mother a Hittite. Nicholas de Lyra (1270-1340), to whose writings Luther owed his Rabbinical knowledge, followed the opinion of Rabbi Kimchi and others in asserting that Jephtha, in the fulfilment of his vow, did not actually kill his daughter.

Right of Sale.

A father had the right to sell his minor daughter as a maid (Exod. 21. 7). In addition to the fact that this involved the loss of liberty, the Hebrew maid-servant of tender age, in her state of servitude, was exposed to temptations and seduction. To remove this danger, the Law (Exod. XXI, 7. 11) provided that the master, who purchased the maid-servant, assumed the obligation upon him either to take her up to himself as a consort of second rank, or to give her in marriage to his son. If the master granted her the conjugal rights, she enjoyed the right of a wife. In case she was wedded to his son, she was treated with all considerations like a daughter-in-law. The right of sale was likely to be abused, and the Rabbis took all possible precautions to display a much more tender solicitude than in the case of a Hebrew slave. Hence in accordance with the Talmudic law, the father could exercise the right to sell his daughter only in the case of extreme poverty (Kid. 20a), provided the girl had not attained puberty (Arach. 29b), which means before she was twelve years old (Ket. 39a). The father could be compelled to redeem her when his financial condition had improved. No father was allowed to sell his daughter twice (Kid. 18a). The father's privilege of giving away his daughter in marriage was valid even after having hired her out as a maid-servant (Mekh. Mishp.

Sec. 3). If a father, while selling his minor daughter, had entered into a condition that the master should not marry her, the condition was void in accordance with the Rabbinical dictum, that if one make any stipulation which is contrary to what is forbidden in the Torah, that stipulation is void (Kid. 19b ; Keth., IX. 1). The Rabbis prohibited a father from selling his minor daughter after she had already been married and divorced, or had become a widow (Kid. 18a). The mother was never permitted to sell her minor daughter (Sot., III, 8). In the event of the master or his son refusing to marry her, the jubilee year, the death of the master, physical maturity, ransom, and the bill of manumission from the master were the means by which the maid-servant could obtain her freedom (Kid. 14b, 16b, 17b and 18a).

Hebrew slavery continued till the law concerning the jubilee year was in force; and as the jubilee year was not observed about the time of the destruction of the first monarchy, the right of selling his minor daughter was taken away from the father (Git. 65a). The minor girl, on the other hand, had a right of support from her father's estate; and Judge Admon (Circa: 40 C.E.) even decided that if a man, possessed of a large estate, die leaving sons and daughters, the sons inherit the estate, and the daughters claim maintenance; but if the property be small, the daughters receive maintenance, and the sons go seeking for sustenance. This decision met the approval of Rabban Gamliel who lived in the 1st and 2nd centuries (Ket., XIII, 3). Even the book of Job (XLII, 15) represents daughters as co-heirs with sons.

It would not pass as superfluous if we remark what the Rabbis have established that the master of a Hebrew bondman (or a bondmaid) must place him (or her) on an equality with himself in the matter of board, lodging, and bed clothes. He must act towards them in a true brotherly manner. Hence this treatment has given rise to a Talmudic dictum (Kid. 20a): "Whoever buys a Hebrew servant buys a master for himself."

Domestic Work.

Under the paternal roof the girls were trained for domestic work, which formed an important item in their education, consisting

of such household duties as cooking, baking, washing, grinding, etc. Great value was attached to crewel and textile work, in which the Hebrew women had in ancient times attained to a high degree of artistic perfection. They had above all talents for art. They worked the pictures on the curtains for the "tent of meeting" with thread of gold. Those who were wise-hearted spun with their hands and brought that which they had spun, both of blue and of red and of crimson; and others whose heart impelled them in wisdom spun goats' hair (Exod. 36. 36). In the Talmud we find it stated that in order to bring up young girls in domestic habits their mothers provided them with so-called "ovens for maidens" in place of useless toys (Nid. 26b).

Music.

Music and recitative songs formed a factor in the educational curriculum for girls. After crossing the Red Sea, Moses conducted the chorus of the men, and Miriam that of the women accompanied by timbrels and dances (Ex. 15. 20). Likewise we meet with the Triumph Song of Deborah on the defeat of Sisera, a song in which the great originality of the idea is not less extraordinary than the rich colouring by which everything is clearly set before the eye, while the delineation always remains true to nature (A. H. Niemeyer, *Characteristic der Bibel*, Magdeburg, 1821, Bd. VI, p. 149). On David's victory over the Philistines, the women came out to meet Saul with timbrels and with three-stringed instruments, and sang: "Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands" (I Sam. 18. 7).

When the King entreated the Shulamite to return that he might look at her once more, she turned round and modestly asked: "What wilt thou see in the Shulamite?" The King replied: "As it were a dance of two companies", or in Ginsburg's words, "like a dance to double choirs" (Cant. 7. 1). The King means to say that to see the Shulamite is "like gazing at the charming view of a festive choir expressing their merriment in a sacred dance." Among other nations too sacred dancing, accompanied by vocal and instrumental music, was common (Strabo, 10; Homer, *Illiad*, XVIII, 590).

It was the custom in the Mishnaic times to hire women whose profession it was to attend funerals, where they wailed, sang dirges, and clapped their hands. While wailing the hired mourners joined in a chorus, and at the recital of a dirge one recited and others responded. Later on the Rabbis, in view of the demoralisation of the young lads, look with disfavour upon the association of the two sexes singing (Sota, 48a).

A Talmudic Rab Samuel (175-254) gave it as his opinion that "a woman's voice is to be regarded as impropriety" (Ber. 24a); because in the Canticles (II. 14) it is said of the Shulamite to whom her beloved addressed: "Let me see thy countenance, let me hear thy voice, for sweet is thy voice and thy countenance is comely." Similarly Plutarch says (*Opera Moralia*, Vol. IV. Precepts regarding Marriage, Chap. 31) not only the arm of a virtuous woman should be concealed, but also her speech; for through her voice her charms, her passion become known. With this moral view of the ancients, let us contrast the modern opinion from a morphological view point conveyed to us by Havelock Ellis, who remarks: "That the deeper voice of a man, and the gentler but higher pitched voice in a woman have their effect in heightening the pleasure of the sexes in each other's person is a well recognisable fact" (*Man and Woman*, p. 323f).

Education.

The education of girls in Jewish Society became a moral obligation.

The Talmud has been subjected to both friendly and adverse criticisms on the topic of female education. The Hebrew conception of a woman is that she is to be man's tender companion to enliven his solitude, increase his joy in the enjoyment of the bounties of nature, to bestow upon and to receive from him happiness, and to live with him in such a manner that the two hearts beat in unison (Ket. 61a). An ungallant utterance comes from Rabbi Eliezer Hyrkanus (1st and 2nd centuries) in his sweeping assertion: "one who teaches his daughter Torah (Law) is as if he taught her frivolity" (Sota, 20a). To him and his like Hamlet's "*Frailty, thy name is woman*" has much more than moral, an intellectual import. The

Rabbis do not recommend to woman any such abstruse study as that of theology. Rabbi Eliezer probably means that the study of Mosaic laws concerning sexual aberrations may be too strong for her more sensitive nature. In a like manner the Hindu women were not permitted to learn the sacred songs of the Vedas, and probably the metaphysical doctrines were not to be communicated to them (Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanscrit Literature*, 1859, p. 27). It was under the influence of Oriental culture that the Rabbis probably regarded woman as volatile or light-minded.³ Are we to regard R. Eliezer Hyrkanus' averment as representing the consensus of opinion of the Rabbis? We have the warning note of Maimonides (1135-1204) who writes in his letter to the Jews of Marseilles thus :

“I know it is possible to find in the Talmud, Mishnah and the Midrashim individual opinions in contradiction to my views. Let not these individual opinions be deemed as the ruling of the majority. You must not be troubled by them. One must not surrender his judicious view in favour of a particular Talmudist. One must not refuse to accept a doctrine, the truth of which has been proved on account of its being in opposition to some isolated opinion held by this or that authority. . . . In fact one must throw overboard his private judgment. The eyes of a man are directed forward and not backward.”⁴

Hyrkanus was enthusiastically conservative, and showed a severe and domineering character towards his pupils and colleagues. Once for his refusing to agree with the opinion of the majority on a theological point, Gamliel II (1st and 2nd centuries), President of the Sanhedrin, decreed against him ban of excommunication. His wife Inna Shalom, the sister of Gamliel II, had received an education becoming the daughter of a prince, and yet, on one occasion when

³ It may have been also that, with the example, before them, of the well informed but licentious *Hetare* in Greece, and of the emancipation of woman in Rome from the male mastery, they (Rabbis) have regarded female culture as a stepping stone to the degradation of womanliness and to the subsequent ruin of home and its sanctity (Ploss—Bartels, *Das Weib*, 9, II., 1908, 574 sqq.)

⁴ Buxtorf I, *Institutio Epistolæ Hebraica*, Basel, 1629, pp. 44-45.

an intricate question was raised by a woman, R. Eliezer dismissed it with the remark: "There is no wisdom for woman except at the distaff" (Joma, 66b). '*Allez filer votre quenouille*' is said in French of a woman who wishes to save herself of things surpassing her capacity. Despite R. Eliezer's open antagonism to the education of women, he very highly esteemed his wife's intellectual gifts (Eruv. 63a).

On the other hand, we find no obstacles in the way of women cultivating the arts and sciences, and even the Greek language and philosophy (B. Kam. 82b). R. Jonathan of Beth Gubrin (3rd century) said: "There are four languages which it is befitting a man shall make use of, and they are: Greek for lyrics, and Latin for war-songs, Persian for elegies, and Hebrew for ordinary conversation; and others say also Syriac for writing" (Jer. Megillah I, 8; Esther R. III).

Greek was recommended as a part of a girl's education when she aspired to a somewhat more than a common intellectual culture (Sota. III end). R. Abbahu (277-320) taught his daughter Greek (Sanh. 14a). Of Imma Shalom we have an interesting story recorded in the Talmud (Sanh. 39a) illustrative of her ready wit. Once when a sceptic asked of her brother Gamiel II, "Why is not your God strictly honest? Why should he have stolen a rib from sleeping Adam (Gen. II. 21)? Imma, who was present, requested the sceptic to summon a police constable. "What need hast thou of him?" asked the sceptic. "We are robbed," she said, "last night of a silver cup; and the thief left instead a golden one."—"If that is all," exclaimed the sceptic, "I wish that thief would visit me every day."—"And still," retorted Imma, "thou objectest to the removal of the rib from sleeping Adam? Did he not receive in exchange a woman to wait upon him and to become a helpmate to him?"—"I do not mean exactly the rib," rejoined the sceptic, "but I think the manner in which the rib was taken; the same could have been done while Adam was awake." Thereupon she took a piece of raw meat, washed, salted, and roasted it in his presence; and invited him to partake of her preparation, which he declined saying that after witnessing the process of dressing his appetite was gone.

"Ah," retorted she, "had Adam seen the process of extracting the rib and forming the woman, he might not have liked to associate with her, as when he beheld her complete graced with feminine loveliness and beauty" (Sanh. 39a). During the Biblical epoch we meet with examples of Hannah and Deborah, inspired cultured women, who knew how to express their ideas in sublime and poetic manner, while in later times, says the Talmud, there were Jewesses so deeply versed in the sacred lore, that their opinions were often appreciated by the Rabbis (Hullin, 109b).

Religious Ceremonial Observances.

The Rabbins have so highly valued the consecration of domestic life as centred in woman, that they have propounded a theory that the observance of all positive precepts of the Law, the performance of which is limited to a certain time, is not incumbent on females (Kid. 29a). In the recital of the morning prayers, the Israelite thanks God with the threefold prayer: for the privilege of not having been made (1) a heathen, (2) a slave, and (3) a woman. Even Plato (or Socrates) in a similar way expressed his gratitude for two boons: that he was made (1) a man and not a woman, (2) a Greek and not a Barbarian (Plutarch, *Life of Marius, Diogenes, Laertus*, I. i. 7). Darmesteter too has pointed out that a Parsi in offering his Namazi Ormazd thanks God for having been created (1) a rational being, (2) a free-man and not a slave, and (3) a man and not a woman (Darmesteter, *Une Prière Judéo Persane*, Paris, 1891). The Jewess, when praying for herself, thanks God in the third place for making her according to His will. The explanation is not far to seek. Man and woman have each been assigned by the Torah certain spheres of activity in the conduct of life. But the woman was exempt from religious ceremonial duties which were more incumbent on man. Nahida Rehmy, a learned German (lady) aptly explains: "The home is the real temple of woman, the education of children is her divine service, and the family her congregation." On these grounds and for reasons of modesty and health, women were not permitted to take part in the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but they were not exempted from taking benefit of religious instruction (Deut. 31. 12). At the time of Ezra they took

part in the public reading of the Torah, and particularly in all joyous and festive celebrations as in the partaking of Paschal lamb, etc. (*Das jüdische Weib*, p. 189f.).⁵ The attitude of modern science towards this question may be seen from the remarks of Havelock Ellis, who found no valid ground from concluding from an examination of the skull that one sex is morphologically superior to the other. He says: "In men the air-sinuses and the muscular projections are more marked, and in woman, the bosses are more prominent." He concludes with the words: "It is open to a man in a Pharisaic mood to thank God that his cranial type is far removed from the infantile. It is equally open to a woman in such a mood to be thankful that her cranial type does not approach the senile" (*Man and Woman*, p. 119).

Choice of a Spouse.

"Is a person's will free in the choice of a spouse?" "Are marriages made in heaven?"—are questions that appeal to us for a solution. In a satire, Omar Khayyam sings the doctrine of absolute predestination, based on the Qur'an (LXXXVI, 9), which in Whinfield's rendering (XLVI) runs thus:

"When Allah mixed my clay, he knew full well
My future acts, and could each one foretell;
'twas he who did my sins predestinate,
Yet thinks it just to punish me in hell."

Even the Talmud (Bath. 16a) cogently argues: Job attempted to turn the dish upside down, whereby he meant to challenge Providence. He said: "Lord of the Universe! Thou hast created an ox with hoofs cloven, an ass with hoofs closed. Thou hast created the garden of Eden (Paradise) and the valley of Hinnom (Hell). Thou hast created the righteous, and the wicked. Who prevented Thee (from making me righteous)?" Raba (279-352)

⁵ Within the sacred precincts of the Temple two courts were erected—the upper and the lower. In the upper court called the Woman's Court sat the women and enjoyed such popular festivities as those of the Feast of Tabernacles.

says : Job attempted to relieve the whole world from the responsibility for neglect of laws. Do not these several questions lead us to that great controversy whether predestination is reconcilable with free will ? “ Everything is foreseen and free will is given,” sounds the note of the Mishnaic Ethics (Aboth III. 19). Maimonides, in blending the philosophical and the rabbinical doctrines, remarks : “ God is omniscient, and His omniscience does not deprive man of free will ” (Gorfinkle, *Eight Chaps. of Maimonides on Ethics*, New York, 1912). Long before Maeterlinck adopted in *The Betrothal* the doctrine of a person's future mate predestined, one Rab Jehuda had remarked in the name of Rab (1st century) : “ Forty days before the girl is created a heavenly voice announces that the daughter of such a one shall marry such a one ” (Sanh. 22a). One R. Samuel (175-254) recommends a person to hasten the day of betrothal in order that another may not forestall him with the predestined one. Once Raba (279-352), on hearing a certain man praying that he might marry a certain damsel, rebuked him saying : “ If she is destined for thee, nothing will part thee from her. If thou art not destined for her, thou art denying Providence in praying for her.” Raba then heard him saying, “ If I am not destined to marry her, I hope that either I or she may die.” Raba still protested and assured him (Moed Katan 18b), that a wife was a *divine* gift as proved from (1) the Pentateuch (Gen. 24), (2) the Prophets (Judges, 14), and from (3) the Hagiographa (Prov. 19-14). Never were more joyous festivals in Israel than the fifteenth of Ab and the Day of Atonement (the tenth of Tishri) ; for on them the maidens of Jerusalem used to pass out in procession dressed in white garments which they had borrowed. Even the maidens of the Royal palace borrowed garments from the next in rank in order not to put to the blush those who had not suitable attire of their own. They went to the vineyards and danced. All young bachelors repaired to the spot. In the merry-making the lovelier daughters of Israel said : “ Young men ! Choose for beauty alone, because a woman is made only for beauty.” The girls of the nobility said : “ Lift up your eyes. Regard the good name of the family, for a woman is made to bear children.” The maidens wanting in beauty sang : “ Young men !

Lift up your eyes. Fix them not on beauty, but rather to piety. Grace is deceit, and beauty is a vain thing; but the woman who feareth the Lord she is worthy of praise" (Taan. 26b and 31a). Hence we realise that *beauty*, *nobility*, and *piety* were great considerations in entering into marriage contracts. Even according to Ben Sira noble descent, beauty, modesty, thrift, and faithfulness are the considerations which should weigh with a man in the choice of a wife (Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, Philadelphia, 1908, second series, p. 95). The Talmud passes a scathing invective against money as a marriage consideration. One who takes a woman for wife for the sake of money will have degenerate progeny, and not long will the money remain in his possession (Kid. 70a). An old French proverb says: *Fol est et hors de sens, qui femme prend pour son argent*; or as the German saying goes: *Ist das Geld die Braut, so taugt die Ehe selten was*. He who marries a wife unsuitable to his condition with a view to achieve greatness, him God shall bring down (Derech Erez Suta X). A sage remarks: One who marries an unworthy wife may come to bear for her hatred, which may lead to criminal offence by prevention of progeny (Aboth d'R. Nathan 26). Hence marriage was to be contracted for no material gain. Although Resh Lakish (3rd century) expresses the opinion that "every man gets the wife he deserves" (Sot. 2a), R. Simeon says: "It is the custom for man to court a woman, and not for a woman to court a man; as in the case of one losing a valuable article (alluding to the loss of Adam's rib) it is the loser who looks for that article and not the article for the loser" (Kid. 2b and Ned. 31b).⁶ For the assurance of healthy progeny the Talmud recommends: "One should not enter into wedlock with a girl in a family subject to epilepsy and leprosy, lest she be the conveyer of unhealthy taints" (Yeb. 64b). A curious custom is recorded in the Talmud and called *K'tsatsah* (literally a "cutting off") testifying against one marrying an unworthy wife, so that the offspring of the marriage may never mix with others. The relatives of the bridegroom brought a barrel full of fruits in the public place and broke it there, when the following announcement was made:

⁶ The Talmud deems it unwise for one to take a wife of superior rank. Rather go down a step in the scale in choosing a wife (Yeb. 63a). •

“ Listen ye, our brethren, the house of Israel ! our brother ‘ A ’ has married an unworthy wife, and we fear lest his seed mingle with ours. Come ye, therefore, and take a warning example for future generations that his offspring may never mix with ours. And this is the ceremony of K’tsutsa to which a child can testify when grown up” (Ket. 28b). The Talmud also emphasises the point that the intelligence of the brothers of the woman must also be taken into regard, since the majority of children take after the brothers of their mother (Bath. 110a). Any marked difference in age or in intelligence between the contracting parties was distinctly discouraged by the Talmud. To wed one’s daughter to an ignoramus, is like placing her before a lion (Pes. 49a). A. G. Roper says that Hesiod, Sappho, and Theognis, were aware of the evils of disparity of age (Roper, *Ancient Eugenics*, Oxford, 1913). R. Eliezer remarks : “ One, who marries his young daughter to an old man, encourages her to live an immoral life ” (San. 76a). Similarity of stature between the couple was regarded by the Rabbis with disfavour, since such a marriage would result in children abnormally tall or short (Bech. 45b). The Talmud strictly forbids one to betroth his *minor* daughter. He ought to wait until she should grow up and say “ such and such a one I wish to marry ” (Kid. 41a). The Roman custom seems to have been different. Seneca says : “ Every animal and slave, clothing and vessel, was examined before buying. Only the woman was not shown, lest she might be found displeasing to the husband before he carried her home (Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, I, 415). On the other hand, the Talmud (Kid. 41a) testifies : “ One is prohibited from marrying a girl until he has seen her, lest he find her repulsive after marriage.” The families desirable for matrimonial alliances are those of (1) the scholar, (2) the most distinguished person in the country, (3) the head of the congregation, (4) the collector of charities, and (5) the teacher of children (Eben Haezer, sec 2; Pes. 49a). In view of the fact that the Talmud recognises that marriages are made in heaven and yet recommends precautions in choosing a wife, we have a pithy assertion of R. Johanan that “ to join a couple in wedlock is as hard as it was the Red Sea to divide ” (Sanh. 22a).

The Min, or the Right of Protest of a Girl against her Marriage contracted during her Minority.

A father had the power to give his minor daughter in marriage, and such marriage being held valid could not be annulled unless by a bill of divorce. Any marriage of a minor girl contracted by her brothers or by her mother after the death of her father, whether the minor girl was unmarried, divorced, or widowed, and even with her consent, was not valid until she reached the age of maturity. During her minority she might at any time declare her aversion to her husband, and leave him without a bill of divorce (Yeb. 107a). This reform introduced by the Rabbis invested the minor girls with power to invalidate the marriage contracted for her either by her mother or her brothers after the death of her father. (Edujoth VI, 1).

Seduction and Violence.

The Rabbis, in order to protect the minor girl, provided in the Mishnah (Ket. III. 4) as follows: "One who seduceth a damsel pays threefold damages, and one who violateth her pays fourfold." The seducer pays for the disgrace sustained by her, for the decrease in the value of her person, and the fine; in addition to which the ravisher pays for the pain she had suffered (Ket. 39a). The Mishnah further adds: "The ravisher must drink out of his polluted vessel, *i.e.*, is bound to marry his victim; whereas the seducer may, if he likes, divorce her.

Restrictions on a Girl's Free Choice of a Spouse.

The Pentateuch provides (Numb. 36. 8) that a daughter should inherit the landed property of her father in case the latter dies without male issue; but by way of a corollary we find therein that daughters thus inheriting are restricted to marrying within their own tribe (Numb. 36-6-7). Thus the estate was prevented from going out of the tribe. This law was, however, modified by the Rabbis, who from the economical view-point altered the basis, and removed the restriction permitting the girls to choose husbands from any tribe (Taan. 30b; Bath. 120a).

Levirate.

Another restriction to the free choice of a woman was the Levirate marriage traceable among the ancient Greeks, the Indians (Manu, IX 59f), and the Parsees (Kleuker, *Zend Avesta*, III, 266). According to Deut. (25, 4-13) the widow whose husband died with no child surviving, leaving however a brother, is not permitted to marry a stranger, unless the surviving brother declares that he is not willing to marry her and submits to the prescribed ceremony of *Ḥalitza* or of *drawing off the shoe*. Hence, the death of the husband without issue made his widow *ipso facto* the bride of his brother, who was either to marry her or release her through the ceremony of *Ḥalitza*. The purpose of the Levirate marriage was obviously to avert the extinction of the name of him who died childless. The Talmudic authorities deem that to marry a brother's widow for her beauty was equivalent to incest (Yeb. 39b). They recommend the ceremony of the *Ḥalitza*. The decree of Rabbi Gershom abolishing polygamy made a Levirate marriage impracticable. Hence the world's Jewry adopt the other alternative.

Age of Marriage.

Havelock Ellis points out that "it is possible that climate, race, habits of life, social position, influence of towns, as well as constitution and health may all have an influence in modifying the age." As far back as the days of the Talmud, it was recognised not only that girls attain to puberty earlier than boys, but that town girls do so earlier than country girls, the reason being, in the opinion of R. Simeon ben Gamliel (2nd century), that the former use hot baths (J. Prons, *Biblisoh-Talmudische Medizin*, p. 148). The Talmudists hold that a boy at nine is marriageable (Nid. 45a); yet they recommend that a man should not marry until he has built a house for himself, and made adequate provisions for his changed state (Sota, 44a). Mishnaic ethics fixed the age, at which a boy and a girl can enter wedlock, at eighteen and twelve respectively (Aboth V). They held the girls to be more precocious, subject to earlier physical development, and according to their own words: "*La femme tient plus a se marier qui l'homme.*" Early marriages were very common among the Greeks, the Romans, and the Germans (Weinhold,

Deutsche Frauen, I, 294). Sprenger remarks that Ayisha was seven years old when betrothed to the Prophet of Islam, and was joined to him in wedlock at the age of nine. (*Das Leben und die Lehre Mohomed's*, Berlin, 1864, Vol. III, 62).

The custom not to wed the younger sister unless the elder sister was wedded, as it happened in the case of Jacob's marriage (Gen. XXIX. 26), is a widespread one among several nations (Frazer, *Folklore of the Old Testament*, 1918, Vol. II, Chap. VI). Dr. Klugmann (*op. cit.* p. 28, n. 12) narrates the following Indian usage: A curious custom has prevailed in India of "marriage" with a plant. Should the senior girl fail to secure a husband, she was "wedded" to a plant in order that her junior sister might not fret away in aspiration. This "plant marriage" is entered upon with all solemnities and formalities; and the girl who has been married in this manner is not allowed to remarry. However, it does not generally last long. The plant is cut down and the married woman becomes a widow (Kohler, *Verschiedene Eheformen "Zukunft,"* 1893, IV, 272).

Betrothal.

For a detailed outline of the development of the institution of betrothal among the Jews our materials are scanty. In Biblical times there was no betrothal period at all. Dr. Neubaur in his *Beiträge Zur Geschichte des Biblisch-Talmudischen Eheschliessungsrechte* points out that "marriage was a cash transaction, the *mohar* (price) was paid and the bride thereupon delivered to her husband." We do not find in the Scriptures any mention of the betrothal period corresponding to that of the Talmudic days (Cf. Nowack, *Lehrbuch d. Heb. Archaeologie* Bd. I., p. 162). According to the Rabbinical law a betrothal is the very initiative of marriage; and the betrothed parties are regarded as married though not entitled to the marital rights. The betrothal could be dissolved only through death or a formal bill of divorce. A betrothed girl was called *arusah* with the peculiar status of a married woman who was yet in her father's house. After such betrothal a period of 12 months was allowed to pass before the marriage was completed by the formal home-taking called *Nissuin*. In Talmudic

times there prevailed a custom by which two heads of families carried on negotiations between themselves, even on the Sabbath, for the marriage of their children (Sab. 150a).

Betrothal in Modern Times.

After the dispersion, the Jews, on coming into contact with the Occidental peoples, took to the custom of performing the entire marriage ceremony, betrothing and home-taking, at one time. Through the influence of mediæval culture, the Jews now understand betrothal in the sense of an agreement of a man and woman to marry, by which the parties are not definitely bound. The agreement may be broken or dissolved without formal divorce. To bring about such affiancing or engagement the Jews in the 13th century employed a *Shadchan* or marriage broker, who undertook for a consideration to bring the two families together and to assist in tying up the marriage knot between their children. The engagement ceremony came to be celebrated with pomp. A contract was drawn with a penalty clause of payment of damages, should either party fail to fulfil his or her part of the contract. It may not, however, be gainsaid that the Rabbis have deemed it indispensable that a man should gain the good-will and consent of the prospective bride before entering upon the marriage contract (Kid. 13a., Yeb. 52a).

Bride's Outfit.

In the case of a virgin, the nuptials were celebrated twelve months after the betrothal, so as to give time to provide the bride with an outfit on the wedding day (Ket. 57a) ; while in the case of a widow thirty days intervened between her betrothal and marriage (*Ibid.*). Says the Talmud: " One who gives his daughter in marriage without any previous stipulation must not give her less than fifty Zuz (Ket. 67a). A Zuz is a silver coin = $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Shekel. This minimum was also given to an orphan girl from the charity box by the overseer of the poor. If there was sufficient money in the charity box, the orphan girl was to be provided with an outfit becoming her condition (Ket. 67a). Should an orphan boy and an orphan girl necessitate help for the celebration of their weddings, the distributor of charities must give preference to the latter (Ket.

67b ; Horioth, 13a), because the girl is too modest to beg. If it be stipulated at the engagement ceremony that the bridegroom is to take his bride without any outfit, he shall not say, "When I bring her to my own house, I will cover her with my raiment;" but he is bound to clothe her while she is yet in her father's house (Ket. 67a).

Wedding Festivities.

The Hebrew name for the bride is *kallah*, which etymologically implies the idea of a crown. The bridegroom is, on the day of his wedding, deemed a spotless man (Jeb. 63b). With the Jews, archaic forms and fashions linger longest in ritual and ceremonial. The Canticles describe the Israelitish bridegroom as wearing a crown on the day of his espousals—an honour which in later times was extended to the bride. Mishnah (Sota, IX, 14) records that during the War of Vespasian the use of crowns was forbidden to bridegrooms, and that during the War of Titus (Grätz corrects Quietus) brides were included in the prohibition, in token of the intense grief of the Jews at the ruin of the nation and of its Temple. Weddings were generally celebrated on a Wednesday in order to have preparations made within the preceding working days (Ket. 2a). With music and dancing (Ket. 16b ; Gitt, 57a) the bride richly attired and adorned (Is. XLIX, 18) was carried out in procession from her father's house in a curtained litter with loosened hair (Ket. 15b). The curtain or veil is deemed to be the symbol of virginity. A woman's second marriage was not accompanied with the symbolic ceremony of the veil. Similarly the veil was absent from the second marriage of a woman among the ancient Romans and Germans. (Weinhold, *Deutsche Frauen*, I, 386, Anm. 2). The bridegroom feasted his friends (Jud. 14¹⁰), and enjoyed the privilege of having a "bestman." In the case of the primitive Adam, says the Talmud (Eruv. 18b), it was God who conducted Adam to Eve. The Midrash throws its own poetic glow over this tradition. "Angels Michael and Gabriel," it says, "conducted Eve to Adam to the bridal canopy, the columns of which were cast in gold set with jewels and pearls. God then blessed the first bridal pair, and the angels played the music and danced (Gen. R. VIII, 13, XVIII, I, Pirke d'R. Eliezer XI)." In summer the guests sprinkled wine and threw nuts before the

bridal procession for luck, but in winter this was avoided on account of the dirt (Ber. 50b). Barley was sown in flower vases a few days before the wedding as a symbol of fecundity (Ket. 8a). Under the canopy the bridegroom put in the hand of the bride a coin, even if it be worth a P'ruta or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Roman *as*, and said: "Thou art consecrated through this unto me" (Kid. 2a, 12b, 5b). The elders then pronounced on the wedded couple seven benedictions. Then followed the banquet to which at least ten guests were invited (Ket. 7b). The banqueting continued for a week, during which the presence of at least a new guest (Heb. a new face) was necessary among the ten persons on each of the 7 days. The bride and the bridegroom then received congratulations; for says R. Ashe (352-427), "The merit of attending a wedding lies in addressing words and felicitations to the bride (Ber. 6b)". The festivities lasted a week in the case of a virgin bride, and three days in the case of widow marriage (Ket. 7a). In the first year after the marriage of a virgin the bridegroom was exempted from military service so as to be near his bride (Deut. 24 5; Sotā 43a). The bridegroom became through marital relations, the *ba'al*—husband of his bride or metaphorically the fructifier. W. Robertson Smith remarks: "How *ba'al* comes to mean a husband is not perfectly clear, the name is certainly associated with monandry and the appropriation of the wife to her husband, but it does not imply a servile relation; for the slave girl does not call her master *ba'al*. Probably the key is to be found in the notice that the wife is her husband's tillage (Qur'an, II, 233), in which case private rights over land were older than the exclusive marital rights" (*Religion of the Semites*. New Ed. 1907, p. 109). The Hebrews have been influenced by the primitive idea that the land was in mystic relation to God. *Ba'alim*, among other Semites were regarded as the authors of the fertility of the soil and the increase of flocks. The idea of *ba'al* as possessor of some district, finds its illustration with the Rabbis who remark (Numb. R. 16): "The Egyptian gods are gods of artificial drainage; but those of Canaan are gods of rain." There still survive in the Talmud phrases "the house of *ba'al*," "the field of the house of *ba'al*," to mean a field sufficiently watered by rain and requiring no artificial irrigation (Bath. 28a; M. Katan I, 1). In the bright promises of

Chap. LXII of Isaiah, we find *land* termed as *married* in contrast with the *month* without a rainfall therein called a *widow*. The Hebrews have transferred the figure of relationship between "bride and bridegroom" to inanimate nature in a manner highly idealistic. Though the Rabbis term rain as the *ba'al*—husband (fructifier) of the field (Taan. 6b), they render thanks to the dispenser of rain and other benefits by pronouncing a benediction. It was R. Abbahu (3rd and 4th centuries) that mooted the question in the Talmud (Ber. 59b): "From what time do we say over rain the benediction Blessed art Thou who art good and dispensest good"? The answer is: "From the time the bridegroom joins forth to meet his bride." To explain the metaphor: it means when the falling rain-drops meet the water on the ground and bubble. This significant figure throws a fresh light on the language of Isaiah (XLV, 8), how heaven and earth bear the fruit of salvation.

SOME COPPERPLATE GRANTS RECENTLY DISCOVERED

BY D. B. DISKALKAR, RAJKOT

No. I.—*Bantia plates of Dharasena II of Valabhī of (Gupta-Valabhī) Saṁ 257.*

These plates, found in the village Baṅṭiū in Bāṅṭvā Taluka in the south-west of Kathiawar, are two, making a complete grant of the Valabhī king Dharasena II. They measure 11" by 8" and contain 17 and 15 lines of writing respectively.

The record opens with the name of the place, *viz.*, Valabhī from where the grant was issued. Then as usual the geneology of the Maitraka family from Bhaṭārka, the founder, to Dharasena II, the donor of the present grant is given with poetical description of each ruler, which is identical with that of all other published grants of Dharasena II. The beneficiary is a Brāhmaṇa named Devadatta, of Śāṅḍilya *gotra* and Maitrāyaṇi Śākhā (1.20). The property granted consists of a village named Bhaṭṭa—(or Bhadra)—kapatra in the northern part (*uttarāpatti*) of Kauṇḍinyapura in the Surāṣṭras (11.17–18). The purpose for which the grant was made is, as usual with grants to Brāhmaṇas, for the maintenance of the five sacrificial rites (1.20). The names of officers (11.15–16) who were addressed by the grantor king as also the privileges (11.18–19) accompanying the grant are the same as in the grant of Dharasena of Saṁ. 252. (*Ep. Ind.* 11.180). The grant was written by Skandabhāṭa, the minister for peace and war (1.31), and the Dūtaka was Cīrbira (1.32). The date of the issue of the grant is the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha of (Gupta-Valabhī) Saṁvat 257 (1.32) when there was a solar-eclipse (*Sūryoparāge* 1.22).

Both the Dūtaka and the writer in this grant are the same as in the seven grants of Dharasena II of Saṁ. 252. In his grant of Saṁ. 269 however the Dūtaka is changed.

As regards the localities mentioned in the grant Valabhī is modern Vaḷā in Kathiawar. The village Kauṇḍinyapura can

be identified either with Kutiyāṇā or Koḍinār in South Kathiawar. The village Bhaṭṭakapatra in the Surāṣṭras cannot be identified.

Of Dharasena II as many as twelve grants are known : seven of these are of Saṁ. 252, one of Saṁ. 269, two of Saṁ. 270 and the remaining two being fragmentary do not give the dates. It will thus be seen that there is a long gap of dates between Saṁ. 252 and 269 which is partly filled by the discovery of the present grant.

But the most interesting point with our grant is that it mentions that there was a solar-eclipse on the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha in Saṁ. 257 when the grant was issued. Though there are many grants—about nine—issued by Valabhī kings on the *amāvāsya*-day—mostly on the *amāvāsya* of Vaiśākha, it is only this grant that makes a mention of the solar-eclipse. This item of information will, I think, enable us to fix more accurately the starting point of the Gupta-Valabhī era. I also think that it is probably the earliest mention of an eclipse in an epigraphical record.

About this date Dr. R. Shamashastri of Mysore informs me that the mention of the solar-eclipse in the grant decides the question of the starting point of the Gupta era once for all. According to the hitherto accepted year 319 A.D. as the initial year of the Gupta era it is found that there was no solar-eclipse on the new moon day of the lunar month Vaiśākha in the year 257, *i.e.*, 576 A.D. but there was certainly a solar-eclipse on the Vaiśākha new moon day in A.D. 459 if his theory of A.D. 201-202 as the initial year of the Gupta era be accepted (vide *Mysore Archaeological Survey Report for the year 1922-23*).

No. II.—Bhavnagar plates of Dharasena III of Valabhī of Samvat 304.

These plates are found with a corn merchant of Bhavnagar. They are two, making a complete grant of Dharasena III of Valabhī. They measure $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$ and contain 24 and 20 lines of writing respectively.

The grant was issued by Dharasena III, the son of Kharagraha, who was the younger brother of Śilāditya from his military camp stationed at Khetaka *pradeśa*. The introductory portion

containing the description of each ruler from Bhaṭārka, the founder of the family, to Dharasena III, the donor of the present grant, is practically identical with that in the grant of Dhruvasena of Saṁ. 310 (*Ind. Ant.* 6. 12).

The beneficiary is a Brāhmaṇa named Mitrayaśas, son of Viṣṇuyaśas, of Ātreya gotra and a follower of Atharva Veda, resident of Hastavapra.

The property granted to him consists of (1) 100 pādāvartas of land in the village Amākārakūpa, in the Hastavapra *āhāra* in the Surāṣṭrā *viṣaya*; (2) a field in the village Ḍabhaka in the Kālāpaka *pathaka*; (3) an irrigation well with an area of eighteen pādāvartas in the same village; (4) Ulbaṇa (?) pādāvartas of land in the village Hastihṛdaka in the Sirivaṭikā *sthali*.

The Dūtaka of the grant was the prince and feudatory Śīlāditya and it was written by Vatrabhaṭṭi, the chief secretary and the minister for peace and war.

The date of the grant is the seventh day of the bright half of Māgha of (Gupta-Valabhi) Saṁvat 304.

The historical importance of the grant is that no date was so far found between Saṁvat 290, the latest date of Śīlāditya and 310, the earliest date of Dhruvasena II Bālāditya. Between these two rulers, moreover, two rulers named Kharagraha and Dharasena III had ruled. But no record was so far found of either of them. The present grant gives us a record and a date for at least one of them and partly fills up the gap existing between Saṁ. 292 and 310. Except the three place names Surāṣṭrā (modern Kathiawar), Hastavapra (modern Hāthab in Bhavnagar State), and Kālāpaka (modern Kālāvāḍ in the S. W. of Kathiawar) none of the places can be identified.

No. III.—A grant of Western Calukya sovereign Pulikesin II.

Excellent impressions of this grant and the following were found with Seth Purushottam Vishram Mavji of Bombay, a patron and lover of Indian art and antiquities. Unfortunately he does not know where the original plates are lying and how their impressions found their way to his collection.

This grant consists of four plates each measuring 6" by 2½" and engraved on one side only. They are bored in the left hand side with small holes meant for the ring containing the seal of the western Cālukya family with the figure of a boar (*varāha*) engraved in relief. The inscription consists of 16 lines in all, four lines being engraved in each plate.

The inscription opens with a verse containing an invocation of the god Viṣṇu in his *Varāha* incarnation. Then it is stated that the great lord of many kings, who acquired the kingdom by the prowess of his own arms, who was born in the lineage of the Calukyas, that were born of Hārīti, had Mānava as their *gotra* and had Svāmi-Mahāsena as their tutelary deity, who was the son of Kīrtivarman and grandson of [Pulikeśi] made from Taṭākodyama on Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī, a gift of the village Tiyaregrāma to Devagaṇasvāmin of Kāśyapa *gotra*. The record closes with two usual imprecatory verses.

The peculiarity of the record is that it does not give the name of the grantor king. He must no doubt be Pulikeśi II, the son of Kīrtivarman as the grantor king in our inscription is said to be the son of Kīrtivarman. Similarly the year when the grant was issued is not given, though the *tithi* and the month, are given, which, however, are of little importance.

The two localities mentioned in the grant cannot at present be identified. The plates for various reasons seem to be spurious.

No. IV.—A grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign Govinda III.

This grant consists of three plates each measuring 11" by 6¾". The second plate only is inscribed on both the sides. Each plate has a big hole in the left hand side meant for the ring joining the three plates together. The inscription consists of 68 lines distributed equally in the four sides of the writing. The characters are similar to those found in Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants. The language of the record is Sanskrit. At the end of the last line of the inscription the figures of *Śankha*, *Cakra*, *Gadā* and *Padma* are engraved, which is, I suppose, an extraordinary feature of this grant.

The introductory portion of the inscription containing the description of the members of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family from

Kṛṣṇarāja to Govinda III the grantor king of this grant, who is styled here as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Prithvī-vallabha Śrīmat Prabhūtarṣa Śrī Vallabha-Narendradeva*, meditating on the feet of P. M. P. Śrīmad Dhārāvārsadeva, is like that of other grants of Govinda III. But it is more identical with that in the Rādhanpur grant than in the Vaṇi Dīṇḍori grant of the same king. The formal portion is of course different.

The grant was issued by the king from Mayūrakhaṇḍi from which at least three other grants were issued by the same king.

The beneficiary in the present grant is (a Brāhmaṇa named) Piṅgakula, son of Śrīdharabhaṭṭa, of the Hāridra *gotra* and Chāndoga Śākhā, resident of (the village) Pariyali.

The property granted to the beneficiary consists of the village Nandapura in the Dhank-Pippala *bhukti*. The boundaries of the village are thus given: to the east the village Kāṇḍārikā, to the south Vaḍagrāma, to the west the village Vacculikā and to the north the village Dahiypippala.

The date when the grant was issued is given in the first line of the third plate. It is mentioned as Vaiśākha mahāparvaṇi in the Śaka year 733. No other details of the date are given here like the week-day or the name of the Saṁvatsara or the regular year, as are sometimes given in some other grants of the king.

The writer of the present grant is Aruṇāditya, son of Vatasarāja, who is mentioned in at least two more grants of the same king. The Dūtaka of the grant is altogether a new man named Nāgabhuṭa.

The importance of the present grant is that it gives us the latest date for Govinda III. His successor Amoghavarṣa ascended the throne in 814-15 A.D. Two grants of Govinda III dated Śaka 732 have been recently discovered: one issued on the full moon day of Pauṣa is published by R. B. R. Narasiṁhācārya in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* and the other issued on the full moon day of Vaiśākha is noticed by Mr. V. R. Gupte in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. IV. R. B. Narasiṁhācārya's grant is later than Mr. Gupte's grant. The present grant issued on

the full moon day of the month Vaiśākha of the Śaka year 733 is exactly one year later than Mr. Gupte's grant.

No. V.—Asvi plates of the early Yadava Irammadeva, a feudatory of the Deccan Calukya Vikramaditya VI, of Saka 1020.

These plates were discovered in the village Āsvī in the Sanganner Taluka of the Ahmednagar District in the Bombay Presidency. Subsequently they were acquired by the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍaḷa, Poona, and published in Marāṭhī in the Quarterly of the Maṇḍaḷa by the late Mr. Pandurang N. Patwardhan.

These are three plates containing a Sanskrit inscription in Nāgarī characters of 85 lines of writing. The record opens with an invocation of the god Śaṅkara. Then the geneology of the donor of the grant is given thus. There was a king named Dṛiḍhaprahāra, an incarnation of Viṣṇu who hailed from Dvārāvatiṭpattana and founded a town named Candrādityapura. His son was Seuṇacandra who founded a town named Seuṇapura in Sindinera. His son was Dhāḍiyappa. After him the following kings—Bhillama, Śrīrāja, Vaḍḍiga, Bhillama II, Vesuka and Bhillama III—ruled successively. In the family of the last ruler was born Seuṇacandra, who defeated several kings and freed his kingdom from enemies after the death of Bhillama. Seuṇacandra's son was Irammadeva. He conquered the kingdom of seven parts (*aṅgas*) which king Bhuvanaikamalla could not conquer and gave it to king Paramardin. Irammadeva's wife was Yogallā.

The inscription then states that on Monday, the fifteenth of the dark half of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 1020, Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Irammadeva, ruling over Seuṇadeśa, during the victorious rule of the Cālukya sovereign Tribhuvanamalla Paramardideva issued a grant from the place Narmadāpura on the bank of the Narmadā. The beneficiaries were thirty-one Brāhmaṇas, the chief of whom, was named Kūkalapaṇḍita of Kāśyapa *gotra*, who had immigrated from Karahāra. The property granted consisted of the village named Koṁkaṇagrāma (modern Koṁkaṇagaon in the Sanganner Taluka) situated in the Saṅgamanera sub-division of 84

villages under Śrinagara division of 1,000 villages in the Seuṇadeśa. The grant was written by Pālakaraṇi Hariścandra.

Four grants of the early Yādava family of Seuṇadeśa were so far known : the Sangamner grant of Śaka 922 of Bhillama III, the Kalas-Budruk grant of Śaka 948 of Bhillama III, and the Bassein and the Wāghli grants of Śaka 991 of Seuṇacandra. The present grant of Śaka 1020 is the fourth and the latest. Except, of course, the formal portion it is almost identical with the Bassein grant of Seuṇacandra, the father of the donor of the present grant.

Irammadeva is no doubt to be identified with Parammadeva, the son and successor of Seuṇacandra, as recorded in Hemādri's *Vratākhaṇḍa*. In the MSS. of the *Vratākhaṇḍa* the spelling of the name is, however, found to be Parammadeva and not Irammadeva. The present record states in clear terms that Irammadeva was a loyal feudatory of the great Cālukya sovereign Vikramāditya VI Paramardin, though nowhere in the long list of the sovereign's feudatories is the name of the Yādava family found mentioned. In Hemādri's *Vratākhaṇḍa* Irammadeva's father Seuṇacandra is said to have saved Paramardin from a coalition of his enemies and to have placed him on the throne of Kalyāna. But it is altogether silent about the valuable services of Irammadeva (or Parammadeva according to its spelling of the name) to Paramardin as distinctly recorded in our grant.

The present inscription, moreover, shows that the Yādava territories, *i.e.*, Seuṇadeśa, were at the time of the record extended in the north as far as the river Narmadā, which must consequently be said to be the northern extremity of the vast empire of Vikramāditya VI. We know already that a record of A.D. 1088 speaks of Vikramāditya VI crossing the Narmadā and conquering the kings on the other side of the river. Another record of A.D. 1098 shows that again he was in the northern part of his empire on the banks of the Narmadā. Our grant supports that information.

The Christian equivalent of the date of our grant is the 3rd May of 1098. The place Narmadāpura cannot be identified.¹

¹ The above-mentioned grants will be fully edited in due course in the *Epi-graphia Indica*.

THREE MUGHAL PAINTINGS ON AKBAR'S RELIGIOUS DISCUSSIONS

BY REV. H. HERAS, S.J.

ONE of the most interesting subjects in the study of Akbar's reign are his discussions on religious systems. Unless their process is known, no historian can explain the evolution of Akbar's religious mind from the mystic conceptions of Sufism to the purely political idealism of the *Dīn-Ilāhī*. His attempt at unifying India's different creeds naturally sprang from these controversies, when he realized that the unity of India could never be expected from the multitude of religious believes and ideals professed in the country. Hence the great importance of the study of these famous disputes held under the patronage of the great Emperor.

The authorities for the study are Badaoni and Abu-l Faz among the Mussulmans ; Fr. Montserrat's *Commentarius*, the still unpublished letters of Fr. Aquaviva and the Jesuit works based on these and other missionary documents lost at present. Von Noer and Vincent Smith have devoted particular study to these sources. The three contemporary paintings that constitute the subject of this paper, will now afford some other unknown circumstances referring to these religious controversies.

Before describing these paintings it is necessary to give a short chronological account of the discussions. Great confusion has been created from the fact that they have never been studied chronologically. The result of this is that some people have imagined a meeting of the Jesuit Fathers with Dastūr Meherji Rāṇā, the famous Parsi Priest, a meeting which never took place, for the simple reason that they were never together at Akbar's court. Even Vincent Smith himself perturbs the natural order of events.

I.

Akbar's religious discussions were of two different kinds. For he promoted discussions between the followers of different Muhammadan sects and initiated likewise the famous religious controversies between the theologians of various religious creeds that lasted eleven years from 1573 to 1584. The great Emperor was extremely fond of religious discussions. "Discourses on Philosophy," he said, "have such a charm for me that they distract me from all else, and I forcibly restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected."¹ Akbar was by nature a mystic. He commenced the discussions between the different sects of Muhammadanism with a pure desire of knowing truth. Badaoni himself, who is well known for his antipathy towards the Emperor, at this time says of him as follows: "His Majesty spent whole nights in praising God. . . His heart was full of reverence for Him, who is the true Giver, and from a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lovely spot, with his head bent over his chest, gathering the bliss of the early hours of dawn."²

In February 1575 he ordered the erection of a building intended for the holding of these religious discussions among the Mussulmans themselves. This edifice, the plot of which is a riddle to the archæologists that visit the ruins of Fathpur-Sikri, received the appellation of 'Ibādat-Khāna' or the House of Worship. There on Thursday evening after sunset the Emperor used to preside over the discussions among Saikhs, Sayyids, Ulamā and Amīrs till the little hours of the morrow. Smith says that "the signature in September, 1579, of the Infallibility Decree which empowered Akbar to act as supreme arbiter of all questions of Muslim theology rendered vain the debates of the representatives of various schools of Muslim thought. The House of Worship was, I believe, disused from that year, and very probably was then pulled down."³

¹ *Happy Sayings*, Blockman-Jarrett, *Ain Akbari*, III, p. 386.

² Badaoni, II, p. 203. (Lowe's translation.)

³ Smith, *Akbar's "House of Worship," JRAS.* 1917, p. 722.

The suspicion of Smith is evidently unfounded. It is really strange he did not remember a passage of the *Akbar Nāma*, in which Abu-l-Fazl says that "one night, the assembly in the 'Ibādat-Khāna' was increasing the light of truth by the presence of Padre Radif."⁴ This Padre cannot be other than Father Rodolfo Aquaviva, who arrived at Fathpur in 1580, a year after the Infallibility Decree was issued. Equally ungrounded is the following statement of the same author: "The later debates, which were carried on by doctors of various religions, not by Mussulmans only, seem to have been always conducted in the private apartments of the palace."⁵

These doctors of strange religions who met by Akbar's order to discuss the truth of their own beliefs were Hindus, Parsis, Christians and Jains. Sikhs were known to the Emperor much later, when he established his court at Lahore. Smith affirms that "Akbar does not seem to have known any Buddhist scholars."⁶ Again, one of the paintings we are going to describe will throw new light upon this statement. Let it be enough for the present to quote these words of Abu-l-Fazl: "The Shāhinshāh's court became the home of the inquirers of the seven climes, and the assemblage of the wise of every religion and sect."⁷

The Hindu influence was not due to a special teacher summoned to the court. Akbar's constant dealings with Hindus, and specially his relations with both his Hindu wives and his friend Bīrbal were the causes of his liking for Hindu ceremonies and customs. "The accursed Birbar (Bīrbal)," says Badaoni, "tried to persuade the Emperor, that since the sun gives light to all, and ripens all grain, fruits and products of the earth, and supports the life of mankind, therefore that luminary should be the object of worship and veneration; that the face should be turned towards the rising and not towards the setting sun, which is the west; that man should venerate fire, water, stones and trees and all nature objects, even down to cows and their dung; that he should adopt the

⁴ *Akbar Nama*, III, p. 308. (Beveridge's translation.)

⁵ Smith, *op. cit.*

⁶ Smith, *Akbar*, p. 162, note 1.

⁷ *Akbar Nama*, III, p. 360.

sectarian mark, and Brahmanical thread . . . He prohibited the slaughter of cows, and the eating of their flesh, because the Hindus devoutly worship them, and esteem their dung as pure."⁸

II.

His first Parsi acquaintance seems to have been the Naosāri Mōbed Dastūr Meherji Rānā, whom he met in 1573 at the time of his war against Surat. At this early date Akbar was taught the tenets and misteries of Zoroastrianism, and the Dastur was called to his court later on, at least during the year 1578 till the beginning of 1579.⁹ From this time Akbar was much influenced by Parsi ideas, so much so that even Blockman says that "Akbar, though a Sūfī in his heart, was a Parsi by his rites."¹⁰ He went so far as to adopt the Persian names for the months and days and celebrate the fourteen Parsi festivities.¹¹ Budaoni records the following items referring to Parsi influence: "Fire-worshippers also came from Nausāri in Gujrat, proclaimed the religion of Zardusht (Zaratustra) as the true one, and declared reverence to fire to be superior to every other kind of worship. They also attracted the Emperor's regard, and taught him the peculiar terms, the ordinances, the rites and ceremonies of the Kaiānians (Sāsānians). At last he ordered that the sacred fire should be made over to the charge of Abu-l Fazl, and after the manner of the Kings of Persia, in whose temples blazed perpetual fires, he should take care it was never extinguished night or day, for that is one of the signs of God, and one light from the many lights of His creation."¹² Fr. Rodolfo Aquaviva in a letter dated September 27th, 1582, to Father Ruy Vicente, Jesuit Provincial at Gon, says as follows: "The Emperor brings confusion into the court by the many novelties daily introduced, among other things, the giving praise to creatures as the Sun and Moon . . . Two or three days after their Lent has commenced, a new Easter has been introduced called

⁸ Badaoni, II, p. 268.

⁹ J. Modi, *The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rānā* (Bombay, 1903).

¹⁰ *JASB.* XXXVII, N.S., p. 14.

¹¹ Modi, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹² Badaoni, II, pp. 268-9.

'Merjan' (Mehrjan), on which it is commanded that all the chiefs be dressed out in State, and listen to music and dances. I inquired of the Emperor's astrologers, and they told me that it was a feast observed by the ancient fire-worshipping kings of Persia."¹³

Akbar's thankfulness towards the Dastur is shown by the fact that the Emperor granted him 200 bighas (about 150 acres) of land as subsistence allowance.¹⁴

Dastur Meherji Rana's son also visited Akbar's court after his father's death, that occurred in 1591.¹⁵ He could have met the Jesuits of the third mission (1595-1605).

"Akbar," says Vincent Smith, "probably found more personal satisfaction in Zoroastrianism, the religion of the Parsees, than in any other of the numerous religions examined by him so critically in his odd, detached manner. The close connexion with Persia always maintained by his family, and his manifested preference for Iranian rather than Mughal officers, predisposed him to look with a favourable eye on the creed and religious philosophy of Iran."¹⁶

III.

One year had elapsed since the Parsi priest had left Fathpur when the first three Jesuits arrived at the court summoned by the Emperor. "The Fathers," says Montserrate, "were delighted at the King's kindly reception and were conducted rejoicing to their quarters. For they were persuaded that these signs foretold the speedy conversion of the King to the true religion and worship of Christ."¹⁷ Fr. Montserrate also gives full details of the religious discussions between the Fathers and the Muhammadans. These discussions were, according to him, held at night and in the presence of Akbar himself. Montserrate was present at these discussions during the first year of their stay at Fathpur. In 1581 he accompanied Akbar in his expedition to Kābul, and

¹³ British Museum, *Marsden MSS.*, No. 9854.

¹⁴ Moji, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁵ Smith, *Akbar*, p. 163.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 162.

¹⁷ *The Commentary of Fr. Montserrate*, p. 28.

upon his coming back he left the court for good. During the third year only Aquaviva was defending the Christian doctrine. In fact he was a very good theologian and even during the first year he was the leader of the Christian party.

When narrating the events of the court in the year 1580, Badaoni relates the following interesting episode: "At this time the Emperor sent Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtiyār to bring Shaikh Qutb-ud-dīn of Jalesar, who was a *majzub* and intoxicated with the Divine Love. When Qutb-ud-dīn came, the Emperor brought him to a conference with some Christian priests, and philosophers, and great law-authorities of the age. After a discussion the Shaikh exclaimed: 'Let us make a peat fire, and in the presence of His Majesty we will pass through it, and whichever gets safely through it will prove thereby the truth of his religion.' The fire was made. The Shaikh pulled one of the Christian priests by the coat, and said to him: 'Come on, in the name of God!' But none of the priests had the courage to go".¹⁸

Abu-l Fazl narrates the discussion held at the Ibādat-Khāna, mentioned above, in the following way: "One night the assembly in the Ibādat-Khāna was increasing the light of truth. Padre Radif (Rodolfo Aquaviva), one of the Nazarene sages, who was singular for his understanding and ability, was making points in the feast of intelligence. Some of the untruthful bigots came forward in a blundering way to answer him. Owing to the calmness of the august assembly, and the increasing light of justice, it became clear that each of these was weaving a circle of old acquisitions, and was not following the highway of proof, and that the explanation of the riddle of truth was not present to their thoughts. The veil was nearly being stripped, once for all, from their procedure. They were ashamed, and abandoned such discourse, and applied themselves to perverting the words of the Gospels. But they could not silence their antagonist by such arguments. The Padre quietly and with an air of conviction said: 'Alas, that such things should be thought to be true! In fact, if this faction have such an opinion of our Book, and regard

¹⁸ Badaoni, II, p. 308.

the Furgān (Kuran) as the pure word of God, it is proper that a heaped fire be lighted. We shall take the Gospels in our hands and the Ulamā of that faith shall take their book and then let us enter that testing-place of truth. The escape of any one will be a sign of his truthfulness' The liverless and black-hearted fellows wavered, and in reply to the challenge had recourse to bigotry and wrangling."¹⁹

Aquaviva himself in a letter to the Rector at Goa of September, 1580, describes the effect of his assertions among the orthodox Mussulmans: "They call Jesus a prophet," says he, "but they deny him the title of Son of God. I do not know such a Jesus. I cannot speak of Jesus save as Son of God. But when to soothe my spirit I say 'Jesus Christ the Son of God,' then my affliction is multiplied, for one cries out 'Stafarla' (Istaghfaru-llah), an exclamation of disgust; another closes his eyes; one laughs, another blasphemes."²⁰

At this time Christian influence at Akbar's court was visible to all. Badaoni writes to this effect: "Learned monks also from Europe, who are called Padre and have an infallible head, called Papa, who is able to change religious ordinances as he may deem advisable for the moment, and to whose authority kings must submit, brought the Gospel and advanced proofs for the Trinity. His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and wishing to spread the doctrines of Jesus, ordered Prince Murād to take a few lessons in Christianity under good auspices, and charged Abu-l Fazl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual *Bismillāh-irrahmān-irrahīm*, the following line was used:—

Ai nāmi vey Gesu Christu

(O Thou whose name is Jesus Christ),

that is 'O Thou, whose name is merciful and very bountiful.' Shaikh Faizī added to this the hemistich:—

Subhānaka lā sivāka yā hū

(We praise Thee. There is no one besides Thee, O God).

¹⁹ *Akbar Nama*, III, pp. 268-9.

²⁰ Bartoli, *Missione al Gran Mogor del P. Ridolfo Aquaviva*, p. 197. (Piacenza, 1819.)

And the attributes of the accursed Antichrist and his qualities were ascribed by those accursed men to His Lordship the best of the Prophets (God bless him and his family and preserve him from all impostors!).”²¹

IV.

Fr. Aquaviva had not yet left Fathpur when in the year 1582 the famous Jain Guru Hiravijaya Sūri arrived at the court of Akbar. The Emperor had made his acquaintance at Ahmadabad upon his return from Kābul.²² The Guru obtained from the Emperor the concession of setting free the caged birds and to give up hunting. Moreover the famous tank called Dabul at Fathpur, which abounded in fish, was offered to Hira so as to stop fishing at that place. “The Emperor,” says Aquaviva in the above quoted letter, “brings confusion into the court by the many novelties daily introduced, among other things the abstaining from meat from Saturday night and all Sunday In general it is forbidden to sell any meat in the market, and we are generally unable to get any to eat on Sundays.”²³ “At this time,” says also Badaoni, “His Majesty promulgated some of his new-fangled decrees. The killing of animals on the first day of the week was strictly prohibited, also during the first eighteen days of the month of Farwardīn, the whole of the month of Ābān, and on several other days, to please the Hindus. This order was extended over the whole realm and punishment was inflicted on every one who acted against the command. Many a family was ruined. During the time of these fasts the Emperor abstained altogether from meat, as a religious penance, gradually extending the several fasts during a year over six months and even more, with a view to eventually discontinue the use of meat altogether.”²⁴

Jain influence at Akbar’s court continued till 1584. Vijayasena Sūri, Shanti Chandra Sūri and Bhānu Chāndra Sūri

²¹ Badaoni, II, pp. 267-8.

²² Cf. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 166.

²³ British Museum *Marsden MSS.* No. 9854.

²⁴ Badaoni, II, p. 331.



No. 1.

carried on the work commenced by Hiravijaya Sūri.²⁵ In the funeral monument of the latter there is an inscription that mentions Akbar in honorific terms.²⁶

Did Hiravijaya Sūri and Fr. Aquaviva ever discuss together about religious matters? Though there is no mention of such controversies in any contemporary source, anyhow I feel sure that such debates actually took place, as this was precisely the fanciful curiosity of Akbar. The fact that Montserrat does not say anything about debates with the Jaina guru does not prove anything, since they occurred during the third year of Aquaviva's stay at Fathpur, after Montserrat had already left the court.

Such is the brief sketch of these famous historical discussions we wished to premise before the study of the three paintings. These paintings belong to the Bhārata Itihāsa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona. They came originally to Poona, from the court of Agra, in the time of the Peshwas. That was the time during which many a Mughal painting found its way to the glorious capital of Maharashtra.

V.

A slight study of these three paintings will make us aware that not all the religious discussions were held in the Ibādat-Khāna. Was the cause of this the fact that this building had been pulled down by Akbar's order, as Smith suspects? We do not know. What we may affirm is that the Ibādat-Khāna was still existing in 1580. Now, one of these pictures at least represents a scene prior to this year, as will be proved later on. In the three paintings the discussions are held in open air. In two of them (Nos. 1 and 2) the scenery is the same: a hill in the background, from the top of which a water-fall descends into the valley. One of them shows also some trees next to the hill. The third painting does not represent the hill and the water-fall. Anyhow, could not the place be the same, looked at from another point of view? There are also several trees in this third painting and among them a small shed.

²⁵ Cf. Lalla, *Rise of the Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 150-3.

²⁶ *Ep. Ind.* V, p. 44, App. No. 308, and II, pp. 58, 50.

What is this place represented in the paintings where these discussions were occasionally held? After a careful survey of the ridge of Fathpur and its surroundings, the last month of March, I am inclined to think that the spot where these celebrated meetings took place was the old garden at the foot of the hill north-west to it, (next to the Hiram Minar), of which there are still now several traces. Thus the hill so roughly represented in the paintings would be the same hill of Fathpur. Nothing is seen of the water-fall, at present. But that being, as it appears, a place where the Emperor could enjoy the cool evening hours in the midst of trees and flowers, there we may easily locate a water-fall descending from the ridge itself, by which both the atmosphere would be refreshed and the plants and trees watered.

The debates represented in the first two paintings, although evidently held in the same place are not the same. One of them (No. 1) is held at night. The other during day-time. The personages moreover are not the same in both the paintings. Akbar and his son Prince Salim are sitting on the ground in No. 1, while they appear seated on a platform in No. 2. In both Akbar and Salim have beads round their necks according to Hindu custom. The two persons that sit before Akbar and his son, in No. 1, are two old Mussulmans, the one in front of Akbar being evidently his well-known friend and councillor Abu-l Fazl. The other opposite Prince Salim seems to be Abu-l Fazl's elder brother Shaikh Faizi. The disputants are seated on the foreground of the picture. There are among them some Muhammadans and some Hindus. An old man with a white flowing beard and a young braman with his hair shaved and tied up in Southern-India fashion are the most prominent among the latter.

In painting No. 2 the two persons seated in front of Akbar and Prince Salim are quite different. One of them with grown uncombed hair is apparently a Hindu Sannyasi. The other one, in front of Prince Salim, is evidently a Parsi Dastūr. His long flowing white *jama*, his white *pagdi*, or turban, his long beard are characteristic notes of a Mobed. His aquiline nose also denotes Persian origin. He wears big round earrings. This Mobed cannot be but the famous Dastūr Meherji Rānā. The painting



No. 2.

discloses moreover some other signs of Parsi influence. In midst of a crown of debaters, among whom there are two bare-headed persons, who may be supposed to be two joghis, there are several dishes with bread, fruits and other eatables and four lights. Two of them, placed on the imperial dais itself, are candles covered with a wire bell or cover. The other pair of lights are of a very queer manufacture; they look like two acetylene lamps. One of them is producing much smoke. Now these lights in the middle of a meeting held during day cannot be explained but through the Parsi influence that was the guide of Akbar's proceeding for a time. Looking at these lighted candles and lamps one of Akbar's happy sayings comes naturally to our memory: "To light a candle is to commemorate the (rising of the) sun. To whomsoever the sun sets, what other remedy hath he but this?"²⁷ In fact from March, 1580, whenever the lamps and candles were lighted in the interior of his palace, the whole court was ordered to rise respectfully.²⁸

Painting No. 3 is perhaps the most beautiful among the three. The discussion is celebrated in the absence of Akbar. Three of the seven persons debating are evidently Mussulmans; two of them seem to be Mullahs dressed in white, and the other is perhaps an Amir. In the left corner there are two persons, of whom the first seems to be a Hindu. The other person in the foreground cannot be easily identified. On the other side of the painting, seated next to the Mussulmans there is a cleanshaven person

²⁷ Blockman-Jarrett, *Ain Akbari*, III, p. 393.

²⁸ Badaoni, II, p. 269. A more careful examination of this painting, long after I read this paper before the Society, inclined me to suspect that the Dastūr represented there is not Dastūr Meherji Rāṇā. He was at Akbar's court from 1578 till 1579, when Prince Salim was at most 10 years old. Now the painting in question represents Prince Salim as a youth over 20. Hence the Dastūr opposite to him cannot be the Rāṇā. Yet I have no doubt that he is a Dastūr. On the other hand we know that the Rāṇā's son, Dastūr Kaikobad, also was for a time Akbar's guest. In 1595 Akbar granted 100 bighas of land to him in addition to the 200 granted to his father (Cf. Modi, o. c., p. 8). By this time Prince Salim was 26 years old. Hence the Dastūr of this painting may be Dastūr Kaikobad, the son of Dastūr Meherji Rāṇā.

of intelligent look. His head-dress and cloak reveal that he is a Buddhist monk. My opinion would not be supported by Mr. Vincent Smith, but the fact that Abu-l-Fazl says that "for a long time past scarce any trace of them (Buddhist Monks) has existed in Hindustan"²⁹ does not prove anything in favour of Smith's supposition. A Buddhist monk could be easily summoned by Akbar from Kashmir or from Nepal or even from Tibet. Who this disciple of Gautama was that took part in the religious debates at Akbar's court is, of course, unknown.

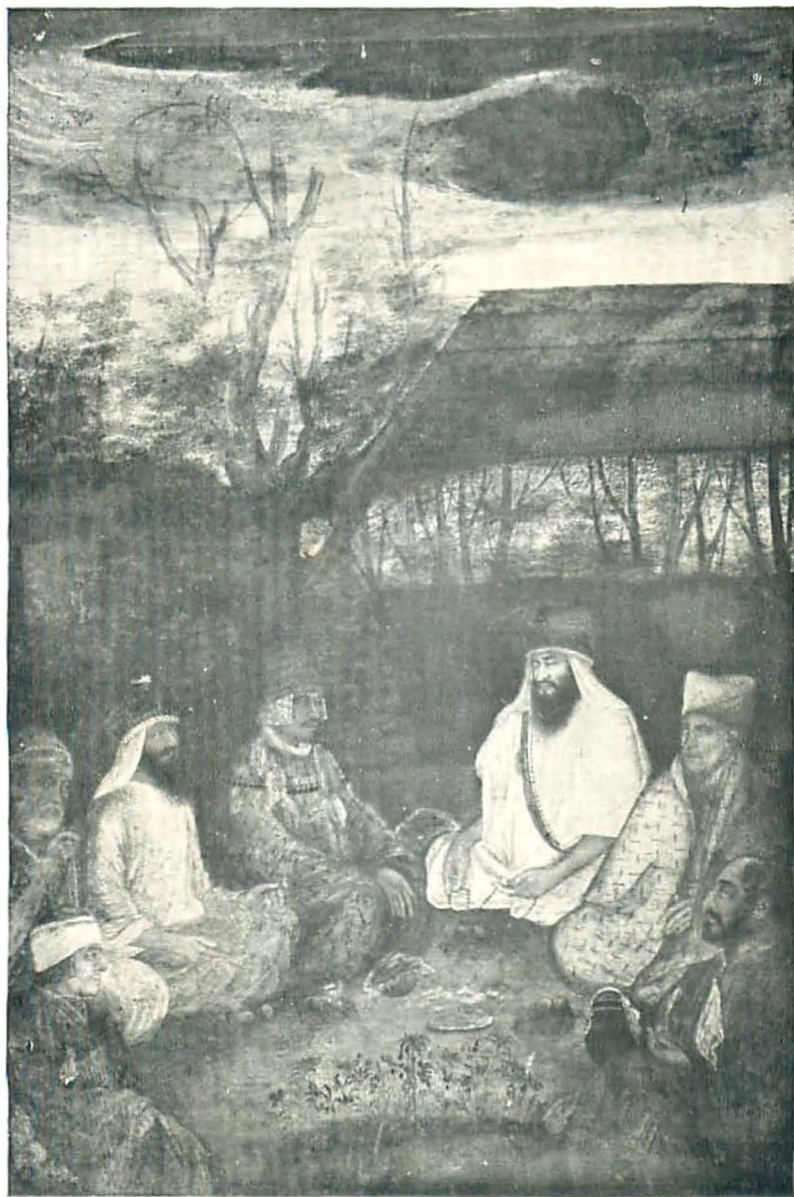
The other person in the right corner in the foreground is beyond doubt a European, as both his complexion and the trimming of his hair and beard show. And even the profile of his forehead and nose are characteristically Roman. He cannot be other than Fr. Rodolfo Aquaviva. His blackish tunic is the soutaine of a Roman Catholic Priest. It is slightly open over his chest disclosing a portion of a white shirt. His right hand holds a fruit taken most likely from an assortment on the floor. It seems to be an apple or perhaps a chiko. The serene attitude of his face agrees with the contemporaries' account of it. They always said that the virtues that adorned his soul could be seen through the dignity of his face and the gentleness of his eyes.³⁰

After these short notes, the historical importance of the paintings would appear manifest. The Mughal painters were extremely realistic and very faithful in portraiture.³¹ These pictures are like real photographs of those famous debates that influenced so much Akbar's life and politics. Moreover, we have in these paintings doubtless portraits of the Parsi Mobed Dastūr Meherji Rāṇā and the Jesuit Priest Blessed Rodolfo Aquaviva, the champions of two of the foreign creeds discussed at the court of Akbar.

²⁹ *Ain Akbari*, III, p. 212.

³⁰ Cf. Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, II, pp. 121-2.

³¹ Cf. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, pp. 141-62.



No. 3

SOME REFLECTIONS ON PRTHVĪRĀJA RĀSĀ

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This epic poem, *Pr̥thvirāja Rāsā*, is generally believed to be the work of Cand Bardāi, the court poet of Pr̥thvirāja, who is supposed to have written it in the time of the famous Cauhāna Pr̥thvirāja III. of Ajmer, i.e., in the twelfth century A.D., using the so-called Anand form of the Vikrama era, which is said to be less by 90 or 91 than the ordinary Vikrama era. It is a wonder that scholars like V. A. Smith¹ and others have been led to believe in the genuineness of the book and in the existence of such an era.

My object in writing this paper is to show as briefly as possible that, in the said poem, almost all the dates of the incidents connected with the life of Pr̥thvirāja, the hero of the book—let alone other personages—are false and that most of the incidents cannot happen at all.

Before examining the dates let us try to gather what we can about Pr̥thvirāja. In order to do this, we have to commence from his grandfather, Ar̥ṇorāja, who ruled from Samvat 1196²-1207³ (A.D. 1139-1150). Ar̥ṇorāja was succeeded by Jagadeva,⁴ who being a murderer⁵ of his father seems to have been quickly dethro-

¹ Smith; *Early History of India*, p. 42, n. 2. For Dr. Barnett's view see *Antiquities of India*, p. 95.

² *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 52.

³ *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LVI, p. 10. The battle between Kumārapāla and Ar̥ṇorāja in S. 1207 shows that Ar̥ṇorāja was a ruler at that period.

⁴ His name is given in the genealogy of the Cauhāns at the end of *Prabandhakosa* and also in *Harṁmiramahākāvya*, Canto II, Śloka, 52. See also *Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII*, p. 59.

⁵ प्रथमस्तुधवासुतस्तदानीं परिचर्यां जनकस्य तामकार्षीत् ।

प्रतिपाद्यजलाञ्जलिं घृणायै विदधे यां मृगुनन्दनो जनन्या : ॥

Pr̥thvirājaviṅaya, canto 7, Śloka, 12.

J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. III.

ned⁶ by his younger brother Visaladeva (Vigraharāja IV), who ruled from Śamvat 1210⁷-20⁸ (A.D. 1153-63). The throne then naturally passed first to his own son Amaragāṅgeya and then to Jagadeva's son Pṛthvibhaṭa (Pṛthvirāja II), who is said to have conquered the lord of Śākambhari, probably Visaladeva's son Amaragāṅgeya, and ruled from Śamvat 1224⁹-26¹⁰ (A.D. 1167-69). This shows that *Visaladeva died between S. 1220 and S. 1224, or A.D. 1163 and 1167, that is, before S. 1224 (A.D. 1167)*. Next came Someśvara, who ruled from S. 1226¹¹-34¹² (A.D. 1169-77). It is said that shortly after the birth of Someśvara, his maternal grandfather Siddharāja Jayasinha of Gujarāt brought the infant to his own residence, and it was Kumārapāla, his successor, who brought up the child.¹³ This shows that Someśvara was in his childhood when Kumārapāla came to the throne in S. 1199¹⁴ (A.D. 1142).

Again, Someśvara is said to have killed the king of Kauṅkaṇa and after that event married the daughter of the Kalacuri king of Tripuri, of whom Pṛthvirāja was born on the 12th day of Jyeṣṭha.¹⁵

⁶ Same was the case with Udayasinha I. of Mewār, who being a parricide was dethroned by his younger brother Rāyamal.

⁷ The inscribed Harakelināṭaka of Vigraharāja IV. preserved in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 218.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. 41, p. 17.

¹⁰ *JBAS.* 1880, pt. I, p. 46.

¹¹ *JBAS.* 1880, pt. I, p. 42.

¹² ओं ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीसोमेस्व(श्व)रदेवमहाराये(ज्ये).....संवत् १२३४ भाद्र शुदि ४ शुक्रदिने..... unpublished inscription of Āmvaldā in Mewār.

¹³ *Pṛthvirājaviṅaya*, Cantos 6 and 7, Ślokas 35 and 11 respectively.

¹⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 213.

¹⁵ हनुमानिव शैलतस्स शैलं द्विरदेन्द्राद्द्विरदेन्द्रमुत्पतिष्णुः ।

छुरिकामपहृत्य कुङ्कुणेन्द्रं गमयामास कबंधतां तथैव ॥

इति साहससाहचर्यचर्यस्समयज्ञैः प्र[तिपादि]तप्रभावाम् ।

तनयां स सपादलक्षपुण्यैरुपयेमे त्रिपुरीपुर[न्द]रस्य ॥

Pṛthvirājaviṅaya, Canto 7, Ślokas 15-16.

पृथ्वीं पवित्रतां नेतुं राजशब्दं कृतार्थयताम् ।

चतुर्वर्णधनं नाम पृथ्वीराज इति व्यधात् ॥

The king of Kauṅkaṇa referred to above was evidently Mallikārjuna¹⁶ of northern Kauṅkaṇa belonging to the Śilārā dynasty, whose last inscription is dated Śaka Saṁvat 1082¹⁷ (A.D. 1160), while the first inscription of his successor, Aparāditya is dated Śaka Saṁvat 1084¹⁸ (A.D. 1162). Hence Someśvara must have killed Mallikārjuna sometime between Śaka Saṁvat 1082 and 1084 (A.D. 1160 and 1162), and consequently his (Someśvara) marriage with the daughter of the Kalacuri king must have taken place after Śaka Saṁvat 1082 (1160 A.D.), so that *Prthvirāja* was torn sometime after Śaka Saṁvat 1082, or V. S. 1217, or A.D. 1160.

Now, it appears from the account of Viśaladeva's death that before he passed to the next world, Viśaladeva was gratified to learn the news of two sons being born to his brother Someśvara.¹⁹ The death of Viśaladeva has been shown above to have occurred before S. 1224 (A.D. 1167). Hence *Prthvirāja* was born before S. 1224 (A.D. 1167). Thus, from the above we conclude that *Prthvirāja* was born between Saṁvats 1217 and 1224, or A.D. 1160 and 1167. He ruled from S. 1236²⁰-49²¹ (A.D. 1179-92) and his father Someśvara from S. 1226-34 (A.D. 1169-77). This shows that the death of Someśvara and the accession of *Prthvirāja* must have occurred between S. 1234 and 1236 (A.D. 1177 and 1179).

For brevity's sake, let the dates of the important events only as given in *Prthvirāja Rāsā* be taken as follows :

- I. The date of birth of *Prthvirāja*, S. 1115.²²
- II. The attack of Bholābhīm of Gujarāt on Salakh, the ruler of Ābū, S. 1136.²³

¹⁶ In *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (p. 203), Mallikārjuna is said to have been killed by Āmbaḍa, minister of Kumārāpāla.

¹⁷ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 186.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 186.

¹⁹ मथ भ्रातुरपत्याभ्यां सनाथां जानता भुवम् ।

जग्मे विग्रहराजेन कृतार्थेन शिवान्तिकम् ॥

Prthvirājavijaya, Canto 8, Śloka 53.

²⁰ संवत् १२३६ आपाद वदि १२ श्रीपृथ्वीराजराज्ये वागडीसखलणपुत्र.....
unpublished inscription of Lohāri in Mewār.

²¹ Duff : *The Chronology of India*, p. 168.

²² *Rāśosār*, p. 15, *Ādiparva* (First Period).

²³ *Ibid.* p. 46, *Bholārāi Samaya* (12th period).

- III. The capture of Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghūrī by Pṛthvirāja, S. 1136.²⁴
- IV. The marriage of Pṛthvirāja with Icchanī, S. 1136.²⁵
- V. The adoption of Pṛthvirāja to the throne of Delhi, S. 1138.²⁶
- VI. The confrontment of the armies of Shihābu-d-Dīn and Pṛthvirāja, S. 1140.²⁷
- VII. The date of birth of Saṁyogitā, daughter of Jayacandra of Kanauj, S. 1133.²⁸
- VIII. The attack of Pṛthvirāja on Kanauj, S. 1151.²⁹
- IX. The last battle between Pṛthvirāja and Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghūrī, S. 1158.³⁰

Now, as regards I, this date of birth of Pṛthvirāja is incorrect, since he has been shown above to have born between Saṁvats 1217 and 1224 (A.D. 1160 and 1167). People³¹ have maintained that the dates of *Pṛthvirāja Rāsā* are to be referred to the (so called) Anand Vikrama Saṁvat, which is less by 90 or 91 than the ordinary reckoning and that the dates in the said book are found to be correct by adding 90 or 91 to them. Even on this hypothesis, it will be seen in this case as well as in others that the dates do not come to be correct by making the necessary allowance, viz., by adding 90 or 91 to them.

II. So far as my knowledge goes, there is no mention of a king named Salakh among the rulers of Ābū in any inscription, or other reliable documents. Between Saṁvats 1123 and 1201, possibly the rulers of Ābū were Dhruvabhāṭa and Rāmadeva, as

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 53, *Salakh Yuddha Samaya* (13th period).

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 53.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 63, *Dillidāna Prastāva* (18th period).

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 150, *Kaimās Yuddha* (43rd period).

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 167, *Vinaya Mangala* (46th period).

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 252, *Kanaraja Kathā* (61st period).

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 416, *Vaḍi Ladāi Samaya* (66th period).

³¹ *JRAS.* 1906, pp. 500-1. *Annual Report on the search for Hindi manuscripts*, 1900, pp. 3-10. *Pṛthvirāja Rāse ki prathama Saṁrakshā*, pp. 20-45, in Hindi by Pt. Mohanlal Vishnulal Paṇḍya.

may be inferred from the inscription³² of Ābū, dated S. 1287 (A.D. 1230). Dhārāvārṣa ruled over Ābū from S. 1220 to S. 1276 (A.D. 1163 to 1219),³³ and Bholābhīm (Bhīmdeva II) of Gujarāt ascended the throne in S. 1236³⁴ (A.D. 1179). Hence, the attack of Bholābhīm on Ābū in S. 1136, or 1226 according to the above theory, is impossible.

III. The first, recorded³⁵ invasion of Shihābu-d-Dīn was in the A.H. 571 (A.D. 1175). Besides, Pr̥thvirāja ascended the throne after S. 1234 (A.D. 1177). Hence, the capture of Shihābu-d-Dīn by Pr̥thvirāja is not likely either in S. 1136, or in S. 1226 (A.D. 1079, or 1169).

IV. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LVI, p. 50 may be referred for this.

V. It is said in *Pr̥thvirāja Rāsā* that the king Anaṅgapāla of Delhi married his daughter Kamalā to Someśvara and adopted as his successor their issue Pr̥thvirāja, whom he handed over the reign of government and went away for pilgrimage.

There was no king named Anaṅgapāla at Delhi during the time of Someśvara, because, since the period of Viśaladeva, Delhi was the fief of Ajmer.³⁶ Besides, Someśvara married, as shown above, the daughter (Karpūrdevī)³⁷ of the Haihaya king of Tripuri.

VI. This is unlikely for reasons expressed in No. III.

VII. It is said in the *Rāsā* that Vijayapāla, king of Kanauj attacked the *Somavaṁśī* king Mukundadeva of Kaṭak, who gave his daughter in marriage to Vijayapāla's son Jayacandra, to whom a daughter named Saṁyogitā was born in S. 1133.

³² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 201.

³³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. 56, p. 48.

³⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 213.

³⁵ Duff's *Chronology*, p. 161.

Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 169.

Raverty's *Ṭabakāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 449.

³⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVI, p. 11. In Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 177, the ruler of Delhi contemporary with Pr̥thvirāja is said to be one named Cāwand Rāi.

³⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII, p. 60.

The name of Jayacandra's father was Vijayacandra (and not Vijayapāla), who ruled from S. 1224³⁸-26³⁹ (A.D. 1167-69). During this period, Katak was in all probability under the *Gaṅgāvaṁśī*⁴⁰ and not *Somavaṁśī* kings and there was no king named Mukundadeva either in the *Sōmavamśī* or *Gaṅgāvaṁśī* family reigning at that period in Katak or elsewhere.

The marriage, therefore, of Jayacandra with the daughter of Mukundadeva, and the subsequent birth of Saṁyogitā in S. 1133, or 1223 according to the Anand form, seem to be fabrications.

VIII. The king Jayacandra of Kanauj, says *Pr̥thvirāja Rāsā*, performed the *Rājāsūyayajna* and a *Scayamvara* for his daughter Saṁyogitā, in which he invited *Pr̥thvirāja* of Ajmer, Samarasimha of Mewār and others. On their refusal to attend the ceremony, both of them were attacked by Jayacandra's armies, which were unfortunately defeated. Thereupon, Jayacandra caused public dishonour to *Pr̥thvirāja* by erecting a gold image of his (*Pr̥thvirāja*.) in place of a door-keeper. Being enraged at this insult, *Pr̥thvirāja* attacked Kanauj in S. 1151 and, having defeated Jayacandra, returned victorious with Saṁyogitā, whom he married shortly afterwards.

It is pointed above that the circumstances in which the marriage of Jayacandra of Kanauj with the daughter of Mukundadeva took place are not worthy of belief. There is also no mention of a *Rājāsūyayajna* or a *Scayamvara* of Saṁyogitā being performed by Jayacandra in any inscription, manuscript, etc. Even in *Rambhāmañjarī Nāṭikā* of Nayacandra Sūri, of which Jayacandra is the hero, there is no such evidence. Hence, we find no such reason as given in the book for the attack of *Pr̥thvirāja* upon Kanauj.

IX. This is the only date connected with the life of *Pr̥thvirāja*, which is verified to be correct by historical facts, thereby lending considerable support to the upholders of the Anand Vikrama Saṁvat. The last battle between *Pr̥thvirāja* and Shihābu-

³⁸ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 118.

³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 120.

⁴⁰ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V, Appendix, p. 53.

d-Dīn Ghūri was fought in Śarīvat 1249⁴¹ (A.D. 1192), and this date is obtained by adding 91 to S. 1158 given in *Pr̥thvirāja Rāsā*.

Let some of the incidents narrated in the Poem be considered now :

(1) It is said in *Pr̥thvirāja Rāsā* that the king Vijayapāla of Kanauj came upon the king Anaṅgapāla of Delhi, but was defeated by the combined armies of Anaṅgapāla and Someśvara.⁴²

(2) Vijayapāla attacked Bholābhīm of Paṭṭanapura (Anhilvāḍa).⁴³

(3) Pr̥thvirāja of Ajmer, Samarasīmha of Mewār, and Pajjuna of Āmber are said to be contemporary kings.⁴⁴

(4) The marriage of Pr̥thvirāja with Sasivratā,⁴⁵ daughter of Bhāna, the Yādava king of Devagiri, and that of Pr̥thvirāja's sister Pr̥thā⁴⁶ with Samarasīmha of Mewār.

(5) The peculiar circumstances in which the deaths of Pr̥thvirāja, his poet Canda and of Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghūri occurred at Ghaznī.⁴⁷

(6) The succession of Reṅṣī to the throne of Delhi after the death of his father Pr̥thvirāja, etc., etc.⁴⁸

As regards No. (1), there was no king named Anaṅgapāla at Delhi in the time of Someśvara, because Delhi was under the Cauhāns of Ajmer since the time of Viśaladeva as already mentioned.

Similarly in No. (2), the attack of Vijayapāla (Vijayacandra) on Paṭṭanapura under Bholābhīm (Bhīmdeva II) is impossible as Bholābhīm ruled⁴⁹ from S. 1235 to 1298 (A.D. 1179-1241) and Vijayacandra from S. 1224-25 (A.D. 1168-69).

⁴¹ Duff's *Chronology*, p. 168.

Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 171-77.

⁴² *Rāsasār*, p. 15 (First period).

⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 166 (45th period).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 70-71 and p. 142 (21st and 40th periods respectively.)

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 93 ff. (25th period).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 70-71 (21st period).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 429-47 (67th period).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 449 ff. (68th period).

⁴⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 213.

Considering No. 3 Pṛthvirāja of Ajmer reigned from S. 1236-49 (A.D. 1179-92), Samarasimha of Mewār from S. 1330⁵⁰-58⁵¹ (A.D. 1273-1301), while the date of Pajjuṇa of Āmber, who was the 13th in succession⁵² from Vajradāmā (S. 1034⁵³—A.D. 977), falls about the middle of the 13th Century A.D., if an average reign of twenty years be assigned to each of the rulers between Vajradāmā and Pajjuṇa. Therefore, the three kings could not be contemporary.

Considering No. (4) it is known that Bhillama was the founder⁵⁴ of Devagiri in S. 1244 (A.D. 1187), *i.e.*, only five years before the death of Pṛthvirāja. During the reign of Pṛthvirāja, there was no king named Bhāna among the Yādava rulers of Devagiri.⁵⁵

As regards the marriage of Pṛthvirāja's sister Pṛthā with Samarasimha, the absurdity is evident, since there is an interval of about 100 years between the reigns of Pṛthvirāja of Ajmer and Samarasimha of Mewār.

In respect of No. (5), it is said in the *Rāsā* that Pṛthvirāja was taken captive and carried to Ghazni by Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghūrī. Under a plan devised by the poet Cand, who managed, however, to reach that place, Shihābu-d-Dīn was killed by an arrow of Pṛthvirāja, who along with his poet Cand, committed suicide immediately.

This is a guess work, since we know that Pṛthvirāja was defeated near Thāneśar in A.D. 1192 by Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghūrī and put to death shortly afterwards.⁵⁶

Shihābu-d-Dīn was assassinated on his return from Lahore by a heretic, or by a band of Khokars in A.H. 602 (A.D. 1206).⁵⁷

⁵⁰ The first inscription of the time of Samarasimha is dated S. 1330. *Wiener Zeitschrift*, Vol. 21, p. 143.

⁵¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. LV, p. 11, n. 1.

⁵² Muhnot Nainsy's *Khyāta* (Manuscript), pp. 63-64.

⁵³ Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. II, p. 376.

⁵⁴ Duff's *Chronology*, p. 165.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 310.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 168.

Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 177.

⁵⁷ Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. I, pp. 185-86.

With regard to No. (6), it is known that after *Pr̥thvirāja's* death, his son *Govindarāja* (*Golā*), succeeded his father to the throne of *Ajmer*.⁵⁸ The statement about *Reṅsi's* succession, therefore, seems to be a fiction.

Thus, we see from the accounts given in the book as well as from their dates that the work *Pr̥thvirāja Rāsā* is not genuine and that it was not composed at any rate in the time of *Pr̥thvirāja*, or within a reasonable period, say a century or two, from him. Had it been composed by the poet *Cand Bardāi* in the time of *Pr̥thvirāja*, such incongruent and preposterous accounts could not have occurred as are actually found in the book.

The theory of *Anand Vikrama Saṁvat* fails to support its⁵⁹ promulgator in the light of present researches. Even the *Pattās* and *Parvānās* of *Pr̥thvirāja*, *Pr̥thābāi* and *Samarasimha* put forth in support of the above theory do not hold good inasmuch as they themselves belong to the later period.

It is, however, possible that when a learned man prepares himself for and undertakes to write an historical work, he must know something and write something which may prove correct, but the serious defects that lie in his work are sufficient to reveal the work in its true light, and fail to gain for its author what he actually wants his work to be.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 177-8. *Duff's Chronology*, p. 168.

⁵⁹ See note 31 above.

THE STORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND
THE POISON-DAMSEL OF INDIA. A TRACE OF IT
IN FIRDOUSI'S SHĀH-NĀMEH

BY DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI

[Read on 4th February 1926.]

I.

INTRODUCTION

Last year, when I was in England, I had the pleasure of reading a Paper before the Folklore Society of London, on 17th June 1925, on the subject of "The Vish-kanyā (विष-कन्या) or Poison-damsel of Ancient India, illustrated by the story of Susan Rāmashgar in the Persian Burzo-nāmeḥ."¹ The subject of that paper was suggested to me by an inquiry in January 1924, from Mr. N. M. Penzer through Mr. R. E. Enthoven, asking for some information on Poison-damsel in Indian Literature. Mr. Penzer himself had gathered information from Indian books, but he wanted some further information, if available. Now, since his first inquiry, Mr. Penzer has published the second volume of his "Ocean of Story,"² and it is the third Appendix of this volume, for which he had sought further information from the members of my Anthropological Society, that has suggested to me the subject of this paper.

II.

WHAT IS A POISON-DAMSEL.

It is said of an ancient king that, as one of the means of defence against an invading enemy, "he tainted, by means of

¹ A brief paper on this subject was at first read before my Anthropological Society of Bombay and that paper was subsequently developed and read before the Folklore Society.

² The Ocean of Story, being C. H. Tawney's Translation of Somadeva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara (or ocean of streams of story), now edited with Introduction, fresh Explanatory Notes and Terminal Essay by N. M. Penzer, in ten Volumes, Vol. II, Appendix III, p. 275.

poison and other deleterious substances, the trees, flowering creepers, water and grass all along the line of march. And he sent poison-damsels as dancing girls among the enemy's host, and he also despatched nocturnal assassins into their midst."³ We find, that even in modern warfare, they resort to some such means. For example, the excreating gas, first discovered by the Germans in the late great world war of 1914-18, was a means of that kind.⁴ The jets of the gas poisoned the air on the side of the enemy and blinded them.

Now, as to the Vish-kanyā or a Poison-damsel, she was a beautiful young girl employed by a person to bring about the death of an enemy. She enticed him in her trap in some way or another by her fascinating beauty. From all that we read about them, we learn, that these Poison-damsels were of various types. I give below, what I have said of these various types in my above previous paper :—

- (1) "A poison-damsel, in the original sense of the word seems to mean a damsel who does harm deceitfully in some way or other to another person.
- (2) "She is one, born under an inauspicious configuration or conjugation of planets. So, she does harm to one who marries her. It is this view, that seems to have led, and even now seems to lead, many Indian parents to resort to an astrologer to ascertain, whether the planets, under the influence of which their children are born, are of the same conjunction or not. The happiness or otherwise of marriage

³ *Ibid.* 1, p. 275.

⁴ It appears from the Shāh-nāmeh of Firdousi that there was something of this sort in remote ancient times. For example, King Kāus and a number of his army were blinded by the enemy when they invaded the country of Mīzandarān, etc. It was after some time that Rustam relieved them, and, procuring an antedote cured them (Warner Brothers' Shāhnāma, Vol. II, p. 40; Kutar Brothers' Gujarāti Shāh-nāmeh, Vol. II, p. 99; Dastur Minocheher's Gujarāti Shāh-nāmeh, Vol. I, p. 538; Mohl's small edition, Vol. I, p. 398; Rogers' abridged Shāhnāma, p. 132. For the Persian Text, *vide* Macan's Shāh-nāmeh I, p. 240; Vüller's Schāhname I, p. 329.)

depends upon that. The custom is spoken of as *raç jourâvi*, (राच जेवरावणी) *i.e.*, to get the route (of the planets) seen (by an astrologer).

- (3) "A damsel who is, in some way or other, so much poisoned or infected with a disease, that she is likely to convey her poison or infectious disease to the person, who has intercourse with her or who comes into some form of close contact with her, and to bring about his death. A woman infected with a venereal disease is a poison-damsel of this kind.
- (4) "A damsel who has actually saturated her body with gradual doses of poison, and who, therefore, is in a state believed to be likely to convey the poison of her body, so saturated, to another person who comes into contact with her. The *Gesta Romanorum* (11th tale) is said to refer to the story of an Indian queen, sending a poison-damsel to Alexander the Great and of Aristotle frustrating her plan. This poison-damsel seems to be of this kind.
- (5) "A damsel who treacherously captivates the heart of a person, and then actually gives him some poison in food or drink."

III.

THE STORY OF ALEXANDER AND THE POISON-DAMSEL.

Mr. Penzer gives the story of Alexander the Great and the Indian Poison-damsel, on the authority of a Latin work called *Secretum Secretorum, De Secretis Secretorum or De Regimine Principum*. The book had some other titles also: "It purported to be nothing less than a collection of the most important and secret communications sent by Aristotle to Alexander the Great when he was too aged to attend his pupil in person. Such letters had been circulated from the earliest times, but here was a treatise containing not only the essence of political wisdom and state-craft,

but regulations for the correct conduct of body and mind, and an insight into the mysteries of occult lore." ⁵

Mr. Penzer thus speaks of this work : " The Secretum, however, is not reckoned among Aristotle's genuine works, but as one of a number of unauthenticated treatises which, reflecting as it does theories and opinions contained in his famous philosophical writings, was readily accepted as a work of the Master himself." ⁶

Now, as to the contents of this book, which he calls " a certain Pseudo-Aristotelean work," ⁷ specially referring to the subject of our paper, Mr. Penzer speaks thus :

" According to the text, Aristotle is warning Alexander against entrusting the care of his body to women, and to beware of deadly poisons which had killed many kings in the past. He further advises him not to take medicines from a single doctor, but to employ a number, and act only on their unanimous advice. Then, as if to prove the necessity of his warnings, he recalls a great danger which he himself was able to frustrate. ' Remember, he says, ' what happened when the King of India sent thee rich gifts, and among them that beautiful maiden whom they had fed on poison until she was of the nature of a snake, and had I not perceived it because of my fear, for I feared the clever men of those countries and their craft, and had I not found by proof that she

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 287. We find an instance of such " Most important and secret communications sent by Aristotle to Alexander the Great " in the letter of Dastur Tansar to the King of Tabaristan. Alexander the Great had not only destroyed the ancient literature and religion of Persia, but had also thought of putting to death the aristocracy of Persia with a view, that thereby, he might have no fear of a powerful rise in revolt by the Persians when he advanced to India. But it was Aristotle who, by a letter, dissuaded him from doing such a base act. (*Vide* the *Journal Asiatique*, Neuvième Série, Tome III, Mars-Avril 1894, pp. 185-250. and Mai-Juin 1894, pp. 502-555). *Vide*, for a brief account of this letter, my " Glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society during the last 100 years, from a Parsee point of view," pp. 33-35; *vide* for an account of this letter my *Iranian Essays* (Gujarati) Part III, pp. 127-44.

⁶ *The Ocean of Story*, *op cit*, Vol. II, p. 287.

⁷ *Ibid*. p. 282.

would be killing thee by her embrace and by her perspiration, she would surely have killed thee." ⁸

IV.

THE SOURCE OR SOURCES OF THE PSEUDO-ARISTOTELEAN
WORK, THE SECRETUM SECRETORUM.

According to Mr. Penzer,⁹ the Latin work appeared in the twelfth century, and there were two recensions, a longer and a shorter one, both resting upon Greek originals. "A Syrian freedman under the Khalifa al-Ma'mun (*circa* 800)," named "Yahya ibn Baṭriq, *i.e.*, John, the Son of Patricius," had first discovered the work in "the Temple of the Sun dedicated to Æsculapius (Asklepios). It was written in letters of gold, and he immediately translated it first into Rumi (Syriac) and then from Rumi into Arabic." The Greek text does not exist. There is also a Hebrew version, which is quite as old as any of the complete texts. It is now almost universally recognised as the work of Judah Al-Ḥarīzī, who flourished in the early thirteenth century."¹⁰ Later on further chapters were added.

Then Mr. Penzer says: "The medical knowledge displayed in the enlarged chapters places the author in the eighth or ninth century, but when restored to their original proportions, we can reduce the date by at least a century. Scholars are agreed that there is no Greek text in existence, and no proof that it ever did exist. Now if we look more closely into the longer Arabic and Hebrew texts, we find that the background of the book is wholly Eastern—Persian and Indian—while, on the other hand, there is hardly a mention of Greece. If any analogy or simile is needed, it is the sayings and doings of Persians or Indians that are quoted. The allusion to chess,¹⁰ the occurrence of Eastern place-names and animals, all tend to point to the influence under which the *Secretum* really originated. Among similar Eastern works, whose history is now

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 291.

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 287-88.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 289.

¹⁰ For this subject of the Origin of Chess in the East, *vide* my paper before this Society entitled "Firdousi on the Indian Origin of the Game of Chess" (*Jour. B.B.R.A.S. XIX*, pp. 224-30. *Vide* my *Asiatic Papers, Part I*, pp. 85-98).

fairly completely known, may be mentioned Syntipas, Kalilah and Barlaam and Josaphat.^{10a} All these slowly migrated westwards, changing their character with their environment, and readily adapting themselves to any new purpose for which they might be wanted."

Now, I agree with Mr. Penzer that the origin of the Pseudo-Aristotlian work, *Secretum Secretorum* is Eastern—Persian and Indian. As far as we know, no Indian version of the story of Alexander and the Poison-damsel of India is known to exist. So, we have no materials to compare the Western version of the story with any Indian version. But I beg to show in this paper that we have a Persian version of the story giving us pretty sufficient materials for comparison. Again, that Persian version seems to have come, like the three stories above referred to, from the Pahlavi.

THE PAHLAVI ORIGIN OF SOME INDIAN STORIES MIGRATING TO THE WEST.

We know that all the above three stories which originated in India, passed to the West through Iran or Persia and through the Pahlavi books of Iran.

(a) For the first story of Syntipas (Sindibad), I beg to refer my readers to my Paper before this Society, entitled "The so-called Pahlavi Origin of Sindibād-nāmeḥ or the Story of the Seven Wise Masters."¹¹ In that paper, I have shown that, though we cannot directly trace the story to any extant Pahlavi book, we can trace it to the story of Kaus, Soudabeh and Siavakhsh in the *Shāh-nāmeḥ* of Firdousi, who had taken most of his materials from Pahlavi.

(b) As to the second story of Barlaam and Josephat, I will quote here in full what I have said on this subject in my Paper before my Anthropological Society, entitled "The German Kaiser William in the Incantations of the Oraons of Chota Nagpur and the Iranian King Faridun in the Incantations of the ancient Persians."¹²

^{10a} For this story *vide* Barlaam and Josephat, by Joseph Jacobs (1816).

¹¹ Jour. B.B.R.A.S. XVIII. pp. 206-12. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 45-52.

¹² Jour. Anthrop. Sty. of Bombay Vol. X pp. 615-35. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part II (pp. 234-54) pp. 241-42.

“The Christian story of Barlaam and Josephat, is believed by many Christian scholars to be the Christianised version of the legendary history of Buddha Sakya Muni, one of whose titles is Bodhisatva. Prof. MacDonnel says: ‘That the founder of an atheistic oriental religion should have developed into a Christian saint is one of the most astounding facts in religious history.’¹³ We have an interesting account of this transference in Jacob’s Barlaam and Josaphat.¹⁴ The author of this book, in his learned Introduction, presents interesting evidence to show that, in about the 5th or 6th century, Buddhistic legends and doctrines¹⁵ went to Syria and got mixed up with the Christian dogmas and legends prevalent there. The Indian Zarmanochegas¹⁶ by name, a native of Barygasa¹⁷ referred to by Strabo as having gone to the court of Augustus Cæsar from Barygaza from the Indian king Porus,¹⁸ the ‘sovereign of 600 kings,’¹⁹ and who is said to have immortalized himself

¹³ Prof. MacDonnel’s History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 420.

¹⁴ Barlaam and Josaphat, English Lives of Buddha, edited and introduced by Joseph Jacobs.

¹⁵ “The pith of what this author says is this: Both Buddha and Christ represent the ideals of a whole continent. Buddha represents Asia’s ideal “To be,” while Christ represents that of Europe “To Do.” Buddha is a *contemplative Sage*, Christ a *beneficent Saint*. But, though their aims are different, their methods are similar. They both fight against the world. The similarity of the schemes of both consists of the following: The legends of both present parallels of (a) the Annunciation, (b) the Massacre of the Innocents, (c) the Temptation in the Wilderness, (d) the Marriage at Cana, (e) the Walking on the Water, (f) the Transfiguration. (g) Again, both taught by parables, some of which are well-nigh the same, e.g., those of the Sower, the Prodigal son, Seed and Soil. (g) Both lay stress upon the Spirit against the Letter and upon the opposition between Riches and Spirituality and upon inward Purity. (h) Both recommend a Brotherhood or Church. (i) Even the formalities of some of their rituals is the same.”

¹⁶ “Supposed to be another form of Zarmanus, or Garmanus, another form of Sarmanus, a sect of Indian philosophers.”

¹⁷ “Another form of Barygaza which is Baroatsch, Barutsch or Broach.”

¹⁸ “A general name of Indian kings.”

¹⁹ “Strabo, Bk. XV, Chap. I. 73. Hamilton and Falconer’s Translation, Vol. III, p. 119.”

Whatever be the way, in which the story of Buddha went to the West, the fact is, that Buddha, as a great and pious ethical teacher, was somehow sanctified in the Christian Church. In the Greek Church, also known as the Orthodox Eastern Church, his feast day is 26th August. In the Martyrologium of the Roman Church, it is 27th November. It is said that even a Church (Divo Josaphat) is dedicated to him at Palermo."

(c) As to the origin of the story of Kalileh and Damneh, known in the West as the story of Bid-pāi, it is so well known, that I need not dilate upon it. The story passed from India to the West *via* Iran and through Pahlavi, and we know well, that the Persian Anvār-i- Sohili is a later form of it.

Like the above three stories, the origin of our story in question is Indo-Persian. Its migration is in the following order : Indian—Pahlavi—Greek—Syrian—Arabic—Latin. Or, it may be in the following order : Indian—Pahlavi—Arabic—Latin. The story, on going to the West, had been given in the following various languages : Arabic, Latin, Hebrew, Spanish, Italian, Provençal, Dutch, French and English.

A FEW POINTS COLLECTED FROM VARIOUS VERSIONS.

We collect the following points from the above versions of Alexander's story as given in an old Hebrew version of Aristotle's story :

1. An Indian king sent rich gifts to Alexander.
2. One of the rich gifts was a "beautiful maiden" whom they had fed on poison until she was of the nature of a snake. According to some Arabic texts, it was the mother of the king who sent the damsel, and, according to others, it was the queen who sent her.
3. Aristotle saved Alexander from the grasp of the maiden.
5. According to an Arabic text, Aristotle knew the practices of Indian kings and physicians in such matters.
6. The maiden was one "who thought to rouse his (Alexander's) passion" (Spanish version, Perzer op. cit. p. 292).

7. Aristotle was "versed in astronomy." By "astronomy" what seems to have been meant is "astrology," whereby he foresaw the fraudulent stratagem of the Indian king.
8. The damsel was brought up on poison from infancy. She gave.....' poisoned words'—that is to say, the breath from her mouth when she speaking was poisonous—and her look also brought on sudden death. . . A master saw through this and gave the king a herb to put in his mouth, which freed him from all danger. (German version by Frauenlob, a German poet of the 13th Century, Penzer op. cit. p. 292). Mr. Penzer says: "The idea of the miraculous herb is entirely new and seems to have been an invention of the poet" (p. 293).
9. "A certain king was once informed by a sooth-sayer that a child, named Alexander, had just been born who was destined to be his downfall. On hearing this discouraging news, the king thought of an ingenious way in which to get rid of the menace, and gave strict orders for several infant girls of good family to be nourished on deadly poison.....Once the king was besieged by a powerful army and he sent this maiden by night into the enemy's camp..... As soon as he (the besieging king) kissed her he fell dead to the ground.....Delighted with the success of his experiment, the king ordered the damsel to be even better cared for, and nourished with even purer poison than hitherto. Meanwhile Alexander, grown to manhood, had started his campaigns, besieged and conquered Darius, and made his name feared throughout the world. Then the king.....had five maidens beautifully attired, the fifth being the poisoned damsel : . . . these he sent to Alexander, ostensibly as a mark of his love and obedience Alexander..... rushed to embrace her. But Aristotle, a wise and learned man of the court, and Socrates, the king's tutor, recognised

the poisonous nature of the maiden and would not let Alexander touch her.....Then Alexander had her beheaded and her body burnt." (A French prose version of the early fourteenth century, *Ibid.* pp. 292-293.

10. "A wise queen in the land of Sizare.....discovered by her magical art that a son of Olympus, Alexander by name, would one day deprive her of her kingdom..... She first procured Alexander's portrait,²¹ and seeing that his features betrayed a sensual nature, made her plans accordingly.....The queen put "a baby-girl, just born," into one of the big eggs of a snake which "are as big as bushel baskets.....and the snake-mother hatched it out with her other eggs." The baby-girl was fed by the mother snake. "She could not speak, and only hissed like a snake, and any one coming near her too often either died or fell into disease.....The queen gradually taught her to speak.....She grew into one of the most beautiful creatures in the world with a face like an angel." Then, when Alexander arrived in her country, the queen "offered him the girl, with whom he at once fell in love, saying to Aristotle, 'I will lie with her.'" But Aristotle dissuaded him from doing so, saying and proving that the girl was poisonous.

Aristotle's method of proving that the girl was poisonous is interesting from an Indian point of view, as we hear here various stories of snake charmers and snake cures. He first got a poisonous snake shut up in a jar, and there and then, with the juice of fresh dittany "drew a circle round the jar about an ell away from it." Then on the jar being opened, the snake tried to run out, but

²¹ Here, there is an indirect instance of an evil influence being exerted upon the person by his enemy through his portrait. The belief is still held in India by many, and so, we hear of instances of some people being altogether averse to being photographed. *Vide* my paper, entitled "The Indian custom of a Husband or Wife not naming his Wife or her Husband" before the Bombay Anthropological Society, read on 31st August 1921 (*Jour. of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XII, No. 3 (pp. 301-11) p. 316. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part III, p. 129.)

could not go out of the enchanted circle drawn by Aristotle with the juice of dittany²² and soon died. Then Aristotle made the above girl, with two others that were not poisoned, stand in a place and similarly drew round them a circle with the juice of the dittany. Then, when he called them to come out of the enchanted or magic circle, the two unpoisoned damsels ran out, but the poisoned one could not, and, shortly after, feeling choked, died like the above mentioned snake²³.

In the above particulars of the story, one particular is a direct reference to intercourse with the damsel. Alexander wanted to have it and Aristotle prevented him from having it. This has led Mr. Penzer to refer to the intercourse being dangerous on account of some kind of venereal disease.

V.

FIRDOUSI'S VERSION OF THE STORY.

Now, as said above, Mr. Penzer speaks of the back-ground of the Western story as Eastern—as Persian and Indian. As far as we know, we have no Indian book or writing to show positively that the back-ground is Indian. It may be Indian or it may not be so. But we have enough literary materials to show, that it is Persian. We find what may be called a trace of the story in Firdousi's *Shāh-Nāmch*. Firdousi describes the story, not the

²² Dittany is "a plant growing in abundance and perfection on Mounts Dicté and Ida in Crete." It is "the *Dictamnus ruber* or *albus*. Its leaves in smell resemble lemon-thyme and yield an essential oil" (Webster). On inquiry from the Professor of Botany in the Elphinstone College, I learn that the plant has no known Marathi name and that the plant occurs in the temperate Western Himalayas.

²³ In the above story, we find a child fed by snakes. Cases of human children being fed by animals, at times by ferocious animals, are said to have occurred in India. I know the case of a wolf-boy who was so fed by a she-wolf. I myself had seen the boy in Agra. (*Vide* my Paper before the Bombay Natural History Society, on 7th May 1889, entitled "Recorded instances of children nourished by wolves, and birds of prey." *Vide* my Asiatic papers, Part II, pp. 197-200.)

whole story as found in later books, but a trace of the story, on the authority of Pahlavi writers.²⁴ Firdousi says :

There was a wise Indian king named Kaid (کید). He saw continually for 10 nights certain dreams. Nobody in his court could explain the dreams and he was referred to a learned man named Mehrān (مهراڻ), who lived in a wilderness in the midst of wild animals. The king went to the place where Mehrān lived in the wilderness and narrated his ten dreams to him and asked for an explanation. The wise man explained and said, that all the dreams predicted the coming of Sikander (Alexander) from Roun and Iran, with a large army, under selected officers. The king would have no cause to be afraid of him if he presented to him the four rare things (*chār chīz*)²⁵ which he possessed. These were: (1) A beautiful girl.²⁶ (2) A philosopher who revealed all the mysteries of the world. (3) A clever physician, (4) A cup in which water never got heated, when placed on fire, and was never finished, how much-so-ever people drank out of it. What was predicted by Mehrān turned out to be true, and Alexander invaded Kaid's dominions and sent him a letter, asking him to surrender. The Indian king²⁷ wrote in reply, offering his homage and his above four rare things. Alexander was pleased to learn this and he sent his messengers to the court of the Indian king to have a description of the four rare things. The Indian king then described before the messengers his four rare things. He first described the beauty of the girl. From what the king

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چنين گفتم گويند؟ پهلو
شگفته آيدت کابن سخن بشنوي

Macan's Calcutta Edition 1829, III, p. 1290. Kutar Brothers' Text in Gujarati, Vol. VII, p. 57. Translation by Dastur Minocher J. Jamaspasa, Vol. III, p. 291. Translation of Warner Brothers, Vol. VI, p. 91. These brothers take the word Pahlavi to be a common name and translate it as "Days of Old". Mohl's small edition, Vol. V, p. 89.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 1292, 1.20.

²⁶ The Pers. word, 'dukhtar' means a daughter, as well as a girl, a maiden.

²⁷ Capt. Wilberforce Clarke thinks that this Indian king may be the king Taxalus of the Greeks. The Sikandar Nama e Bara, translated by Capt. W. Clarke.

said, it appears that the girl was not the king's own daughter, as we may at first be led to believe by the use of the word 'dukhtar' (daughter, Sans. *dohitri*). The Indian king, while describing her beauty, speaks of her descent as that from a Sepelbūd²⁸ i.e., the commander of an army.

Thereafter, Alexander sent, with a letter,²⁹ ten of his ministers to see the girl and the other three rare things. The Indian king welcomed them. They first saw the girl and were struck with wonder at her extraordinary beauty. They then wrote, each separately in his own words, to Alexander and described the extraordinary beauty of the girl. Alexander was pleased with what he read, and sent a message to them to return with the four rare things offered by the Indian king. They did so. The beautiful girl (*fughistan*)³⁰ shed tears when she left the court of the Indian king. Alexander was much pleased to see her and exclaimed that she was "the lamp of the world."³¹ He then married her with religious rites.

Firdousi then proceeds to describe Alexander's inspection of the other rare things, the philosopher, the physician and the cup. It is in the account of his interview with the physician that we

²⁸ *Sepehbud nezād ast va yezdān parast i. e.*, She is descended from a commander of an army and is a worshipper of God. M. Mohl translated this line as: "C'est une fille de rois, elle adore Dieu." (Mohl's small ed. Vol. V, p. 100). He does not represent the king as speaking of the girl, as "my daughter" but speaks of her as one of "royal descent". The word *sepīh* means a soldier.

²⁹ Macan's Calcutta Ed. (III, p. 1207) gives the number as ten. So do the Kutar Brothers in their Gujarati Transliteration and Translation, Vol. III, p. 17. Dastur Minocheher also gives the number as ten. But Mohl gives the number as nine (small ed., V, p. 101).

³⁰ *فغستان* The word may be read as "fughistan" and means "a handsome person" or as "fugsutān" and may mean "the favourite wife" or mistress of the king (Steingass).

³¹ *Kin (ko in) ast cheragh-i-Jehan.* Macan and Kutar Brothers give the words as "Kinat cheragh-i Jehan" and take them to be addressed to God, as "O God! this is your lamp." But I think, that the text followed by Mohl (Small ed. V, p. 105) is correct and the words are "kin ast" and not "kinat."

find a reference again to Alexander's relation with a woman, though the above particular girl is not mentioned. Firdousi says of the physician that he knew what poison was and what the antidote of poison was. Immediately after his mention of the physician's knowledge of poison and its antidote, he refers to the sexual life of Alexander. I give my translation of what Firdousi says on this subject, following the text of Macan's Calcutta edition.³²

“ He (the physician) possessed much of knowledge (or wisdom, *dānāi*). He knew poison (*i.e.*, what poison was) and the antidote of poison (*pai-zehr*³³). He cut several mountain-herbs and rejected those which were useless, selected those that were pure remedies and mixed (with them) medicines (*dārū*) as required. He washed his (Alexander's) body with mountain-medicines and kept him always healthy. He (Alexander) did not sleep much at night but mixed himself well in all pleasures. His head was full of work with women and sought of having a soft thing on his breast.³⁴ So, the king began to be reduced. He did not care well for his body. One day, the physician came before Alexander and found the signs of reduction from the moisture of his eyes³⁵ and said: From too much intercourse³⁶ with women, even a young

³² Vol. III, p. 1302 l.12. The *Sekander-namch* of Nizami gives the four rare things in the following order (1) The King's daughter. (2) The Cup. (3) The Philosopher and (4) The Physician. (The *Sikandar namah e Barā*, or Book of Alexander the Great, written A.D. 1200 by Abu Mūhammad bin Yusuf bin Abu Ayyid-i-Nizāmu-d-dīn, translated by Capt. H. Wilberforce Clarke (1881), p. 573. For Nizami, *vide* my *Asiatic Papers*, Part II, pp. 9-10)

³³ Another form or word for this *pai-zehr* is *Bād-zehr* from which is derived by Webster our English word “bezoar.” Webster says of bezoar: “Fr. *bezoard*, Pers. *bād-zahr*, the bezoar-stone from *bad* wind and *zahr* poison; literally, wind of poison *i.e.*, that, which, like the wind, disperses or drives away the poison.” I think the proper derivation is not from Pers. *bād* Δϭ wind, but from Pers. *bād*, power, guardian, which is another form of *pāi* which means power, resistance. So *pai-zehr* is that which offers resistance to, or cures, poison.

³⁴ This line seems to mean that he sought to have the soft embraces of women.

³⁵ Perhaps, what is meant to be said is, that the king wept on account of his unbearable illness.

³⁶ Lit. sleeping and rising.

man undoubtedly becomes an old man. I am of opinion, that for three nights you have been without sleep (on account of too much intercourse). Tell me your secret and open your lips for that. Alexander said: "I am all right. I have no disease (*azār*)³⁷ in my body." That eminent³⁸ wise man (*i.e.*, physician) of Hindustan did not agree in that affair (*i.e.*, with what Alexander said). When night fell, he looked into the writings *i.e.*, books and purchased medicine for remedying the diminution (or consumption of his body). Then, on that night, Alexander slept alone and had no intercourse with the moon-faced girl. When the physician (*pazashk*)³⁹ came the next morning, he found, seeing from his eyes, that he was (*i.e.*, he slept that night) without her mistress (*bi-yār*). He threw off the medicine (which he had prepared for the king) and sat cheerful and took a cup (of drink) cheerfully in his hand and ordered table to be spread and asked for musicians and wine⁴⁰. The king (Alexander) asked him: "Why have you thrown away this thing which you had with some trouble prepared with medicine." He (the physician) replied: "Last night, the king of the world (*i.e.*, Your Majesty) did not wish for intercourse with the mistress and slept alone. So, Your Majesty, when you sleep alone, there is no need for medicine (*i.e.*, medicine is not necessary) for thee." Alexander laughed and was pleased with him."

One must read this account of Firdousi, as it were, beneath the lines. The mention of poison and counter-poison, the gradual diminution of the healthy appearance of the king when he slept with the Indian girl, his recovery of good looks when he kept away from her,—all these point to the Indian girl being the poison-

³⁷ The word "*azār*" ordinarily means a disease, but in a colloquial sense, it is taken to mean "*the disease*" *i.e.*, the venereal disease.

³⁸ *Pasandid i.e.*, the elected, the best.

³⁹ The word 'physician' comes from Pers. *pazashk* which comes from Avesta *Baeshaza*.

⁴⁰ What is meant is this: The physician found that Alexander, having kept away in the previous night from the company of the mistress (whom I take as a poison-damsel), looked well. So, he saw no necessity of giving him any medicine as an antidote for the poison and was delighted and made himself merry.

damsel, with whom the story, as known in the West in its various versions, associates Alexander. It seems that, as said by Firdousi himself in the beginning, the poet had the story in Pahlavi before him. The subject of intercourse with women, not being a decorous or descent subject to be written upon openly, the Pahlavi writer must have written under some restraint. Firdousi also seems to have done the same. It is probable, that Firdousi may not have completely grasped the drift of the whole story. He is therefore not clear in his interpretation of the story.

There is one point in Mr. Penzer's account to which I like to draw attention here. He says (p. 308): "The most simple explanation of the true meaning of poisoning by intercourse which at once suggests itself is that it was merely venereal disease unrecognised as such." Mr. Penzer then says that "Syphilis was introduced into Europe by way of Spain in 1493 by Columbus' men."⁴¹ Further on, he says: "Syphilis appears to have been unknown in India till the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, when it was introduced by the Portuguese."⁴² But if we take the word "azār" in the above description of Firdousi, in the sense of venereal disease, in which sense the word is ordinarily understood even now, at least in the Bombay Presidency, one may say, that Mr. Penzer's above explanation about the poison-damsel, being a girl infested with syphilis seems to be correct and his statement that syphilis was not known in India before the advent of the Portuguese to be incorrect.

POINTS OF SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE WESTERN STORY AND FIRDOSI'S STORY.

From the above account, we find, that there are a number of points of similarity between the *different* versions of the Western story and Firdousi's version of the Eastern story.

1. Both the stories refer to, what may be called, an extraordinary thing. The Western story refers in the beginning to a sooth-sayer and Firdousi's to a learned man, Mehran by name, who was an ascetic dream-reader.

⁴¹ P. 308. ⁴² P. 310.

2. In both the versions, there is a kind of prophecy,—in one case by the sooth-sayer and in the other by the dream-reader, saying that Alexander will invade India.
3. Both the stories refer to the presentation of rich gifts to Alexander by the Indian king, and to a young damsel as being one of these rich things.
4. Both the stories represent Alexander as falling in love with the damsel at first sight.
5. Both the stories represent a learned wise man as saving Alexander from mischief. In the Western story it is Aristotle who does so. In Firdousi's story, it is a physician—the very physician who was sent as a gift to Alexander by the Indian king.
6. In both versions, we find a reference to a herb as an antidote to the poison of the damsel. In the Eastern story, it was “a master” who saw through this and gave the king a herb. In Firdousi's story, the physician “cut several mountain-herbs” for the purpose.
7. In one of the versions of the Eastern story, the transference of the poison was through sexual intercourse. In Firdousi's story also it is the same.

VI.

MAÇOUDI'S REFERENCE TO FOUR RARE THINGS, AND, AMONG THEM, TO A MAIDEN.

We find a reference to these four rare possessions of the Indian king in the work of Maçoudi also. Abou'l-Haçan Ali Maçoudi, who was born at Bagdad in the end of the third century, had come to India. He was in Multan in Hijri 300 *i.e.*, A. C. 912. He was in Cambay in about 916.⁴³ In his *Maruj Al Zahab* (Chap. XXVI),⁴⁴ he gives, what he speaks of as, “an abridged History of the

⁴³ Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'or*. Texte et Traduction par Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille. Vol. I, Avant Propos, p. III.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 260.

Expedition of Alexander in India." Therein, he says, that Alexander, after defeating king Porus, king of Mankir⁴⁵ (مانکیر), heard, that in further India there was a king named Kend⁴⁶ (کند), who was somewhat of a philosopher and an ascetic. He sent him a letter asking him to offer submission. Kend rendered submission offering his four rare possessions and a miraculous cup as tokens of submission. Of these four rare possessions, one was a young girl "the like of whose beauty the sun had never seen."⁴⁷ Alexander accepted the terms of submission and sent his ambassadors to bring these four things. The ambassadors went to the court of the Indian king, who welcoming them, produced before them the four rare things. The first that was produced before them was the young girl. "When she appeared before them, their eyes rested upon her. Alexander himself, when he saw her, was struck with her beauty."

⁴⁵ This seems to be modern Maghar in the district of Basti in the North-Western Provinces (*vide* Constable's Hand Atlas of India, 1893), p. 47.

⁴⁶ This is another form of Firdousi's Kaid (کاید). Both these words can be written with the same forms of letters, with a change in the *nukteh*s of the second letter.

⁴⁷ I follow Barbier de Meynard's translation (Vo. II, p. 261). "Une jeune fille dont la soleil n'avait jamais vu l'égalé pour la beauté."

INDRA'S ENEMIES

By Prof. VAIJANATH K. RAJAVADE, POONA.

वृत्र.

The name comes from वृ to cover, to shut in, for. Vṛtra is really a coverer. He covers or shuts in waters (अपो वत्रिवांसं २-१४-२ ॥ वत्रिवांसं परि देवीः ३-३२-६ ॥ अणोवृत् २-११-२ ॥ नदीवृत् १-५२-२ ॥ ८-१२-२६). He is called वत्रि twice (विद्युद्भवन्ती प्रति वत्रिमौहत १-१६८-२९ ॥ नद्यो वत्रिणा हिताः प्रवणेषु १-५४-१०). He places himself around waters (परिधिं नदीनां ३-३३-६ ॥ अपः परिष्ठां ६-७२-३ ॥ याश्चिद्दृत्रो महिना पर्यातिष्ठत् १-३२-८ ॥ परिष्ठिताः सीराः ४-१९-८). He lies on waters (आशयानं सिरामु १-१२१-११ ॥ सिन्धुमाशयानं २-११-९ ॥ शयानं परि देवीः ३-३२-६ ॥ अपो वृत्री रजसो वुघ्नमाशयत् १-५२-६). He closes water-holes (अपां विलमपिहितं १-३२-११ ॥ अपामपिधाना १-५१-४). He bears away waters (अपो विभ्रतं १०-११३-६). The darkness that blocks the course of waters is seated in his paunch (अपामतिष्ठद्द्रहणचहरं तमोऽन्तर्वृत्रस्य जठरेषु १-५४-१०). He dries up waters (शुष्यन्तं १-६१-१०) or squeezes them (सं रुजानाः पिपिषे १-३२-६) so that terrified they shrink from him (बीभत्सुवो अप वृत्रादतिष्ठन् १०-१२४-८).

He is big (महां २-११-९ ॥ महि ८-९३-७), brave (नयं १०-१४७-१) and possesses might (तविषीं सहः १-८०-१०). His breath is so terrible that even gods in terror took to their heels and deserted Indra (वृत्रस्य त्वा श्वसथाद्भीपमाणा विश्वे देवा अजहुः ८-९६-७). Zeus himself, though so strong, shrank into himself out of fear at his roar (द्यौश्चिदस्यामवां अहेः स्वनादयोयवीन्द्रियसा १-५२-१०). He frightened even Indra (इंद्रं वृत्रो अवीभयत् १-८०-१२). Some one, it seems, came to second Vṛtra; Indra on seeing him cleared in his flight 99 streams and also worlds (अहेर्यातारं कमपद्य इन्द्र हृदि यत्ते जघ्नुषो भीरगच्छन् । नच च यज्ञवतिं च स्रवन्तीः श्येनो न भीतो अतरद्रजांसि १-३२-१४). He is once called a boar (वराहं १-१२१-११). He grows in size (वर्धमानं ३-३०-८ ॥ शूशुवानस्य १०-११३-२) and can inflate himself into the size and shape of a dragon (अहीशुवं ८-३२-२६).

He is bent upon destroying Indra (इन्द्रशत्रुः १-३२-१०), is an enemy (अमित्रिय ६-१७-१ ॥ ९-६१-२०), an injurer (कुणारुं पियारुं ३-३०-८ ॥ दोषतः ८-६-६), and cares not for the gods of the Aryas (अदेव ३-३२-६ ॥ अदेवस्य १०-११३-२).

Yet, though so mighty and terrible, he is not above using wiles (मायिनं १०-१४७-२ ॥ मायाः १०-११३-२). He lies concealed in waters (अतिष्ठन्तीनामनिवेशनानां काष्ठानां मध्ये निहितं शरीरम् । वृत्रस्य निष्यं १-३२-१० ॥ अन्न्यः १-८०-२ ॥ बृहतोभ्यो धनुभ्यः ८-३-१९).

It is difficult to catch him as he lies hidden in water-channels (प्रवणे दुर्गृभिश्चनः १-५२-६).

A coward and a trickster, he yet challenged Indra, the greatest hero and destroyer of any number of foes (आ हि जुष्टे महावीरं तु-विवाधं १-३२-६), had the temerity of being a rival of that hero (वृष्णो० प्रतिमानं बुभूयन् १-३२-७) and dared fight him (अपृतन्यदिन्द्रं १-३२-७), for which he is called impudent like a boastful coward (अयोद्धेव दुर्मदः १-३२-६).

His mother is Danu (दानुः १-३२-९) with whom he dwells (सहदानुं क्षियन्तं ३-३०-८). He is called Aurnāvābha (अर्णवाभं ८-३२-२६), son of Urṇāvābha which name does not occur in R̥gveda. Is it an intentional mispronunciation of Arṇāvābha (अर्णवाभ), of the colour of water? For Vṛtra is nothing but water locked up.

He has neither hands nor legs (अपादं० अहस्तं ३-३०-८), but a head (शिरः १-५२-१० ॥ ८-६-६ ॥ ८-७६-२ ॥ सानुं १-८०-५), a mouth (आनं ? १-५२-१५), a double chin or cheeks (हनू १ ५२-६ ॥ १०-१००-३), vitals (मर्म १-६१-६ ॥ ३-३२-४ ॥ ८-१००-७) and पाष्या (१-५६-६). What is पाष्या ?

It was a terrible foe that required a real hero to smash him. It was for this purpose that the gods created Indra (घनं वृत्राणा जनयन्त देवाः ३-४९-१) and heaven and earth fashioned him powerful and capable of great achievements (यं सुक्रतुं धिषणे विभ्वतष्ट ३-४९-१). In fact he was born for killing Vṛtra (वृत्रहत्याय जायथाः ८-८९-५). Him alone the gods, the Maruts and heaven and earth

elected for that grand deed (एवा त्वामिन्द्र वज्रिञ्जत्र विश्वे देवासः सुहवास ऊमाः । महासुभे रोदसा वृद्धमृष्वं निरक्रोमद्वृणत वृत्रहत्ये ४-१९-१). Waters too elected him as people do a king (ता ईं विशो न राजानं वृगानाः १०-१२४-८). The gods crowned him (येभिरैश्वरद्वृत्रहत्याय वज्रो १०-५५-७).

The gods centred in him all might for the performance of great deeds (अनु ते दायि मह इन्द्रियाय सत्रा ते विश्वमनु वृत्रहत्ये । अनु क्षत्रमनु सहो यजत्रेन्द्र देवेभिरनु ते नृपह्ये ६-२५-८ ॥ ऐभिर्देदे वृष्या पौंस्यानि १०-५५-७ ॥ तुभ्यमन्विन्द्र सत्रासुर्यं देवेभिर्धायि विश्वम् ६-२०-२). The Maruts also bestowed on him might (अद्ध्युस्तुभ्यमोजः ३-४७-२) and increased it (विश्वे ते अत्र मरुतः सह त्मनावर्धन्नृप्र महिमानमिन्द्रियम् १०-११३-३ ॥ वर्धान्यं विश्वे मरुतः सजोपाः ६-१७-११).

But these external aids would have been of no use, had he possessed no innate strength and vigour. He was by nature huge (महां २-२२-१ ॥ ४-१९-१ ॥ ६-३८-५ ॥ उर्ध्वं २-२२-१ ॥ वृद्धमृष्वं ४-१९-१) exceedingly strong (श्विष्ट १०-११६-१) and grew mightier (वावृधान ८-७६-३ ॥ तूनुजानः १-६१-१२). He possessed real vigour (शुद्धः ८-९५-९) and a heroic mind (क्षत्रधीः ६-२६-८). He was true to himself (सत्य ८-९०-४) and never made to bend (अनानतः ८-९०-४). He knew any amount of tactics (पुह वपीसि विद्वान् ६-४४-१४). He was the very son of slaughter (प्रातर्दनिः ६-२६-८). Possessed of incalculable vigour and strength (किथेधाः १-६१-१२) he was veritably born to rule (इंशानः ६-६१-१२).

Immediately after birth he took an arrow and asked his mother 'what fierce foes are reported to be doing mischief (आ वुन्दं वृत्रहा ददे जातः पृच्छद्वि मातरम् । क उग्राः के ह शृण्विरे ८-४५-४ ॥ जज्ञानो नु शतक्रतुर्वि पृच्छदिति मातरम् । क उग्राः के ह शृण्विरे ८-७७-१) 'The mighty mother replied 'He who loves to be thy foe would fight thee on mountains' (प्रति त्वा शवसी बदद्रिरौ० योधियत् । यस्ते शत्रुत्वमाचके ८-४५-५). Immediately the mighty mother replied to him who like Vṛtra could assume the hue of water and inflate himself into a dragon. 'Son, thy enemies shall be entirely destroyed' (आद्रौ शवस्यत्रवाद्रौर्णवाभमहीशुवम् । ते पुत्र सन्तु निष्टुरः ८-७७-२).

Kāvya Uśanan fashioned for him a bolt that was quite certain of doing Vṛtra to death (वृत्रहणं पार्यं ततश्च वज्रं १-१२१-१२ ॥

तक्षद्वजं वृत्रतुरं १०-९९-१). It had a hundred joints (शतपर्वणा ८-६-६॥ ८-७६-२ ॥ ८-८९-३) and could pour down rain (वृष्टिमता १-५२-१५॥ वृष्णिना ८-६-६). It could strike hard (वधः ४-२२-९ ॥ वधं २-३०-३ ॥ वधेन १-३२-५ ॥ हन्मना १०-११३-८) and was powerful (महता १-३२-५॥ ४-१८-७). It was mobile too (चरता ३-३२-६). In short it was a terrible weapon (तिग्मायुधं २-३०-३).

But though so highly endowed by nature and art, even Indra required stuffing the inner man. Before starting, he ate and drank (अन्ना० प्रथमा व्याश० अवृणीत सोमं ३-३६-८ ॥ वृषायमानोऽवृणीत सोमं १-३२-३). Kāyva Uśanan gave him the exhilarating drink (यं ते काव्य उशाना मन्दिरं दात् १-१२१-१२). It was made by Vishṇu and Indra drank to his heart's content at the Trikadrukas (त्रिकद्रुकेषु० सोममपिवाद्भिष्णुना सुते यथावशात् २-२२-१ ॥ त्रिकद्रुकेष्वपिवत्सुतस्य १-३२-३). It was sweet, intoxicating (स्वादुर्मदिष्टः ६-४७-२ ॥ मदिरमशुं ६-१७-११ ॥ मधुमान् ८-९-४), and violent in its action (तीव्रान् १०-४२-५); Indra performed his mighty task under its inspiration (ते त्वा मदा अमदन्तानि वृष्या ते सोमासः १-५३-६ ॥ यस्पेन्द्रो वृत्रहृत्ये ममाद ६-४७-२ ॥ स ई ममाद महि कर्म कतेवे महामुरुं सैनं सश्वेवो देवं सत्यमिन्द्रं सत्य इन्दुः २-२२-१ ॥ पितुं न स्तोषं० यस्य त्रितो व्योजसा वृत्रं विपर्वमर्दयत् १-१८७-१ ॥ अस्य पीत्वा मदानां ९-२३-७ ॥ अस्य पीत्वा १-४-८ ॥ अस्य मदे ६-४४-१४ ॥ अस्य मदेपु ९-१-१० ॥ मदे सुतस्य १-५२-१० ॥ १-५६-६ ॥ पिवा वृत्राय हन्तवे १०-११६-१ ॥ यस्ते मदे युज्यश्चारुरास्त येन वृत्राणि हर्यश्व हंसि ७-२२-२). Sōma juice was extracted and made pure simply to enable Indra to kill Vṛtra स पवस्व य आविथेन्द्रं वृत्राय हन्तवे ९-६१-२२ ॥ इन्द्राय पवस्व ९-२४-२६ ॥ ९-८९-७ ॥ १०-२५-९).

And Indra drank no small quantities. At a gulp he emptied three human lakes (त्री साकमिन्द्रो मनुपः सरांसि सुतं पिबद्बृत्रहृत्याय सोमं ५-२९-७ ॥ त्री सरांसि मघवा सोम्यापाः ५-२९-८ ॥ त्रीणि सरांसि धावन् ६-१७-११), the consequence of which was that his sides were distended and looked like magazines of Sōma or rather deep ponds (न्हदा इव कुञ्जयः सोमधानाः समी विव्याच सवना पुरूणि ३-३४-६). The sides filled with Sōma bulged out and looked like a sea or huge quantities of water filling canals (यः कुक्षिः सोमपातमः समुद्र इव पिन्वते । उर्वारापो न काकुदः १-८-७).

Sōma was so essential and indispensable that it became a *sine qua non* for Indra. Like him Sōma performed great deeds and killed Vṛtra (इन्द्रो न यो महा कर्माणि चक्रिहन्ता वृत्राणामसि सोम पूभिर्त् ९-८८-४ ॥ प्रन्तो वृत्राणि सोमाः ९-१७-१ ॥ वृत्राणि सज्ञाणिः ८-११०-१ ॥ वृत्रहन्तमः सोमः ९-१-३ ॥ वृत्रहन्तमो मदः ८-८६-८).

Indra, however, must not be supposed to have been content with mere drink. He required something solid and substantial. The Maruts, Pūshan and Vishṇu cooked for him a hundred buffaloes (मरुतः० पचच्छतं महिषाँ इन्द्र तुभ्यम् । पूषा विष्णुः ६-१७-११). Vishṇu proffered him excellent viands, namely, a hundred buffaloes solidified milk and a huge boar (विश्वेत्ता विष्णुराभरत्० । शतं महिषान् क्षीरपाकमोदनं वराहमिन्द्र एमुषं ८-७७-१०). Indra's physical power increased as soon as he had killed and devoured a thousand buffaloes. (यदि प्रवृद्ध सत्पते सहस्र महिषाँ भघः । आदित्त इन्द्रियं महि प्र वावृधे ८-१२-८). Agni cooked for his friend 300 buffaloes (सखा सद्ये अपचतूयमग्निरस्य क्त्वा महिषा त्री शतानि ५-२९-७). Indra killed 300 buffaloes (त्री यच्छता महिषाणामघः ५-३९-८). We must feed him, says the priest, to enable him to kill the mighty Vṛtra (तमिन्द्रं वाजयामसि महे वृत्राय हन्तवे ८-९३-७).

Now was he ready to start. Brilliance invested him all around (परी घृणा चरति १-५२-६) and strength and vigour were kindled in him (तित्विधे शवः १-५२-६). His fame as warrior already excelled that of hundreds or thousands or rather any number of men (उक्ते शतान्मघवल्लुच्च भूयस उत्सहस्रादिरिचे कृष्टिषु श्रवः १-१०२-७). His mighty genius for war shone beyond measure (अमात्रं त्वा विषणा तित्विधे मही १-१०२-७). His heart was jolly (मन्दसानः ४-१७-३ ॥ १०-२८-७ ॥ मन्दसे १०-५०-३). Yet he looked fierce (उग्र ६-१८-६ ॥ १०-११३-६ ॥ उग्र १०-११३-८ ॥ ह्रींळितः १-८०-६).

He sat in his chariot (रथमिन्द्र तिष्ठ ६-१८-९ ॥ स्थाता रथस्य ३-४६-२) and cheered up his horses (ह्योरभिस्वरः ३-४५-२). Armed, he started for the fight (विप्रदायुधा युधवे समस्थियाः १०-११३-३). In his right hand he held the thunderbolt. It was so spacious that heaven itself had to make room for it. (यौदेहि लोकं वज्राय विष्कभे १०-१००-१२). He bore that huge weapon to smite

Vṛtra (यो वृत्राय सिनमत्राभरिष्यत् २-३०-२ ॥ अस्मा इदु प्रभरा तूतुजानो वृत्राय वज्रं १-६१-१२). A tough bull-hide by way of a shield occupied one hand (प्रति दृणा गभस्स्योर्गवां वृत्रघ्न एषते ? ५-८६-३).

He was accompanied by the gods (देवेभिः सयावभिः १०-११३-२) but specially by the Maruts who sent him onwards (इषितः ३-३०-४). The latter were his friends (मरुत्सखा ८-७६-२ । ३ ॥ मरुद्भिरिन्द्र सख्यं ते अस्तु ८-९६-७). These powerful auxiliaries followed him to the battle (तं वृत्रहत्ये अनु तस्थुस्तयः शुष्मा इन्द्रं १-५२-४). They backed him in the fight (अनु त्रितस्य युध्यतः शुष्ममावन्नुत क्रतुम् । अन्विन्द्रं वृत्रतूर्यं ८-७-२४). The two are so identified that Indra is said to have killed his adversary with their help (हन्ता वृत्रं नृभिः शूरः ८-२-३६ ॥ नृभिर्भूरीणि वृत्रा हंसि ७-१९-४). They struck Vṛtra after Indra had done so (ये त्वान्वहन्वृत्रं ३-४७-२) or they killed him with Indra's help (हत वृत्रं सुदानव इन्द्रेण सहसा युजा १-२३-९). One Rk says that they cut Vṛtra to pieces (वि वृत्रं पर्वशो ययुः १०-११३-२).

The foe was found standing high up in heaven (ऊर्ध्वो ह्यस्यादध्यन्तरिक्षे २-३०-३). On merely hearing Vṛtra's fierce breathing the gods took to their heels and left Indra to his fate (वृत्रस्य त्वा श्रसथादीपमाणा विश्वे देवा अजहुर्धे सखायः ८-९६-७ ॥ उत माता माहिपमन्त्रवेनदमी त्वा जहति पुत्र देवाः ४-१८-११). Finding himself thus deserted, he cried out to Vishṇu to hurry up (अथाब्रवीद्वृत्रमिन्द्रो हनिष्यन्त्सखे विष्णो त्रितरं विक्रमस्व ४-१८-११ ॥ ८-१००-१२) and stand on his right (अभि प्रोहे दक्षिणतो भवा मे १०-८३-७). Vishṇu did help him (विष्णुना सचानः ६-२०-२). He proved a friend in deed (सख्या युजा ६-५६-२). The debt is acknowledged after the fight by Indra (असथ त्वं दक्षिणतः सखा मे ८-१००-२).

Then Indra hurled at Vṛtra a bolt (अथा वृत्राय प्र वधजंभार २-३-३). He rushed up to him, muffling himself in a cloud (मिहं वसान उप हीमदुद्रोत् २-३०-३). Then ensued a duel between Vṛtra and the bolt (यद्वृत्र तव चार्शनि वज्रेण समयोधयः १-८०-१३). Indra dashed the bolt on Vṛtra's jaws or cheeks (निर्जघन्थ हन्वोरिन्द्र तन्यतुं १-५२-१०) and broke them (वि वृत्रस्य हनू रुज १०-१५२-३). He also broke his pāshyas (वि वृत्रस्य पाष्यारुजः १-५६-६). He struck him on the mouth (नि त्वमिन्द्र प्रत्यानं जघन्थ १-१२-१२). He broke his head

(अभिनच्छिरः १-५२-१० ॥ वि वृत्रस्याभिनच्छिरः ८-७६-२ ॥ वि चिद्वृत्रस्य० शिरो विभेद ८-६-६ ॥ सानुं वज्रेण० अभिक्रम्याव जिघ्रते १-८०-५ ॥ अधि सानौ नि जिघ्रते १-८०-६). Indra discovered Vṛtra's hidden vitals (वृत्रस्य चिद्विदद्येन मर्म १-६१-६ ॥ वृत्रस्य विवेद मर्म ३-३२-४) and dropped the bolt pat on those vitals (नि षीं वृत्रस्य मर्मणि वज्रमिन्द्रो अपीपतत् ८-१००-७). He tore his joints (वि वृत्रे पर्वशो रुजन् ८-६-१३) as one would those of a bull (गोर्न पर्व वि रदा तिरश्चा १-६१-१२). He struck him down with the right hand (हन्ता वृत्रं दक्षिणेन ८-२-३२) and laid him low on the left (नि सव्यतः सादि वृत्रः २-११-१८). He struck him as they strike trees with sharp axes (वधीर्वनेव सुधितेभिरत्कैः ६-३३-३ ॥ स्वधितिर्वनेव १०-८९-७ ॥ अशन्येव वृशं २-१४-२). He broke him as one breaks a new jar (विभेद नवमिव कुम्भं १०-८९-७). Indra met physical force by physical force and made an end of it (वृत्रस्य तविषीं निरहन्त्सहसा सहः १-८०-१० ॥ रुज वि मन्युं १०-१५२-३).

He found Danu, Vṛtra's mother, screening her boy as a cow would screen a calf ; but Indra, forgetting all feeling of chivalry, struck her too with his bolt (इन्द्रो अस्या अव वघर्जभार १-३२-९), when she dropt her arms (नीचावया अभवद्दृत्रपुत्रा १-३२-९); then the mother lay over her boy like a cow on her calf (उत्तरा सूरधरः पुत्र आसीद्दानुः शये सहवत्सा न धेनुः १-३२-९).

Vṛtra lay in lasting darkness (दीर्घं तम आशयत् १-३२-१०). His bones lay scattered everywhere (पुरुत्रा वृत्रो अशयद्यस्तः १-३२-७). The rogue had laid himself down on the waters ; now Indra laid him down to sleep with his bolt (त्वं वृत्रमाशयानं सिरासु महो वज्रेण सिष्वपः १-१२१-११). He lay trodden under the feet of those very waters whom he had surrounded with his huge bulk (याश्चिद्द्रो महिना पर्यतिष्ठतासामहिः पत्सुतः शीर्वभूव १-३२-८). He had hidden his body under flowing waters ; but now those waters flow over him freely (अतिष्ठन्तीनामनिवेशनानां काष्ठानां मध्ये निहितं शरीरम् । वृत्रस्य निष्यं वि चरन्त्यापः १-३२-१० ॥ शयानं० अति यन्त्यापः १-३२-८).

Indra knocked him off both from heaven and earth (निरिन्द्र भूम्या अधि वृत्रं जघन्थ निर्दिवः १-८०-४).

He drove him out of the waters and killed him (निरद्भ्यो जघन्थ १-८०-२ ॥ निरिन्द्र वृहतीभ्यो वृत्रं धनुभ्यो अस्फुरः ८-३-१९ ॥ इन्द्रो महान् सिन्धुमाशयानं मायाविनं वृत्रमस्फुरन्निः २-११-९).

He struck him in those very channels that he had blocked (अभीमिन्द्रो० प्रवणेषु जिघ्रते १-५४-१०).

Indra smashed his forts too (सुरोज पुरः १०-८९-७ ॥ वि पुरो दर्दरीति ६-७३-२ ॥ दृळ्हा चिदारुजः ३-४५-२) and mountain-holds (विभेद गिरिं १०-८९-७).

What is the chief distinction of Indra? His killing Vṛtra with the thunderbolt by sheer force (वज्रेगान्यः शवसा हन्ति वृत्रं ६-६८-३). The Maruts worship Indra because he has killed Vṛtra (प्रव इन्द्राय बृहते मरुतो ब्रह्मार्चत। वृत्रं हनति वृत्रहा शतक्रतुर्वज्रेण शतपर्वणा ८-८९-३).

The consequence of this great deed was that the waters that had been shut in were let loose. Says Indra's mother 'After killing Vṛtra with the mighty thunderbolt my son has let loose the rivers (ममैतान्पुत्रो महता वधेन वृत्रं जघन्वाँ अस्जद्वि सिन्धून् ४-१८-७ ॥ असृजद्वि सिन्धून्। स्रवितवे वद्वधानाः सीरा अतृणत्पृथिव्या ४-१९-८ ॥ त्वं सिन्धूरसृजस्तस्तभानान् ८-९६-१८ ॥ त्वं वृताँ अरिणा इन्द्र सिन्धून् ४-४२-७ ॥ सृजः सिन्धूरहिना जघ्रसानान् ४-१७-१ ॥ अरदन्न सिन्धून् १०-८९-७).

Says Indra to Vishṇu "Let us kill Vṛtra and let loose the rivers; let them henceforth flow by Indra's order (हनाव वृत्रं रिणचाव सिन्धूनिन्द्रस्य यन्तु प्रसवे विसृष्टाः ८-१००-१२).

Indra uncovered the watertrough that had been closely covered by Vṛtra (अपां बिलमपिहितं यदासीद्वृत्रं जघन्वाँ अप तद्ववार १-३९-११ ॥ त्वमपामपिधानावृणोरप १-५१-४).

He made the course of the bright waters easy for man (अहमेता मनवे विश्वश्चन्द्राः सुगा अपश्चकर १-१६५-८ ॥ मनवे गातुयन्नपः १-५२-८). That great god alone who had freed them from the harasser now lay awake in them (अपो महीरभिशस्तेरमुञ्चोऽजागरास्वधि देव एकः १०-१०४-९). Caring for all men he nourished them with those waters that he had let loose by killing Vṛtra (इन्द्र यास्त्वं वृत्रतूर्ये चकथ ताँर्भविश्वयुस्तन्वं पुपुष्याः १०-१०४-९). Indra let loose the wind-swept, life-sustaining waters (सृजो मरुत्वतीरव जीवधन्या इमा अपः १-८०-४).

Indra and Sōma propelled river-waters (प्राणैस्त्रैरयत् नदीनां ६-७२-३ ॥ अपः समीय चोदयन् १-८०-५). He propelled the waters of black origin, once in the power of the foe (कृष्णयोनीः० दासीरैरयद्वि २-२०-७ ॥ वि वेरपः १०-१४७-१ ॥ अरिणा अपः १-५६-६ ॥ ऋगोरपो अनवद्याणाः १-१७४-२ ॥ उज्जन्नणीसि १-५२-२ ॥ निरपामौब्जो अर्णव १-५६-५ ॥ निरपामौब्ज-दणवं १-८५-९ ॥ इष्यन्नणीस्यपां ॥ चरधै १-६१-१२), as though they were race-horses (अपो अत्याँ इव प्रासृजः सतंवाजौ ३-३२-६).

They became swollen and spread wide (आपश्चिदस्मै पिन्वन्त पृथ्वीः ७-३४-३).

Now that their foe had been killed, they flowed free and fast (सरन्नापो जरसा हतवृष्णीः ४-१७-३ ॥ अर्धन्वापो जरसा वि मातरः ८-८९-४).

Digging paths, they flow daily to their destination, the sea (पथो रदन्तीरनुजोपमस्मै दिवेदिवे धुनयो यन्त्यर्थे २-३०-२). Indra sent the waters on to the sea (प्राणैसि समुद्रियाण्यैनोः ४-१६-७ ॥ अपः समुद्र-मैरयत् ८-६-१३ ॥ सृजन्त्समुद्रिया अपः ८-७६-३).

Volumes of waters whose destination was the sea spread far and wide (आ समुद्राणि पप्रथुः पुरूणि ६-७२-३).

Thus Indra conquered the waters from their husband, the Dāsa (त्वमपो अजयो दासपत्नीः ८-९६-१८).

Besides enveloping and hiding waters, Vṛtra had hidden the Sun. Indra once again stationed the Sun in heaven that men might view him (सूर्यं दिव्यारोहयो दृशे १-५१-४). He created the Sun to destroy the Dasyus (वृत्रहा दस्युहन्तमं ज्योतिर्जज्ञे १०-१७०-२). He conquered the Sun from the foe (जया स्वः ८-८९-४). He uncovered the luminary for the Ārya (अपावृणोऽज्योतिरार्याय २-११-८). He also freed numerous Dawns and autumns that had been swallowed up (पूर्वाह्नसः शरदश्च गूर्ता वृत्रं जघन्वाँ असृजद्वि ४-१९-८). He created the Sun, heaven and the Dawn (सूर्यं जनयन् द्यामुपासम् १-३२-४). During Vṛtra's life the sky had become shrivelled and heaven propless ; Indra spread out the sky and propped up heaven (व्यन्तरिक्षमतिर उद्द्यामस्तन्ना ओजसा १०-१५३-३). He made space everywhere (अकृणोदु लोकं १०-१०४-१०).

Cows were hidden during night ; Indra now revealed them (आविर्धेना अकृणोद्राम्यागां ३-३४-३ ॥ गा इन्द्रो अकृणुत १०-८९-७).

Thus he won Vṛtra's wealth (वृत्रस्य संजितो धनानां ३-४२-५). Indra fought and killed Vṛtra to make the Ārya wealthy (सनये धनानां ६-२६-८ ॥ वाजसातये ९-११०-१).

Indra subdued Vṛtra for the young Purukutsa (यूने वृत्रं पुरु-कुत्साय रन्धोः १-१७४-२), saved Sudās, Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa and Pîru (त्वं० प्रावः० मुदासम् । प्र पौरकुत्सि त्रसदस्युमावः क्षेत्रसाता वृत्रहल्लेषु पूरुम् ७-१९-३); and gave wealth to Pîru (वरिवः पूरवे कः ४-२१-१०).

When he killed Vṛtra, all foes fell dead before his might (विश्वास्ते स्पृष्टः श्रययन्त मन्यवे ८-९९-६) or rather he knew no enemies thereafter (तादीन्ना शत्रुं न किला विवित्से १-३२-४).

Even in the act of killing Vṛtra, his might crowded heaven (दिवि ते बद्धधे शवः १-८०-१३). He became famous (ध्रुवसा श्रुतो वृत्रहल्लयेन ८-२४-२). He became confident of the strength of his arms, when with the mighty thunderbolt he smashed and scattered Vṛtra and his wiles (वज्रेण हि वृत्रहा वृत्रमस्तरदेवस्य शशुवानस्य मायाः । वि धृष्णो अत्र धृषता जघन्थाथाभवो मघवन्बाह्वोजाः (१०-१११-६). He thence became the choicest of all (अभदद्वरेण्यः १०-११३-२).

Indra thenceforward came to be called Vṛtrahan, (used frequently) (४-४२-८) and Vṛtratur, because he had destroyed Vṛtra-Purandara (frequently) and Pūram Darman (१-६१-५ ॥ १-१३२-६) or Darma (३-४५-२) because he had smashed Vṛtra's forts and propeller of waters (अपामजः ३-४५-२) because he had released waters from Vṛtra's grip and urged them on towards the sea.

Vṛtra in course of time came to mean an enemy, and a despicable one too at that. Masculine in origin he lost his gender and sank into an impotent, contemptible being of the neuter gender, Vṛtrāṇi cannot be translated into English with its full connotation. The vernaculars of India alone bring it out fully. Sometimes even in connection with Indra the word Vṛtra loses its original meaning. Under Sōma's inspiration Indra kills foes (मदः० येन वृत्राणि० हंसि ७-२२-२). The daring one, thunderbolt in hand, killed all possible foes by his might (वि यो धृष्णो वधिपो वज्रहस्त विश्वा वृत्रमभिप्रिया शवाभिः ६-१७-१). Here वृत्रं=विश्वा अभिप्रिया. Alone

he moves about killing Vṛtras (एको वृत्रा चरसि जिघ्रमानः ३-३०-४). He killed lots of them so thoroughly that there was no possibility of their ever facing him (वृत्रा भूरीण्येको अप्रतीनि हन्ति ४-१७-१९ ॥ भूरीणि वृत्रा हंसि ७-१९-४ ॥ वृत्रा भूरीण्यृजसे ८-९०-४). He killed 99 of them with the bones of Dadhyaṅ (इन्द्रो दधीचो अस्थभिवृत्राण्यप्रतिष्कृतः । जघान नवतीर्नव १-८४-१३). He killed 10,000 of them to oblige a devotee who had offered him a grassy seat (यत्कारवे दश वृत्राण्यप्रती बर्हिष्मते नि सहस्राणि बर्हयः १-५३-६). I, killer of Vṛtra, destroyed the Dāsa, Navaoastva Bṛhadratha, as I had destroyed any number of Vṛtras (अहं स यो नववास्त्वं वृहद्रथं सं वृत्रेव दासं वृत्रहारुजं १०-४९-६).

He strikes them and smashes their jaws (नि रक्षो वि मृधो जहि वि वृत्रस्य हनू रुज १०-१५२-३).

There are foes supported by certain Ārya tribes and hitherto not driven out or smashed whom Indra single-handed kills (त्वं वृत्राणि हंस्यप्रतीन्येक इदनुत्ता चर्षणीधृता ८-९०-५). Indra killed by sheer strength certain human foes (त्वं हि त्यदृपम चर्षणीनां धना वृत्राणां तवियो बभूय ८-९६-१८).

He saved Brahmans by slaughtering foes (प्रेदं ब्रह्म वृत्रतूयेष्वाविध इन्द्र ८-३७-१). He saved Sushvi (यद्वा दिवि पार्थे सुष्विमिन्द्र वृत्रहृत्येऽवसि शूरसातौ ६-२३-२). Here दिवि पार्थे=वृत्रहृत्ये=शूरसातौ. Indra feels exhilaration when he has to counter Vṛtra hiding in waters i.e. foes (वृत्रे ष्वास्वभि शूर मन्दसे १०-५०-२). To oblige the devotee who offers him Sōma of high proof, Indra kills that man's foes (घनं न स्यन्द्रं बहुलं यो अस्मै तीव्रान्तसोमौ आमुनोति प्रयस्वान् । तस्मै शत्रून्० नि० युवति हन्ति वृत्रं १०-४२-५).

Men invite Indra to help them when they have to destroy foes (वृत्रहृत्ये हव्यः ४-२४-२ ॥ हव्यो महति वृत्रहृत्ये ६-१८-६ ॥ इन्द्रं वृत्राय हन्तवे पु० हृतमुप ब्रुवे ३-३७-५). They prevail with him to help them in battle (बार्त्रहृत्राय० इन्द्र त्वा वर्तयामसि ३-३७-१). They wish that the greatest of the gods, the son of slaughter, one possessed of military genius, should be present at the slaughter of foes and the grant of riches (प्रातर्दनिःक्षत्रधीरस्तु श्रेष्ठो घने वृत्राणां सनये धनानाम् ६-२६-८). They pray that he might save them and make them

thrive in battle (अस्मा एतन्मह्याङ्गुषमस्मा इन्द्राय स्तोत्रं मतिभिरवाचि । असद्यथा महति वृत्रतूर्य इन्द्रो विश्वायुरविता वृधश्च ६-३४-५ ॥ आविधासेम वृत्र-तूर्येषु ६-३८-५ ॥ त्वामीमहे शतक्रतो । इन्द्रं वृत्राय हन्तवे ३-३७-६). Indra accepting their prayers, they would kill foes with the help of their men and thrive (नृभिर्वृत्रं हन्याम शूशुयाम चात्रेन्द्र प्र णो धियः ८-२१-१२). Indra blesses them (तेषामिन्द्र वृत्रहत्ये शिवो भूः ७-१९-१०) and encourages them (त्वं तान् वृत्रहत्ये चोदय नून १०-२२-१०). Backed by him they would destroy their foes (त्वोतासो वृत्रं निरुगधामहे १-८-२). He helping them, they hope to kill enemies (इन्द्रेण युजा तरुषेम वृत्रं ७-४८-२). He assists them (युजं वृत्रेषु १-३-५) and saves them in the midst of foes (वृत्रेषु तरुत्रं ६-२६-२). He so subdues man's foes that they can easily be killed ; he strikes villainous man a mortal blow (अस्मभ्यं वृत्रा सुहनानि रन्धि जहि वधर्वनुषो मर्त्यस्य ४-२२-९ ॥ सत्रा कृधि सुहना शूर वृत्रा ७-२५-२).

That king at whose house Indra drinks Sōma of high proof never comes to grief ; with his soldiers he drives and kills his foes (न स राजा व्यथते यस्मिन्निन्द्रस्तीव्रं सोमं पिबति गोसखायम् । आ सत्त्वनेरजति हन्ति वृत्रं ५-३७-४).

Indra's exploit of killing Vṛtra is transferred to certain other gods and gods in general. Sōma bears the charming name of Indra ; by doing so he kills all possible foes (विभर्ति चार्धिन्द्रस्य नाम येन विश्वानि वृत्रा जघान ९-१०९-१४). By drinking Sōma the Aśvins came to know Vṛtra (येन वृत्र चिकेतथः ८-९-४). The gods subdue Vṛtra (विश्वे देवासः ० रद्ध वृत्रं १०-११३-८). Immediately after killing Vṛtra they let loose waters (देवा अपो असृजन्ननु वृत्रतूर्ये १०-६६-८). They bless men in war (भून देवा वृत्रहत्येषु शंभुवः १-१०६-२). Headed by Indra they protect men (वृत्रहत्ये ० इन्द्रज्येष्ठा अस्मा अवन्तु देवाः ८-६३-१२).

Agni commands weapons that can kill foes (अग्निरीशे ० वृत्रहत्यानां ८-१६-१). He destroys lots of foes (अग्निवृत्राणि दयते पुरुणि १०-८०-२). With his help good men kill their foes and carry off the treasures of the misers (सत्पतिः शवसा हन्ति वृत्रमग्ने विप्रो वि पणेर्भर्ति वाजम् ६-१३-३). Agni is supplicated to be present in battle for granting riches (वाजसातये । स बोधि वृत्रतूर्ये ८-७४-१२). All good things such as happiness, riches, rain from

heaven, and a good flow of waters, proceed from Agni in battle (त्वद्विश्वा सुभग सौभगान्यग्ने वि यन्ति वनिनो न वयाः । ध्रुष्टो रथिर्वाजो वृत्रतूर्ये दिवो वृष्टिरीज्यो रीतिरपाम् ६-१३-१). Prayer to Agni gives riches upon riches in battle (सा० उपोप श्रवास श्रवः । दधीत वृत्रतूर्ये ८-७४-९). He who worships Indra and Agni destroys his foes (श्रयद्वृत्रं य इन्द्राम्नी सपर्यात् ६-६०-१). Agni and Brahmanaspati are supplicated to strengthen men's hearts in battle (भद्रं मनः कृणुष्व वृत्रतूर्ये ८-१९-२०). Indra and Agni encourage each other in battles (इन्द्राम्नी वृत्र-हत्येषु मियो दिन्वाना १०-६५-२).

Men invoke Saraswati in battle as they do Indra (यस्त्वा देवि सरस्वत्युप व्रूते० । इन्द्रं न वृत्रतूर्ये ६-६१-५).

Protected by you, oh Maruts, kings destroy their foes (युष्मोतः सम्राड्भुत हन्ति वृत्रम् ७-५८-४).

Even waters are found brave and fierce when amongst foes (वृत्रेषु शरा मंसन्त उग्राः ७-३४-३).

King Sudas killed his foes in the east, west and north (राजा वृत्रं जंघनत्यागपाणुदक् ३-५३-११).

Like Indra men kill Vṛtra, pass beyond earth and heaven and let loose waters that they might abide long (घ्नन्तो वृत्रमतरत्रोदसी अप उरु क्षयाय चक्रिरे १-३६-८).

One Ardhadeva resembles Indra in killing foes (इन्द्रं न वृत्रतुर मर्धदेवं ४-४२-८). He is also called Vṛtrahaṇ (वृत्रहणं० अर्धदेवं ४-४२-९). A devotee desires a son that would kill his foes (तं नो दद्धि वृत्रतुरं ६-२०-१).

In वृत्रे वा महो नृवति क्षये वा (६-२५-६) वृत्र probably means a battle or a hostile congregation; it seems opposed to नृवति क्षये which probably means a place full of peaceful men.

Vṛtra thus came to be generalised. It is in apposition to words meaning enemies (वृत्रा शत्रून् ४-४१-२ ॥ वृत्रा अमित्रान् ६-३३-१ ॥ वृत्राणि शत्रून्मित्रान् ६-७३-२). Enemies are either Ārya or Dāsa (दासा वृत्रा आर्याणि च ७-८३-१ ॥ दासा वृत्राण्यार्या १०-६९-६ ॥ वृत्राण्यार्या दासा द्विषः ६-६०-६ ॥ उभर्यौ अमित्रान् दासा वृत्राण्यार्या च ६-३३-३ ॥ वृत्राण्यु-भया ६-१९-३).

वृत्र in this generalised sense is one used as a verb in

सं द्विशोऽववृत्रन्त युष्मा आदित्रेम इन्द्रयन्ते (४-२४-४)

=यदा युष्माः विशः समववृत्रन्त वृत्रवत् आचरन्ति शत्रुत्वं कुर्वन्ति तदा तत्काले एव नेमेकेचित् जनाः इन्द्रयन्ते इन्द्रवत् आचरन्ति=When men fighting act like Vṛatra, that is, behave villainously, men on the other side act like Indra immediately, that is, they destroy the villains.

वृत्रहन् with its declensional forms occurs about 82 times; वृत्रतुर only 19. The latter must have been gradually displaced by the former. Could there have been such a form as वृत्रतुर्म (cp. वृत्रहन्तम्)? Did the two words once belong to two different Ārya tribes? Anyhow वृत्रहन् proved by far more popular.

Like वृत्रतुर, there is the word अप्तुर which must have been declined as अप्तुः, अप्तुरौ, अप्तुरः, अप्तुरं, etc. In R̥gveda we have only अप्तुरं, अप्तुरः, अप्तूर्य and अप्तूर्ये. अप्तुः means one that kills waters, that is, the wrongful possessors of waters like Vṛtra, Ahi, Śushma. But it lost this meaning and became a mere ornamental epithet. We have अग्निं० अप्तुरं (३-२७-११), शतक्रतुं० अप्तुरं (३-५१-२), अप्तुरं० इन्द्रुं (६-६१-१३), अप्तुरं० सोमं (१-६३-२१ ॥ १-१०८-७).

अप्तुरः (pl.) is used of the All-Gods (१-३-८), hawks (१-११८-४), Uśiks (२-२१-५) and Sōma (९-६३-५). अप्तूर्य a battle. Your battles are beneficial to us, oh Indra and Agni (इन्द्रामां० युवोरप्तूर्यं हितम् ३-१२-८). Sōma is your friend, oh Maruts, in battle (अप्तूर्ये मरुत आपिरेषः ३-५१-९).

So तुर to kill must have once been very popular, but this popularity waned apace before that of Vṛtrahaṇ.

Indra is also called Vṛtrakhada (वृत्रखादः ३-४५-२ ॥ ३-५१-९). So also Bṛhaspati (बृहस्पतिं वृत्रखादं० इमहे (१०-६५-१०). But I do not find खाद् to eat, to devour, among the verbal forms used in connection with Vṛtra, Verbal forms meaning to eat, to devour must have been in use in pre-R̥gvedic literature.

No other language is so prolific in roots directly or indirectly meaning destruction. I append a list which shows the abundance of such forms.

We have हन् in about 25 different verbal forms, घन् which is a variant of हन् in 22, वध्, वृध्, भिद्, रुज्, अर्द, द, सह्, रध्, जि, मि, स्फुर, सृज्, उभ्, पिप्, वृ, इर्, त्वः, स्तृ, रद्, रुध्, ऋज्, दय्, बर्ह, रि तुश्, अस्, शी, युध्, सद्, श्रय्, तर, स्वप्.

Next to these are words meaning strength or vigour. We have शवस्, ओजस्, तवस्, जवस्, सहस्, महस्, नृम्ण, क्षत्र, इन्द्रिय, पौंस्य, शची, शुष्म.

The thunderbolt is called वज्र, वध, सिन, आयुध, अशनि, दिद्युत्, हन्मन्.

Fisticuffs (मुष्टिहत्यया १-८-३) also must have been used, perhaps to the largest possible extent, in dealing with foes. In R̥gveda they are mentioned only once. The right hand (८-२-३२) is the readiest and invariably available weapon of war. It is strange that the R̥gveda should be so exceedingly sparing in its use.

Material on which the note on वृत्र is based.

वृत्र.

वृत्रमाशयानं सिरासु (१-१२१-११).

अपो वृत्रो रजसो बुध्रमाशयत् (१-५२-६).

सिंधुमाशयानम् (२-११-९), शयानम् (३-३२-६).

याश्चिद्वृत्रो महिना पर्यतिष्ठत् (१-३२-८).

अहिमपः परिष्ठां वृत्रम् (६-७२-३), परिष्ठिताः सीराः (४-१९-८).

परिधिं नदीनाम् (३-३३-६), अपो वद्विवांसम् (६-२०-२).

विश्वो नद्यो वद्विणा प्रवणेषु हिता (१-५४-१०).

अपां बिलमपिहितं यदासीत् (३-३२-११).

अपामपिधाना (१-५१-४).

अपो बिभ्रतं तमसा परीवृतम् (१०-११३-६).

अपामतिष्ठद्धरणव्हरं तमोऽन्तवृत्रस्य जहरेषु (१-५४-१०).

अतिष्ठन्तीनामानिवेशनानां काष्ठानां मध्ये निहितं शरीरम् ।

वृत्रस्य निष्यम् (१-३२-१०).

(निर्) अद्भ्यः (जघन्य) (१-८०-२)

(निरिन्द्र). वृहतःभ्यो धनुभ्यः (अस्फुरः) (८-३-१९) शुषन्तं वृत्रम्

(१-६१-१०). (आपः) वीभस्तुवो अप वृत्रादतिष्ठन् (१०-१२४-८).

महां (२-११-९), महे (८-९३-७), नयै (१-१४७-१), वृत्रस्य तवि'-
सहः (१-८०-१०), शशुवानस्य (१०-१११-२), अहीशुवम्
(८-३२-२६).

वृत्रस्य त्वा श्वसथाद्गीपमाणा विश्वे देवा अजहुः (८-९६-७).

इन्द्रं वृत्रो विवीभयत् (१-८०-१२).

अर्हयातारं कमपश्य इन्द्र हृदि यत्ते जघ्नुषो भीरगच्छत् ।

नव च यन्नवति च स्रवन्तीः श्येनो न भीतो अतरो रजांसि (१-३२-१४).

वौश्विदस्यामवां अहेः स्वनादयोयवीद्भियसा (१-५२-१०).

रोदसी बद्धधानस्य (१-५२-१०).

अमित्रियम् (६-१७-१११ ९-६१-२०), कुणाहंपियाद्म (३-३-८), दोषत
(८-६-६), अदेवम् (३-३२-६), अदेवस्य (१०-११३-२), मायिनम्
(१०-१४७-२), मायाः (१०-११३-२), प्रवणे दुर्गृभिश्चनो
(१-५२-६).

अपादं० अहस्तं (३-३०-८), शिरः (१-५२-१० ॥ ८-६-६ ॥ ८-७६-२),
सानुम् (१-८०-५), आनम् (१-५२-१५), हनू (१-५२-६ ॥
१०-१००-३), पाष्या (१-५६-६), मर्म (१-६१-६ ॥ ३-३२-४ ॥
८-१००-७), अमर्मणो मन्यमानस्य (३-३२-४)। और्णवाभम् २-११-८ ॥
८-३२-२६), दानुम् (२-११-८), सहदानुं क्षियन्तम् (३-३०-८).

इन्द्र.

वृत्रहत्याय जायथाः (८-८९-५), घनं वृत्राणां जनयन्त देवाः (३-४९-१),
यं सुक्रतुं धिपणे विभ्रतष्ट (३-४९-१).

देवासः० महां वृद्धमृष्वमेकमित् निर्वृणते वृत्रहत्ये (४-१९-१), इन्द्रं वृत्राय
हन्तवे देवासो दधिरे पुरः (८-१२-२२).

देवैर्वृत्रहत्याय औक्षत् (१०-५५-७).

आपो विश्व इव राजानमीं वृणानाः (१०-१२४-८).

देवेभिः सयावभिः (१०-११३-२), मरुत्सखा (८-७६-२ । ३), तं वृत्रहत्ये
अनुतस्थुस्तयः शुष्मा इन्द्रम् (१-५२-४), येभिः० इषितः (३-३२-४).

अनु ते दायि मह इन्द्रियाय सत्रा विश्वमनु वृत्रहत्ये ।

अनु क्षत्रमनु सहो यजत्रेन्द्र देवेभिरनु ते नृषे (६-२५-८).

अनु प्र येजे जन ओजो अस्य सत्रा दधिरे अनुवीर्याय ।

स्यूमगृभे दुधयेऽर्वते च क्रतुं वृञ्जन्त्यपि वृत्रहत्ये (६-३६-२).

विश्वे ते अत्र मरुतः सह त्मनावर्धयन्नुग्र महिमानमिन्द्रियम् (१०-११३-३).

अदधुस्तुभ्यमोजः (३-४७-२).

अनु त्रितस्य युध्यतः शुष्ममादन्नुत क्रतुम् । अन्विन्द्रं वृत्रतूर्ये (८-७-२४).
ये त्वान्वहन्वृत्रम् (३-४७-२), वि वृत्रं पर्वशो ययुः (८-७-२३), वृभिर्भूरिणि
वृत्राः हंसि (७-१९-४), हन्ता वृत्रं वृभिः शूरः (८-२-३६).

विष्णुना सचानः (६-२०-२), सह्या युजा (६-५६-२), अभि प्रेहि दक्षि-
णतो भवा मे (१०-८३-७), असश्च त्वं दक्षिणतः सखा मे (४-१८-१२ ॥
८-१००-२).

सखे विष्णो वितरं वि क्रमस्व (४-१८-११ ॥ ८-१००-१२).

ताभ्यां हरिभ्यां (६-५७-३), आ वृत्रे नियुतो यन्ति पूर्वाः (३-३१-१४).

आ बुन्दं वृत्रहा ददे जातः पृच्छद्वि मातरम् । क उग्राः के ह शृण्वरे (८-४५-८)
जज्ञानो नु शतक्रतुर्वि पृच्छदिति मातरम् । क उग्राः के ह शृण्वरे (८-७७-१).

मम पुत्रः (४-१८-७), प्र तं जानित्री विदुष उवाच (२-३०-२).

महिषः (२-२२-१), शविष्ठ (१०-११६-१), तूतुजानः (१-६१-१२ ॥
६-१८-६), वावृधानः (८-७६-३), उग्रः (१०-११३-६),
उग्रम (६-३८-५), हीलितः (१-८०-६), शुद्धः (८-९५-९),
ईशानः कियेधाः (१-६१-१२), मन्दसानः (४-१७-३ ॥ १०-२८-७),
मन्दसे (१०-५०-३), हृष्या (१-५६-८), प्रातर्दनिः क्षत्रधीः
(६-२६-८), पुरु वर्षांसि विद्वान् (६-४४-१४), सत्यः०
अनानतः (८-९०-४), महाम् (६-३८-५).

उत्ते शतान्मघवन्नुच्च भूयस उत्सहस्रादिरिचे कृष्टिषु श्रवः ।

अगात्रं त्वा धिपगा तित्विपे मही (१-१०२-८).

परां घृणा चरति तित्विपे शवः (१-५२-६).

इन्द्रामी वृत्रहत्ये तवस्तमा शुश्रव (१-१०९-५).

क इमं दशभिर्ममेन्द्रं क्रीणाति धेनुभिः ।

यदा वृत्राणि जङ्घनदथैतं मे पुनर्ददत् (४-२४-१०).

DRINK AND FOOD FOR INDRA.

अन्ना० इन्द्रः प्रथमा व्याशावृणीत सोमम् (३-३६-८).

वृत्रहणं मदिरमंशुमस्मै (६-१७-११).

यं ते काव्य उशाना मन्दिनं दान् (१-१२१-१२).

त्री साकामन्द्रो मनुषः सरांसि सुतं पिबद्वृत्रहत्याय सोमम् (५-२९-७).

स्वादुर्मदिष्ठ आस यस्येन्द्रो वृत्रहत्ये ममाद (६-४७-२).

ते त्वा मदा अमदन्तानि वृष्या ते सोमासः (१-५३-६).

अस्य मदे (६-४४-१४), अस्य मदेषु (९-१-१०), मदे सुतस्य (१-५२-१० । १-५६-६), अस्य पीत्वा मदानाम् (९-२३-७), अस्य पीत्वा (१-४-८)।

पिवा वृत्राय हन्तवे (१०-११६-१)।

स पवस्व य आविथेन्द्रं वृत्राय हन्तवे (९-६-२२)।

येन सोमेन वृत्राणि हंसि (७-२२-२)।

इन्द्राय सोम वृत्रहा पवस्व (९-२४-२६ ॥ ९-८९-७ ॥ १०-२५-९)।

तमिन्द्रं वाजयामसि महे वृत्राय हन्तवे (८-९३-७)।

पितुं न स्तोषं । यस्य त्रितो व्योजसा वृत्रं विपर्वमर्दयत् (१-१८७-१)।

न्हदा इव कुक्षयः सोमधानाः समीं विव्याच सवना पुरुणि (३-३६-८)।

यः कुक्षिः सोमपातमः समुद्र इव पिन्वते । उर्वारारपो न काकुदः (१-८-७)।

अयं सोमो मधुमान्येन वृत्रं चिकेतथः (८-९-४)।

वृत्रहन्तमो मदः (८-८६-८), वृत्रहन्तमः सोमः (९-१-३), वृत्राणि सक्षणिः (९-११०-१), इन्द्रो न यो महा कर्माणि चकिर्हन्ता वृत्राणामसि सोम पूभिन् (९-८८-४), प्रन्तो वृत्राणि सोमाः (९-१७-१)।

यो अस्मै तीव्रान्तसोमौ आसुनोति प्रयस्वान् (१०-४२-५)।

पचच्छतं महिषां इन्द्र तुभ्यम् । पूषा विष्णुः (६-१७-११)।

विश्वेत्ता विष्णुराभरत् ० शतं महिषान् क्षीरपाकमोदनं वराहमिन्द्र एमुषम् (८-७७-१०)।

यदि प्रवृद्ध सत्पते सहस्रं महिषां अघः । आदित्त इन्द्रियं महि प्र वावृषे (८-१२-८)।

त्रीं थच्छता महिषाणामघः (५-३९-८)।

सखा सद्ये अपचत्तूयमग्निरस्य क्त्वा महिषा त्री शतानि (५-२९-७)।

INDRA'S WEAPONS.

वज्रेण (१-३३-११ ॥ १-६१-६ ॥ १-६१-१० ॥ १-८०-६ ॥ १-८०-१३ ॥ १-१२१-११ ॥ ४-१७-३ ॥ ६-६८-३ ॥ ८-२९-४ ॥ १०-११३-२), वज्रः (१-५२-१०), वज्रम् (१-६१-१२ ॥ ९-१२१-१२ ॥ ६-२०-९ ॥ ८-१००-७ ॥ १०-९९-१), वज्रेण शतपर्वाणा (८-७६-२ ॥ ८-८९-३), वज्रेण शतपर्वाणा वृष्णिना (८-६-६), वज्रेण महता वधेन (१-३२-५), महता वधेन (४-१८-७), चरता वधेन (३-३२-६), वृष्टिमता वधेन (५-५२-१५), वधं (२-३०-३), वधर (४-२२-९), अशानिं (१-८०-१३), हन्मना (१०-११३-८), सिनम् (२-३०-२). तिग्मायुधः

(२-३०-३), आयुधा (१०-११३-३), तिग्मा दियुत् (५-८६-३), मुष्टिहत्यया (१-८-२), रांयणा (१-८-२), अर्वता (१-८-२), दधीचो अस्थभिः (१-८४-१३), दक्षिणेन (८-२-३२).

WORDS FOR STRENGTH.

शवः (१-८०-३ ॥ २-११-८), शवसा (१-५१-४ ॥ १-५२-६ ॥ १-५२-१० ॥ १-६१-१० ॥ ४-१७-१ ॥ ५-८६-३ ॥ ६-६८-३ ॥ ७-२१-६ ॥ ८-१२-२६), तवसा (३-३०-८), जवसा (१०-२८-३), ओजसा (१-८०-२ ॥ १-८०-५१ ॥ १-१८७-१ ॥ ८-६२-८ ॥ १०-११३-६), सहः (६-२५-८), सहसा (१-८०-१०), नृम्णम् (१-८०-३), क्षत्रं महः (६-२५-८), इन्द्रियाय (६-२५-८), महर्षां-स्यम् (१-८०-१०), वृत्रहभिः शुष्मैः (६-६०-३).

CHARIOTS.

स्थाता रथस्य ह्यारिभिस्वरः (३-४५-२),

वृत्रहत्याय रथमिन्द्र तिष्ठ (६-१८-९),

बिभ्रद्वज्रं वृत्रहणं गभस्तौ (६-२०-९), यो वृत्राय सिनगत्रा भरिष्यत् (२-३०-२), यौर्देहि लोकं वज्राय विष्कभे (८-१००-१२), प्रति दृणा गभ-स्योर्गवां वृत्रघ्न एष ते (५-८६-३).

बिभ्रदायुधा युधये समस्थिथाः (१०-११३-३).

मिहं वसान उप हीमदुद्रोत् (२-३०-३).

ऊर्ध्वां ह्यस्थान्तरिक्षेऽथा वृत्राय प्र वधर्जभार (२-३०-३).

अस्मा इदु प्रभर त्तुजानो वृत्राय वज्रं (१-६१-१२), यद्वृत्रं तव चाशनिं वज्रेण समयोधयः (१-८०-१३).

अभीमिन्द्रो० प्रवणेषु जिघ्रते (१-५४-१०).

अभिनच्छिरः (१-५२-१०), वि वृत्रस्वाभिनच्छिरः (८-७६-२), वृत्रस्य शिरो वि विभेद (८-६-६).

वृत्रस्य सानु० वज्रेणाभिक्रम्याव जिघ्रते (१-८०-५).

वि वृत्रस्य हनू रुजः (१०-१५२-३), नि जघन्य हन्वोरिन्द्र तन्यनुम् (१-५२-१०).

नि पीं वृत्रस्य मर्मणि दज्रमिन्द्रो अपीपतत् (८-१००-७), वृत्रस्य चिद्विदयेन (वज्रेण) मर्म (१-६१-६), वृत्रस्य विवेद मर्म (३-३२-४), गोर्न पर्व विरदा तिरश्चा (१-६१-१२), पर्वशः (८-६-१३ ॥ ८-७-२२).

नि त्वमिन्द्र प्रत्यानं जघन्य (१-५२-१५).

वि वृत्रस्य समया पाष्यारुजः (१-५६-६).

वृत्रस्य तविषीं निरहन् सहसा सहः (१-८०-१०).

वि मन्थुं वृत्रस्य रुज (१०-१५२-३).

नि सन्वतः सादि (२-११-१८).

अप्रती (७-२३-३ ॥ ९-२३-७), अप्रतानि (७-५-३ ॥ ८-९०-५).

नोचावया अभवद्वृत्रपुत्रेन्द्रो अस्या अव वधजंभार । उत्तरा मरधरः पुत्र आसीत्
शनुः शयै सहवत्सा न धेनुः (१-३२-९).

पुरुत्रा वृत्रो अशयव्यस्तः (१-३०-७).

दोर्घं तम आशयादिन्द्रशत्रुः (१-३२-१०).

त्वं वृत्रमाशयानं सिरासु महो वज्रण सिष्वपो वराहुम् (१-१२१-११).

याश्चिद्रुत्रो मदिना पर्यतिष्ठत् तासामहिः पत्सुतः शिर्वभूव (१-३२-८).

शरीरं वृत्रस्य० विचरन्त्यापः (१-३२-१०).

निरिन्द्र भूम्या अधि वृत्रं जघन्थ निर्दिंवः (१-८०-४).

अपो वमिवांसं वृत्रं जघानाशन्येव वृक्षम् (२-१४-२).

त्वं० वृत्राणि० वर्षीर्वनेव सुधितेभिरत्कैः (६-३३-३).

जघान वृत्रं स्वाधितिर्वनेव० । विभेद गिरिं नवमिन्न कुम्भम् (१०-८९-७).

रुज पुरः (१०-८९-७), वि पुरो दर्दरीति (६-७३-२), पुरंदरं
(६-१६-१४), दृन्हा चिदारुजः (३-४५-२), विभेद गिरिम् (१०-८९-७).

त्वामीमहे शतक्रतो । इन्द्रं वृत्राय हन्तवे (३-३७-६), वयं ते० सखायः स्याम
महिन प्रेष्ठाः । धने वृत्राणां (६-२६-८), सत्यानिः शवया हन्ति वृत्रममे विप्रो वि
पणेर्भाति वाजम् (६-१३-३), भ्रथद्वृत्रं य इन्द्राम्नी सपर्यात् (६-६०-१), इन्द्रेण युजा
तरुपेम् वृत्रम् (७-४८-२), इन्द्रं वृत्राय हन्तवे पुरुहूतमुप ब्रुवे (३-३७-५), त्वोता-
सो वृत्रं निरुणधामहे (१-८-२), अस्मभ्यं वृत्रा सुहनानि रन्धि जहि वधर्वनुपो
मर्त्यस्य (४-२२-९), सत्रा कृधि सुहना शूर वृत्रा (७-२५-२), त्वां वृत्रेषु तरुत्रम्
(६-२६-२), युजं वृत्रेषु वज्रिणम् (१-७-५), वृत्रहत्ये हव्यः (४-२४-२), इन्द्रो
हव्यो महति वृत्रतूर्ये (६-१८-३), सुधिमिन्द्र वृत्रहत्येऽवासि शूरसाती (६-२३-२ ॥
६-३४-५), तेषामिन्द्र वृत्रहत्ये शिवो भूः (७-१९-१०), त्वं तान्वृत्रहत्ये चोदय
नून् (१०-२२-१०), प्रेदं ब्रह्म वृत्रतूर्येष्वाविथ इन्द्र (८-३७-१), महामुप्रमा वि-
वासेम वृत्रतूर्येषु (६-३८-५), वान्रहत्यय० इन्द्र त्वा वर्तयामसि (३-३७-१),
वृभिवत्रं हन्याम शशुयाम चाविरिन्द्र प्र णो धियः (८-२१-१२), वृत्रेषु शूरा मंसन्त
उप्राः (७-३४-३), प्रन्तो वृत्रमतरन्रोदसी अप उरु क्षयाय चाकिरे (१-३६-८),
यस्त्वा देवि सरस्वत्युप ब्रूते धने हिते । इन्द्रं न वृत्रतूर्ये (६-६१-५).

राजा वृत्रं जघनत्प्रागपागुदक् (३-५३-११), राजा आ सत्वन् रजति हन्ति वृत्रम् (५-३७-४). युष्मोतः सम्राल्लुत हन्ति वृत्रम् (७-५८-४).

वृत्रा शत्रून् (४-४१-२), वृत्रा अमित्रान् (६-३३-१), वृत्राणि शत्रून् अमित्रान् (६-७३-२). पुरूणि वृत्राणि (१०-८०-२).

दासा वृत्रा आर्याणि च (७-८३-१), दासा वृत्राण्यार्या (१०-६९-६), वृत्राण्यार्या दासा द्विषः (६-६०-६), उभर्या अमित्रान् दासा वृत्राण्यार्या च (६-३३-३), वृत्राण्युभया (६-१९-३).

वृत्रे वा महे वृवति क्षये वा (६-२५-६), तं नो दद्वि वृत्रतुरम् (६-२०-१), इन्द्रं न वृत्रतुरमधेदेवम् (४-४२-८), भद्रं मनः कृणुष्व वृत्रतूर्ये (२-२६-२ ॥ ८-१९-२०), वाजः० वृत्रतूर्ये (६-१३-१ ॥ ८-७४-११ ८-७४-१२).

वृत्रहन् is used of Indra occurs fifteen times, of Sōma five, of Agni six, of Vajra twice, of men once, of Indra-Agni six, of Saraswati once, and of Śushma once.

वृत्रतुर is used of Indra once, of Indra and Varuṇa once, and of men thrice.

वृत्रहन्तम् is used of Indra nine times, of Soma five, of Agni twice, of the Maruts, Indra-Agni, and the Aświns once each.

वृत्रहत्य occurs in connection with Indra twenty times, Agni once, Indra-Agni twice, gods once, men once.

वृत्रतूर्य occurs in connection with Indra five, Agni four, Maruta, Brahmanaspati, Saraswati once each and the gods twice.

वृत्रहत्य occurs twenty-five times, वृत्रतूर्य fourteen, वृत्रहन् eighty-two and वृत्रतुर nineteen.

Though we have only वृत्रतुरं and वृत्रतुरा, other forms such as वृत्रतः, वृत्रतुरा (Instrumental), वृत्रतूर्भिः, वृत्रतुरे, वृत्रतुरः, etc., must have been in common use in pre-Vedic days. The word was perhaps older than वृत्रहन् and was gradually displaced by it.

तुर् To destroy occurs in अतुर which occurs nine times in R̥gveda, and most probably means a destroyer or conqueror of water. It is merely an ornamental epithet.

अप्तूर्य occurs twice and means battle.

निष्टुर occurs twice and means one that destroys completely.

अञ्जित् occurs twice and means one that conquers waters.

Consequences of the death of Vṛtra.

असृजद्वि सिंधून् । परिष्ठिता अतृणद्वद्गुधानाः सीरा इन्द्रः स्रवितवे पृथिव्या (४-१९-८).

सृजः सिंधूँ रहिना जग्रसानान् (४-१७-१), अरदन्न सिंधून् (१०-८९-७), त्वं वृताँ अरिणा इन्द्र सिंधून् (४-४२-७), त्वं सिंधूरसृजस्तस्तभानान् (८-९६-१८) : रिणचाव सिंधूनिन्द्रस्थ यन्तु प्रसवे विसृष्टाः (८-१००-१२), असृजद्वि सिंधून् (४-१८-७), अपां विलमपिहितं यदासीत्० अप तद्ववार (१-३२-११), त्वमपा-मापिधाना वृणोरप (१-५१-४).

पथो रदन्तीरनु जोषमस्मै दिवेदिवे धुनयो यन्त्यर्थम् (२-३०-२).

प्राणस्थैरयतं नदीनाम् (६-७२-३), विचरन्त्यापः (१-३२-१०) : अर्षन्त्वापो जरसा वि मातरः (८-८९-४), सरन्नापो जवसा हतवृष्णीः (४-१७-३), वि वेरपः (१०-१४७-१), अरिणा अपः (१-५६-६), सृजा मरुत्वतीरव जीवधन्या इमा अपः (१-८०-४), अहमेता मनवे विश्वश्चन्द्राः सु अपश्चकर (१-१६५-८), मनवे गातुयन्नपः (१-५२-८), अपो महाराभिशस्तेरमुञ्चोऽजागरास्वधि देव एक (१०-१०४-९), उच्चन्नर्णोसि (१-५२-२), निरपामौञ्जो अर्णवम् (१-५६-५), निरपामौञ्जदर्णवम् (१-८५-९), अपो अर्थाँ आसृजः सर्तवाजौ (३-३२-६), इध्यन्नध्रैस्यपां चरर्णा (१-६१-१२), ऋणोरपो अनवद्यार्णाः (१-१७४-२).

आपश्चिदस्मै पिन्वन्त पृथ्वीः (७-३४-३), कृण्वयोनीः पुरंदरो दासीरैरयद्वि (२-२०-७), अपः समीय चोदयन् (१-८०-५).

प्राणोसि समुद्रियाण्यैनोः (४-१६-७), अपः समुद्रमैरयत् (८-६-१३), सृजन्समुद्रिया अपः (८-७६-३), आ समुद्राणि पप्रथुः पुरुणि (६-७२-३).

त्वमपो अजयो दासपत्नीः (८-९६-१८), जयो अपः (१-१०३-३), थो अर्षपत्नीरकृपोदिमा अपः (१०-४३-८).

पतिर्भवत् (४-१६-७).

जया स्वः (८-८९-४), अपावृणोऽज्योतिरार्याय (२-११-८), वृत्रहा दस्युहन्तमं ज्योतिर्जेज्ञे (१०-१७०-२), सूर्य दिव्यारोहयो द्यो (१-५१-४), पूर्वो-रुपसः शरदश्च गूर्ताँ असृजद्वि (४-१९-८).

अकृणोदु लोकम् (१०-१०४-१०), व्यन्तरिक्षमतिरः उद् द्यामस्तभ्रा आजसा (१०-१५३-३).

गा इन्द्रो अकृणुत स्वयुग्भिः (१०-८९-७), आविधेना अकृणोद्राम्याणाम् (३-३४-३), वृत्रस्य संजितो धनानाम् (३-४२-५), सनये धनानाम् (६-२६-८), वाजसानये (९-११०-१).

विश्वास्ते स्पृघः श्रथयन्त मन्यवे (८-९९-६).

दिवि ते बद्धे शवः (१-८०-१३).

अभवद्दरेण्यः (१०-११३-२).

श्रवसा श्रुतो वृत्रहृत्येन वृत्रहा (८-२४-२).

The persons for whom Indra killed Vṛtra:—

यूने० पुरुकुत्साय (१-१७४-२), पौरुकुत्सि त्रसदस्युं पूहं (७-१९-३),
वरिवः पूरवे कः (४-२१-१०), मुदासं० अवतम् (१-८३-१), कारवे (१-५३-६),

Vṛtra meaning a foe.

वि यो ध्रुणो बधिषो वज्रहस्त विश्वा वृत्रममित्रिया शवांभिः (६-१७-१).

वज्रेणान्यः शवसा हन्ति वृत्रम् (६-६८-३).

वृत्रं हनति वृत्रहा (८-८९-३), हन्ति वृत्रं (१०-४२-५), वृत्रहा वृत्रमस्तर
(१०-१११-६) ।

वृत्रहन् वि वृत्रस्य हनू जहि (१०-१५२-३).

एको वृत्रा चरसि जिघ्रमानः (३-३०-४).

वृत्रा भूरीण्येको अप्रतीनि हन्ति (४-१७-१९).

भूरीणि वृत्रा हंसि (७-१९-४), इन्द्रो नवतीर्नव वृत्राणि जघान (१-८४-१३).

यत्कारवे दश वृत्राण्यप्रति बर्हिष्मते नि सहस्राणि बर्हयः (१-५३-६), वृत्रा
भूरिन्कृजसे (८-९०-४).

त्वं वृत्राणि हंस्यप्रतीभ्येक इदनुत्ता चर्षणीधृता (८-९०-५), त्वं हि ल्यदृषभ
चर्षणीनां घनो वृत्राणां तविषो बभूथ (८-९६-१८).

अहं स यो नववास्त्वं वृहद्रथं सं वृत्रेव दासं वृत्रहां रुजम् (१०-४९-६).

(इन्द्रावक्षणी) वृत्रतुरा (६-६८-२).

प्राहं महे वृत्रहृत्ये अशुश्रुवि (१०-४८-८).

विश्वासु ध्रुषु वाजकृत्येषु सत्पते वृत्रे वास्वभि शर मन्दसे (१०-५०-२).

येन सोमेन वृत्राणि हंसि (७-२२-२).

येन वृत्रं चिकेतथः (८-९-४).

विभर्ति चाविन्द्रस्य नाम येन विधानि वृत्रा जघान (९-१०९-१४).

विश्वे देवासः० रद्ध वृत्रमहिम् (१०-११३-८).

देवा अपो असृजन्ननु वृत्रतूर्ये (१०-६६-८).

भूत देवा वृत्रतूर्येषु शंभुवः (१-१०६-२), वृत्रहृत्ये इन्द्रज्येष्ठा देवा अस्माँ
अवन्तु (८-६३-१२).

अहि.

Vṛtra is spoken of as Ahi eleven times. The name also occurs several times by itself.

Ahi is an enveloper of waters (अर्णोऽवृतं २-१९-२ ॥ ओहानं ५-३०-६ ॥ अभ्योहसानं ६-१७-९).

He hems in waters (परिष्टिता अहिना० पूर्वाः २-११-२ ॥ ७-२१-३ ॥ परिषदः ३-३३-७).

He lies upon or round them (शयानं २-१२-११ ॥ पारिशयानमर्णः ३-३२-११ ॥ अर्ण आशयानं ५-३०-६ ॥ ससन्तं १-१०३-७ ॥ सुपुषाणं ४-१९-३).

He lies on seven streams (सप्त प्रति प्रवत आशयानं ४-१९-३ ॥ प्रति प्रवत आशयानं ४-१७-७).

He devours waters (सिन्धूरहिना जग्रसान् १०-१११-९). And yet he is thirstless (अनृष्णवन्तं ४-१९-३).

He sleeps lying along long stretches (प्रयुतं शयानं ५-३२-२ ॥ वियतं ४-१९-३). He sleeps so fast that he does not awake (अवुच्यमवुच्यमानं ४-१९-३). His bed is spoken of (शयथे ६-१७-९).

He is huge (महां ८-३-२०) and shows his might (ओजायमानं २-१२-११ ॥ ३-३०-११). He blockades waters and heaven. (अपो द्यां तस्तभ्वांसं २-११-५). He has a coadjutor at whose sight Indra is so frightened that he in his precipitate flight gets beyond ninety-nine-streams (अहर्यातारं कमपदय इन्द्र हृदि यत्ते जप्नुषो भीरगच्छत् । नव च यज्ञवर्ति च स्रवन्तीः इथेनो न भीतो अतरो रजांसि १-३२-१४).

Yet he is tricky (मायिनं २-११-५ ॥ ५-३०-६), betakes himself to mountains (पर्वते शिश्रियाणं १-३२-२), hides in caves (गुहा हितं गुह्यं गूलहं २-११-५), and lies enfolded by waters (अम्बु परीवृतं २-११-५). What goes against him is that he makes no gifts (अदानं ४-१९ ९).

He is the first-born of Ahi's (प्रथमजामहीनां (१-३२-३ । ४) and the most powerful of them (दक्षं० अहिजां १०-१३९-६). He is called दानु (दानु २-१२-११) and not the son of दानु as Vṛtra is (उत्तरा सूरधरः पुत्र आसीद्दानुः शये सहवत्सा न धेनुः १-३२-९). He is said to be the son of अम्बु (पुत्रमम्बुवः ४-१९-९). अम्बु is the name of the sun (अम्बुः० सूर्यः कविः ५-४४-७), of the seven sisters that nurse Agni (तमम्बुवः० सं हि रोभिरे १-१४०-८ ॥ ३-२९-१३ ॥ ४-३०-१६ ॥

७-२-५), and of those ladies that help in squeezing Sōma (तमीं हिन्वन्त्वग्रुवः ९-१-८॥ ९-६६-९). अग्रु must be the mother of Ahi.

Aera a cloud (in Greek) seems nearer to Ahi.

It was a mighty foe with whom Indra had to contend. He had to ply himself with Sōma and solid food.

त्रिकद्रुकेष्वपि वत्सुतस्यास्य मदे (२-१५-१), अस्य मन्दानो मध्वः (२-१९-२), तत्रा युजा तव साम सहये (४-२८-१), मन्दसानं पविवांसं सुतस्य (५-२९-२), पपिवांसं अस्य (५-२९-३), तत्र० अक्सा (१-१८-७-६). It was by the energy inspired in him by Sōma that he was able to do the great deed. He himself praised the drink (व्यन्धो अहयत् ४-१९-९). It is said he drank so much that the quantity would fill three human lakes. (त्रौ सरांसि मघना सोम्यापाः ५-२९-८). But this was not enough. He killed 300 wild buffaloes and devoured the well-cooked meat (त्रौ यच्छता महिषाणामघो माः ५-३९-८).

But what would food and drink alone avail if there was no stuff within? The gods put into him all possible strength (विश्वमसुर्यं देवैरिन्द्रे धायि ६-२०-२). They invoked into Indra all the war-spirit that exists (कारं न विश्वे अहन्त देवा भरमिन्द्राय (२-२९-८).

The Maruts inspirited him. (मरुतस्त्वा० अवर्धन् ३-४७-४). Heavenly damsels, wives of the gods, wove a special spell for him (माः० देवपत्नीरिन्द्रायार्कमहिहल्य ऊवुः १-६१-८).

The Brahmanas invigorated him with their praises (ब्रह्माण इन्द्रं महयन्तोऽकरवर्धयन् ५-३१-४). It was by strength (शक्सा ४-२२-५), by valour (वीर्येण २-११-५) and also by wiles (मायाभिः ५-३०-६) that he killed Ahi. He is called brave and daring (शूर धृष्णो ४-२२-५). It was then that he became conscious of his might (अहिं यद् भ्रन्नोजोऽमिमीधः ५-३१-७). It was a deed indeed (तदिन्नु ते करणं ५-३१-७ ॥ तदिन्द्र प्रेव वीर्यं चकर्थ १-१०३-७ ॥ कृपे तदिन्द्र पौंस्यं ८-३-२०). It was a deed that ought to be bruited for ever (प्रवाच्यं शश्रधा वीर्यं तदिन्द्रस्य कर्म ३-३३-७). It was after this that he was called killer of Ahi (अहिहा २-१९-३) and one having Ahi's might (अहिशुष्मः ५-३३-५).

Indra then whetted his thunder-bolt (वज्रमहिहत्याय संश्यत् ५-१३०-४). It was a terrible weapon (धृपता ४-२२-५). It was so invariably and intimately associated with Indra that the steelweapon is said to have a gold crown on and as wounding Ahi (तुददहि हरिशिप्रो य आयसः १०-९६-४). Sacrifice besides guarded it during the fight (यज्ञस्ते वज्रमहिहृत्य आवत् ३-३२-१२). He took it in hand (आदत्त वज्रं ५-२९-२) and when he did so, mountains bent (आ यद्वज्रं वाहोरिन्द्रवत्से प्र पर्वता अनवन्त ८-९६-५). Heaven itself bent low through fear (अध दौश्चित्ते अप सा नु वज्रात् नमद्विषसा ६-१७-९). At its sight Ahi too bent and Indra pounded him with it (वज्रेण नवन्तमहिं स पियक् ६-१७-१०). Or with it he cut him into separate joints (अहिं वज्रेण वि रिणा अपर्वन् ४-१९-३). The usual verb for cutting into bits is विवृश् (विवृश्न् ॥ २-१९-२ ॥ ३-३३-७ ॥ विवृश्ः ४-१७-७ ॥ विवृक्णा १-३२-५). Other expressions are:—अहिं वज्रेणाविवेषीः (४-२२-५)=he overpowered him with the thunderbolt; सक्षदिन्द्रः (५-३०-६)=he overcame him; नि शयथे जघन्थ (६-१७-९)=he killed him in his bed; ससन्ते वज्रेणावोधयोर्हि (१-१०३-७)=he awoke him out of his sleep; निवेशनाद्धरिव आ जभर्थ (४-१९-९)=he dragged him out of his hiding.

Another Rk says, he blew the great Ahi out of the sky (निरन्तरिक्षादधमो महामहिं ८-३-२०). He killed him (अहिमवधीत् ८-९३-२) and Ahi lay closely embracing the earth (अहिः शयत उपपृक् पृथिव्याः १-३२-५). Thus it was that Indra conquered (मघव विजिग्ये १-३२-१३).

It was a deed that called forth his full powers; well might he say to the Maruts:—Where was your power when me alone you sent on to kill Ahi (क स्या वो मरुतः स्वघासीद्यन्मामेकं समधत्ताहिहृत्ये १-१६५-६).

The consequence of this mighty deed was that the waters were set free. This is expressed in a variety of ways such as निरपः ससर्ज (१-१०३-२), अयन्नापोऽयनमिच्छमानाः (३-३३-७), अपो मनवे सस्रुतस्कः (४-२८-१), अपो यद्धारमृजत्संतवा उ (५-२९-२), सृजो महीः (२-११-२), स्रवितवा अपस्कः (७-२१-३), रिणन्नपः (८-३२-२), अन्वपस्ततदं (१-३६-१).

He broke the water-channels of mountains (प्र वक्षणा अभिनत्पर्व तानां (१-३२-१), and then the waters rushed towards the sea :—

अञ्जः समुद्रमव जग्मुरापः (१-३२-२), अर्णो अपां प्रैरयत्० अच्छा समुद्रं (२-१९-३). वयो न स्वसराण्यच्छा पर्यांसि च नदीनां चक्रमन्त (२-१९-२)= like birds to their nests, the waters of rivers marched or flew to the sea.

He set free the seven rivers :—

अरिणान्सप्त सिन्धून् (२-१२-३ ॥ ४-२८-१ ॥ १०-६७-१२), सृजः सिन्धून् १०-१११-९). त्वं सिन्धूरवासृजोऽधराचः (१०-१३३-२).

He fattened the waters (अपिन्वः २-११-२).

He made or cut out paths for the washers (धौतीनामरिणात्यथः २-१३-५).

He set free cows i.e., waters (गा उदाजत् २-१२-३), गा अजनयमहेरधि १०-४८-२).

He uncovered mines that had lain covered (अपानृणोदपिहितेव खानि ४-२८-१).

Ahi became a standard for comparison for size and wiles अहीशुवं पिशुं (८-३२-२), और्णवाभमहीशुवं (८-७७-२), अहीशुवः सोमः (१०-१४४-३), अहिमार्यां अभिव्यून् (१-१९०-४), अहिमाया देवाः (६-२२-१९ ॥ १०-६३-४), पिप्रोरहिमायस्य (६-२०-७). In अहिमन्यवो मरुतः (१-६४-८-९), and अहिभानवो मरुतः (१-१७२-१) Ahi seems to be the Sun.

In course of time Ahi degenerated in meaning and meant a foe as in अहिह्नम् अश्वं (१-११७-९ ॥ १-११८-९). The degradation was complete when Ahi was classed with wolves, demons, diseases and hell as in अहिं वृकं रक्षांसि० अमीवाः (७-३८-७) and अहये वा तान्प्रददातु सोम आ वा दधानु निऋतेरुपस्थे (७-१०४-९).

अहिहा and अहिहन् are used of Indra once each, and अहिघ्ने twice अहिहत्याय is used in connection with Indra once and अहिहत्ये four times. अहिह्नं is used of a particular horse twice.

अहिहन् and its inflections are not used of other gods; so also अहिहत्याय and अहिहत्ये. The name Ahi is not even once

used in the neuter gender. Poets have let Ahi off lightly. They reserved their vials of hatred, and contempt for Vṛtra alone.

Among the verbal forms used in connection with Ahi and which denote killing directly or indirectly, अहन् occurs 11 times, हन् twice, जघान five times, जघन्वान् once, हत्वा twice, हन्ता and घ्नन् once each, हन्तवै twice, अवधीत् twice, विवृश्चत् and विवृश्चः once each, शयते, विजिग्ये, विरिगाः, आ जभर्थ, अविवेपीः, सक्षत्, संपिणक्, जम्भयन्तः, निरधमः, तुदत्, and दंसयः once each. हन् besides occurs in अहिहन् six times, and in अहिहत्य 5 times.

This list must pale before the abundance lavished on Vṛtra.

Vṛtra in Avesta is Verethra which word has three meanings in that language, 1 victory or strength of victory; 2 that which protects, an armour; 3 a foe. Verethraghna=smiting the foe, victorious; it is an epithet used of Ātar, Vāta and Mithra. It also means the strength of smiting the enemy, victory; also the angel presiding over victory.

Ahi is Azi in Avesta; it means a serpent; Ophis in Greek means a serpent.

What phenomenon in meteorology is represented by Ahi? Is it the serpentine form sometimes assumed by clouds? A cloud may appear a dragon to a child.

In eleven Rks we find Vṛtra and Ahi mixed up. Sūkta 1-32 is full of this mixture.

बल.

His name is associated with cows which he hides. (अपधा बलस्य २-१२-३ ॥ गुहा सतीः ८-१४-८). He erects enclosures around them (परिधीन् १-५२-५) and shuts them in, though they low aloud, being desirous of liberty (उस्रियाः कनिकदद्वावशतीः ४-५०-५). He has large herds of them (एयो अपथ्रितो बलो गोमतोरव तिष्ठति ८-२४-३० ॥ उस्रियाणां निधीन् १०-६८-६ ॥ गोमयं वसु १०-६२-२ ॥ रक्षितारदुधानां १०-६७-६).

His identification with cows is so complete that he is called a herd of cows (ब्रजो गोः ३-३०-१०). He has the body of a cow (गोवपुषं १०-६८-६). He is called a miser (पाणिं १०-६७-६).

Once he is called a mountain (अद्रि १-६२-४). He has forts (पुरः १-१८-५).

The R̥gveda mentions his head (सानुं ६-३२-२), his mouth (जसुं १०-६८-६), brain and joints (मजानं पर्वणः १०-६८-६).

He injures (पीयतः १०-६८-६).

He is called अलानृण (३-३०-१०) and फलिग (१-६२-४ ॥ ४-५०-५). I do not know what they mean.

Indra inspires himself with Sōma (धृपमाणो अन्वसा १-५२-५) and does daring deeds under its inspiration (मदे सोमस्य ८-१४-७ ॥ २-१५-८) or he does them with an eye to immediate bouts with the Maruts स्वदाञ्जिभिरशिरमिच्छमानः १०-६७-६).

Vala is a coward and takes to his heels before he is struck (पुरा हन्तोर्भयमानो व्यार ३-३०-१०). Indra tears him to pieces by merely shouting (वलं रवेण दरयः १-६२-४ ॥ इन्द्रो वलं वि चकर्ता रवेण १०-६७-६ ॥ वलं हरोज रवेण ४-५०-५). Indra is said to have fought him and his kin with mere words (पर्णावचोभिरभियोधदिन्द्रः ६-३९-२). He laid bare Vala (अप हि वलं वः २-१४-३ ॥ त्वं वल्स्य गोमतोऽपावरद्विवो विलं १-११-५). He broke his enclosures (भिनद्वलस्य परिधीनु १-५२-५) and him too (भिनद्वलं २-११-२० ॥ २-१५-८ ॥ अभिनद्वलं २-२४-३ ॥ ८-१४-७ ॥ विभेद वलं ३-३४-१०). He drove him down (अर्वाञ्चं नुनुदे वलं ८-१४-८) and also his jabbering kith (नुनुदे विवाचः ३-३४-१०). He killed him (वलं हन् ६-१८-२). He made the miser roar (अरोदथत्पणि १०-६७-६). He smashed his hitherto-unsmashed head (रुजदरुगं वि बलस्य सानुं ६-३९-२), broke his jaws (जसुं भेत् १०-६८-६) and pulled out his brain and joints (निर्मजानं न पर्वणो जभार १०-६८-९). As the tongue eats food with the help of the teeth, so did he eat him out of his concealment (दद्विर्न जिव्हा परिविष्टमादत् १०-६८-६) Hence Indra is called smasher of Vala (वलरुजः ३-४५-२).

Having dispatched Vala, he drove out of their folds the cows that were lowing for liberation (उखियाः कनिक्रदद्वावशतीरुदाजत् ४-५०-५ ॥ गा उदाजत् २-१४-३ ॥ २-१२-३ ॥ उद्गा आजत् २-२४-३ ॥ ८-१४-८). As winter deprives trees of their leaves, so did Br̥haspati deprive Vala of his cows (हिमेव पर्णा मुपिता वनानि बृहस्पतिनाकृपयद्वलो गाः १०-६८-१० ॥ आ गा

असुष्णात् १०-६७-२). He scattered his cows as a wind scatters clouds (अभ्रमिव वात आचक्र आ गाः १०-६८-५). He opened wide all the gates of his fort (ऋणोः पुरो वि दुरो अस्य विश्वाः ६-१८-५), and revealed the hidden herds of cows (आविष्कृष्वन् गुहा सतीः ८-१४-८ ॥ आविर्निर्धीरऋणोदुस्त्रियाणां १०-६८-६). He made smooth paths for their egress (सुगान् पथो अकृणोर्निरजे गाः ३-३०-१०).

He dispelled darkness and revealed the sun (अगूहत्तमो व्यचक्ष्वत्स्यः २-२४-३) and granted the Dawns (दशस्यन्नुपसः १०-१३८-१), spread out the sky and the heavens (व्यन्तरिक्षमतिरत् ० रोचना ८-१४-७) and let loose the waters (रिणन्नपः १०-१३८-१).

He did this for the Angirasas and with their help (अङ्गिरोभ्यः ८-१४-८ ॥ नवगवैः दशगवैः १-६२-४). In this task their magic spells proved helpful (ब्रह्मणा २-२४-३ ॥ सुष्टुभा स्तुभा खरेण १-६२-४ ॥ सुष्टुभा ऋक्वता गणेन ४-५०-५ ॥ सप्त विप्रैः १-६२-४ ॥ इथा वदद्भिः अङ्गिरोभिः ६-१८-५ ॥ अङ्गिरोभिर्गृणानः २-१५-८): One Rk. says that it was they that tore Vala to pieces by their spells (तव त्य इन्द्र सख्येषु वन्द्य ऋतं मन्वाना व्यदर्शिवलं १०-१३८-१ ॥ ऋतेनाभिन्दन् ० वलं १०-६२-२) and drove out the cows (य उदाजन् पितरो गोमयं वसु १०-६२-२). For this act the poet blesses them (दीर्घायुस्वमङ्गिरसो वो अस्तु १०-६२-२). Indra is called अङ्गिरस्वान् (२-११-२०) on account of his complete identification with them. His own terrible roar is identical with their magic spells. Such are priestly pretensions!

शुष्ण.

He dries up waters, though himself not to be dried (अशुषं १-१०१-२ ॥ २-१४-५ ॥ २-१९-६ ॥ ४-१९-१२ ॥ ६-३१-३ ॥ ६-२०-४).

He is a blower of winds or clouds (श्वसनस्य १-५४-५). He possesses incomparable might (अप्रतिमानमोजः ८-९६-१७ ॥ तरः ओजः १-३३-१२ ॥ भामं ५-३२-४). That well-compacted might is spread all over heaven (शुष्णस्य चित्परिहितं यदोजो दिवस्परि सुप्रथितं १-१२१-१०). He is powerful (क्विं ८-५१-८). He has strong forts (दृळ्हा १-३३-१२ ॥ दंहिताः पुरः १-५१-११ ॥ ४-३०-१३) and also a moving fort (पुरं चरिष्णं ८-१-२८).

He is a great hater (महो द्रुहः ६-२०-५), a foe (शत्रुं १-३३-१२). one that challenges Indra (इन्द्रो धृषितः ८-९६-१७), and fights him (पृतन्युं १-३३-१२). He grows strong by the food given him by his comrades (एषां स्वधया मदन्तं ५-३२-४) and big (सुवृधं ५-३२-४) and is always on the move (ययि १-५१-११). He is mentioned in connection with cows (गाः ८-९६-१७) and waters (अपः १-५१-११) which he envelops (य ओहते ८-४०-२१). He is called इलांबिश (१-६३-३) but I do not know what it means.

He is full of tricks (मायिनं १-११-७ ॥ १-५६-३ ॥ मायाः ६-२०-४) and is enveloped in darkness (तमोगां ५-३२-४).

He has horns (शृङ्गं १-३३-१२), a head (शिरः ६-२६-३), testicles (आण्डानि ८-४०-१० ॥ आण्डा ८-४०-११) but no vitals (अमर्मणः ६-२६-३).

He is the son of the clouds (मिहो नपातं ५-३२-४) and has a prolific progeny (शुष्णस्य जातं विश्वं १०-२२-११ ॥ पुरुप्रजातस्य शुष्णस्य १०-६३-११).

He is not human (अमानुषं १०-२२-७) but a dāsa (दासं ७-२२-२), a dasyu (दस्यवि ८-६-१४), a dānavu (दानवस्य ५-३२-४).

Indra sent his destructive thunderbolt at him (वह शुष्णस्य वधं १-१७५-४). He overwhelmed him with endless strokes (शुष्णमनन्तैः परि यासि वधैः १-१२१-९) and dealt him ringing blows (वधैः शुष्णं निघोषयन् १०-२२-७). He struck him with the powerful wapon (नि शुष्ण इन्द्र धर्गसि वज्रं जघन्थ ८-६-१४). With it he nonplussed that incomparable might (अप्रातमानमोजो वज्रेण वज्री धृषितो जघन्थ ८-९६-१७). He repelled his strokes (अहं शुष्णस्य श्रथिता वधर् १०-४२-३), and showered on him afflicting blows with daring might (उत शुष्णस्य धृष्णुया प्र मृक्षो अधि वेदनं (४-३०-१३). Thus he overpowered him with his might (प्र यो ननञ्जे अभ्योजसा ८-५१-८).

He felled down on the head of the blower of winds roaring forests (नि यद्दृणक्षि श्वसनस्य मूर्धनि शुष्णस्य चिदत्रन्दिनो रोह्वद्वना १-५४-५) He dropped on him the thunderbolt that protects all men; at its descent Sushna fell (अप विश्वायु धायि वज्रस्य यत्पतने पादि शुष्णः ६-२०-५). Thus he killed him with the thunderbolt (वज्रेण वज्री नि जघान शुष्णं ५-३२-४ ॥ वज्रेण शत्रुमवधीः १-३३-१२).

He snatched from him that well-knit might that had filled all heaven (शुष्णस्य चिन्परिहितं यदोजो दिवस्परि सुग्रथितं तदादः (१-१२१-१०), and destroyed whatever might (यावत्तरो यावदोजः १-३३-१२) he might possess.

He tethered the trickster by his might (येन मायिनं रामयन्नि दामनि १-५६-३). He destroyed him with wiles (मायाभिरिन्द्र मायिनं त्वं शुष्ण-मवातिरः १-११-७).

He by his might let not a particle of his wiles survive him as he would not leave a particle of food uneaten (वधैः शुष्णस्य मायाः पित्वो नारिरेचीर्किञ्चन प्र ६-२०-४). He destroyed them completely by his strokes (त्वं शुष्णस्यावातिरो वधत्रैः ८-९६-१७).

He broke him and his horns (वि शृङ्गिणमभिनच्छुष्णमिन्द्रः १-३३-१२). He cut off the head of one that had no vitals (त्वं शिरोऽमर्मणः पराहन् ६-२६-३). He crushed his testicles (शुष्णस्याण्डानि भेदति ८-४०-१०) ॥ आण्डा शुष्णस्य भेदति ८-४०-११).

He destroyed all his prolific progeny (वि शुष्णस्य सुग्रथितं विदत् पुरुप्रजातस्य गुहा यत् १०-६१-१३ ॥ दम्भयो जातं विश्वं १०-२२-११).

He laid him low for a lasting sleep (च्यौत्नाय शयथाय नू चित् ६-१८-८).

He struck down his forts (न्याविध्यत् ० दृळ्हा १-३३-१२), pulverized them (सं पिणक् ४-३०-१३), including even the moving one (त्वं पुरं चरिष्णं वधैः शुष्णस्य सं पिणक् ८-१-२८); and scattered them though so strong (वि शुष्णस्य दंहिता ऐरयत्पुरः १-५१-११).

As a consequence of all this, he conquered the bright waters and the Sun (जेषत्स्वन्तीरपः ८-४०-१० ॥ अर्जुनः स्वर्वतीरपः ८-४०-११). He let them off in streams (निरपः स्रोतसासृजत् १-५१-११). He re-obtained the cows (त्वं गाः शच्येदविन्द्रः ८-९६-१७).

He did this for all men (विश्वायवे १०-२२-१४), but specially for Kutsa (कुत्साय १-१२१-९ ॥ ४-१६-१२ ॥ ६-२६-३ ॥ १०-९९-९), the son of Arjuni (आर्जुनेयाय ७-१९-२), heaven's charioteer (दिवः सारथये २-१९-६), with whom Indra went about in the same chariot सरथं

ययाथ कुत्सेन ५-२९-९), who was young and rich (युने कुत्साथ युमते १-६३-३). Indra fought with Śushṇa in his company (कुत्सेनाभि० शुष्णं युध्य ६-३१-३), and shielded him in battle (कुत्समाविथ १-५१-६), serving him physically (कुत्समावः शुश्रूषमाणस्तन्वा समयै ७-१९-२).

The gods also rode in the same chariot with Indra and accompanied him (सरथं ययाथ देवैः ५-२९-३ ॥ सयावभिः १०-२२-११).

Verbs and verbal forms used about Śushṇa are जघान्, निजघान्, जघन्थ, निजघन्थ, हन्ति, अहन्, अवहन्, पराहन्, अवधीः; अवातिरः; निवर्हीः; परि नि शश्रथः, श्रथिता.

न्यावृणक्, वक्.

रन्धयत्, न्यरन्धयः, प्रनन्धे, वन्वन्, वन्वानः, अवनो, पादि अभिनत्, अभियुध्य, विघोषयन्, परादात्.

शम्भर.

He is almost always spoken of in connection with his forts which are variously numbered :—90 (पुरो नवति १-१३०-७), 99 (नवति च नव २-१९-६ ॥ नव नवतीः ४-२६-३ ॥ नवति नव च ६-४७-२ ॥ नव नवति च ७-९९-५), 100 (शतं २-१४-६ ॥ शततमं ४-२६-३), hundreds (शतानि ६-२१-४), many even when numbered as 99 or 100 (पुरुणि ६-४७-२ ॥ पूर्वाः २-१४-६). They were strong (च्यौत्वा ६-४७-२ ॥ दंहिता ७-९९-५ ॥ शश्वतीनां ८-९८-६), unbendable (अनमानि २-२४-२), unassailable (अप्रतीनि ६-३१-४) being made of steel (आयसीः २-२०-८) and populous (वेश्यं ४-२६-३). They were built on mountain-tops (गिरेः १-१३०-७ ॥ पर्वतादधि ४-३०-१४) or even in high heaven (दिवो बृहतः १-५४-४ ॥ ७-१८-२०).

He is strong (व्रंदिनः १-५४-४) and powerful (वर्चिनः ६-४७-२१).

He is full of tricks (मायिनः १-५४-४) and lives in waters (उद्व्रजे ६-४७-२१).

His hand is referred to as a sharpened thunderbolt (शितां गभस्ति-मशानि १-५४-४).

He is a dāsa (दासं ४-३०-१४) and a dasyu (दस्युं १-५९-६ ॥ ६-३१-४).

Indra drinks Sōma and thereby gets new vigour and inspiration (यस्य मदे ६-४३-१ ॥ ते मदेषु ९-६१-१ ॥ मन्दिना धृषत् १-५४-४ ॥ मन्दसानः

४-२६-३) and becomes fierce (उग्रः १-१३०-७). Single and unaided (त्मना ७-१८-२० ॥ १-५४-४) and daring (धृषता १-५४-४) he began fight and plied his thunderbolt (वज्रण १-१३०-७).

He knocked down the forts (विहन् ६-४७-२ ॥ अवाहन् ९-६१-१२), and broke them (विभेद २-१४-६ ॥ अबभेत् ७-१८-२० ॥ भिनत् १-१३०-७). By main and might he broke to bits forts that were supposed to be unbreakable but which had to be broken (यो नन्त्रान्यनमान्यांजसेतादर्द-र्मन्युना शम्बराणि वि २-२४-२). He scattered them (न्यैरत् २-१९-६ ॥ न्यैरम् ४-२६-३).

He subdued Śambara (रन्धयः ६-४३-१), knocked him down from his mountain-resort (गिरेः अवाभिनत् १-१३०-७ ॥ अवाहन् ९-६१-१-२), and thus broke him (भिनत् १-५४-४).

In his fury he made even heaven's top reel (त्वं दिवो वृहत्तः सानु कोपयः १-५४-४); encountered Sambara's sharp, thunderbolt-like arm, (शितां गर्भास्तमशानिं पृतन्यसि) and broke him (भिनत् १-५४-४ ॥ वृहत्तः शम्बरं भेत् ७-१८-२०).

He did this all in a trice and simultaneously (सद्यः ९-६१-१ ॥ साकं ४-२६-३). He did it as though by hurling a stone (अश्मनेव २-१४-६).

He did this for Divōdāsa (दिवोदासाय ६-४३-१ ॥ २-१९-६), a member of the Pūru tribe (पूरवे १-१३०-७), otherwise called Atithigva (अतिथिगवाय १-१३०-७ ॥ अतिथिगवं ४-२६-३) whom he shielded (आवं ४-२६-३), who was highly charitable (महि दाशुषे १-१३०-७), and offered such delectable praises (इत्याधिये ९-६१-२).

Indra and Viṣṇu also are said to have destroyed Śambara's forts (इन्द्राविष्णुं पुरः श्रथिष्ठं ७-९९-५). Originally an act of Indra alone, it is shared by him with Viṣṇu who often helped him in crises.

But the Aświns also are credited with having saved Divōdāsa in this slaughter of Śambara (महामतिथिगवं कशोजुवं दिवोदासं शम्बरहत्य आवतम् १-११२-१४). Śambara here must be the same whom Indra killed, on account of the mention of Divōdāsa. But how can this be? No one can be killed twice. The transference of the act to the

Aświns is for the sake of praise only. Śambarna once is referred to contemptuously in the neuter gender (त्यच्छम्बरं ६-४३-१).

As we have seen above, his forts are called शम्बराणि in contempt.

Indra was the real शम्बरारि but this name never occurs in R̥gveda. In Paurāṇik times Pradyumna came to be called by that name.

Indra is पुरां दर्मा and पुरन्दर which latter name he still retains. Śiva is called त्रिपुरारि, त्रिपुरान्तक etc.

दास.

He is contrasted with the Ārya (आर्यो दासः ८-५१-९ ॥ दास आर्यो वा १०-३८-३ ॥ दासमार्यं १०-८३-१ ॥ १०-८६-१९ ॥ आर्याय दासीर्विशः ६-२५-२ दासरय वायस्य वा १०-१०२-२).

His business was to injure the Ārya (जिघांसतः० अभिदासतः १०-१०२-२). The name is equivalent to foes (शत्रवः १०-३८-३ ॥ शत्रून् ३-३४-१ ॥ स्पृधो मिथतीः० अमित्रस्य० अभियुजो विपृचीः० विशो दासाः ६-२५-२). Certain Dāsas gave a ducking to an Ārya after tying him with ropes (दासा यदीं सुसमुच्चमवाधुः १-१५८-५). They were vile (अप्रशस्ताः ४-२८-४). The Dāsa is opposed to, or he does not believe in, the gods (अदेवः १०-३८-३ ॥ प्रावो देवां आतिरो दासं १०-२४-१).

He possesses might (ओजः ८-४०-६ ॥ शवः १०-२३-२ ॥ मन्युं १-१०४-२ ॥ वर्चिनः ४-३०-१५), forts (पुरो दासीः १-१०३-३ ॥ ४-३२-१०) which are 7 (सप्त ६-२०-६) or 90 (नवति ३-१२-६) and riches (इषो दासीः ८-५३-१ ॥ दासः शेषधिपाः ८-५१-९ ॥ वल्लयन्ता दासा ६-४७-२१). On account of strength the Dāsa considered himself as not subject to death (अमर्त्यं मन्यमानं २-११-२).

The Dāsa color is referred to in (दासं वर्णं २-१२-४) and the people in (दासीर्विशः २-११-४ ॥ ४-२८-४ ॥ ६-२५-४).

Waters and forts are their wives (दासपत्नीः० आपः १-३२-११ ॥ ५-३०-५ ॥ ८-९६-१८ ॥ पुरो दासपत्नीः ३-१२-६).

He is full of tricks (मायाः ७-९९-४) and once used women as fighting weapons (स्त्रियो हि दास आयुधानि चक्रे ५-३०-९).

His head is mentioned in (शिरः १-१५८-५ ॥ २-२०-६). One Dāsa is called bull-crowned or bull-helmeted (वृषशिप्रस्य ७-९९-४). Another is spoken of as having 3 heads and 6 eyes and as bellowing (दासं तुबीरवं० षडक्षं त्रिशीर्षाणं १०-९९-६).

Growing in and possessed of might (वावृधानः शवसा भूर्योजाः १०-१२०-२ ॥ वावृधानः २-११-२ ॥ २-११-४ ॥ तुविनुष्ण ८-२४-२७ ॥ स्वधावान् २-२०-६), the tamer of all and terrible (विश्वस्य दमिता विभीषणः ५-३४-६), Indra sent his thunderbolt into the Dāsa (अन्तर्यच्छ वज्रं यवय वधं १०-१०२-२), hacked him and destroyed his might (अपि व्रथ० ओजो दासस्य दम्भय ८-४०-६ ॥ शवोऽत्र क्षगौमि दासस्य १०-२३-२). He bent the Dāsa's thunderbolt (वधदासस्य नानमः ८-२४-२७). He sent terror into him (दासाय भियसं दधाति १०-१२०-२). He subjugated him (यथावशं नयति दासमार्यः ५-३४-६ ॥ दन् दमन्यत् १०-९९-६). He destroyed him (नि दासं शिश्रथः ८-७०-१० ॥ आतिरहासं ३-३४-१ ॥ अहन् ६-४७-२१). He broke him who had thought himself beyond the reach of death (अमर्त्यं मन्यमानमवाभिनत् २-११-२). He chopped him that had to be chopped (क्रुधकृपे दासं कृब्यं १०-४९-७). He carried off the precious or dear head of the injurious Dāsa (अव प्रियमर्शसानस्य साव्हान् शिरो भरहासस्य २-२०-६). When Indra had cut off his head, the Dāsa himself burnt his own chest and shoulders (शिरो यदस्य त्रैतनो वितश्रत्स्वयं दास उरो असावपि ग्ध १-१५८-५). Indra made the earth the bed of Dāsa (क्षां दासायोपवहर्णां कः १-१७४-७). He slaughtered hundreds and thousands of Dāsas as though they were only 5 spokes of a wheel (सहस्राणि शतावधीः अधि पञ्च प्रधीरिव ४-३०-१५).

By strokes and by tricks he laid low thirty thousand Dāsa अस्त्रापयत्० सहस्रा त्रिंशतं हथैः । दासानामिन्द्र मायया ४-३०-२१). He overpowered for us the Dāsa people with the help of the Sun (अस्मे दासीर्विशः सूर्येण सखाः २-११-४). He drove into the cave, he trampled, the whole Dāsa race (दासं वणमधरं गुहा कः २-१२-१).

He effaced in battles even the name of Dāsa in his own home for the sake of the Sun (ततश्चे सूर्याय चिदेकासि स्वे वृषा समत्सु दासस्य नाम चित् ५-३३-४). In this slaughter of the enemy, Indra distinguished between Dāsa and Āryan (अहमेमि विचाकशाद्विचिन्वहासमार्यं १०-८६-१९).

Approaching he destroyed the Dāsa forts (आरुजः । पुरो दासीर-
भीत्य ४-३२-१०). He tore to shards the seven happy forts of Śarada
(सप्त यत्पुरः शर्म शारदीर्दत् ० दासीः ६-२०-१०). Indra and Vishṇu by
a single act and at one and the same time shook down the 90
forts (नवतिं पुरो अवधूनुत् । साकमेकेन कर्मणा ३-१२-६).

All this is the doing of Indra but Vishṇu sometimes is given
him as an assistant. The act of subduing Dāsa is sometimes trans-
ferred to other gods.

The Sun stayed his chariot in the middle of heaven and Ārya
as he is, he showed Dāsa a rival power (वि सूर्यो मध्ये अमुचद्रथं दिवो
विदहासाय प्रतिमानमार्थः १०-१३८-३).

The Aświns fetched from afar immense Dāsa wealth (आवहेये
पराकात्पूर्वारश्रन्तावश्विना । इषो दासीः ८-१-३१).

The gods destroyed Dāsa's power (देवासो मन्युं दासस्य श्रमन्ते
१०-१०४-२) and thereby saved for our happiness the Ārya race
(न आवक्षन्तुविताय वर्णम् १०-१०४-२).

Indra by killing Dāsa conquered his wives viz. the waters
(विश्वा अपो अजयद्दासपत्नीः ५-३०-५ ॥ त्वं सिन्धूरसृजस्तस्तभानान्त्वमपो अजयो
दासपत्नीः ८-९६-१८).

He got all Dāsa's wealth (तुभ्येत्सो अजयते रथिः ८-५१-९).
Indra gave strength to his people (ओजः प्रजायै त्वस्यै यदशिक्ष इन्द्र
१०-५४-५).

Devotees hope to conquer their Dāsa and Ārya foes with Indra's
help (अस्माभिष्टे सुषहाः सन्तु शत्रवस्त्वया वयं तान्वनुयाम संगमे १०-३८-३ ॥
साह्याम दासमार्थं त्वया युजा १०-८३-१).

Dāsa in course of time came to mean a slave. A certain king
gave as a gift a hundred slaves (शतं दासौ अति स्रजः ८-५६-३).
One desires wealth of which slaves are a part (दासप्रवर्गं रथि
१-९२-८). Another wishes to do something like a slave (दासो न
७-८६-७).

Indra did all this for Dabḥiti (दभोतये ४-३०-२१), Purukutsa
(पुरुकुत्साय ६-२०-१०), and Āryas in general (आर्याय ६-२५-२).
Sometimes however the devotee asks him to help him against

both Dāsa and Ārya enemies (दास आर्यो वा० अदेवः १०-३८-३ ॥ दासस्य वा० आर्यस्य वा १०-१०२-२ ॥ आर्यो दासः० अरिः ८-५१-९ ॥ दासमार्थं १०-८३-१).

In killing Dāsas Indra used weapons or strokes (हथैः ८-७०-१० ॥ १०-४९-७ ॥ ४-३०-२१ ॥ वज्रं० वधं १०-१०२-२), tricks (मायया ४-३०-२१), and also prayers of devotees (उक्थैः २-११-२ ॥ अर्कैः ३-३४-१).

Devotees must therefore praise Indra's heroic deeds (प्र ते वोचाम वीर्यां ४-३२-१०).

Verbs and verbal forms used about Dāsa are

अहन्, हन्, जघ्नथुः ; अवधीः ; दम्भय ;
 आतिरः, आतिरत् ; अवतारीः ;
 वनुयाम ; निशिश्रथः ; विदयमानः ; श्वसन्ते ;
 ऋधक् कृषे ; अवाभिनत् ; दर्द ; अपिब्रथ ; आरुजः ; अवक्ष्णौमि ;
 ततक्षे, वितक्षत् ;
 अवभरत् ;
 आरिषण्यन् ;
 अध्रुनुतम् ; दन् ; दमन्यत् ;
 ग्ध ;
 सुषहाः, साह्य म, साव्हान्, सहायाः ;
 भियसं दधाति ;
 वधर् नीनमः ; मन्युं व्यथय ; अन्तर्यच्छ वज्रं ;
 अधरं गुहा कः ; उपवर्हणीं कः ; अस्त्रापयत्.

दस्यु.

He is opposed to the Ārya (आर्येण दस्यून् २-११-१९ ॥ दस्यून्० आर्यं ३-३४-९ ॥ दस्यून्० आर्याय ६-१८-३ ॥ ७-१-६), also to man (दस्योः० मनोः ८-९८-६ ॥ मनुं दस्येव ९-९२-५ ॥ मनुषो दस्युं ८-५०-८ ॥ अमानुषः ८-७०-११ ॥ १०-२२-८). He injures them (शर्धतः ६-२३-२ ॥ मह्येनो दधानान् २-१२-१०), being wicked (वृजिनान् ३-३४-६ ॥ अशिवस्य १-११७-३). The sacrificer is afraid of him (दक्षस्य विभ्युषः ६-२३-२).

He is opposed to the Ārya in religious belief and acts (अग्रह्या ४-१६-९ ॥ अत्रतं १-१७५-३ ॥ ६-१४-३ ॥ ९-४१-२ ॥ अत्रतान् १-५१-८ ॥ अवर्माः अमन्तुः १०-२२-८ ॥ अयज्वानः १-३३-४ ॥ अयज्वानं ८-७०-११ ॥ अपृणतः ५-७-१० ॥ अमन्यमानान् १-३३-९ ॥ २-१२-१० ॥ २-१५-१० ॥ अक्रतून्

अयज्ञान् अयज्यून् अश्रद्धान् अवृधान् ७-६-३ ॥ अदेवयुं ८-७०-११), being of another persuasion (अन्यत्रतः १०-२२-८ ॥ अन्यत्रतं ८-७०-११).

He is the enemy of him that offers Sōma juice and prays (सुन्वतः स्तुवतः १-३३-७). Men that do not sacrifice are Dasyus अपृणतः० दस्यून्० नृन् ५-७-१०).

He is the enemy of light (१-११७-२१ ॥ ५-१४-४ ॥ ७-१-६).

The Dasyus possess riches (धनितं १-३३-४ ॥ ग्रथिनः ७-६-३) and are misers (पणीन् ७-६-३). They have strong houses (दुर्गे दुरोगे ४-२८-३ ॥ दुर्योगे ५-२९-१० ॥ ओकः ७-५-६) and have forts made of steel (पुरः १०-९९-७ ॥ आयसीः २-२०-८), strong (शश्वतीनां ८-९८-६), impregnable (अप्रतीनि ६-३१-४), hundreds (शतानि ६-३१-४) and thousands in number (सहस्रा ४-२८-३). These forts are their wives (पुरो दासीः १-१०३-३). Hence they are strong (शश्वतः २-१२-१०). Yet they use tricks (मायावान् १-११७-३ ॥ ४-१६-९ ॥ ८-१४-४ ॥ १०-७३-५) and by them are ambitious of moving up and scaling heaven (मायाभिरुत्तिसृप्तत इन्द्र घामारुक्षतः ८-१४-१४). They even employed women as weapons (स्त्रियो हि दास आयुधानि चक्रे ५-३०-९). They are tauntingly called noseless or flat-nosed (अनासः ५-२९-१०) and hostile in speech (मृगवाचः ५-२९-१० ॥ ७-६-३). The word कृष्टीः is used in apposition to दस्यून् in (६-१८-३). They are also called सनकाः (१-३३-४), but I do not know what that name means. They are also mentioned in company with शिम्यून् (१-१००-१८) which name occurs here and in (शर्धन्तं शिम्युं ७-१८-५). Dasyu and Dāsa are the same in (५-३०-९ ॥ ८-७०-११ ॥ १०-२२-१८).

Invigorating himself with Sōma (पीत्वी सोमस्य वृधानः १०-५५-८ ॥ उपसीददिन्दुं शरीरैः १०-९९-८), brave (शूर १-६३-४ ॥ शूरः १०-५५-८), heroic in heart (वृषमणः १-६३-४), possessed of conquering might (अभिभूत्योजाः ३-३४-६), and confident (श्रद्धान ओजः १०-१०५-७), having sure strength (जात्सर्मा १०-१०५-७), sure of overcoming (वृथापाट् १-६३-४), having great speed (पृथुज्रयाः ३-४९-२), verily a hawk (श्येनः १०-९९-८) fearless (अविभ्यत् ६-२३-२), he, the best of rulers (इनतमः ३-४९-२), armed with the thunderbolt (वाज्रिन् १०-८३-६ ॥ प्रति वज्रं वावहोर्धुः २-२०-८ ॥ वज्रं यश्चक्रे १०-१०५-७),

alone (एकः १-३३-४ ॥ ६-१८-३), he advanced to the Dasyu for fighting with him (उप प्रैद्युधये दस्युमिन्द्रः ५-३०-९ ॥ उप दस्युमागात् १०-७३-५ ॥ उप प्रयन्दस्युहत्याय वज्री १-१०३-४). The thunderbolt was a solid weapon (घनेन १-३३-४), made of steel (अयोपाष्टिः १०-९९-८). It was a weapon that was propelled by Indra without the help of horses and chariots (अनश्वामो अरथा इन्द्रपिताः पवयः ५-३१-५).

It was a destructive weapon (वधेन ५-४-६ ॥ ५-२९-१० ॥ वधर् १०-२२-८).

He shook the Dasyus down (दस्यूरवधुनुये १-७८-४ ॥ अव दस्यूरधुनुथाः ८-१४-१४) when they were soaring up and scaling heaven (उत्तिसृप्तत इन्द्र यामारुहक्षतः ८-१४-१४). He drove them down into the lowest regions from all earthly quarters (विश्वस्मात्सीमधमँ इन्द्र दस्यून विशो दासीरकृणोरप्रशस्ताः ४-२८-४ ॥ इन्द्रो यो दस्यूरधरँ अवातिरत् १-१०३-५). He drove them back into their own dens (पराचैर्वि दस्यूर्योनावकृतः १-६३-४) and cut them to pieces in their strongholds (नि दुर्योण आवृणक् ५-२९-१०). He tied them without using ropes (अरजौ० समुनव् २-१३-९). Thus he killed them (वधीर्हि दस्युं १-३३-४ ॥ अभिनादायुर्दस्योः ३-४९-२).

He burnt him down from high heaven (अवादहो दिव आ दस्युमुच्चा १-३३-७). He burnt him as a potter burns a pot (ओषः पात्रं न शोचिषा १-१७५-३). He hurled a missile at him (दस्यवे हेतितस्य १-१०३-३).

He overpowered them with sleep (स्वप्नेनाभ्युप्य २-१५-९) and gave them everlasting sleep (अस्वापयः ७-१९-४).

He never would permit the Arya to be enslaved by the Dasyu (न यो रर आयं नाम दस्यवे १०-४९-३); on the contrary he would enslave the Dasyu for the Ārya (बहिष्मते रन्धय १-५१-८ ॥ अरन्धयः शर्धत इन्द्र दस्यून ६-२३-२). He used the Ārya to subdue the Dasyus (आयेंण दस्यून २-११-१९).

Thus perished the non-Brahman (नि० अब्रह्मा दस्युरतं ४-१६-९). Indra used the praying Brahmans to destroy the unpraying Dasyus (अमन्यमानौ अभि मन्यमानंनिर्ब्रह्मभिरधमो दस्युमिन्द्रः १-३३-९). The poet plays upon the words वृजन and वृजिन (३-३४-६). Indra

pounded (संपिपेष) the villains (वृजिनान्) by means of the sacrifice (वृजनेन). He routed them over the vast desert and there they perished (घनेरधि विषुणक्ते व्यायन्नयज्वानः० प्रतिमीयुः १-३३-४).

It should be borne in mind that prayers proved as destructive as thunderbolts. Prayers proved as so many soldiers (सत्त्वभिः शूषैः ३-४९-२). Another word used in the sense of prayers in this connection is एव (एवैः १-१००-१८). Sacrifices proved as useful (करवा ४-२८-३ ॥ वृजनेन ३-३४-६ ॥ व्रतैः ६-१४-३). The word उपशाकेभिः (१-३३-४) is also used but I do not know what it means.

Indra also employed strategems (मायाभिः ३-३४-९). He approached the Dasyu and his wives (माया उप दस्युमागात् १०-७३-५) with, no doubt, the purpose of smashing both.

Indra stalked about breaking Dasyu forts (पुरो विभिन्दन्नचरद्वि दासीः १-१०३-३). He tore down their lasting forts (त्वं हि शश्वतीनामिन्द्र दर्ता पुरामसि ८-९८-६). He destroyed their steel castles (पुर आपसीनिं तारीत् २-२०-८) by thousands (पुरः सहस्रा शर्वा नि बर्हीत् ४-२८-३).

Slaughters of Dasyus had to be made and we know that they were (कृतानीदस्य कर्त्वा चेतन्ते दस्युतर्हणा ९-४७-२).

Let us therefore bow to him (अभि प्र गेनुमः १-७८-४).

Thenceforward Indra was called Dasyu-killer (दस्युहा ६-४५-२४ ॥ ८ ७-३ ॥ ८-७६-११ ॥ ८-७७-३). The name came to have a general sense, viz., a killer of foes.

Indra is asked to give a son that would kill his foes (दस्युहनं वीरं १०-४७-४). Heaven and earth gave a son that proved a killer of Dasyus (ददथुः० घनं दस्युभ्यः १०-३८-१).

Just as Indra and Agni were wolves to the Dasyus (दस्युवे वृक ८-५५-१ ॥ ८-५६-१), so were a certain king (८-५६-२) and a certain sage (८-५१-२).

A battle came to be called slaughter of Dasyus (दस्युहत्याय रणाय १०-९५-७ ॥ १०-९५-७ ॥ १-१०३-४ ॥ दस्युहत्ये १०-१०५-११ ॥ १०-९९-७ ॥ दस्युहत्येषु १-५१-५).

Indra is invited by the sacrificer to visit his house with a mind bent on killing Dasyus (आ दस्युघ्ना मनसा याव्यस्तम् ४-१६-१०).

As a consequence of this subjugation, Indra destroyed dark clouds and darkness itself (मिहः प्र तन्नावपत्तमांसि १०-७३-५). He gave lands, the Sun and water (सनत्क्षेत्रं० सनत्सूर्ये सनदपः १-१००-१८). He deprived the Dasyus of their wealth (अहं दस्युभ्यः परि नृम्णमा ददे १०-४८-२). He thus saved the Arya race (प्रायै वर्णमावत् ३-३४ ९). He increased their power and wealth (आर्ये सहो वर्धया युम्नमिन्द्र १-१०३-३). He saved man and freed him from the fear of Dasyus (प्रावन्मनुं दस्यवे करंभीकम् ९-९२-५). He did this for the religious Arya (आर्याय ६-१८-३ ॥ ७-५-६ ॥ बर्हिष्मते १-५-१-८ ॥ सुन्वतः स्तुवतः १-३३-७) and particularly for Dabhiti (दभीतिभावः २-१५-९ ॥ दभीतये २-१३-९ ॥ ७-१९-४), for Sughna (सुघ्नाय ८-७०-२१), for (नववास्त्वं वृहद्रथं तुर्वीति १-३६-१८), Kutsa's son (आवो यदस्युहृत्ये कुत्सपुत्रं प्रावो यद्-स्युहृत्ये कुत्सवत्सम् १०-१०५-२१) and Rjisiṅvan (ऋजिश्वनं दस्युहृत्येष्वविद्य १-५१-५). We shall, says the priest, get food (समिषा रभेमाहि १-५३-४ ॥ सनेम २-११-१९). The sages, protected by Indra, obtained thousands of cows (सहस्राण्यसिपासद्रवामृषिस्तोतः ८-५१-२).

This act of the subjugation of the Dasyus belonging originally to Indra is ascribed five or six times to Agni and once or twice to the Aświns.

Agni burnt them (अदहदग्निः० पुरा दस्यून ४-२८-३). He killed them (घ्नन् ५-१४-४). He dispersed them (प्रप्र तान् दस्यूरग्निर्विवाय ३-२९-९). Himself pre-eminent he made them low (पूर्वश्चकारापारान् ७-६-३). By his help the gods subdued the Dasyus (येन देवासो असहन्त दस्यून ३-२९-९). He drove them out of their strongholds (त्वं दस्यूरोकसो अग्र आजः ७-५-६). Agni is called दस्युहन्तम (६-१६ १५ ॥ ८-३९-८). He killed darkness by light ज्योतिषा तमः ५-१४-४) and gave waters, cows and the Sun (अविन्द्रा अपः स्वः ५-१४-४ ॥ उरु ज्योतिर्जनयन्नार्याय ७-५-६).

Atri by Agni's help subdues the irreligious Dasyus (आदग्ने अष्टणतो अग्निः सासत्यादस्यून ५-७-१०). The Aświns non-plussed the Dasyu's wives (मिनन्ता दस्योरशिवस्य मायाः १-११७-३). They blew

the Dasyus off by means of a bladder and begot broad light for the Arya (अभि दस्युं बकुरेणा धमन्तोश्च ज्योतिश्चक्रथुरार्याय १-११७-२१).

Full of hatred for the Dasyus, the Aryas tear them by the help of Indra and Sōma and get possession of food (इन्द्रेण दस्युं दरयन्त इन्दुभिर्युतद्वेषसः समिषा रभेमहि १-५३-४).

Verbs and verbal forms used in connection with Dasyus are :—

बधीः, जघन्थ, जघान, हनाव, हन्ति, अहन्, प्रन्, हन्ता, हत्वा, हत्वी,
सुहनाय, सुहन्तु, दस्युहत्याय, दस्युहत्ये, दस्युहत्येषु ;
नितारीत्, तरन्तः, अवातिरत् ;
अमिनात्, मिनन्ता ; तुर्याम, तूर्वन्तः ; अवनोः ;
प्रचातयस्व ; निवर्हीत् ; अमृणः ; नि आवृणङ् ;
शासत् ; नि अकृतः ; अभ्यवर्तन्त ;
नि अर्त ;
दम्भय ;
अवादहः, अदहत्, ओषः ,
अभि निः अधमः, अभि धमन्ता, निरधयत् ; निघोषयः ;
दरयन्तः, दर्ता ;
अस्वापयः, स्वप्नेन अभ्युप्य ;
अवदुधुवीत्, अवधूनुषे, अवधूनुथाः ;
हेतिम् अस्य ;
सं पिपेष ;
समुनच् ; आजः ;
भिन्दन्, अभिनत्, अधरान् अप्रशस्ताः अकृणोः ;
अरन्धयः, रन्धय ;
सहावान्, असहन्त, सासद्मात्, सीक्षन्तः. साव्हान् ;
दस्युतर्हणा.

दस्यु and दास.

Both are enemies of the Āryas and hate and injure them.

The Dasyu's hostility to the religion of the Āryas and his heterodoxy are emphasised prominently. The Dāsa is only said to be one that does not love the Ārya gods (अदेव्युं).

Āryas that do not sacrifice to the Ārya gods are Dasyus.

Both are strong, possess forts, and are rich.

Both use tricks.

Dasyu alone is said to be the enemy of light. He creates dark clouds and thereby eclipses the Sun ; he also shuts in waters. Indra has to dispel clouds, unveil the Sun and release waters and cows.

Dāsa treats the waters as his wives whom Indra conquers.

Dāsa's color is referred to once ; Dasyu's nowhere.

Dāsa is degraded into a slave; not so Dasyu. Indra had greater ado in subduing Dasyu than Dāsa. Compare the two lists of verbs.

Dasyu is ambitious and a greater foe. He attempts sealing heaven and is therefore thrust into the lowest regions.

Dāsa is contemptible.

Indra gets a title (दस्युहा) by killing the Dasyus ; but none by killing the Dāsas.

Both seem to be the names of races whom the Āryas hated. Four or five times the two are mixed up and treated as synonymous.

As veiling light, creating clouds, and causing droughts, they have a supernatural character.

SOME IMPORTANT INDOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

BY JEHANGIR C. TAVADIA

HAMBURG UNIVERSITY

LEHRBUCH der RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE. . . vierte, vollständig
neubearbeitete Auflage. . . herausgegeben von ALFRED
BERTHOLET und EDVARD LEHMANN. I, II. pp. 756, 732.
Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). Tübingen 1925.

RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHES LeseBUCH. . . . herausgegeben
von ALFRED BERTHOLET, zweite erweiterte Auflage. 1, 2.
pp. 54, 61. Tübingen 1926.

The first work is a very treasure of religious beliefs and rites of the various races on earth gathered together by eminent European authorities and placed before us in a nicely printed form by the publisher. After a short note on the history of religious history by Lehmann, we have a chapter on the concept of religion by the same author. Then comes the contribution of B. Ankermann on the religion of the savages. O. Franke writes on the religions of China and Florenz on those of Japan. H. O. Lange deals with the Egyptians and F. Jeremias with the peoples of Asia Minor. Snouck-Hurgronje speaks of Islam. The second volume is devoted to the Indo-Europeans. Konow describes all the phases of religious movement in India from the earliest times to the present day. Lehmann deals with the religion of the Iranians : pre-Zoroastrian, Zoroastrian, post-Zoroastrian and Manichean. M. P. Nilsson writes on the Greeks and L. Deubner on the Romans. A. Brückner describes the Slavic and Lithuanian faith. The German and Keltic beliefs are dealt with by V. Gronbech and J. A. MacCulloch respectively. A complete Index to both the volumes is given by Bertholet. Bibliography is given everywhere by the respective authors. The importance of the work is self-evident. The comparative study of religions is not a luxury but a necessity and the work under review will supply it. The co-workers have not followed a fixed plan in the delineation of their subject and this must be regretted. But on the other hand this absence has removed all possibilities of forced comparisons and wrong views.

The next work may be considered as a companion volume to the preceding. Its different parts can be bought separately; on the other hand the subscription price for the complete set is lower. The first part deals with the Zoroastrian religion as contained in the Avesta. Passages are selected and arranged according to the subject-matter and translated by no less a scholar than Geldner. He adds some explanatory notes, and for the rest lets the original authors speak for themselves. Geldner occasionally differs from Bartholomae and hence also the importance of this brochure. The next part contains the stories illustrating the religious beliefs of the natives of America. The stories are collected and translated by K. T. Preuss of the Berlin Museum. Other parts, fifteen in number, will be issued consequently.

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ARISCHE RELIGION VON LEOPOLD VON SCHROEDER I, II. pp. 618, 707. H. Haesce. Leipzig 1923.

Von Schroeder is well known because of his standard works on religion and literature of old India. In this work he goes a step further and delineates the religion of the Aryans. He does not use the word Aryan in its limited sense of Indo-Iranian but understands thereby Indo-Germanic. The first part deals with the sky-god, the Highest Good Being, besides containing the introduction upon religion and ideas connected with it and upon the Aryans, their home, etc. The second part describes the nature-worship and festivals. Each part has its own index. The first edition of the work (1916) has been out of print; this second edition is issued by means of Rodar process. The get-up of the work has lost nothing thereby and the beautiful binding will adorn any library. Von Schroeder's work gives more of life and less of philosophy. He divides the subject in smaller chapters and does not mix up the beliefs of various nations together, but treats them separately. Thus each can conveniently read what he wants.

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Die AMESHA SPENTAS. Ihr Wesen und ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung. Von Dr. B. GEIGER pp. 248. Wien 1916 (1920).

The object of the author, a pupil of von Schroeder, is not to write an exhaustive monograph on the Amesha Spentas but as the

title declares, he restrains himself to investigating their original meaning. The first chapter is occupied with a very learned discussion on the meaning of *spenta*, which he settles as "wonderful," after subjecting a number of Vedic and Avestic passages to strict criticism. The second chapter states and examines the hitherto known theories about the origin and meaning of these gods. The result of the examination brings the author in agreement with Darmesteter. This does not mean that nothing new has been found out by Geiger. He has cleared several difficulties and has brought forward new proofs to support the old views. At the same time new light has been thrown on a number of Rigveda passages.

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DER ARISCHE WELTKONIG UND HEILAND... VON HERMANN GUNTERT. pp. X, 439. Max Niemeyer. Halle (Saale) 1923.

The Author, a pupil of the great Iranist the late Prof. Bartholomae and his successor in the Heidelberg University, continues (in certain respects) the researches put forth in his former work *Kalypso*. He investigates the origin, growth and wandering of certain ideas and beliefs which later on became fundamental for the Indo-Iranian religion and ethics and which still later played so important a part in the religions of Buddha and Zoroaster. He selects those divine figures whose names are known to us not only from India and Iran but also from Asia Minor with a historical data. The titles of the chapters will give some idea of the contents of the work. The Indo-Iranian God of War and protector of state and laws: Indra, Mitra in the popular religion. The God of the priests: Varuna Mitra and Varuna, the Adityas and Ameshaspentas. Varuna's rise and fall, the Lord of Waters, the introduction of the doctrine of salvation. The Indian Saviour and intercessor: the Vedic dioscuroi, the god of fire, Visṇu and his three steps. The Indo-Iranian myths about divine people: the "twin," the first man and the first Ox, the king of the paradise and the king of the dead. The Iranian deliverer and saviour: the saved saviour, Mithra as Iranian deliverer, the Indo-Iranian eternity. The author proceeds from the root meanings and follows their development. He does

not believe that the astronomical myths are to be found in the Veda nor does he find any support for Reitzenstein's theories.

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INDISCHE DICHTER: König Mahendra Wikramawarman, Die Streiche des Berauschten. Vollständig verdeutscht von Johannes Hertel pp. 91.

2. Bhāsa, Avimaraka übersetzt von Hermann Weller pp. 187,

3. Bhāsa, Wāsawadatta übersetzt von Hermann Weller pp. 127. H. Haessel Leipzig 1924-1926.

These pretty booklets in the new series are issued on the same plan as those in the old one, viz., *Indische Erzähler*. On the one hand they offer the general reader pieces of Indian Literature in German garb, on the other hand they supply some help to the student of Sanskrit. Hertel, whose translations are so highly admirable, renders *Mattavilāsa-Prahasana* edited by T. Ganapati Sastri in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series* No. LV. The preface deals with the importance of the satire or farce as picturing the then life, and with the author. The translation like the original is in verse and prose, After some notes follows an appendix "Some words on the Indian Drama" a very learned contribution to the question. Hertel adds some remarks about *Suparṇādhyaḡya* which he considers to be a drama not a story as done by Oldenberg whom Konow and Charpentier follow. He shows from R. C. Temple's work the *Legends of the Panjab* that the popular drama known as *Swang* quite resembles the piece in question. I may note that such dramas are not restricted, to the Panjab. As for the word *ākhyāna* I may add that the word is used for the Gujarātī dramas written on the Sanskrit model (Prācīn Kāvya-māḡa No. 26, 30, 31) The *Prākṛta Prabhākara* 95 of Hemacandra is referred to in No. 26 p. 14 as the authority for the use of this word. In the next two volumes, Weller translates two of the dramas attributed to Bhāsa. He follows the method of L. Fritze (and of H. H. Wilson) in rendering the whole in verse form. The author has used his own edition as regards the first piece, as for the second the edition of T. Ganapati Sastri is used, though not without emendations. From the former translations of this drama he specially refers to those of Jacobi and Sukthankar. Notes and introduction will be of help to the student.

Papers on Pāṇini and Indian Grammar in general by Hannes Sköld pp. 53. 1.75 Kr. C. W. K. Gleerup, Lund, O. Harrassowitz Leipzig 1926.

These papers are sure to interest our Sanskritists, and so I shall name them in full. 1. Pāṇini's last sutra (an interpolation) by the samvṛta sound of *a* is meant the Bengali pronunciation of this letter. 2. Facts and conjectures about the Śivasūtras. 3. Bhāṣye na vyākhyātam. 4. Pāṇini and the Grecians. 5. Does Pāṇini quote the Rik Prātiśākhya? 6. Does Pāṇini quote the Nirukta? 7. Pāṇini and the Nirukta. 8. Has the Āpastambiya Śrautasūtra been accentuated? 9. Was the Rik Prātiśākhya a work of the Śākalas? 10. The origin of a legend in the Kathāsuritsāgara and the Brhatkathāmañjarī.

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ORIENTALISCHE WANDERUNGEN in Turkestan und in nordöstlichen Persien von HANS HERMANN GRAF VON SCHWEINITZ mit 55 Abbildungen und 3 Karten pp. 147. Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen). Berlin 1910.

The author is a well-known traveller and has written a number of books. In this work he describes his journey in Turkestan and North-East Persia, and while so doing gives some idea of the country, its people and their mode of life. Everyone has not the good fortune of visiting the country, in the past and present, history and literature of which he is interested. He may then well turn to books of travel for some consolation at least. Without the knowledge of actual things, the mere knowledge of literary works is of no avail. The former is a veritable commentary to the latter, and hence one must have it ready at hand. The work under review is illustrated with beautiful pictures which represent the various phases of life in the country.

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BILDERATLAS ZUR KUNST UND KULTURGESCHICHTE MITTELASIENS von A. von LE COQ. 255 Abbildungen. (M. 30). Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen). Berlin 1925.

Prof. von Le Coq of the Berlin Museum has done a signal service by preparing this picture album. He brought from his Turfan

expedition an unexpected mass of Mss. paintings, sculptures, etc., and while arranging them in the Berlin Museum he saw how some articles of western origin have travelled to the east, and how others of the eastern origin, to the west. It will take years to publish all these materials, though several bulky volumes have been already issued. He therefore thought of presenting in a compact form some representative pieces. They are about dress of men and women, weapons of war and painting, sculpture and architecture. The text deals with the relation between east and west and then with the subjects of the pictures, pointing out their use and origin. Central Asia has preserved the influences from all the quarters: India and Iran, China and Europe. Thus the work must appeal to the students of diverse branches.

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AN AVESTA GRAMMAR in comparison with Sanskrit by A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON Part I. Anastatic reprint. pp. XLVIII 273. W. Kohlhammer. Stuttgart 1923.

Jackson does not require any introduction to our readers; his name is quite familiar at least amongst the Parsis. This grammar was first published in 1892 and was well received. It was however not free from mistakes; Bartholomae pointed them out in *ZDMG.* 48, 142 ff. This being a mere reprint, all these mistakes have remained untouched. Still the work has its usefulness and it is a real pity that the first edition did not receive the necessary recognition at the hands of those who govern the destinies of Iranian Studies in Bombay. Reichelt's *Avestisches Elementarbuch* is beyond the most of our students; therefore Jackson's grammar must be welcome to them. The first part (the second has not appeared) deals with phonology, inflection and word-formation. The comparison with Sanskrit is throughout carried on. The introduction gives a short account of the literature and the religion of the Avesta. The publisher deserves thanks for offering such a work at the low price.

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HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF THE ANCIENT PERSIAN LANGUAGE by EDWIN LEE JOHNSON. New York, American Book Co. 1917. pp. XIV, 251. (The Vanderbilt Oriental Series, Vol. VIII.)

The author's services in Ancient or Old Persian have been already recorded in the form of Index Verborum to its texts, which is published in the Vol. VII of the same series. The research work done in the revision of the texts in the present century must lead to a new representation of the grammar of the language. As the author says: "This volume is accordingly designed to serve a twofold purpose: to present in systematic arrangement the results of the most recent as well as the earlier investigation in this field, and to show by comparative examples the development of the ancient Persian from the parent speech and its relation to the other languages of the family, particularly the Sanskrit and the Avestan."

Meillet's *Grammaire du Vieux Perse* appeared when the present work was already in preparation. His authority as a distinguished comparative philologist and Iranist must carry weight on points of difference. The distinctive feature of Johnson's work is the historical treatment of the subject. The first four chapters are so to say introductory; they deal with the decipherment, etc., of the Ancient Persian Inscriptions, and with the Indo-European languages. Then the author gives the Phonology (5-7), Word Formation (8), and Accidence (9-12). In the 13th chapter is shown the grammatical decay of the late Inscriptions, viz., those of Artaxerxes II. and Artaxerxes III. The irregularity does not merely mark the decline of the language but indicate that the writers had but a meagre acquaintance with the language they wrote. This fact must be taken into account, when deciding the tongue of the time. The next five chapters explain the Syntax of the language. The account of the Ancient Persian months forms the last chapter. Two indexes—general and Persian—end the volume. The author has done full justice to his task, and I wish and hope that the work will be recognised as a text-book by our University. Instead of indulging in tall talk about introducing new subjects in the curriculum, care should be taken to reform the present one so as to keep it in touch with the researches done elsewhere. Dilettantism must be put an end to, so that no occasion be given for laughter, as is done by a

“scholarly representative” while he talked of “Indianologist” and “Iranianist.”

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UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES BUDDHISMUS UND
VERWANDTER GEBIETE. XXI, XXII, XXIII. Hannover 1927
Orient Buchhandlung Heinz Lafaire, pp. 30, 31 and 48.

The field of Buddhist studies is wide ; it covers the whole of Asia Minor. Indian Sanskritists and even Indian public—note “the Buddha Society”—have already begun to take interest in Buddhism, a heritage of ancient India. The above-mentioned series contains small studies on various topics connected directly and indirectly with it. The pamphlet No. 21 entitled *Nischerins Character* is from the pen of Dr. Käthe Franke. Nicherin, a Japanese reformer, flourished in the 13th century. At the age of thirteen he began to think over the political and religious problems of his time and country and immediately after finishing his studies, he began to preach his reforms. The life and work of Nicherin are an important factor in the history of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The pamphlet No. 22, *Die Thot-Kathin-Feier* in Siam, is contributed by Professor Dr. Karl Doehring. Beside the account of this festival we learn a great deal about the Siamese monks in general from it. *Dhyāna und Samādhi im Mongolischen Lamaismus* forms the pamphlet No. 23. It is a chapter (pp. 202-229) from Prof. A. M. Podznejev’s Russian work *Sketches from the Life in the Buddhist Monasteries and of the Buddhist Clergy in Mongolia with the relation of the latter to the People*. It is translated by W. A. Unkrig, who adds an Introduction reviewing the work done for the Mongol language and literature. First we find a number of technical terms with their Tibetan and Sanskrit equivalents and explanations. Then follows the chief subject matter, which is sure to interest also an anthropologist. In the end are enumerated 116 different types of *samādhi*. In the original work they were left untranslated, but here Unkrig has removed that short-coming.

* * *

INDOGERMANISCHE GRAMMATIK I, II von HERMANN HIRT. Heidelberg 1921, 1927. Carl Winter's Universitaetsbuchhandlung. pp. 350 and 256.

Prof. Hirt is one of the authorities on the Comparative Study of the Indo-Germanic Languages. His former works dealt with the two great problems thereof, the Ablaut and the Accent. As he was approached with the request that he may prepare this Grammar for the well-known series *Indogermanische Bibliothek* edited by himself together with the late Prof. Streitberg, he turned into the second part of the present work what he had collected for the new edition of the two works already referred to. Hence it is that the Vowel System appeared first in 1921. Now follows the first part of the work containing the Introduction and dealing with the principles of Etymology and with the Consonant System. The forthcoming parts will be occupied with the Accidence and Accent and the author hopes to write on the Syntax as well. Till now Brugmann's *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* has been used as a text-book about which Prof. Hirt opines that it is "noch weniger befriedigend als das grosse Werk und für den Anfaenger ungeniessbar." I quote this just to indicate that the work under review is new not only in its matter but especially in its manner. A glance at the contents will show this; and the difference in the title is not less significant. As it usually happens, the learned Professor has gone beyond the mark in his new ideas and theories, some of which would not hold their ground before the critics in the line. But that is a small affair; the work is already adopted as a text-book, the German Professors following it in their lectures on the subject. The introduction, which even a layman can enjoy, deals with the history of the Indo-Germanic study, the nature, etc., of the languages of the group, their relation to one another, their beginning, their original home, etc. A bibliography arranged under different heads is also given. In short the work serves its purpose fully; and as the subject is no longer foreign to the advanced students in our University, it will be without doubt welcomed.

BRIEF NOTES

Some Observations on Dr. Jivanji J. Modi's Paper on "A Few Persian Inscriptions of Kashmir."

The above paper, forwarded through its Bombay Branch to the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and intended to be read on the occasion of its Centenary, was published in the last issue of this *Journal*. The pages mentioned below refer to the pages of that issue.

With due deference to the veteran scholar of indefatigable energy, I venture to offer a few observations on such points raised by him regarding the inscriptions as appear to me to be both interesting and instructive. Some inaccuracies have crept into the paper, but as they are self-evident and can be easily corrected they have been left out of consideration.

I. THE SHRINE OF SHAH-E-HAMADAN.

P. 188.—The opening words of the inscription on the Mihrāb are required by the meter to be *شهباز هوای فیضا*. Last line, *فیضا* is untenable on the grounds of both meter and sense.—The rhyme also of the rubai, as given here, *viz.*, *بی نشان* and *لامکان-بی نشان* and *علی ثانی*, is not satisfactory.

P. 190, l. 17.—*بگفت* should be *گفت* as required by the meter.—*کلام قدیم* does not mean "ancient sayings" here. It stands for the Qur'ān. Cf. :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم فاتحه آرای کلام قدیم
(ہاشمی کرمانی)

P. 191.—The words *شاہباز کریم* are quite out of place here. This quatrain is a well-known one and begins with :

شاہا ز کرم بر من درویش نگر

P. 192.—The Arabic line quoted here is a well-known Qurānic verse, referring to the sacred house of the Ka'bah. *دخول ہی*

should be *دخلاه*. It is quoted in the inscription to serve a double purpose. It indicates the sanctity of the shrine as well as the date of its completion. That it is a chronogram is clearly stated in a Persian History of Kashmir entitled *واقعات کشمیر* or *تاریخ کشمیر اعظمی* by *خواجہ محمد اعظم شاہ* (p. 76, Lahore, 1303 A.H.). On p. 185 above, Dr. Modi says: "Thereupon the queen of the Mohammedan King rebuilt it as a centre of the Sunni worship." The above History, after giving the circumstances under which the building was reconstructed with two storeys, quotes the Qur'anic verse as a chronogram of the date of its completion.

II. THE JĀME' MASJID INSCRIPTION.

P. 193.—Regarding the "first inscription" Dr. Modi says: "He [the Rev. Mr. Lowenthal] has not given the first inscription, which, as far as I know, is unpublished. . . . We do not find on the gate the whole of the inscription as I give it. The burnt or destroyed portion was given to me orally by a Maulvi in charge of the Masjid, who said that his authority was some written manuscript, in which, perhaps, the inscription was recorded before the fire which occurred in the time of Aurangzeb. He said that, even in the manuscript referred to by him, some lines were missing." I find that the inscription is quoted on p. 124 in the Persian History mentioned above. The statement of Dr. Modi regarding the "burnt and destroyed" portion of the inscription agrees with what is mentioned in the History, with the exception of the following immaterial variants:—

L. 2, *سبحانی* for *ربانی*; L. 3, *دگر باره* for *پس از چندین*; L. 5, *نه بی* for *گفت* (which do not form part of the above inscription, because they have a different meter and a different rhyme) are not found in it. It gives instead the following couplet as the last couplet of the inscription:

چو تاریخ بنایش جست گفتا ہاتف غیبی
 نہاد از نو اساسش بارگاہ عید قربانی

Since this couplet is not given by Dr. Modi, I take it that it neither existed there on the gate, when Dr. Modi read the inscription, nor was it communicated to him orally. It has therefore, vanished from the gate of the mosque and also from the memory of the Maulavi. It has, however, been preserved in the pages of the above-mentioned History. It has thus fortunately escaped destruction and it is an important couplet, for it definitely gives the year in which the foundations of the second reconstruction were laid.

P. 194-f.—The last line of the inscription

بروی [ز روی] جهد تاریبخش خرد گفت

is taken by Dr. Modi to contain a chronogram giving the date 804 A.H. I am afraid it cannot possibly be so interpreted. خرد is the subject and not the object of گفت. Moreover, one more line after خرد گفت is evidently wanting. It is this missing line which ought to contain the chronogram. Under the sixth "fact," deduced from the inscription, Dr. Modi says "the year 804 was the date of its *first* construction". The line, as it stands, does not give any indication of any date of any construction. It is interesting, however, to find that the above-mentioned Persian History gives (p. 43) 801 A.H. (1398-99 A.C.) as the year in which the foundations of the Musjid were first laid. It further adds that it took three years to complete. Therefore it is quite probable that it was completed in 804 A.H. The assumption of Dr. Modi, thus appears to be right, but the datum on which it is based is open to serious objection.

The date of its burning in the days of Jahāngīr, is 1029 A.H. but the corresponding Christian date, 1619, as given by the Pandit and accepted by Dr. Modi, appears to me to be incorrect. Dr. Modi himself says, and rightly too, that the year 1029 A.H. began on the 8th of December 1619 A.C., which means that the 1st of Muḥarram 1029 A.H., fell on the 8th December 1619 A.C. The inscription adds, beyond any doubt, that the Musjid was burnt on the day of the Ramazān 'Īd, i.e., on the 1st of Shawwāl 1029 A.H. If, therefore, the 1st of Muḥarram, 1029 A. H., corresponded with the 8th of December 1619 A.C., the 1st of Shawwāl, the

tenth month of the Muhammadan Calendar, would fall in September, 1620, and not in 1619 A.C.

The Persian History referred to above cites the inscription the last couplet of which, neither found by Dr. Modi on the gate of the mosque nor supplied to him by the Maulavi, gives the date of the reconstruction in the following chronogram :

نهاد از نو اساسش بارگاه عید قربانی

These words, as they stand in the History, yield 1221, a date which is obviously wrong, because it takes us beyond the reign of Jahāngir, which terminated in 1037 A.H., while the inscription expressly says that the reconstruction took place during the reign of Jahāngir. There is, therefore, some mistake somewhere in the line. It seems to me that it is no other than that of a dot. The line read with بار gives 1221, but with باز it yields 1029. That the word is باز and not بار is further supported by the sense of the line : "once more the foundation was laid afresh on the day of the 'Īd-e-Qurbāni." It should, therefore, be read as :

نهاد از نو اساسش باز گاه عید قربانی

P. 196.—Regarding Ḥasan Shāh, Dr. Modi says that he never ruled. This is not true. He evidently bases his statement on what is found in Lawrence (pp. 190-3). But there is nothing there which can lend direct support to the above conclusion. As against this, we have the unquestionable authority of Ferishta and the above-mentioned Wāq'e'āt-e-Kashmir, in both of which separate sections are devoted to his reign. See also Stein's *Rajatarangini* (vol. II, p. 315), and *Tārīkh-e-Rashīdī*, Engl. transl. p. 433.

P. 197.—As regards the name of the nobleman who finished the reconstruction of the Masjid, Dr. Modi takes it to be "Ibrāhīm Aḥmad" (one name), while Sir Lawrence says that it was "finished by Ibrāhīm and Aḥmad Māgrī." Dr. Modi says : "The inscription does not give any wāw (و) between the two names signifying 'and'." True. The Persian *Tārīkh* also does not give any wāw. But the inscription on the other hand does not read "Ibrāhīm Aḥmad." It reads "Ibrāhīm-e-Aḥmad." There

is an *izāfat* between the two names. Is it not likely that this *izāfat* is *izāfat-e-ibnī*, which is generally met with in such cases and which expresses the relation of a son to his father? The name of the nobleman is therefore neither "Ibrāhīm Aḥmad," nor "Ibrāhīm and Aḥmad" but it appears to me to be "Ibrāhīm, son of Aḥmad." The above-mentioned Persian History mentions (p. 67) one Aḥmad Māgrī as a Sipah-Salār of Ḥasan Shāh. A few lines below (p. 68) it says that, while the building of the Masjid was under construction, Ḥasan Shāh died, that the roof and the walls on the two sides had remained incomplete, and that Malik *Ibrāhīm Māgrī*, one of the Sirdars of the time, was able to complete them :

در اثناى اتمام مسجد جامع واقع^ه حسن شاه بميان آمد
سقف و ديوارهاى دو جانب ناتمام بود ملك ابراهيم ماگرى
که از سرداران آن وقت بود توفيق اتمام آن يافت

III. THE WELL INSCRIPTION.

P. 206.—In the interpretation of the inscription there are some inaccuracies, *e.g.*, *مشتى خاکساران* translated as "the most humble of humble persons" instead of "a handful of humble persons"; *تشریف ایمان* translated as "exalting good faith" instead of "the robe of honour of faith." *آگه رفتم* translated as "this has gone current" instead of "Āgāh entered the sea" etc., *غفار* "ghifār" for "Ghaffār," etc.; but these are so patent that they need no comment from me.

IV. THE HAZRAT-E-BAL INSCRIPTION.

P. 209.—The Persian line

کسیکم نیست خاک درش خاک بر سر او

as given here, destroys its meter. It should be read as follows:

کسیکم خاک درش نیست خاک بر سر او

V. THE SHAH MAKUHDUM INSCRIPTION.

P. 211, l. 19.—In the line

بحال ما کہ کحل دیدہ از خاک درت داریم

the word for "Collyrium" is read as کجل (Hindi काजल, Skt. कजल), which does not mean "Collyrium," but "lamp-black." It is a Hindi word and not used in Persian at all. The correct word in the inscription is کحل, the Arabic word for "Collyrium," and the original of "Alcohol," the true signification of which was so grossly misunderstood by the whole of Europe.

SHAIKH ABDUL KADIR.

 THE CHRONOLOGICAL POSITION

OF

MAṆḌANA, UMBEKA, BHAVABHŪTI, SUREŚVARA.

IN *JBBRAS* for 1925, pp. 205-207, I put forward certain evidence to establish that Viśvarūpa, the commentator of Yājñavalkya, and Sureśvara, a pupil of the great Śāṅkarācārya, were identical. More evidence on the same point may be adduced, but it is not necessary to do so. It may now be taken as generally admitted that Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara are the names of the same teacher. But there is greater difficulty about the mutual relation between Maṇḍana, Umbeka, Bhavabhūti and Sureśvara. This problem of the identity or otherwise of these four persons has greatly exercised the minds of scholars (*vide* Proceedings of the 2nd Orientalists' Conference, pp. 410-411, Report of the 3rd Orientalists' Conference at Madras, pp. 474-481, *Ind. Ant.* 1925, p. 56, *Journal, Indian Historical Society*, Vol. I, part III, pp. 125-129). In the following pages I shall try to arrive at my own conclusions on this vexed question.

In the Śāṅkara-dig-vijaya of Vidyāraṇya, Maṇḍana and Sureśvara are identified. Maṇḍana is the author of the Vidhiviveka, the Bhāvanāviveka, Vibhramaviveka, Sphoṭasiddhi,

Brahmasiddhi and probably a commentary on the Tantravārtika or some lost work of Kumārila (*vide Śāstradīpikā* on Jaimini II.I.I).¹ Vācaspati composed a commentary called Nyāyakaṇikā (published in the Benares *Pandit*) on Maṇḍana's Vidhiviveka and a commentary called Tattvasamīkṣā on Brahmasiddhi. Ānandagiri's Śāṅkaravijaya (p. 237, *Bibl. Ind. ed.*) says that Maṇḍana was the husband of Kumārila's sister. Prabhākara appears to have been separated from Maṇḍana by a considerable lapse of time, as in the Nyāyakaṇikā (p. 96) Vācaspati tells us that Maṇḍana refers to the views of "Jarāt-Prabhākaras" (the school of the older followers of Prabhākara) and that the later followers of Prabhākara explain the words of Prabhākara differently. Prof. Kuppaswami Sastri shows (Report of 3rd Oriental Conference, Madras p. 479) that Maṇḍana quotes from the Bṛhatī of Prabhākara and that the *Navīnas* referred to by Vācaspati stand for Śālikanātha. Vācaspati in his Nyāyakaṇikā (p. 48) refers to certain words of Maṇḍana as setting forth the view of the *Tikākāra* and on p. 98 of the same work thinks that Maṇḍana has in view the remarks of the *Tikākāra* on the third *adhyāya* of Jaimini. Herein Vācaspati probably refers to the Bṛhat-ṭikā of Kumārila. In the Bhāvanāviveka (ed. by Dr. Jha in the Sarasvatī-Bhavana series), Maṇḍana quotes (p. 23) a Kārikā, which is ascribed to Bhaṭṭapāda (*i. e.* Kumārila) by the commentator Umbeka (pp. 43 and 92).² Maṇḍana on p. 61 of the Bhāvanāviveka quotes a Kārikā from the Tantravārtika (p. 348).³ In his Vidhiviveka (Benares ed. p. 15) he quotes a half verse from the Tantravārtika (p. 344).⁴ From these data it is clear that Maṇḍana is later than both Prabhākara and Kumārila. M. M. Dr. Jha (Introd. to Bhāvanāviveka) holds that Umbeka and Maṇḍana

¹ पार्थसारथि quotes the kārikā 'धात्वर्थव्यतिरेकेण यद्यप्येवा न लभ्यते । तथापि सर्वसामान्यरूपेणान्यावगम्यते ॥, which occurs on p. 351 of the तन्त्रवार्तिक and then remarks विवृतं चैतन्मण्डनेन 'कथ्यमानाद्रूपभेदाद् द्विधा धात्वर्थ-संगतिः । अन्योत्पादानुकृत्वात्मा भावना किं प्रदुष्यति' ॥

² The क्वारिका is 'अन्यदेव हि धात्वर्थसामान्यकरणात्मकम् । अन्यच्च भावना नाम साध्यत्वेन व्यवस्थितम् ॥.' This is found in the तन्त्रवार्तिक, p. 351.

³ तथा क्रमवर्तोर्नित्यं प्रकृतिप्रत्ययांशयोः । प्रत्ययभ्रुतिवैलायां भावनात्मा प्रतीयते ॥

⁴ अभिधाभावनामाहुरन्यामेव लिङ्गादयः ।

are identical. He relies upon the statement to that effect in the Śāṅkaradigvijaya of Vidyāraṇya (7. 116). But this identity is extremely doubtful and there are cogent reasons against it. Umbeka wrote a commentary on the Bhāvanāviveka (published by Dr. Jha) and a commentary on the Ślokavārtika of Kumārila (*vid* the Yuktisnehaprapūraṇī on the Śāstradīpikā, verse 1). Umbeka (p. 17) notices a different reading in the Bhāvanāviveka;⁵ and he says (p. 76) that a variant reading is better than the one current.⁶ It is impossible to believe that, if Maṇḍana and Umbeka were identical, the author himself would note, discuss and explain various readings in his own work. Therefore Maṇḍana and Umbeka were different persons. But they were almost contemporaries. Umbeka ascribes the same half verse (*anyac ca bhāvanā nāma sādhyateva vyavasthitam*) to Bhaṭṭapāda and Guru (on p. 92 to the former and p. 43 to the latter). Therefore Kumārila was his *guru*. In a very ancient MS. of the Mālatīmādhava (about 500 years old) the drama is ascribed to Umvekācārya, the pupil of Kumārila (*vide* Pandit's Introd. to Gauḍavaḥo CCVI ff.). Umbeka's commentary on the Ślokavārtika begins with the verse 'ye nāma kechid-īha, &c.' which occurs in the Mālatīmādhava also (*Quart. Jour. of Andhra His. Res. Soc.* vol. I, part III, pp. 125-129). The Tattvapradīpikā *alias* Citsukhī (p. 265 of the Nirn. ed.) appears to imply that Bhavabhūti and Umbeka are identical⁷ and the Commentator expressly says so. Kamalaśīla in his comm. on the Tattvasaṅgraha of Śāntarakṣita (Gaikwad's Oriental Series,

⁵ The words of the भावनाविवेक are 'प्रयत्नान्तरजन्मा न प्राचीनधातुगोचरप्रभावनीय इति' on which उम्बेक says 'स प्रायो धातुगोचरप्रभावनीय इति कचित्पाठः। तत्रान्ययमर्थः।'

⁶ The भावनाविवेक has 'करणं खलु सर्वत्र कर्तृव्यापारगोचरः। तिरोदधाति कर्तारं प्रधानं तन्निरवन्धनम् ॥' and on p. 77 उम्बेक says 'प्राधान्यं तन्निरवन्धनादिति तु समीचीनः पाठः.' The first half is quoted in the विधिविवेक (p. 464).

⁷ स्वकपोलकल्पित-मालती-माधवादिवाक्येषु प्रामाण्याभावादतिव्याप्तिः। न दि पुरास एव सन्नाटकादिप्रबन्धविरचनमात्रेणानासौ भवति भवभूतिः। उक्तं चेतदुम्बेकेन-यदासोऽपि कस्मैचिदुपदिशति न त्वयाननुभूतार्थविषयं वाक्यं प्रयोक्तव्यं यथाङ्गुल्यग्रे हस्तिवृथ-शतमास्ते इति तत्रार्थव्यभिचारः स्फुट इति। The com. says 'भवभूतिरुम्बेकः। एतदेव ग्रन्थान्तरस्थेन तद्वचनेन संमतयति। उक्तं चेदिति।'

pp. 812-815) quotes the views of an Uveyaka, which seems to be but another form of the name Umbeka. In the comm. on the *Balakriḍā* called *Vibhāvanā Bhavabhūti* appears to have been identified with *Sureśvara*.⁸ The learned editor explains the word *Bhavabhūti* as an attribute and surname of *Sureśvara*, but that seems extremely far-fetched. So here we have a bewildering tangle of names. If we are to believe several Sanskrit writers we shall have to suppose that the same individual had five names *Bhavabhūti*, *Umbeka*, *Maṇḍana*, *Sureśvara* and *Viśvarūpa*. But this is absurd. *Sureśvara* and *Viśvarūpa* may be regarded as identical. Similarly it may be said that the identity of *Bhavabhūti* and *Umbeka* rests on solid foundations. There is only one element of uncertainty, *viz.*, while *Bhavabhūti* in his *Mālatīmādhava* (Act 1) boasts of his Vedic study and of his knowledge of the *Upaniṣads*, *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* he does not utter a word about his proficiency in the *Mīmāṃsā*. This is somewhat strange if he was really the same as *Umbeka* and a pupil of *Kumārila*. The date of *Bhavabhūti* as settled from other evidence does not militate against the identity of *Bhavabhūti* and *Umbeka*. *Bhavabhūti* flourished either in the latter quarter of the 7th century or the first quarter of the eighth (*vide* Dr. Bhandarkar's preface to *Mālatīmādhava*, pp. XIV-ff., ed. of 1905). It has been shown that *Umbeka* and *Maṇḍana* cannot be the same. Therefore the chronological position is this. First comes *Kumārila*. He criticizes *Bhartrhari* (author of the *Vākyapadiya*) and *Dharmakirti* both of whom according to It-sing died about 650 A.D. *Kumārila* in his turn is criticized by *Śāntarakṣita* in his *Tattvasaṅgraha*, who belongs to the first half of the 8th century. Therefore the literary activity of *Kumārila* lies between 670 and 700 A. D. (*vide* Foreword to *Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. LXXXII.) *Maṇḍana* quotes *Kumārila*'s *Kārikās* and *Maṇḍana*'s work is commented upon by *Umbeka*, whose Guru was *Kumārila*. Therefore *Maṇḍana* was a contemporary of or slightly younger than *Kumārila*, but slightly older than *Umbeka*. *Maṇḍana* does not refer reverentially to *Kumārila*, while *Umbeka* does so. Hence it is extremely doubtful whether he was a pupil of *Kumārila*. So the literary activity of

⁸ यत्प्रसादादयं लोको धर्ममार्गस्थितः सुखी । भवभूतिमुद्राख्यं विश्वरूपं प्रणम्य तम् ॥

Maṇḍana must be placed between 680-710 A.D. and that of Umbeka between 700 and 730 A.D. If the traditional date of Śaṅkara (viz. 788-820 A. D.) is correct then the literary activity of Sureśvara, the pupil of Śaṅkara, will ordinarily lie between 810-830 A.D. This shows that between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara there will be a gap of about 100 years.. Unless and until it is proved that the traditional date of Śaṅkara is entirely wrong we must hold it as established that Maṇḍana and Sureśvara are different persons altogether. The occurrence of Maṇḍana's Kārikās in the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad-bhāṣya-vārtika is quite explicable on the theory of Maṇḍana having flourished long before Sureśvara and does not compel us to hold that they were identical. If Sureśvara and Maṇḍana are separated by a distance of about one hundred years, it is hard to believe that Sureśvara was originally a direct pupil of Kumārila and later on transferred his allegiance to Śaṅkarācārya. In his commentary on Taittiri-yopaniṣad-bhāṣya Sureśvara quotes a verse of Kumārila and ridicules the latter by calling him *Mīmāṃsakaṁmanya*.^o If Sureśvara was really a pupil of Kumārila, it would be the height of ingratitude for him to show such scant respect to his teacher, even if in later life he followed Śaṅkarācārya. The truth of the matter seems to be that Sureśvara was not a pupil of Kumārila but was a profound student of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā (including the works of Kumārila) and that at a later stage of his career he preferred the Vedānta system to that of Jaimini.

P. V. KANE.

^o मोक्षार्थी न प्रवर्तेन तत्र काम्यनिषिद्धयोः । नित्यनैमित्तिके कुर्यात्प्रत्यवायनिहासया ॥
इति मीमांसकमन्यैः कर्मोक्तं मोक्षसाधनम् । ते. उ. भाष्यवार्तिक I. 9-10 The verse
मोक्षार्थी &c. is श्लोकवार्तिक, संबन्धाक्षेपपरिहार verse 110.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE EMBASSY OF SIR THOMAS ROE TO INDIA, 1615-19. As narrated in his journal and correspondence. Edited by Sir WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. New and revised edition. Oxford University Press. 1926. (Price Rs. 18.)

The account of the Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the court of Jehangir is the best English source of Mughal History. The Hakluyt Society had published it in two volumes in 1899; but that limited edition was long ago out of print, and hence out of the reach of the students of Indian History. The Oxford University Press is to be congratulated on the publication of this new volume. Its editor, Sir William Foster, is the best qualified person for the task. His unique knowledge of, and familiarity with, English documents of the 17th century—with which he has been in contact since 1893—is the best preparation for editing this series of documents referring to the first permanent footing of the English Trade in Hindustan. Through his diligence this new edition has been increased by nearly thirty fresh letters; but the most valuable contributions of Sir William Foster to the new edition of Roe's account are the introduction and the notes. The former is a very learned account of the life of Sir Thomas Roe and specially of his Embassy to the Mughal court. For this account he has made use of some Dutch sources, known now for the first time in English literature. In the foot-notes Sir William Foster elucidates and discusses many obscure points of Roe's diaries and letters. One of the most interesting of these points is the prospective marriage of Prince Khusru with the daughter of Nur Mahal. This is twice alluded to by Roe in his diary (pp. 325, 369), but is openly spoken of in one of the ambassador's letters referred to by Sir William in a foot-note. Undoubtedly Ogilby, *Asia*, I, p. 170, who related all these dealings, drew his information from Roe's account.

Another point of interest, treated at length in one of the notes, is the peace between Jehangir and the Portuguese settled in 1615

(pp. 74 f.). I published the whole of this treaty and its translation into English in the *Proceedings of the Historical Records Commission* (Lucknow session). Now Sir William Foster contributes some extracts of English letters, according to which the treaty was never ratified by the Emperor. The extracts seem to be convincing; but the fact is that Muqarrab Khan, the one who settled the peace at Surat with the Portuguese envoy, continued to enjoy the King's favour in the following years. And even towards the close of the same year 1615, Muqarrab's Mansab "increased to 5,000 personal and 2,500 horse" (*Memoires of Jehangir*, I, p. 303). It seems that Jehangir was not ready to ratify the treaty till the Portuguese Viceroy should "make restitution for all the goods taken from his subjects." But he promised the Jesuits that then "he would hearken to conditions of peace." Now, all the extracts quoted by Sir William Foster were written during this period when the restitution was not yet made. But on the 24th of November of the same year Sir Thomas Roe wrote to the East India Company that the Portuguese were "paying three leeks (lakhs) of rupias for the ship taken." This payment seems to mark the end of the imperial wrath. Sir William Foster thinks that "the news of the arrival of the English ambassador with a fresh batch of presents had no small share in deterring the Mogul from agreeing to expel his compatriots." But this effect of Roe's embassy is not recorded anywhere. On the contrary, it seems quite evident that the arrival of Roe did not produce any effect at Jehangir's court; at least not in the beginning.

This edition is moreover enriched with several photographs of buildings connected with the activities of Roe in India, as well as reproductions of some old engravings. One of the latter is extremely interesting. The one facing p. 176 represents Emperor Jehangir and Prince Kurram with an autograph of Jehangir himself. It is reproduced from *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), and is probably the first Indian painting reproduced in Europe. One century later Francois Valentyn reproduced many more in his *Beschryving van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indie*.

This new edition of the Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe is one of the best fruits of Sir William Foster's work and scholarship, and

must be warmly welcomed by all students and scholars of Indian History.

H. HERAS, S.J.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LAST BATTLE OF PANIPAT AND OF THE EVENTS LEADING TO IT. Written in Persian by CASI RAJA PUNDIT who was present at the battle; translated into English by Lieut-Col. James Brown, of Dinapor, 1st February 1791; and now edited with an Introduction, Notes and Appendices, by H. G. RAWLINSON, of the Indian Educational Service. For the University of Bombay. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 1926. (Price Rs. 2.)

All students of Indian History owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. H. G. Rawlinson of the Indian Educational Service for his edition of this narrative of the last battle of Panipat, published by the Oxford University Press for the University of Bombay. The account of Casi Raja Pundit is a unique source for the history of that famous action, the Pundit being an eye-witness of the events he narrates. There is no other full account of the battle, though there are several letters and other documents that add valuable information and must be studied in parallel with this. Moreover Casi Raja's narrative is a non-Maratha source. This is perhaps the main value of the document. He gives his independent view about the combatants and the causes of the defeat. It seems to embody the general opinion of Northern India about the battle and its consequences.

This unique document was hidden, and probably known to few students of Indian History, in one of the volumes of *Asiatic Researches*. Now it comes out in a new garb from the hands of Mr. Rawlinson, who has foreworded it with a short but learned introduction. In it he critically studies the document and specially the author's opinion of the Bhao Saheb. This introduction is a brief critical study of the causes of the Maratha defeat. Nobody can deny that the lazy and luxurious conduct of Balaji Bajirao was the main cause of the destruction of the Maratha army and the death of his son and cousin. If history had to be studied in

mathematical terms, a simple equation would explain the unexpected victory of the Durrani :

$$\frac{\text{Babar}}{\text{Aurangzeb}} = \frac{\text{Sivaji}}{\text{Balaji Bajirao}}$$

Aurangzeb's luxurious camp had in itself the seeds of the final split-up of the Mughal Empire. So it had also the Maratha army of the Peshwa and his generalissimo.

Mr. Rawlinson has illustrated unknown names and obscure points and expressions with learned notes. Four appendices relating to this important historical fact close the account of Suja-ud-daula's secretary.

This booklet ought to be in the possession of every student of Indian History. Panipat is a landmark in the history of Hindustan.

H. HERAS, S.J.

THE TWILIGHT OF HISTORY. By DAVID GEORGE HOGARTH C.M.G., M.A., D. Litt. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Being the Eighth Earl Grey Memorial Lecture delivered at King's Hall, Armstrong College, Newcastle on Tyne. February 17, 1926. Oxford University Press. 1926. (Price Re. 1.)

This lecture, written in a very obtruse and un lucid style, is a new proof of the fact that some scholars of the West altogether forget the history and the civilisation of the East. The lecturer speaks of the Minoan civilisation as marking the twilight of History, overlooking the fact that during the twilight of Greek history it was already full daylight in the East. Sumerian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Indian and perhaps Chinese civilisations had preceded the civilisation of the West, and their history is known to us. Hence the title of the lecture ought rather to be "The Twilight of Western History," or even better "The Dawn of Western History." The lecture is lacking in originality and scholarship.

H. HERAS, S.J.

SUPPLEMENTARY CATALOGUE OF ARABIC PRINTED BOOKS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM COMPILED BY A. S. FULTON AND A. G. ELLIS. Printed by the Trustees, London, 1926.

This volume is a continuation of the catalogue of Arabic Printed Books in the British Museum, the first two volumes of which were published in 1894 and 1901. The system of cataloguing originated by Mr. Ellis is also followed by E. Edwards in his Catalogue of Persian Printed Books (1925), and is by now familiar to most of us.

The sight of this Supplement cannot but remind us of the excellent, vast and varied collection available to every reader in the British Museum; and one cannot but envy the lot of those to whom it is easily accessible.

Of the 3 full and accurate Indexes, probably the one which would most interest the non-specialist, is the Subject-Index. This shows the wealth, variety and appeal of the Arabic tongue. (Cols. 1003 and 1004.)

Here are a few titles of special interest, taken at random. Academy; Arabian Nights; Avicenna (Husain b. 'Abdallāh); Bible; Ghazzāte (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad); Ibn Tuīmīyah; Kur'ār Suyūṭī ('abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr).

I should like to mention two or three omissions which seem rather surprising. Under Muḥammad ibn Jarīr, al-Ṭabarī (Col. 657) I do not find the following very useful item, *Register zum Qoran-kommentar des Ṭabarī* (Kairo 1321), von Hermann Haussleiter, Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1912. This little 'Register' helps one to find out in a moment what Ṭabarī has to say on any particular verse of the Book. Otherwise one may waste a good deal of time in wading through the 30 vols. of the Cairo edition of Ṭabarī's monumental work.

Of the four volumes published by the Cambridge University Press in "Thornton's Arabic Series," I find no mention of any except of Thornton's first Reading Book (Col. 836 and sub Kur'ār Col. 546). The first volume of the Series is an *Elementary Grammar* published in 1905; the second, is the *First Reading Book*, 1907 (reprinted 1919); the third, is the *Second Reading Book*, 1909

and the fourth is the *Third Reading Book*, 1911. The series was edited by Prof. (then Dr.) R. A. Nicholson, Sir Thomas Adam's Professor of Arabic, Cambridge. Neither is Harder's (E.) *Arabische Chrestomathie* (Heidelberg, 1911) mentioned, though Bruennow's well-known Chrestomathy finds a place.

A. A. A. F.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
Royal Asiatic Society

Annual Report for 1926

In November of the year under review, the Society suffered an unexpected and severe loss by the sudden death of its President, Sir Lallubhai Shah, who had held this office for the last three years with very great advantage to the deliberations of its Managing Committee and its public and scholastic interests. Sir Lallubhai showed constant wisdom and consideration in affairs and gave ungrudgingly of his leisure also whenever his special training and abilities were needed.

Another loss, by retirement from India, is that of Principal Covernton, late of Elphinstone College. Through many years Mr. Covernton gave his experience and great scholarship for the use of the Society ; he belonged to the group of Europeans in India who, whatever their occupation here, had love of learning and furthered its advance in every way within their power.

The death of Mr. Vishvanath Kashinath Rajvade has deprived the Society of one of its Fellows and historical and linguistic research of an erudite and indefatigable worker in the fields of Maratha history and grammar and Sanskrit philology. In his lifetime he published over a score of volumes of the greatest value on these subjects, and he has left behind him materials for many more. As a scholar he has set a noble example of great self-denial and unremitting labour on behalf of Oriental Scholarship.

A bust of Mr. William Erskine, an early member of this group who was the first Hon. Secretary to the Society in 1804, has been presented to the Society by descendants of the family in England and has arrived in Bombay. It will duly be set up near the head of the stairs leading to the Society's rooms, representing the first, we think, of the Society's officers to receive this distinction.

The Campbell Memorial Gold Medal for 1926 has been awarded to Professor Jadunath Sarkar, the eminent historian and now Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, and the presentation will take place when opportunity permits.

The designs for the Society's Silver Medal, long now under consideration, appear to be nearing general approval and the first presentation of it may be heard of before the current year is over.

In relation with other learned bodies in the city, there are three particular matters to notice. First, co-operation with the University Library has succeeded to the extent that 30 members of the Society and 30 graduates of the University have availed themselves of the new opportunity, by receipt of a card from their respective institutions, to read in the library of the other. There is plenty of room for development of this kind of co-operative use. With the Prince of Wales Museum we are still in negotiation over the form of the deeds transferring our archæological and geological collections as loans to the Museum. Our numismatic collection has been completely catalogued, but a final decision has not been reached yet whether it should be kept or loaned to the Museum. Finally, our collection of medical and surgical works has been inspected in detail by competent members who have advised which volumes have a present or permanent historical value, and these have been retained. The remainder, to the number of over 1,300 volumes, have been presented to the Gordhandas Sunderdas Medical College, at its request.

There has been considerable activity on the artistic side of the Society. In February a joint conversazione was organised with the University to meet Count di San Martino, the distinguished collector and connoisseur, and a beginning was made, in his speech on the

occasion, with possibilities of co-operation between Bombay and Italy in art education and correspondence.

The Committee have also taken up the question of legislation to forbid the export of Indian art treasures outside the bounds of India, in consequence of which something of a denudation of the country in manuscripts and objects of artistic value and historical interest has been going on for a couple of centuries at least. We are still in correspondence with Government to bring such export within reasonable limits.

Library administration, which interests the majority of our members, has progressed in the following directions.

To meet the increasing demand for illustrated periodicals, duplicate, second-hand, copies of certain of the most important papers and magazines have been taken, and the general circulation has increased from 20,898 in 1925 to 25,116 in 1926.

The card catalogue according to subjects—a long-felt need—has added 8,000 more cards during the year, the subjects of Biography and Archæology according to the Dewey system having been completed. Travels, Economics and Politics have been taken in hand and will be completed, it is expected, within the year. There will remain then only a few of the smaller classes, represented mainly by books in the gallery of the main hall.

Volume 1 of the Manuscripts Catalogue was published last year, and Indian and foreign scholars, to whom complimentary copies were sent, have written very appreciatively of the work and made suggestions for improvement which will be useful for the second volume, of which some fifteen forms have since been published.

An arduous work, in which our late President was especially interested, has just been brought triumphantly through all the necessary stages of consideration, *viz.*, the revision of the Society's Rules. These had swollen and accumulated during many years of addition and amendment till only old members and expert legal minds could be trusted to interpret them. Some of our best legal and other talent was concentrated, in the Sub-Committee for the

purpose, on their revision, the purpose being to disturb them as little as possible yet make them equal to modern conditions and perfectly clear and coherent in meaning and application. The Managing Committee and then the whole body of members have since had the fullest opportunity of reconsideration and have passed what we hope now will prove to be workable directions for and safeguards of our many activities.

The decline in membership noted last year, for the first time for many years, has appeared again more decidedly this year, we are sorry to report. New admissions show 72 during the year against 92 last year, while resignations have been 87 as against 91, our total membership being now 668 in comparison with 693 at the end of 1925. The effects of continuous trade depression have reached us, it may be, and other scientific and learned organisations in India are suffering as badly or worse, but these are scarcely consolations for the depletion of our income on which the efficiency of the library and its circulation absolutely depends. We appeal to our members to introduce their friends to the advantages of the Society and its library. We should like to see our membership return to the 700 line which it just reached two years ago.

Members

Resident :—

On the roll on 1-1-26.	New admissions.	Non-Res become Resident.	Resigned or ceased to be Members.	Transferred to the Non-Res. list.	Died.	Number of Members on 1-1-27.
521	60	5	62	15	6	503

Non-Resident :—

On the roll on 1-1-26.	New admissions.	Resident become Non-Res.	Resigned or ceased to be Members.	Transferred to the Res. list.	Died.	Number of Members on 1-1-27.
172	12	15	25	5	4	165

Of the 503 Resident Members, 45 are Life-Members, and of the 165 Non-Resident Members, 11 are Life-Members.

Obituary

The Committee regret to record the death of the following Members :—

Resident :

Sir Lallubhai A. Shah.
Mr. Shums. A. Tyabji.
,, Charles Ringger.
,, C. Donnelly.
,, D. Walker.
,, M. J. Gajjar.

Non-Resident :

Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis.
Rev. Dr. E. W. Felt.
Mr. B. S. Mudkavi.
,, V. L. Bhawe.

and of Mr. Vishvanath K. Rajvade, Fellow of the Society.

Papers read and lectures delivered before the Society

13th January 1926. Is Ayurveda a Quackery ? By Dr. Jamshedji J. Modi, L.M. & S.

4th February 1926. A Trace of the Story of Alexander the Great and Poison Damsel of India in Firdausi's Shah Nameh. By Dr. Jivanji J. Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

25th August 1926. The Village in Sanskrit Literature. By Prof. V. A. Gadgil, M.A.

24th September 1926. An illustrated lecture on Indian Sculpture. By O. C. Gangoly.

7th October 1926. An illustrated lecture on Three Mughal Paintings. By Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J.

Library

Issues :—

Old books.	New Books.	Loose Periodicals.	Total.	Average per working day.
26,337	16,629	25,116	68,082	231.6

The total number of issues in the previous year was 61,453.

Additions :—

The total number of volumes added was 1,546, of which 1,274 were purchased and 272 were presented.

Books presented to the Society were received, as usual, from the Government of India, the Government of Bombay, and other Provincial Governments, as well as from the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayet Funds, other public bodies and individual donors.

A meeting of the Society, under Art. XXI of the Rules, was held on the 24th of November for the purpose of revising the list of the papers and periodicals received by the Society, and it was decided—

(a) to discontinue from 1927 :—

- (1) *Architect's Journal*, (2) *Journal des Debats*, (3) *Forward*, (4) *Guardian*, (5) *Survey Graphic* and (6) *Indian Trade Journal*.

(b) to add the following from the same date :

- (1) *Argosy*, (2) *Journal of Philosophical Studies*, (3) *Health and Empire*, (4) *British Museum Quarterly*, (5) *People*, (6) *Minerva* (1927), and (7) *Pamphlets of the English Association*.

and (c) to make an attempt to obtain in exchange for the Society's Journal.

- (1) *Journal of the Andhra Historical Society* and (2) *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid*.

The Journal

One number of the Journal was published during the year, the number due to be issued in October being in the press. The following are the principal articles in the number published :

Jivanji J. Modi—The Christian Cross with a Pahlavi Inscription recently discovered in the Travancore State.

S. H. Hodivala—The Unpublished Coins of the Gujrat Sultanat.

A. L. Covernton—The Educational Policy of Mountstuart Elphinstone.

M. Winternitz—The Serpent Sacrifice mentioned in the Mahabharata.

Jamshedji J. Modi—Is Ayurveda a Quackedy ?

Coin Cabinet

63 Coins were added to the Society's cabinet as under :—

SOUTH INDIAN

Gold :

2. Pratapa Krishna of Vijayanagar.

Bombay Government.

MUGHAL

Silver :

1. Akbar. 1000—

1. do.

C. P. Government.

1. do. Gujrat fabric.

1. Shah Jahan Akbarabad

Bombay Government.

1. Aurangzeb Akbarnagar —33

1. do. „ —34

1. do. „ —44

1. do. „ 1116—

1. do. Golkonda

1. do. Katak —44

1. do. Lahore 1100—32

1. do. Patna 1103—35

1. do. Surat 1081—

1. do. „ 1090—22

1. do. „ 1090—23

1. do. „ 1091—23

1. do. „ 1092—24

1. do. „ 1093—25

2. do. „ 1094—26

1. do. „ —26

1. do. „ 1095—27

1.	Aurangzeb	Surat	1097—29
1.	do.	„	1098—30
1.	do.	„	—32
1.	do.	„	1103—35
1.	do.	„	1109—41
2.	do.	„	1111—43
2.	do.	„	1112—44
1.	do.	„	1115—47
1.	do.	„	1117—49
1.	do.	„	Ahd.
3.	do.	„	
1.	Shah Alam I	„	
			<i>C. P. Government.</i>
2.	Shah Alam II	Murshidabad	—19
			<i>Bengal Government.</i>
2.	do.	Surat	
1.	do.	„	m.m. flag
1.	do.		—3 ×
1.	do.		—4 ×
2.	do.		46
1.	do.		1221—21 m. m. flag.
5.	do.		
			<i>Bombay Government.</i>
2.	Bahadur Shah	Haiderabad	1273—18
2.	do.	„	1274—18
1.	do.	„	1275—18
			<i>C. P. Government.</i>

BAHAMANI

Copper :

1.	Ahmad Shah		
1.	Nizam Shah		
			<i>C. P. Government.</i>
1.	East India Co.		
			<i>Bombay Government.</i>

Treasure Trove Coins

There were 990 coins with the Society at the close of 1925 to which 198 were added as under :—

- 9 Gold from the Mamlatdar of Junnar.
- 6 Silver from the Mamlatdar of Sirpur.
- 94 Silver from the Mamlatdar of Pachora.
- 7 Gold from the Collector of Ahmedabad.
- 81 Silver & } from the Collector of Ahmedabad.
- 1 Copper }

Of these 1,188 coins, 6 copper from Satara of last year and 6 silver from Sirpur of 1926 were returned as being of no numismatic value. Of the remaining 1,176 coins, 480 were distributed leaving 696 with the Society which are awaiting examination or distribution.

The Non-Mahomedan coins were examined by Mr. G. V. Acharya, B.A., Curator, Archæological Section, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and the Mahomedan coins by his Gallery Assistant Mr. C. R. Singhal. Mr. Ch. Mahammad Ismail, M.A., while in Bombay as Assistant Curator of the Museum, assisted in the examination of Mahomedan coins. The Society is much obliged to these numismatists for their valuable assistance.

Accounts

A statement of receipts and disbursements is subjoined. The income from entrance fee during the year under report amounted to Rs. 1,460 and from subscriptions to 28,741 against 1,780 and 29,972 the preceding year. The balance to the credit of the Society at the Bank and the cash in hand was Rs. 8,383-3-5 at the end of the year.

The Government Securities held by the Society, including those of the Premchand Roychand Fund and the General Catalogue Fund, are of the face value of Rs. 45,100.

STATEMENT.

The Bombay Branch

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements

RECEIPTS.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Balance on 31-12-25	8,693 6 1
Subscription of Resident Members	24,800 0 0	
Do. of Non-Resident Members	3,941 0 0	
Entrance Fee	1,460 0 0	
Government Contribution	3,600 0 0	
Sale Proceeds of Journal Numbers	629 15 11	
Do. of Annual Catalogues	54 6 0	
Do. of Waste paper	29 0 0	
Interest on Govt. Securities and Savings Bank Account	1,693 11 4	30,208 1 3
Subscription of Resident Life Members	1,500 0 0	
General Catalogue, Sale and Interest	327 0 0	
Replacement	274 4 0	
Sale Proceeds of MSS. Catalogue	110 5 9	
Campbell Memorial Fund	100 0 0	2,311 9 9
Total Rs. ..		47,213 1 1

We have examined the account books and vouchers, and have obtained satisfactory information and explanation on all points desired. In our opinion the accounts as drawn up show the true and correct state of the affairs of the Society.

A. B. AGASKAR,
C. H. DENNISON,
Hon. Auditors.

Provident Fund of the Society.

A Statement of Accounts for the year ending 31st December 1926.

	Rs.	a.	p.		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st January 1926 ..	3,180	14	5	Cost of 5 per cent. Govt. Loan for Rs. 3,000..	3,247	12	3
Amount paid in by the Staff, 1926 ..	1,391	7	9	Amount paid to employees who resigned or died ..	233	7	7
Do. do. by the Society, 1926 ..	1,391	7	9	Balance in Bank ..	2,785	3	0
Interest	302	8	11				
Rs. ..	6,266	6	10	Rs. ..	6,266	6	10

Investments.
5 per cent. Government Loan 1945-55
Rs. 5,000.

A. B. AGASKAR,
C. H. DENNISON,
Hon. Auditors.

The Campbell Memorial Fund.

A Statement of Accounts for the year ending 31st December 1926.

By Balance on 31st December 1925	537	9	4	Cost of 1926 Medal	204	8	0
Interest (less Bank Commission and Income Tax) ..	202	14	0	Honorary to the Medallist	100	0	0
				Balance on 31st December 1926 (in the Imperial Bank of India)	435	15	4
Rs. ..	740	7	4	Rs. ..	740	7	4

Invested Funds :

5 per cent. Government Loan 1929-47.... Rs. 4,000-0-0

श्रीरस्तु ॥

वप्पभट्टिचरितम् । *

अस्ति गुर्जरेषु पाटलाभिधानं नगरम् । तत्र विजिताशेषवाह्याभ्यन्तरा-
 रातिर्निखिलशास्त्रतत्त्ववेदी सिद्धसेनो नाम मुनीन्द्र भासीत् ।
 स कदाचिद्वीतरागं श्रीमहावीरं प्रणन्तुं मौढेरमगात् । तत्र तं तीर्थवर्य-
 मभिवन्द्य तत्रैव निद्राणेन तेनापररात्रे ऋश्चन केसरिपोतो महासत्त्वश्चैत्यशृङ्ग-
 माहृष्ट्य खेलन् स्वप्ने दृष्टः । सद्य एव स पुलकिताङ्गयष्टिरजागरीत् । स्वप्नं
 च तमनुस्मरन् 'नियतमयं कल्याणोदको भविष्यति' इति मनसि विनिश्चिय
 नितरां मुमुदे । परेष्वपि प्रातर्मुदितमानमस्तन्नागतेभ्यो मुनिपुङ्गवेभ्यः
 स्वप्नेनमावेद्य तस्य फलं चाकथयत्—'नूनमन्त्रिलविमतगजेन्द्रपाटनपटुः कश्चन
 शिष्योऽस्माकं भागधेयनाथ समेष्यति, मतं चार्हतं प्रचारयिष्यति' इति ।
 एतदुपश्रुत्य मुदितमानसैस्तैः सह चैत्यमागत्य यावदयं महावीरं तीर्थकरं
 प्रणन्तुमारभे तावत् पद्मवर्षदेशायः कश्चन स्पृहर्णायकृतिर्वालकः पुरः
 प्रादुरभूत् । बालकोऽसौ 'त्वं कस्कः ? कौतस्कुतः ?' इति पृष्टः प्रत्युवाच—
 'आर्याः, पाञ्चालोऽहं भट्टैस्तनूजो वपिगर्भे जातो नाम्ना शूरपालोऽ
 स्मि । बालेनैव मया यदा बहवः शत्रवो विनिहतास्तदा पिता मां
 न्यवारयत् । तेन क्रुपितोऽहं पितरावनापृच्छयैवात्र प्रभुपादमूलमागतोऽस्मि'
 इति । श्रुत्वैतन्मुनिपुङ्गवास्तस्यामानुष्यकं तेजो वीक्ष्य विस्मिताः 'आयु-
 प्पन्न, किं त्वमस्माकमन्ते वस्तुमिच्छसि?' इत्यपृच्छन् । सोऽपि 'पूज्याः
 अयैव मद्भाग्यैः फलितम्, तथैव करोमि' इत्यभिधाय तद्वरिवस्थापराय-
 णस्तत्रैव न्यवसत् । कदाचिदेकशः श्रुतमात्रेणानुष्टुभां सहस्रमवधारयतस्तस्य
 प्रेक्षाभियोगसंतुष्टेन मुनीन्द्रेण प्रेषिता मुनयो बालकेन सह दुम्बातिधीप्राममेत्य
 तत्पितरौ बालकस्य स्वेषां निकटेऽवस्थानमयाचन्त । पिता तु सुतमुखक-
 मलदर्शनेनामन्दानन्दसागरनिमग्नोऽपि मुनिवचनार्कर्षणेन कुमारस्य

* This prose version was made by Pandit V. Krishnamacharya of the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, for purposes of comparison. It is published here as an appendix in the belief it may prove to be of use to the readers of the article who may need this assistance.

विरहमसहमानो नितरामखिद्यत । कृच्छ्राच्च निगृहीतखेदः प्रत्यवादीत्—
'आर्याः, नियतमवैमि भवन्तो मम कुमारस्य निःश्रेयसाय प्रवृत्ताः ।
तथाप्ययमेक एवावयोरशाधरः पुत्रकः । तत्कथमेनं परिमोक्तुं पारयामि ?

निर्वन्धो यदि पूज्यानां तदा नावभिधां यदि ।
विधुतां बप्पभट्टिति कुरुध्वे तत्सुतोऽस्तु वः ॥' इति ।

ते च तथेत्यङ्गीकृत्य बालकमादाय मौढेरमागत्य सिद्धसेनानुमत्या तस्य दीक्षां
कारयित्वा भद्रकीर्तिरिति दीक्षानाम चक्रुः । एतच्च विक्रमकालतो वर्षाणां
सप्ताधिके शताष्टके गते निर्वृत्तम् । परंतु लोके बप्पभट्टिरिति पितृप्रतिपन्नं
नामैव प्रथामुपगतम् । मौढेरस्थितैः सर्वैर्गुरुभिरभ्यर्थितः सिद्धसेनो
बालकेनानेनान्यैश्च मुनिभिः सह तत्रैव वसन् कदाचिदस्मै बालकाय
सारस्वतं मन्त्रमुपादिदेश । बालो निशीथे योगस्थस्तं मन्त्रमावर्तयन् तत्प-
रितोपितया भारत्या समागत्यानुजगृहे ।

एकदा भद्रकीर्तिक्राकी वह्निर्विचरन् शृष्टपीडितः किञ्चित् देवकुलमुपाश्रयत् ।
तदैवान्यः कश्चन बालोऽपि वृष्टिव्याकुलितस्तदेव देवकुलमाजगाम । तत्र
च तयोः कुमारयोः सरसमालपतोः सरसानि काव्यानि वदतोः
सख्यं समजनि । शान्ते वर्षे द्वावपि ता बालौ गुरुसमीपमाजगमतुः ।
ततो गुरवो भद्रकीर्तिना सह समागतं द्वितीयं बालमुद्दीक्ष्य तमाशीर्भिर-
भिनन्द्य तस्योदन्तमपृच्छन् । बालः प्रत्यवादीत्—'आर्याः,

वर्यमौर्यमहागोत्रसंभूतस्य महाद्युतेः ।

श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तभूपालवंशमुक्तामणिप्रियः ॥

कान्यकुब्जयशोवर्मनृपतेः सुयशोऽङ्गभूः

पित्रा शिक्षावशात् किञ्चिदुक्तः कोपादिहागमम् ॥'

इति संक्षेपतः स्वीयमुदन्तमावेद्य 'आम' इति स्वनाम खटिकया भूमावालि-
खत् । स्वनामाग्रहणेन 'धर्मरहस्यवेद्यं कुमारः' इति विस्मिता गुरवः
पूर्ववृत्तं कंचन विषयं स्मृतिपथमानिन्युः—पूर्वं श्रीरामसैन्ये षण्मास-
वयस्को बालः कश्चन पीलुवृक्षतले वस्त्रान्दोलिकाशायी दृष्टः । तज्जननीं
फलान्याचिन्वतीं शृष्ट्वापृच्छाम—'वत्से, कासि त्वम् ? कथमौदशीमवस्थामा-
पन्ना ?' इति । सा प्रत्यवादीत्—'आर्याः, अहं कान्यकुब्जभूपालस्य यशो-

वर्मणः कुटुम्बिनी । आपन्नसत्त्वां मामालोक्य मात्सर्योपहता मत्सपत्नी कमपि हेतुमारोप्य नृपेण मां नगराग्निरवासयत् । ततो बने दारकमिमं प्रसूता वन्यैर्जीवन्ती स्वानि भाग्यानि केवलं निन्दन्ती महत् कृच्छ्र-मनुभवामि ' इत्युक्त्वा प्रारुदत् । अस्माभिश्च ' बाले, मा विषाद । पितृगोह इवास्मन्निकटे बालकेन सह सुस्थं स्थीयताम् ' इत्यभिहिता अस्मन्निकट एवावसत् । कतिपयेन कालेन तत्सपत्नी दिष्टगतिमुपगता । नृपतिश्च तां बालामगलितचारित्रामवगम्य पुनराकारयत् । नूनमसौ स एव बालः—इति । अथ बालमेनं स्निग्धेन चक्षुषोर्द्वीक्ष्य स्व-निकट एवावस्थाप्य भद्रकीर्तेः सच्छात्रं विधाय निखिला द्वासप्तति कला अध्यापयन् । एकदासौ राजकुमारः सन्नह्यचारितास्नेहात् सुहृदं वप्पभट्टिमवदत्—' सखे, यदाहं राज्यं प्राप्नुयां तदा तद्राज्यं तुभ्यं प्रदास्यामि ' इति । कतिपयेन कालेन तं राजकुमारं तपिता समाहूय राज्ये ऽभिषिषेच । गच्छता च कालेन यशोवर्मा दिवं गतः । तस्य यथाव-दौर्ध्वदेहिकानि कर्माण्यामो निरवर्तयत् । अथ राजकुमारः प्रधानपुरुषैः सुहृदं वप्पभट्टिं समानाद्य राज्यं तस्मै न्यवेदयत् । वप्पभट्टिस्तु ' सर्व-सङ्गमुचामस्माकं किं राज्येन ? ' इति तन्निराचकार । आमभूपोऽपि प्रतिज्ञाहान्या विमनायितः पुनः सुहृदमभ्यर्णयत्—

' सुहृदां वः पुरा पूर्वं यन्मया प्रतिशुभ्रुव ।

राज्यमाप्तं प्रदास्यामि तल्लक्ष्म वरवारणः ।

काममेवामुमादत्त चेद्यं तन्मम प्रभो ॥ '

इति । तदपि निराकुर्वाणं सुहृदं धरणीधरो बलात् पट्टकुब्जरे समारोप्य जितक्रोधाद्यभिज्ञानतया छत्रचतुष्टयं धारयित्वा चामरैः संबीज्य महतो-त्सवेन पुरं प्रावेशयत् । अथ धातान्तरमनर्षे सिंहासनमानीय तस्मि-न्नुपवेष्टुं तं प्रार्थयत् । तेनापि ' जाते सूरिपदेऽस्माकं कल्पं सिंहासनासनम् ' इति प्रतिषेधे राजा खिन्न एवान्यस्मिन्नासने तमुपावेशयत् ।

एवं महतोपचारेण सखायं कतिपयं कालं तत्रावस्थाप्य गुरुसंनिधिगमनम-भिलषन्तं तं महता सैन्येन छत्रचामरादिपरिच्छदैश्च सह गुरुसंनिधिं प्रस्थाप-यामास । प्रधानपुरुषास्तेन सह मोढेरं प्राप्य सिद्धसेनं मुनीश्वरं प्रणम्य व्यजिज्ञपन्—' आर्य, अचन्द्रं नभो दृष्ट्वा चकोर इवानेन विनाकृतां सभां दृष्ट्वास्माकं राजा नितरां खिद्यते । तदेनमाचार्यके प्रतिष्ठाप्यास्माभिः सह राजसमीपं प्रेषयितुमनुगृहाण । अस्योपदेशेनास्माकं राजा भवान्धि तरतु'

इति । प्रथममेतदनभ्युपगच्छता पुनः पुनरनुनाथितेन मुनिना कथंकथम-
प्यनुज्ञातः पुण्येऽहनि शुभे सुहूर्तेऽर्हतत्वमुपदिष्टो बहुप्रकारमनुशीष्टश्च
कान्यकुब्जं प्रतस्थे । आमभूपतिः सुहृदमागतमवगल्य महता परिवारेण
तं प्रत्युद्गम्य महान्तं द्विपमारोप्य पुरं प्रावेशयत् । अतिमनोहरमश्र्लिहं
प्रासादमानाय्य महाति सिंहासने गष्टिकयास्तृते बलादनिच्छन्तमपि तं
सुहृदं समुपावेशयत् । बप्पभट्टिभूपालेन सह सरसानालापान् कुर्वन्
अन्तरान्तरा विविधान् धर्मानवबोधयंश्च राज्ञो नितरां प्रीतिपात्रं मान्यश्च
बभूव । अथैकदा बप्पभट्टिभूपालमवोचत्—‘महाराज, धर्म एव सम्यगनुष्ठितो
नृणां परं पदं प्रयच्छति । तेषु च धर्मेषु जिनमन्दिरनिर्माणं मुख्यतया
गण्यते । तद्भूपालैः संपन्नविभवैरवदयं जिनमन्दिरं निर्मातव्यम्’ इति ।
एतदाकर्ण्यमभूपाल आत्मानं कृतकृत्यं मन्यमानस्तस्मिन्नगरे सैकशत-
हस्तोच्छ्रितं प्रासादं निर्माय तत्राष्टादशभारोन्मानां श्रीवर्धमानगुरोः सुवर्ण-
प्रतिमां स्थापयित्वा स्वसुहृदा तस्याः प्रतिष्ठां कारयामास । तथा गोपगिरौ
त्रयोविंशतिहस्तोन्नतं प्रासादं निर्माप्य तत्र सपादलक्षसुवर्णटङ्कव्ययेन मण्डपं
कारयित्वा तत्र श्रीवीरगुरोः प्रतिमां स्थापयामास । एवं राज्ञोऽस्मिन्
पण्डितवरे निरतिशय बहुमाने दृष्ट्वा मत्सरग्रस्ताः पौरा राजानमुपजापेन
किञ्चिदिव तास्मिन् विमनायितमकुर्वन् । अथैकदा राजा सुहृदे यथापुरं
सिंहासनमदत्वान्यमहीपालोपनिवेशार्हमासनमदात् । तेन च दुर्मनायितो बप्प-
भट्टी राजानमेवमवोधयत्—

‘ मर्दय मानमतङ्गजदर्पं विनयशरीरविनाशनसर्पम् ।

क्षीणो दपाद्दशवदनोऽपि यस्य न तुल्यो भुवने कोऽपि ॥ ’

इति । राजाप्येतदाकर्ण्य प्रकृतिमापन्नो विगर्हयन्नात्मानं सुहृदमनुनीतवान् ।
यथापुरं च सुहृद्यवर्तत ।

अथैकदा राजा किञ्चिदिव प्रणयकुपितां पदे पदे सुखभङ्गं कुर्वतां देवीमुद्रीक्ष्या-
भाषत—

‘ बाले चङ्गमन्ती पदे कुतः करोषि सुखभङ्गम् । ’

इति । अस्य बप्पभट्टिः पूरणमकरोत्—

‘ नूनं रमणापराधे मेखलयापि पदि नहयन्ति । ’

इति । एतदाकर्ण्य राजा किञ्चिदिव विकृतोऽभवत् । राजानमेवं विकृतं दृष्ट्वा
सूरिरयं श्लोकमिमं बहिर्द्वारकवाटयोर्विलिख्य नगरान्निष्कान्तः—

‘यामः स्वस्ति तवास्तु रोहणगिरेर्मत्तः स्थितिः प्रच्युता
वर्तिष्यन्त इमे कथं कथमिति स्वप्नेऽपि मैवं कृथाः ।
श्रीमंस्ते मणयो वयं यदि भवल्लब्धप्रतिग्रास्तदा

ते शृङ्गारपरायणाः क्षितिभुजो मौलौ करिष्यन्तिः नः ॥’

इति । कान्यकुब्जात्रिनिष्कान्तः क्रमेण 'गौडेपु लङ्गणावतीं नाम पुरां प्राप्य
तत्रत्येन वाक्पतिराजेन पण्डितवरेण संगतस्तेन तत्पुराधिपाय धर्मभूपालः य
निवेदितः—

‘वशे वाग्देवता यस्य कविर्मे पूर्वसंस्तुतः ।
स इहागात्प्रभोः पुण्येवंपभट्टिर्मुनीश्वरः ॥’

इति । एतदाकर्ण्य राजा तदागमनेन मुदितमना मनस्यचिन्तयत्—‘नूनमद्य
मुदिवसोऽस्माकं यदनेन सूरिवर्येणाहं द्रष्टव्यः । परं तु आमभूपालो मे शत्रुः
कदाचिदेनमिहस्यमवगत्य पुनराकारयेत् । नूनमसौ पूर्वसौहृदात् तत्प्रार्थनामङ्गी-
कृत्येतो व्रजेत् । ततो मे महती तिरस्कृतिर्जायते । अतः सूरीन्द्रेण्यं प्रतिज्ञा
तावत्कारयितव्या—यद्यामभूपालः स्वयमेव सभामागत्याकारयति तदैवेतः
प्रस्थातव्यम्, नान्यथा’इति । एवं निश्चित्य सूरीन्द्रमेतदोवदयत् । स च तथे-
त्यङ्गीचकार । तच्छ्रुत्वा धर्मभूपो मुदितमुदिता महतोत्सवेन तं सूरिवर्यं पुरं
प्रवेश्य सभामानाश्रय बह्वमानयत् । वप्पभट्टिश्च शिष्यैः काव्यालापैः राजान-
मतोषयत् ।

तत्रापि काव्यवक्तृत्वलीलानन्दितपर्यदः ।

अवतस्थे सुखं सूरिर्दोऽगुन्दग? इवामरः ॥

आमभूपालोऽपि प्रातः सभामनागतं वप्पभट्टिमुपश्रुत्य भृशमुद्विग्नस्तदन्वेषणाय
परितः पुरुषान् प्राहिणोत् । अन्यद्युत्राहिरारामे पदा संचरमाणः परस्परम-
भिध्नतोः सर्पनकुलयोः सर्पेण त्रिनिहतं नकुलं दृष्ट्वा त्रिस्मितः समुपसृत्य
याचदुरगं ददर्श तावत्तस्य शिरसि भ्राजमानं मणिं कंचनापश्यत् । ‘नूनमस्य
मणेः प्रभावाऽयं यदनेन नकुलो हतः’ इति विस्मितस्तं भुजङ्गं दृढं तुण्डे
गृहीत्वा स्वगृहमागत्य तं सर्पं क्वापि सुरक्षितं कृत्वा सभामागम्य समस्या-
मिमामपठत्—

‘शस्त्रं शास्त्रं कृषिर्विद्या यच्चान्यद्येन जीवति ।’

इति । पारिषद्याश्च विद्वांसः समस्यामेनां स्वस्वाभिप्रायानुगुणं बहुधा समपूरयन् । परं तु न किमपि राज्ञो हृदयप्राहि बभूव । ततो राजा सूरिवर्यं बप्पभट्टिमेव प्रशंसन् 'यः किल समस्यामेनां मदभिप्रायानुगुणं पूरयति तस्मै हेम्नां टङ्कलक्ष ददामि' इत्युदघोषयत् । एतदाकर्ण्य कश्चन दुरोदराजीवः 'धनार्ज-नोपायोऽयम्' इति निश्चित्य तत् श्लोकार्धं गृहीत्वा गौडानुपगम्य बप्पभट्टि-निकटे समस्यामेनामपठत् । वप्पभट्टिश्चानुपदमेव—

‘सुगृहीतं हि कर्तव्यं कृष्णसर्पमुखं यथा ।’

इति तामपूरयत् । आममहीपालं नागावलोक इत्यन्वर्थया आख्यया च समाजुहाव । ततः प्रभृति नाम्नाप्यनेनामभूपालो विख्यातिमाप । एतदादाय स द्यूतजीवी राजसमीपमागत्य समस्यां पूरितामपठत्, तस्य च नागावलोक इत्यन्यामाख्या-मभिदधे । आमभूपालस्तु श्रुत्वैतत् मुदितमानसो 'नृनामियं मम सुहृदा वप्पभट्टिनैव पूरिता भवेत्' इत्यवधार्य तमपृच्छत्—'भद्र, कथय तत्त्वम्, केनेयं समस्यापूरि?' इति । सोऽपि 'देव, सुगृहीतनाम्ना बप्पभट्टिना' इत्यवदत् । राजा तन्मुखेन स्वसुहृदं गौडेषु धर्मभूपालसदसि वर्तमानमवगत्यातीव हृष्टस्तस्मै दुरोदराजीविने यथाहि धनं दत्त्वा तं विसृज्य सुहृदानयनाय प्रधानपुरुषान् प्राहिणोत् । ते भट्टिसुपगम्य राज्ञः संदेशं व्यजिज्ञपन् । भट्टिस्तु 'यद्यस्माकमागमनं भवतामधिपस्थाभीप्सितं तर्हि तेन स्वयमेवागत्य धर्ममहीपाल आपृच्छयताम्' इत्यभिधाय तान् व्यसर्जयत् । आमभूपालोऽपि तन्मुखेभ्यो विदितवृत्तान्तः स्वयमेकाकी प्रस्थाय रहसि भट्टिगेहमागत्य रात्रौ सुहृदा संमन्त्र्य सर्वं करणीयजातं निश्चिकाय । प्रात-र्भट्टिर्यथावद्राजास्थानमगच्छत् । आमभूपालोऽपि स्थगीधरवेपमादाय करं पत्रिकां गृहीत्वा राज्ञः सभामाजगाम । सूरिन्द्रः पत्रिकामादाय राज्ञेऽदर्शयत् । राजा तु तं दूतमपृच्छत् - 'कीदृशाऽद्य ते राजा?' इति । दूतः प्रत्यवदत्— 'महाभाग, किं ब्रवीमि! ताम्बूलकरङ्कवाहतुल्यो भवति' इति । अथ मानुलिङ्गं करे विभ्रान्तं तं भट्टिरपृच्छत्—'किं ते करे? इति । स प्रत्यवदत्—'बीजऊर' इति । ततो राज्ञा समनुज्ञातो दूतवेषो राजा ततः प्रस्थाय रात्रौ वेदयागृहे सुखमवसत् । वेद्यया तया खनामोङ्कितं कङ्कणमेकं दत्त्वा अन्यत् राजगृहद्वारे प्रक्षिप्य कस्मि-श्चिन्नगरौघाने गूढमवतस्थे । परेद्यवि भट्टिर्धर्ममहीपालस्य समीपमागत्य स्वस्य कान्यकुब्जप्रस्थानमनुमन्यमानं ययाचे । राजा तु—'महाभाग, पूर्वमेव भवता प्रतिष्ठा कृता—यद्यामभूपालः स्वयमेव सभामागत्य प्रार्थयते तदैव गन्तव्यं नान्यथेति । अद्य तु स न साक्षादागतः, परं दूतमेव प्रजिघाय ।

तत् कुतस्त्वया प्रस्थातव्यम् ? इति । वप्पभट्टिः प्रत्यवदत्—‘महाराज, नूनं स एवामभूपालस्ताम्बूलकरङ्कवाहवेषमादायात्रागतः । भवता कांदशोऽथ राजेति पृष्ठः ताम्बूलकरङ्कवाहतुल्य इति प्र-युवाच । मया च किं ते करे इति पृष्ठः बीजऊर इति प्रत्यवदत् इति । अत्रान्तरे कश्चन भृत्यो राजसमीपमागत्य ‘ देव, कङ्कणमेतत् प्रासादद्वारि प्रक्षिप्तं दृष्टम् ; अन्यच्च वेश्यागृहे समधिगतम्’ इत्यभिधाय कङ्कणद्वयं राज्ञः पुरस्ताच्चिदधे । राजा तु तदादाय तत्रौल्लिखितानि आमभूपाल इत्यक्षराणि दृष्ट्वा सभामागतं शत्रुमनधिगतवन्नमात्मानं मूढं मत्वा बहु विजगर्हे । कृच्छ्राच्च भट्टिर्गमनमनुमेने । भट्टिस्तं समाश्वस्यामभूपालेन सह नगरोद्याने संगतः कान्यकुब्जं प्राप ।

अत्रान्तरे सिद्धसेनो जरया प्रपीडितो वप्पभट्टिं दिदृक्षुर्मुनीन् प्रेषयामास । मुनि-भिरावादीतवृत्तान्तो भट्टिगामभूपालेनानुज्ञातः सद्य एव प्रस्थाय मौढेरे सिद्धसेनं प्रणनाम । अथ भट्टौ स्वस्य संन्यासस्वीकारमभियाचमाने, सिद्धसेनस्तं प्रतिषिष्य दिवं जगाम । अस्य पारलौकिकं कर्म यथावत् विनिर्वर्त्य भट्टिः पुनरामभूपालसमीपमायया ।

अथैकदा धर्मभूपाल आमभूपाय संदेशमिमं प्रजिघास—‘अस्ति मार्जकटे कश्चन सौगतो भिक्षुर्वर्धनकुञ्जरो नाम । सोऽतीव पण्डितो वादनिपुणश्च । तस्य भवत्पण्डितेन सह वादः करणीयः । आवयोर्देशसन्धिरेव वाददेशः परिकल्पनीयः । तस्मिन् वादे यस्य राज्ञः पण्डितो जयति तस्मै अन्येन राज्ञा स्वस्य राज्यादिकं सर्वं समर्प्य तदर्धनेन भाव्यम्’ इति । आमभूपोऽपि भट्टिना सह संमन्थ्य ‘तथैवास्तु’ इति प्रतिसंदिदेश । एतदवगत्य धर्मभूपालो वर्धनकुञ्जरं वाहनमारोप्यानेकैः पण्डितप्रवरैः सहाजगाम ।

परमारमहावंशसंभूतः क्षत्रियाग्रणीः ।

तस्य वाक्पतिराजोऽरित विद्वान्निरुपमप्रभः ।

पूर्वं परिचितश्चासौ वप्पभट्टिप्रभोस्ततः ।

तस्य वाङ्मर्मविज्ञानहेतोः संवाहितो मुदा ॥

कान्यकुब्जादात्मभूपोऽपि वप्पभट्टिं विद्वद्दृन्दैः सार्धमानयि तामेव भुवमाजगाम । एवं समुदितेषु सर्वेषु व्यवस्थिते दिने वप्पभट्टिवर्धनकुञ्जरयोर्वादः समारभत ।

ततः श्रीसौगताचार्यः पूर्वं वर्धनकुञ्जरः ।

आशीर्वादमुदाजहे व्यथकं द्वेषिपर्यदाम् ॥

वप्पभट्टिचरितम्

‘ शर्मणे सौगतो धर्मः प्राच्यवाचंयमेन यः ।

आहतः साधयन्विश्वं क्षणक्षणाविनश्वरम् ॥ ’

इति ।

अथ श्वेताम्बराचार्यो वप्पभट्टिः सुधीपतिः ।

अभ्यधत्ताशिषं स्वीयां भूपालाय यथा तथा ॥

‘ अहंन् शर्मोन्नतिं देयान्नित्यानन्दपदस्थितः ।

यद्वाचा विजिता मिथ्यावादा एकान्तमानिनः ॥ ’

इत्याशिषं प्रयुज्य स्वं स्वं मतमवलम्ब्य विवदमानयोरनिर्णयजयपरा-
जययोस्तयोः षणमासा व्यतीयुः । अन्येद्युः श्रीमानामभूपालः सूरिमवदत्—
‘ प्रभो, राजकार्याणामातिपातो जायते । कदा वादः संपूरयिष्यते? ’ इति ।
अथाचार्यः ‘ महागज, वाग्विनोदसुखायायमेतःवन्तं कालमुपेक्षितः । पश्य,
श्वः प्रभाते भिक्षुकमेनं निग्रहीष्यमि ’ इत्युक्त्वा गुरुपदिष्टं सारस्वतं मन्त्र-
मावर्तयन् वाग्देवीं तुष्टाव । तेन प्रसेदुषी भारती ‘ वत्स, प्रसन्नास्मि । वरं
वृणु ’ इत्यवदत् । आचार्यश्च ‘ देवि, श्वः प्रभाते वादिनममुं जेतुमिच्छामि ।
प्रसीदानुगृह्णैतत् ’ इत्यवादात् । सरस्वती प्राह—‘ पूर्वं सप्त वारानहममुना
समारोधिता तदभ्यर्थनया कांचनाक्षय्यवचनां गुटिकां तस्मै प्रादाम् । तामास्यं
निधाय यद्यं विवदितुमारभेत, तदा धिषणेनापि नासौ पराजेतुं शक्यः
इति । ततः ‘ देवि, न सांप्रतं भवत्या जैनसभयप्रत्यनीकमेनमनुग्रहीतुम् ’ इत्या-
चार्येणाभ्यर्थिता वाणी ‘ वत्स, नाहं जैनसमयविरोधिनी । तद्वदामि कंचिदु-
पायम् । श्रूयताम् — वादारम्भसमये करके तीर्थमानाय्य सर्वेऽपि गण्डूपान्
कृत्वा वादमारभन्वम् । सोऽपि तथैव नियतं गण्डूपमाचरिष्यति । गण्डूप-
समये सा गुटिका गलिता भवेत् । ततो भवतः मुजयो भविष्यति ’ इत्यभि-
धायान्तरधात् । सूरिः कृतकृत्यमात्मानं मन्यमानो गूढं वाक्पतिराजमेत्य
वृत्तान्तमेनं न्यवेदयत् । वाक्पतिराजेनापि ‘ सखे सूरिवर्य, सम्यगाचरितं
भवता । तथैवाहं करके तीर्थमादाय सभ्यान् सर्वान् गण्डूपान् कारयिष्या-
मि । नियतमसावापि गण्डूपमाचारिष्यति, त्वत्समीहृतं च सेत्स्यति ’ इत्यभि-
हितः सूरिवर्यो यथागतं स्वावासमगात् । परेद्यपि निखिलेषु पार्षदेषु भिलि-
तेषु वाक्पतिराजेन समानीतं तीर्थं गृहीत्वा सर्वेऽप्यास्यद्युदये गण्डूपान्
व्यदद्युः । वर्धनकुञ्जरोऽपि गण्डूपानकरोत् । गुटिका च प्रमादाज्जलेन सह
गलिता । ततो यथावत् वादे समारब्धे वप्पभट्टिना वर्धनकुञ्जरो द्वित्रैरेव
वाक्यैर्विजग्ये । सर्वतो भेदज्ञयोऽजोषुष्यत । ‘ वादिकुञ्जरकेसरी ’ इति विरुदं च
दत्तम् । ततो यथासमयमामभूपालो धर्मभूपालस्य राज्यं ग्रहीतुमारभत । तदा

बप्पभट्टिरवदत्—‘महाराज, वादे विजयस्य मुद्रालेखनमेव शास्त्रसंमतं प्रमाणम्; न पराजितस्य निग्रहः । तत् धर्मभूपालस्य राज्यं तस्मिन्नेव तिष्ठतु ’ इति । एतदाकर्ण्य आमभूपालोऽनिच्छन्नपि गुरुवाक्यवहुमानात् तथेत्यङ्गीचकार । अथ भट्टिः सौगतं भिक्षुं पराजितं गोपगिरिमानाय्य श्रीमहावीरबिम्बं दर्शयित्वा तस्य चेतसि जैनं धर्मं सुप्रतिष्ठितमकरोत् । ततो वर्धनकुञ्जरो द्वादशभि-
र्ब्रतैः सम्यक्त्वं ग्राहितो बप्पभट्टिमापृच्छय स्वं स्थानं प्रययौ । राजानावपि पूर्ववैरं परित्यज्य सोदर्यान्निव परस्परमापृच्छय स्वं स्वं पुरं जग्मतुः । अन्यदा वर्धनकुञ्जरो धर्मभूपालमवोचत्—‘न मे तत्रापि व्यथा यद्वृषभट्टिर्मां विजिये । परमेतद्विमृशन् नितरां दूये यत् त्वदन्नपरिपोषितो वाक्पतिराजो मुखशुद्धिकरणव्याजेन गुटिकां भ्रंशयन्नस्मास्वपाकरोत् ’ इति । राजा तु तस्य छलवादं श्रुत्वापि वाक्पतिराजेन स्नेहं न शिथिलयांचकार ।

यशोवर्मनृपो धर्ममन्यदा चाभ्युपेणयत् ।
तस्माद् द्विगुणितन्नस्तं भूपं युद्धेऽवर्धोद्वली ॥
तदा वाक्पतिराजश्च बन्धे तेन निवेशितः ।
काव्यं गौडवधं कृत्वा तस्माच्च स्वममोचयत् ॥
कान्यकुब्जे समागत्य संगतो बप्पभट्टिना ।
स राजसंसदं नीतस्तुष्टुवे चेति भूपतिम् ॥
‘ पृथुरसि गुणैः कीर्त्या रामो नलो भरतो भवान्
महति समरे शत्रुघ्नस्त्वं सदैव युधिष्ठिरः ।
इति सुचरितैः ख्यातिं विभ्रच्चिरंतनभूभृतां
कथमसि न मां धाता देवस्त्रिलोकविजय्यपि ॥ ’
संमानातिशयो राज्ञा विदधे तस्य भूभृतः ।
गङ्गां गेहागतां को हि पूजयेदलसोऽपि न ॥
न्यागाद्धर्मस्य मा कार्पीर्मनस्यनुशयं सखे ।
तवार्थानमिदं राज्यं विचिन्त्य सुखमास्त्व तत् ॥
इत्यामराजव्याहारामृतसारपरिष्कृतः ।
उपाश्रयमनुप्राप्यातिष्ठत्परमया मुदा ॥

राजा च वृत्त्यर्थं सुवर्णटङ्कानां लक्षद्वयं तस्मै प्रादात् । एवं वाक्पतिराजो बप्पभट्टिना सहामभूपालस्य सदसि वसन् गौडबन्धो मद्रमहीविजयक्षेति काव्यद्वयमरचयत् । अथ बप्पभट्टिः स्वस्य सतीर्थ्यौ नन्नसूरगोविन्दसूरी आनाय्य राज्ञा सह सह्यं कारयित्वा संमानितावकरोत् ।

एवमतिक्रामत्सु कतिपयेषु वत्सरेषु राजा गायन्या कयाचन मातङ्गया संसर्गमभजत । तेन निर्विण्णो वाक्पतिराजस्तं हित्वा मधुरामभजत ।

बप्पभट्टिस्तु राजानमपथप्रवृत्तं दृष्ट्वा मनस्येवमचिन्तयत्—‘नूनं सादिन एवैष दोषो यदश्रो विपथं व्रजति । तद्राजानं विपथगामिनं दृष्ट्वाप्युपेक्षमाणं मामेव लोकोऽयं विगर्हेत । तत् यथाकथंचिदयं निवर्तनीयोऽस्मादुन्मार्गात् ’ इति । इत्थमवधार्य पद्यामिदं राजगृहे नव्येषु पट्टेषु खटिकया विलिख्य स्वगृहमाययौ—

‘ शैत्यं नाम गुणस्तैव तदनु स्वाभाविकी स्वच्छता
किं ब्रूमः शुचितां व्रजन्ति शुचयः संगेन यस्यापरे ।
किं वातः परमस्ति ते स्तुतिपदं त्वं जीवितं देहिनां
त्वं चेन्नोचपथेन गच्छसि पयः ! करत्वां निपेधुं क्षमः ॥ ’

इति । परेद्यवि राजा यावदेतत् पद्यमपठत् तावत् तस्य मोहो दुग्धादिव धुचूरजो दोषोऽनश्यत् । लब्धप्रकृतिः सुहृदमेव प्रशंसंस्तस्य मुखं प्रेक्षितुं लज्जमानो दुष्कृत-स्यास्य देहत्यागमेवोचितं प्रायश्चित्तं विनिश्चित्य चित्तानले देहं त्यक्तुमुदयुङ्क्त । एवं साहसे प्रवृत्तं राजानं ज्ञात्वा गुरुप्रवरः ‘ महाराज, किमिदमनुचितं कर्मारभ्यते । सत्यं विद्वांसोऽपि क्वचित् प्रमादयन्ति । तत्रानुशय एव पर्याप्तं प्रायश्चित्तं विहितम् । तन्मुधा लोकभरमात्मानं मा विनाशय ’ इति बहुधा राजानमबोधयत् । ततो राजा तं व्यवसायं त्यक्त्वा गुरूपदेशेन पुनर्जात-मिवात्मानं मन्यमानः पुरं प्रविवेश । बप्पभट्टिश्च प्रत्यहं राजानं विविधान् धर्मानन्तरान्तरा जैनं तत्त्वं चाबोधयत् । एकदा राजानं जैनमतावलम्बम-भ्यर्थयामास । राजा तु ‘ विद्वद्वर, नूनमार्हतो धर्मो मे हृदयंगमो वर्तते । परं तु कुलक्रमागतं शैवधर्ममुज्झितुं नोत्सहे । यदि न कुप्यति भवांस्तेर्हि किमपि वच्मि—अस्ति वाक्पतिराजो मधुरां गतः । स तत्र वराहस्वामिप्रासादे यज्ञोपवीतवीताङ्गस्तुलसीमालालंकृतकण्ठो नासाग्रन्यस्तदृष्टिरनेकैर्वैष्णवब्राह्मणैः सहितो भगवन्तं पुराणपुरुषं पुण्डरीकाक्षं ध्यायन्नास्ते । तं चेदुपगत्य जैनमतमवबोध्यार्हतं मतं ग्राहयसि मयापि गृहीतमेव तं धर्ममवगच्छ ’ इत्यभ्यधात् । बप्पभट्टिरपि तथेत्यभ्युपगम्यानेकैः सामन्तनृपैः पण्डितैश्च साकं मधुरायां वराहस्वामिमन्दिरं प्राप्य तत्र पूर्वोक्तावस्थं परमात्मन्यधोक्षजे न्यस्तचेतसं वाक्पतिराजमपश्यत् । उदाहरच्च तस्य चेतः परीक्षितु-मिमामन्यन्यानि च कानिचित् पद्यानि—

‘ दर्पणार्पितमालोक्य मायास्त्रीरूपमात्मनः ।
आत्मन्येवानुरक्तो वः श्रियं दिशतु केशवः ॥
कुलं पवित्रं जननीं कृतार्था वसुंधरा पुण्यवर्ता त्वयैव ।
अबाह्यसंवित्रसुखासिन्धुमग्नं लग्नं परे ब्रह्मणि यस्य चित्तम् ।
संध्यां यत्प्रणिपत्य लोकपुरतो वद्वाञ्छलिर्याचसे
धत्से यत्त्वपरां विलज्ज ! शिरसा तच्चापि सोढं मया ।

श्रीर्जातामृतमन्थने यदि हरः कस्माद्विषं भक्षितं
मां क्षीलम्पट मा स्पृशेत्यभिहितो गौर्या हरः पातु वः ॥ '

इति । एवं शृङ्गाररसस्वप्रशंसापराणि पद्यान्याकण्यं 'केन वा दुष्टेनेमानि
पद्यानि पठता मम समाधिः प्रतिहन्त्यते?' इति केपेन यावदुन्मील्य लोचने
पुरः पश्यति तावत् स्वस्य पुराणमुहदं वप्पभट्टिमपश्यत् । मुहदालोकन-
संजातहर्षश्च भाट्टिना सह विविधाः कथाः कुर्वाणस्तेन कथाप्रसङ्गेनार्हतं
तत्त्वमवबोध्य तन्मतं प्रवेक्ष्य श्वेतान्बरो भिक्षुः कारितः । ततः सामाजिकैः
स्तुतो वप्पभट्टिः कान्यकुब्जं प्रतस्थे । पूर्वमेव ज्ञातवृत्तान्तेनामभूपालेन
प्रत्युद्गम्य नगरं प्रवेशितेन तेन जैनगुरुणा वप्पभट्टिना राजा जनं मतम-
वालम्ब्यत । तत्प्रेरितश्च राजा पटचतुष्टये श्रीवर्धमानस्य विम्बं विलिख्य
कान्यकुब्ज एकं मधुरायामेकमणहिल्लपुर एकं सतारं चैकं न्यधात् ।
भट्टिस्तत्सदसि वर्तमानस्तारागणादीन् द्वापञ्चाशनं प्रबन्धानरचयत् ।

अन्यदा राजा समुद्रसेनमभिषेणयन् तदधिष्ठितं राजगिरिनामकं दुर्गं हरोष । दृढं
यतमानोऽपि स यदा तद्विभेत्तुं नाशकत् तदा भट्टिमपृच्छत्—'सखे,
बहु प्रयतमानेनापि मया दुर्गमिदं न भेत्तुं शक्यते । कथय, कदा वा कथं वा
दुर्गमिदं गृह्येत' इति । भट्टिस्तु प्रश्नचूडामणिं विमृश्य प्रत्यव्रवीत्—
'महाराज, तव पौत्रो भोजनामा जनिष्मते । तेनेदं प्रहोष्यते' इति । राजा तु
दुर्गमिदं वशेऽकृत्वा न पुरं प्रवेक्ष्यामीत्युक्त्वा तत्रैवावसत् । द्वादशसु
वत्सरेषु गतेषु दुन्दुकस्य सूनीभोजो नाम सुतो जज्ञे । जातमात्रमेव तं प्रधान-
पुरुषाः पर्याङ्किकाशायिनं तत्रानयन् । यदा स शिशुस्तद् दुर्गं ददर्श तदैव तत्
शकलशो विभेदे । ततश्चामभूपालो दुर्गं प्राविश्य स्ववशमकरोत् । समुद्र-
सेनस्तु कथांचिन्नगराद्विनिर्गत्य पलायितः । ततश्चामभूपालो वप्पभट्टिना सह
तीर्थयात्रां प्रस्थितः पुण्डरीकाद्रिवासं युगादिनाथं रेवतकाद्रिस्थं श्रीनेमिं
पिण्डतारके दामोदरं द्वारकायां श्रीकृष्णं सोमेश्वरपुरे सोमनाथं च संपूज्य
पुनः स्वं पुरमाययौ । ततो दुन्दुकं सुतं राज्येऽभिषिच्य गङ्गां प्राप्य
नावमाह्वय मागधं गन्तुं गङ्गां तरन् मध्येगङ्गं धूमर्निर्गममभिवीक्ष्य निर्वा-
णसमयं प्रतिबोधितो राजा सर्वज्ञं जिनदेवं मनसा चिन्तयन् प्राणान् जहौ ।

विक्रमतो वर्षाणां शताष्टके सनवतौ च भाद्रपदे ।

शुके सितपद्म्यां चन्द्रे चित्राख्यकृक्षस्थे ॥

तुलाराशौ तथा चन्द्रस्थितेऽर्के प्रहरेऽन्तिमे ।

श्रीमान्नागावलोकाल्यो राजा प्राप दिवं तदा ॥

एवं स्वर्गतस्यामभूपालस्य भट्टिः सकला और्ध्वदेहिनीः क्रियास्तत्सनाभिभिर्निरवर्तयत् । अथ वप्पभट्टिः कान्यकुब्जमेत्य दुन्दुकस्य राज्ञः समीपेऽवसत् । राजा तु कन्याख्यायां वेद्यायां सक्तो भोजं कुमारमद्रुषत् । विदितवृत्तान्तैर्मातुलैरागत्य भोजः पाटलीपुरं निन्ये । एकदा दुन्दुको वप्पभट्टिमवदत्—
 “ पण्डितवर, त्वं पाटलीपुरं गत्वा ‘ राजा मुतेऽर्ताव वत्सलो जातः मुतस्य मुखकमलं दिदृशते ’ इति बान्धवान् प्रलोभ्य भोजमानय ” इति । भट्टिस्तु तथा कर्तुमनिच्छन् कथं कथमपि पञ्च वर्षाण्यत्यवाहयत् । अथैकदा दुन्दुको वप्पभट्टिं सुतानयनाय बलात् प्रस्थापयामास । भट्टिरपि पाटलीपुरसमीपमेत्य मनस्वार्चिन्तयत्—‘ यद्यहं भोजं दुन्दुःसमीपं नयेयं तदा नियतमसौ वेद्यासक्तचित्तः सुतं हन्यात् । यदि भोजमनादाय रिक्तहस्तः प्रति निवृत्त्योपगच्छेयं तदा मूर्खो मा हन्यादेव । अतोऽत्रैव प्रायोपवेशनेन प्राणत्याग एव वरम् ’ इति । एवं निश्चित्य पाटलीपुरोपकण्ठ एव दिनानामेकविंशतिं क्षुधातृष्णादीन् विजित्य निराहरो भूत्वा द्वाविंशेऽहनि प्राणानहासीत् ।

विक्रमतः शून्यद्वयवसुवर्षे (800) भाद्रपदतृतीयायाम् ।

रविवारे हस्तक्षे जन्माभूद्रप्पभट्टिगुरोः ॥

पङ्कषस्य व्रतं चैकादशे वर्षे च सूरिणा ।

पञ्चाधिकनवत्या च प्रभोरायुः प्रकीर्तितम् ॥

शरनन्दसिद्धिवर्षे (895) नभःशुद्धाष्टमीदिने ।

स्वातिभेऽजनि पञ्चत्वमामराजगुरोरिह ॥

इत्थं वप्पभट्टेर्नृतिमाकण्यं भोजो भृशं रुदन् सद्य एव चितानलं प्रवेष्टुमिच्छन् मात्रादिभिः प्रतिपिद्धः स्वस्योत्तरीयं गुरोश्चितायां प्रक्षिप्य गुरोः सकला और्ध्वदेहिनीः क्रियाः स्वयमेव निरवर्तयत् ।

अन्यदा भोजो दुर्वृत्तं पितरमसहमानो जिघांसुर्मातुलः सह कान्यकुब्जमेत्य राजगृहद्वारे मालाकारेणोपायनीकृतं बीजपूरत्रयं गृहीत्वान्तः प्रविश्य वेद्यायासह प्रवरासनासीनं पितरं वेश्यां च तैरेव वीजपूरैर्गाढमाजघान । दृढप्रहाराभिहतौ तावुभावपि प्राणान् जहतुः । अथ मृतं क्रोष्टारमिव परेतं राजानं निर्जावया वेद्याया सहापद्वारेण वह्निर्निष्कासयामास । अथ प्रकृतयस्तं भोजं सिंहासने निवेद्याभिपिपिचुः । अन्येद्युः आमविहाराख्यं तीर्थं प्रणन्तुमुपगतो भोजो नन्नसूरिं गोविन्दसूरिं च तत्राचार्यकेऽवस्थाप्य नन्नसूरिं मंढेरे निवेद्य गोविन्दसूरिं स्वनिकटेऽवस्थापयत् । इत्थं भोजराज आमादप्यधिकं जैनं प्रवचनमुन्नमयन् चिरं महीं शशास ।

बप्पभट्टिर्भद्रकीर्तिर्वादिक्कुञ्जरकेसरी ।
 ब्रह्मचारी गजवरो राजपूजित इन्द्रपि ॥
 विख्यातो विरुदैर्जनशासनक्षीरसागरे ।
 कौस्तुभः कृतसंस्थानः पुरुपोत्तमवक्षसि ॥
 जयताजगतीपीठे धर्मकल्पद्रुमाङ्कुरः ।
 इदानीमपि यज्ञाममन्त्रो आज्यविषाणहः ॥

 वैयाकरणमूर्धन्यमणिना कृष्णसूरिणा ।
 चरितं बप्पभट्टीयं रचितं पठनोचितम् ॥