

ART. XIX.—*Sanhitā of the R̥g-Veda searched.*

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(I.—*The Madhu-chhandas or A Group.*)

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It is proposed to search the domain of the Shākala-Sanhitā and to place the various points of varying importance as found about or in its hymns before the reader. The hymns will be taken up in the order in which they occur in the Sanhitā.

The *first eleven* (1—11) hymns may be said to form the *first* or *A* group. Of these the first ten are ascribed to Madhu-chhandas, son of Vishwā-mitra, and the eleventh to Jetṛi, son of Madhu-chhandas. In the Ait. Br. (ch. 3, panchikā 7) the reader will find that Vishwā-mitra had 100 sons, of whom he blessed 50 with Madhu-chhandas at their head, as they were obedient, while the remaining fifty he cursed, as they were disobedient. In the same chapter the reader will find that Vishwā-mitra is addressed as *Bhārata*, while Vishwā-mitra addresses his sons as *Gāthins* or *Kushikās*.

The *first* hymn (*Agnimīle*) of 9 R̥ks will be found to form part (ch. 4. Kanḍi. 13, Āshv. Shr. Sūtra) of the so-called *Āgneya-kratu* (recitations in honour of fire) of the *prātaranuvāka* (morning chapters) of the Soma-sacrifice.

The *second* (*Vāyavā*) and the *third* (*Ashwinā*) contain together 21 verses, subdivided into 7 triplets and form the *pra-uga* recitation of the Hotṛi (ch. 5, Kanḍi. 10, Āshv. Shr. Sūtra) priest. The word *pra-uga* seems to be etymologically connected with *pra-ge*, which in classical Sanskrit means "morning." It is, perhaps, better to connect it with *pra-uga* "pole." The triplets are in honour of (1) Vāyu (wind,) (2) Indra-Vāyū (Indra and Vāyu), (3) Mitra and Varuṇa, (4) the two Ashwins, (5) Indra, (6) Vishwe-Devas, and (7) Saras-vatī respectively.

The *six* hymns (4—9), each containing 10 verses, are to be recited by the priest *brāhmaṇāch-chhansin*, if a necessity arise for any or all of them, in the morning libation of the *abhi-plava* (ch. 7, Kanḍi. 5, Āshv. Shr. Sūtra), a Soma-sacrifice, which has six Soma-days. The five hymns (4—8) are included in the *niśh-kevalya* recitations of the *hotṛi* priest in the mid-day libation on the *mahā-vrata* day. The *tenth* hymn (*Gāyanti*) of 12 verses has, as a whole, no place in any sacrifice. The *three* triplets (1, 2, 3; 5, 6, 7; 9, 10, 11) have places assigned to them in the *abhi-plava* Soma-sacrifice in the recita-

tions of the *achchâ-vâka* priest in the third libation, while the 12th verse has a place assigned to it after the two *havir-dhâna* carts have been brought. The 4th and the 8th do not seem to have had any sacrificial value.

The *eleventh* hymn of 8 verses is recited on the *mahâ-vrata* day in the *nish-kevalya* recitations of the mid-day libation.

Observations.

"Vritra" originally "enemy;" "vajra" originally "a weapon."

The words *vritra* and *vajra* are very interesting. The word *vritra* occurs in hymns 4 (v. 8), 7 (v. 5), and 8 (v. 2). In all these places it means "enemy in general"; in the 8th hymn it cannot but mean "human enemies." All these 3 verses, especially the last, ought to settle the original meaning of *vritra*. The word *vajra* in the 8th hymn (v. 3) means "a weapon," which the worshippers "hope" soon "to hold in the hand to crush the enemies." This verse should settle for ever the original meaning of the word *vajra* also. In all the epithets containing *vajra* of Indra, the word *vajra* must originally have meant "a weapon," not "lightning" or "thunderbolt." The

Both "vritra" and "vajra" Avestic.

words *vritra* (*verethra*) and *vajra* will be found used exactly in the same sense in Avestic literature (Ks. 1 and 9, *Mihr yashta*)

"Brahman" (neut) = "a vocal offering"; "Brahman" (mas.) = "a priest."

The word *brahman* is not less interesting. This word occurs in the two verses (2nd and 3rd) of the Indra triplet, and also in the 10th hymn (v. 4). But in these 3 verses it is in the neuter gender, while in the 10th hymn (v. 1), it occurs in the masculine gender. *Brahman* could not have originally meant an "offering of liquor" or "food," as it is mentioned side by side with both these offerings in the 3rd verse of the Indra triplet. It thus could not but have meant a form of recitation by some priest. In the Indra triplet (v. 2) the priest reciting the *brahman* is called *vâghat*, while the word *brahman* in the masculine gender is evidently connected with it. Were *vâghat*

"Brahman, probably the Avestic 'vahma.'"

and *brahman* synonyms? Both the words *vâghat* and *brahman* seem to be allied with the Avestic *vaghji* and *vahma* (K. 1, *Mihr Yashta*).

"Gir" = "an offering" — but alimentary or vocal?

The word *gir* is equally interesting. It occurs in the Ashvin triplet (v. 2), in the 5th hymn (v. 8), in the 6th hymn (vs. 6 and 9), in the 9th (vs. 4 and 9), in the 10th (vs. 3, 9 and 12) and in the 11th (v. 6). The word *gir* originally, perhaps, meant a "food-offering," derived from *gri*, "to swallow"; if it be supposed to be derived from *gri* "to chant," it must have meant a "vocal offering." It is not quite clear whether in these hymns the word is used for the alimen-

tary or the vocal offering, though in some places (v. 6, h. 6 ; v. 9, h. 9 and v. 3, h. 10), *gir* seems to be used for the vocal offering alone. The epithet *girvanas* of Indra is undoubtedly connected with the offering *gir*, be it alimentary or vocal. There was one set of offerings called *stoma*, another set called *uktha*, a third set called *gir*. All these sets are mentioned in the 5th hymn (v. 8). In the 10th hymn (v. 9) the set of *gir* offerings is reserved for Indra himself, while one *stoma* is set apart for the male or the female companion of Indra. The sex of the companion cannot, unfortunately, be determined, as the word *yuj* has no special gender of its own. If the companion be a male, the name was, perhaps, *Makha* (v. 8, h. 6); if a female the name is not known. In the 10th Mandala (v. 2, h. 171), the reader will find Indra " severing the head of one trembling Makha from his body and then going to the house of one Somin." Indra being made his own companion or friend (v. 5, h. 7, and v. 4, h. 8) by the worshipper, when marching against the enemy, there is room for inserting *átmanah* as qualifying *yujah*. Be that as it may, the set of *gir* offerings and the epithet *girvanas* seem to have been more in vogue among the tribe to which our two *ṛishis* had the honour to belong. *Duv*, *medha* and *namas* are the three more words for " offering " occurring in hymns 4 (v. 5), 3 (v. 3 of the Vishve-Deva triplet), and I (v. 7) respectively. The nature of *duv* cannot be determined, though *medha*, etymologically considered, must have been applied to " meat-offering." *Namas* seems to have been reserved for Agni, but its nature is, unfortunately, not determinable. The names of the three classes of priests will be found in the 7th hymn (v. 1) and again in the 10th (v. 1). In both the hymns the name of the second class is the same, viz., *arkins*. In the 7th hymn the first class is called *gáthin*, while in the 10th *gáyatrin*; the name of the 3rd class does not seem to be given in the 7th, while its name, as given in the 10th, is *brahman*. The recitations of *arkins* are in both called *arka*; the *vāṇis* in the 7th seem to have been the recitations of *brahmans* in the 10th. The recitations of *gáthins* were undoubtedly *gáthás*, as the *gáthás* of Indra are mentioned in the 8th Mandala (v. 1, h. 32). Why were the descendants of Vishwámitra called *gáthinás*? Were they in charge of the *gáthás*? or did they form the set of *gáthins* in sacrifices of those times? The name *gáthina* is undoubtedly connected either with *gáthá* or *gáthin*. Were *gáthá-gáyatri* and *gáthin-gáyatrin* synonyms? The recitations of *gáyatrin*s were called either *gáyatras* or *gáyatris*. The duty of *gáya-*

Indra has a companion.

" Meiha " = " a meat-offering."

Three classes of Priests.

" Gáthins " perhaps identical with " gáyatrin " — Class I.

" Brahmans " Class III.

" A r k i n s , " Class II.

The irrecitations—" vāṇi " of No. 3, " arka " of No. 2, " gáthá " or " gáyastra " of No. 1.

trius was that of *gáyana* (chanting), of the *arkins* that of *archana* (praising), of the *brahmans* that of *ud-yamana* (proclaiming loudly). The word *gáthá* has attained in the Avestic an importance which it certainly has not even in the Sanskrit of the Bráhmaṇa period. The Vedic *gáyatra* had, perhaps, its representative in the Avestic *gáthra* (*Kard* 23, *Mihr Yashta*). The other words for priests are *jaritri* (v. 2, the *Váyu* triplet), *vághat* (v. 2, the *Indra* triplet), *vipra* (v. 6, h. 8), *stotri* (v. 3, h. 11) and *káru* (v. 6, h. 11). The *jaritris* are mentioned in connection with *váyu*. The word *vághat* alone is in the singular, while all the rest are in the plural. The *soma*-day was

“Ahan” = the
(Soma-) day
(-ritual).

called *ahan*, and the fact of the priests being called “knowers of the *ahan*” proves that the ritual could not have been quite simple. There were the *stomas*, there were the *ukthas*, there were the *girs*, there were the *arkas*, there were the *brahmans*, there was the *gáyana*, there was the *archana*, there was the *shansana* of the *stomas* and also of the *ukthas*. There were three sets of priests, each set containing at least three priests. Thus the least number of priests comes to nine. The least number of libations must have been three. The whole ceremony seems to have been called *kratu* (v. 2, the *Mitrá-Varuṇa* triplet) or *yajnya* (v. 4, h. 10). The word *yajnya* will be found to have *adhvara* (v. 4, h. 1) qualifying it. The word *adhvara* is evidently connected with *adhvan*, “way” or “path,” that is “form,” and *adhvara* seems to have meant originally “following the (fixed) way” or “the prescribed form.” The indispensable lore or the verbal treasure seems to have had the name of *řita*, “path” or “way,” assigned to it. *Řita* thus was the passive lore as committed to memory, while *yajnya* and *kratu* both meant the actual performance or execution of that lore, without deviating in the least from the fixed path or the prescribed form. *Agni* is called the “lord of the (*yajnyas* that were) *adhvaras* and the guardian of the *řita* (v. 8) in the first hymn. The parts of a *kratu* or *yajnya* were technically called (v. 1, the *Saras-vati* triplet) *dhí*. The *yajnya* in some of the verses may have had connection with the Avestic *yasna*. The nature of the *yajnya* and the nature of the *řita* and the nature of the *stoma*, the *uktha*, and the like recitations of those times is, in these times, simply impossible to determine. All these words have either become obsolete or changed their original meaning. The

The age of older words *řita* and *yajnya* or *kratu* may very well be compared with the later *pathin* and *karman* as found in the *Aitareya* (ch. 1, contracted with the older age. Áraṇ. 2) *Áranyaka*. The recommendation of a liberal payment to

priests (v. 3, h. 11) proves that the calling of priests had become quite a necessity in the society of those times. The author of the 11th hymn seems to have been a priest by calling, who "made a fortune abroad and at last returned to his native land of Sindhu (Sind), where he was recognised and welcomed by his brother-priests." Not only the reference to the overthrow of Shuṣhṇa and to the taking of the fortress of Vala (vs. 7 and 5, h. 11), but also the address of Indra as "Kaushika" and of Agni as "Augiras" (v. 11, h. 10, and v. 6, h. 1) are evident signs of the legendary lore also having attained a considerable development. The original simplicity of ritual was thus even in the times of these hymns becoming or had already become a thing of the past, though the formidable elaboration of later times was yet a long way off.

Profession of priest.

Development of legendary lore.

Though the simplicity of ritual was now no longer one of the characteristics of the society of those times, the simplicity at least of living, and, with it, the martial spirit, the race had, fortunately for it, not yet lost. The *ṛishis* of these hymns, with their followers, were, just like their ancestors, in quest of cattle (vs. 7 and 8, h. 10) or of pastures for them. Their prayers to Indra were, consequently, for victory (vs. 2, 3, 4, h. 8) on the battle-field. Mankind even in those times was divided into two antagonistic divisions of the Deva-worshipping and the Deva-reviling. The revilers are called (v. 5, h. 4) *Nid*; how the worshippers called themselves is not known. May it not be that they called themselves (v. 2, h. 1, and v. 11, h. 10) *ṛishis*? Did these Deva-revilers belong to the Zoroastrian age? or did they form the generations of pre-Zoroastrian times?

Simplicity of living not yet lost.

The two divisions of "worshippers" and "revilers."

The three words *puro-hita*, *ṛitvij* and *hotri* occur in the very first verse of the first hymn. But the reader will find that they are not used in the same sense in which the sacrificers of later times understood them. *Puro-hita* means "in front placed," not "chaplain (of a king);" *ṛitvij* "(one to whom an) oblation is offered at the fixed hour," not a "sacrificial priest"; *hotri* "calling (the divinities to the place of sacrifice)," not "the priest of Rîg-veda." The word *hotri* is one of those which connect the Vedic with the Avestic ritual.

The word "puro-hita," *ritvij* and "hotri."

The two divinities chiefly worshipped in the times of these hymns were Agni and Indra, at least in the tribe to which the authors belonged. The tribe was rather of Indra-worshippers than of Agni-worshippers. Indra was often consulted (v. 4, h. 4), but how, is not known. Agni, no doubt, was honoured, but more as one at whose all even the great Indra condescended to come down. The other

Agni and Indra, the chief divinities.

divinities, viz. Vāyu, Mitra, and Varuṇa, the two Ashvins and Sarasvatī, belonged in all probability to other tribes. There seems to have also been a tribe honouring all the divinities collectively as Vishve-Devas. As all these divinities belonged to the tribes of Deva-worshippers, and not to those of Deva-revilers, they were duly recognised and honoured by the tribe to which the author belonged.

The hymns written long before the establishment of "prātaranuvāka, prauga," etc.

There is very little poetry in these hymns. The subject matter of these hymns is, no doubt, ritualistic; but the hymns do not seem to have been composed with any special ritualistic purpose in view. These hymns could not have been composed for the purpose of the *prātaranuvāka* or the *pra-uga* and other *śāstras*, all these recitations having come into existence long after the time of their composition. So, these 11 hymns are, no doubt, ritualistic, but without any ritualistic purpose. Nevertheless, they are invaluable as affording an insight into the constitution of the *Soma*-days and also into some of the sacrificial details of those times.

The divisions of mankind.

That our authors belonged to the Deva-worshipping, not to the Deva-reviling, division is a moral certainty. But the Deva-worshipping division of mankind had many sub-divisions. There were the *charṣṇāṇīs*, mentioned in the Vishve-Deva triplet (v. 1), and the five *kṣhītīs* in hymn No. 7 (v. 9); there were also the *kṛīṣṭīs*, who, though described as hostile in the 4th hymn (v. 6), are described as tributary in the 7th hymn (v. 8). To which of these sub-divisions did our authors belong? If they belonged to the sub-division of the *ṛīṣhis*, did the *ṛīṣhis* form one of the sub-divisions of the five *kṣhītīs*? Or was it an independent sub-division, having had nothing to do with any of these 7 sub-divisions? Indra was, of course, acknowledged as their god by all these sub-divisions and also by the *ṛīṣhis*.

What did "riṣha" mean?

Who were the *riṣhas*, whom (v. 1, the Mitrā-Varuṇa triplet) Varuṇa ate or devoured? This epithet seems to be suggestive of the immolation of human victims on or before the altar of Varuṇa.

The "Adādi" class the oldest.

On a close examination of the Sanskrit language, it will be found that the *adādi* class among the classes of roots is the oldest, the most primitive. The one feature of the *adādi* class is that it altogether dispenses with the intermediary, nothing coming between the simple root and the terminations. The roots *pā* (v. 1, the Vāyu triplet), "to drink," *gam* (v. 1, the Indra-Vāyu triplet), *hu* (v. 1, the M. V. triplet), *aś* (v. 2, ibid), *mad* (v. 1, h. 9), *yuṣ* (v. 3, h. 10), *kṛi* (v. 9, ibid), *bhī* (v. 2, h. 11), *ṛi* (v. 5, ibid), will be found to belong

to the *adādi* class in these hymns, though in classical Sanskrit they belong to some other class, never to the *adādi* class. All the remaining classes are represented by *sachasva* (v. 9, h. 1), *juṣhanta* (v. 3, the Vishve-Deva triplet), *prachetayati* (v. 3, the Sarasvatī triplet), *vr̥ṇvate* (v. 4, h. 5), *irajyati* (v. 9, h. 7), *ruṇadhā-mahai* (v. 2, h. 8), *gr̥iṇantah* (v. 9, h. 9), *juhūmasi* (v. 1, h. 4), and *abhipra-ṇonumah* (v. 2, h. 11), except the *tanādi* class. In *asknavat* (v. 3, h. 1), the *adāgama* or the augment seems to have been affixed, instead of being prefixed as in classical Sanskrit. The *lit* or the perfect is, doubtless, used in the 6th hymn (v. 4) in a past sense though in the 10th hymn (v. 1) it is evidently used in a present sense.

There is a suspicion that the reduplicated perfect of classical Sanskrit was originally the present, specially used when the frequency or intensity of an action was intended to be conveyed. The forms *veda*, *vidatuh*, *viduh* and *āha*, *āhatuh*, *āhuh*, which are evidently the venerable relics preserved in classical Sanskrit of an older tongue, will greatly help the inquirer in arriving at a conclusion as to which should be considered the older and which the later terminations of the present. The reduplication being originally a sign of frequency or intensity of the action denoted by the root, *vi-veda* was originally the frequentative present, while *veda* the simple one. The forms *sāsahyāma* (v. 4, h. 8) and *rāraṇat* (v. 5, h. 10) belong to another class of frequentatives. The reduplicated base of roots of the *juhotyādi* class thus representing the frequency or intensity of the action denoted by the root, both the forms *juhūmasi* (v. 1, h. 4) and *abhipra-ṇonumah* (v. 2, h. 11) may be held to be the forms of the frequentative present and even used as such. The forms like *avi-vṛidkan* (v. 1, h. 11, and v. 8, h. 5) of the reduplicated aorist ought to raise the suspicion, which has already been raised by the reduplicated base of roots of the *juhotyādi* class and by the reduplicated perfect.

Now to the words *Mitrā-Varuṇau*, *Agni* and *Ashvinau*. Pāṇini calls *Mitrā-Varuṇa* a *devatā-dvandva* compound. *Dvandva* means "two, pair," and the Vedic word for such a *dvandva* is *sajushau*, "eating together." So far, all right. The classical meaning of *dvandva* is no doubt "any pair"; but the original meaning of the word seems to have been "pair" or "man and woman" or "male and female." The compound *Mitrā-Varuṇau* must thus have originally meant (the goddess) "*Mitrā* and (the god) *Varuṇa*." Though

the Zoroastrian Scriptures speak of *Mithra* or *Mihr* only as a god and not as a goddess, Herodotus can be summoned forth (ch. 131, Bk. 1) to give evidence that *Mithrá* of Persians was originally a goddess, and that the Persian *Mithrá* was the same with the Assyrian *Myliittá*. The first verse of the *Mitrá-Varuṇau* triplet, however, leaves no doubt that our author would give evidence on the side of the Avestá-Persians, and not on the side of the Father of History or of a critical student of the 19th century. Nevertheless, the word *Mitrá* occurring also in the feminine gender (v. 2, h. 25, Mand. 8) raises a suspicion that the goddess *Mitrá* was during the Vedic times not quite unknown.

Agni originally a goddess.

The same remark holds good also in regard to Agni, forming the first member of compounds, *Agni-Varuṇau*. The story of Agni as having conceived Skanda, the Mars of Indian Mythology, had, perhaps, for its basis the fact of Agni being held to have been a goddess at one time or another. Was *ignis* originally a goddess that only virgins should have come to be consecrated to *ignis* among the old Romans?

The dual "Ashvinau" made of one female and one male.

The word *Ashvinau* may be explained by "two Ashvins" or by "one Ashvini and one Ashvin," that is, "one female and one male," the male in the *ekasheṣha* compound (*pumân striyá*, sūtra 67, Páda 2, ch. 1) being expressed, while the female is omitted.

With these observations, leave is taken of the *first* or *A* group of the first *eleven* hymns.

Sanhitá of the Rig-Veda searched.

(II.—The *Medhâ-tithi* or *B* Group.)

The *Second* or *B* Group consists of 12 hymns (12–23). These twelve hymns are ascribed to *Medhâ-tithi*, supposed to be a son or descendant of one *Kaṇva*, most probably the latter.

The 12th hymn (*Agnim dātam*) has 12 verses. This hymn follows the *Agnimîle* hymn in the *Āgneya kratu* of the *prâtaranuvâka* (morning chapters). It also forms the *ájya shastra*, one of the five morning *shastras* (recitations of the *hotri* priest) on the 2nd day of the *prishṭhya*, which, like the *abhi-plava*, is a sacrifice of six *Somadays*. Among the five morning *shastras*, the *ájya* occupies the first, while the *pra-uga* the second place. These two are recited by the *hotri* priest, while the remaining three have to be recited by three different priests, whose names are *Maitrá-varuṇa*, *Bráhmaṇáchhansin*, and *Achchhá-vâka* respectively.

The 13th hymn (*Su-samidho*) has 12 verses. It is the so-called *âprî* hymn.

The 14th hymn (*Ebhiragne*), like the two preceding hymns, contains 12 verses. This hymn is recited in the *Vaishva-deva shastra* of the third libation on the first *chhandoma* day of a "twelve-Soma-days" sacrifice called *vyûdha*.

The 15th hymn (*Indra somam*) has 12 verses. The hymn, as a whole, has no sacrificial value; no part of it also seems to have had any value in any of the sacrifices.

The 16th hymn (*Â tvâ*) contains 9 verses. In the morning libation, when the *Soma*-cups for pairs of divinities are being lifted up, this hymn is to be recited by the *Maitrâ-Varuṇa* priest.

The 17th hymn (*Indrâ-varuṇayo*) consists of 9 verses. This hymn, like the 15th, seems to have had no sacrificial value as a whole or even in parts.

The 18th hymn (*Somânam*) has, like the 17th, 9 verses. In sacrificial value also the 18th will bear comparison with the 17th. The 6th verse *sadasas-pati* is, however, used in the *gṛihya* rite of *Medhâ-janana* (k. 22, ch. 1, Âsh. Gṛi. Sûtra).

The 19th hymn (*Prati tyam*) has 9 verses like the 18th. The first verse is of use in the *Kârîri ishî*, which was performed when there was a scarcity of rain; but the other verses do not possess any sacrificial value; the hymn as a whole also has no sacrificial value.

The 20th hymn (*Ayam devâya*) has 8 verses, which collectively have no value. However, the first triplet is recited in the *Vaishva deva shastra* of the *vyûdha*, a "twelve-Soma-days" sacrifice on the first *chhandoma* day, the second triplet in the same *shastra* of the same sacrifice on the 2nd *chhandoma* day, the last couplet in the same *shastra* of the same sacrifice on the 3rd *chhandoma* day.

The 21st hymn (*Ihendrâgni*) has 6 verses. The whole hymn has to be recited by the *achchâ-vâka* priest in his recitations in the morning libation of a *soma*-sacrifice and at times also in that of the "six-Soma-days" sacrifice, called *abhi-plava*.

The 22nd (*Prâtar-yujâ*) has 21 verses. The hymn, as a whole, has no sacrificial value. However, the 1st triplet has to be recited in the *Ashvina kratu* of the *prâtaranuvâka*, the 2nd triplet in the *Vaishva-deva shastra* of the 2nd *chhandoma* day of the *vyûdha*, and the 9th verse in the morning libation of a *soma*-sacrifice. The next triplet (10-12) seems to have had no sacrificial value. But the next triplet (13-15) is recited in the *Vaishva-deva shastra* of the 2nd

chhandoma day, while the last hexad (16-21) in the morning libation of a *soma*-sacrifice, when the *soma*-juice remains over and above. All the parts, except one triplet (10-12), have thus a sacrificial value.

The 23rd hymn (*Tivrás somása*) has 24 verses. This hymn again as a whole has no sacrificial value. However, the 1st verse forms the 3rd of the *váyavya* triplet in the *pra-uga shastra* on the 2nd day of the *abhi-plava* and also of the *prīṣṭhīya*, both being among the "six-soma-days" sacrifices; the next couplet forms the first two verses of the *Indra-Váyú* triplet in the same *shastra* of the same two sacrifices; the next triplet has to be recited in the *shastra* of the *Maitrā-Varuṇa* on the *shaturvinsha* day. The next 9 verses (7-15) do not seem to possess any sacrificial value. The next triplet (16-18) has to be recited when "the waters" are brought on the *soma*-day. The 19th has again no sacrificial value. The 20th is of use in the *Kárirī*. The 21st and the 24th have again no sacrificial value, while the intermediate two (22 and 23) seem to have had places assigned to them in the concluding bath of a sacrifice.

Observations.

B Group compared with *A Group*. Between this *B Group* of 12 hymns and the preceding *A Group* of 11 hymns, there is this great difference, that while all the hymns, except the 10th in the latter, have either a permanent or an occasional value in sacrifice, there are 4 hymns (15, 17, 18, 19) in the former which have no sacrificial value at all. Not only has each hymn in the preceding group as a whole, a sacrificial value, but even its triplets and single verses have often a value permanent or occasional. It is only the 10th which, as a whole, has no sacrificial value; however, as the three triplets (1-3, 5-7, 9-11) and the last, that is, the 12th verse, have a conspicuous sacrificial value, only the verses 4 and 8 may have to be pronounced quite valueless from the sacrificial standpoint. The 3 hymns (15, 17, 18) in this group have, not only as wholes no sacrificial value, but they have not even parts that have any value in sacrifice. The 6th verse of the 18th hymn is, no doubt, useful in the *Medhá-janana*; but as the *Medhá-janana* is a rite occurring in the *grihya-sūtras*, it can in no way be called "sacrificial." In the 19th hymn only the first verse has a sacrificial value, as it has to be recited in the *Kárirī iṣṭi*. The 3 hymns (20, 22, 23) also as wholes have no sacrificial value; but the value of their parts is often conspicuous. The 20th hymn is said to have had no value. But the first triplet

Hymns 15, 17, 18 in B have no sacrificial value at all.

(1-3) of this hymn was recited on the 1st, the 2nd triplet (4-6) on the 2nd, and the last (7-8) couplet on the 3rd *Chhandoma* day ; all the three parts having thus had a definite sacrificial value, and these 3 parts apparently making the whole, the whole hymn as made up of these 3 parts cannot be said to have had no sacrificial value, though as a separate unit it does not seem to have received recognition in any of the sacrifices. In the 22nd hymn one triplet (10-12) alone seems to have had no sacrificial value. In the 23rd the hexad (7-12) of the Maruts, the triplet (13-15) of Pūshan, the triplet (19-21) of Āp, and the last (24th) verse—these 13 verses do not seem to have had any place assigned to them in sacrifice.

There is another equally striking point of difference between the two groups. There is a homogeneity observable in the hymns of the 1st group. In the 2nd and the 3rd hymn the homogeneity is no doubt marred by the division into triplets; but no couplet or single verse being introduced among the triplets, the uniformity need in no way be held to be disturbed. There is a sameness of language and thought which will materially help a student to arrive at the conclusion that the hymns of the 1st group were in all likelihood a product of one and the same age, howsoever great be the distance between that age and his own. The same homogeneity, which characterises all the hymns of the 1st group, may, no doubt, be observed to characterise some of the hymns of the 2nd group. The five (12 of Agni, 16 of Indra, 17 of Indra and Varuṇa, 19 of Agni and Marut, 21 of Indra and Agni) hymns will look very well in the 1st group, though the same cannot be said of the remaining 8 hymns. The most heterogeneous hymns are the 13th, the 15th, the 22nd, and the 23rd. Of these four heterogeneous hymns, the 13th, that is, the so-called *Āprī sūkta* is the most curious, as the author or the compiler had, perhaps, a definite sacrificial purpose in view. The 15th, which may be called "the seasons-hymn," is another hymn equally curious. An occasion will shortly arise for taking up both these hymns. The 22nd is made up of 5 parts, which, as a matter of fact, are 5 short hymns, having no connection among themselves. The first short hymn of 4 verses is in honour of the Ashvins, the 2nd of 4 verses in honour of Savitṛi, the 3rd of 4 verses in honour of "the wives of the gods," the 4th of 3 verses in honour of "Firmament and Earth," the 5th, that is, the last, of 6 verses in honour of Viṣṇu. The 23rd hymn also is similarly constituted. The first verse is in honour of Vāyu, the next 2 are in honour of

A Group of the same age.

In B Group, five hymns (12, 16, 17, 19 and 21) of the same age; while seven hymns (13, 14, 15, 18, 20, 22 and 23) of different ages.

Indra-Vāyū, the next 3 in honour of Mitṛā-Varuṇau, the next 6 in honour of the Maruts, the next 3 in honour of Pūshan, the next 2 seem to describe the mixing of the intoxicating liquor with milk and water and the solar rays, the next 6 are in honour of "waters," and the last declares the nature of the blessing asked of the Devas and the Ṛishis by the author or the compiler. The Ṛishi to whom such hymns are ascribed, must rather have collected or com-

Heterogeneous hymns were "compiled," not "made" or "seen."

of the Ṛishi in collecting or compiling the verses forming these hymns sacrificial or not? Since the parts forming these two wholes, viz., the 22nd and the 23rd hymn, have no connection among them, the object of the Ṛishi was in all likelihood not sacrificial. Supposing for a moment the object to have been sacrificial, the sacrifice, for which these verses were collected and formed into hymns, had

Vedic "ṛishis" divided into "makers" or "seers" and "compilers."

evidently no connection with the sacrifice of later times or rather that particular development as found in the *Aitareya* Brāhmaṇa or the *Shrauta Sūtra* of Āshvalāyana. Be the object of the Ṛishi sacrificial or not, he did not in all likelihood compose the verses found

The homogeneity of three hymns (14, 18, 20) in B marred.

in such long hymns, formed of two or more short ones; he rather collected or compiled them. The *ṛishis* thus will have to be divided into "makers" *karṭris* or "seers" *draṣṭṛis*, and "compilers" *sangrahṭṛis*.

Compiling "ṛishis" divided into "earlier" and "later."

The remaining 3 hymns (14, 18, 20) being neither quite homogeneous, nor quite heterogeneous, have to occupy an intermediate position. The 14th as a whole has no doubt a value in the *vyūḍha*, though the verses detached have no value, the 10th alone excepted. The hymn is evidently in honour of Agni, who is asked to bring all the gods to the place of the sacrifice. There would have been a homogeneity in the hymn but for the two (3 and 4) verses. There is no word with which the accusatives in the 3rd verse can be connected; the plural *vah* in the 4th verse seems to refer to the various divinities in the 3rd verse; while in all the remaining verses, even when other divinities to be brought are mentioned, the address is directly to Agni and not to any other god or gods. This raises a suspicion that the couplet was a later insertion. In the 18th hymn the first 5 verses are in honour of *Brahmaṇus-pati*, the next 3 in honour of *Sadasas-pati*, while the last is in honour of *Narūshansa*. This hymn has thus all the appearances of a collection, but not for any sacrificial purpose. The 20th again would have had homogeneity but for the opening verse containing *devāya janmane*. This

hymn having had no recognition in sacrifice, though all its 3 parts had a definite sacrificial value on the 3 *chhandoma* days of the *vyūḍha*, a Soma-sacrifice containing 12 Soma-days, its 8 verses were evidently collected and put together by a *Rishi* to meet the requirements of the *vyūḍha*. Such hymns, made of units at times sacrificial, and at times non-sacrificial, must have had two compilers—an earlier and a later. The earlier compiler must have by collecting and putting together the verses formed such hymns. The name of the earlier compiler is now irrecoverably lost. Medhā-tithi of the Kaṇva class or tribe took the hymns, even those that were made up of distinct units, as he found them in his own time and assigned to them the places which they now occupy in the 2nd group. There is no room for an earlier compiler in the case of the hymns, like *Agnim dūtam*, which are not made of distinct units, but themselves form so many separate units, sacrificial or non-sacrificial. The order of the hymns in the 2nd group may thus be ascribed to Medhā-tithi, nothing further. That the collection was not made by Medhā-tithi for sacrificial purposes is a moral certainty, since no sacrificial order seems to be preserved in the arrangement of the hymns.

Medhā-tithi not a "maker" or "peer," but "a later compiler" of B Group.

There is only one (the Viṣṇu hexad, hymn 22) highly poetical hymn in the group, and it is certainly a very interesting relic of the poetical age, in which the author, whoever he was, must have lived.

The only poetical hymn analysed.

Viṣṇu is evidently the sun, a desired friend of Indra, since the rites in his honour had to be performed during day. The rites of Indra and the sun-god seem to have received the name of *Dharman*. The society was divided into the "enlightened" or "praying priests," and, of course, the "ignorant." The *perfect* throughout is evidently used for the frequentative present. The word Viṣṇu has, of course, a double meaning; it denotes in the hymn not only the visible sun, but also the invisible God. This one Viṣṇu hymn excepted, there is very little poetry in the remaining hymns.

Viṣṇu="the sun" or "God."

It is now time to turn to the hymns singly.

The 12th hymn, which begins the 2nd group, is, like the first hymn which begins the first group, in honour of fire. But there is this difference between the two, that, while the latter is in its tone peaceful, the former is war-like. What the author seems in this hymn to stand much in need of, is protection on the battle-field. The author was, perhaps, a ready versifier, who, before going to battle, kindles the fire, and, composing this new hymn in the *gāyatrī* metre, offers the

Twelfth hymn. bellicose.

stoma or a stoma, thereby assuring himself and his followers of a glorious victory on the battle-field. The kindled fire is asked to consume the enemies, who are accompanied by the *Rakshas*. The name of the hostile tribe is not known, though the name of its allies is given as *Bakshas*. The people called *Rakshas* or *Rákshasa* connect the Vedic with the Avestic (5, Yasna 12) ritual. This hymn in all likelihood is of the age of the hymns in the 1st group, perhaps a little older.

Thirteenth is The 13th is the so-called *ápri* hymn. The word *ápri* requires a the "Ápri" hymn short introduction.

There are 10 recognised *Ápri* hymns.
 Ápri hymns 10 in number. These 10 *Ápri* hymns belonged originally to 20 different sections and sub-sections. This, that is the 13th in the 1st *mandala*, belonged to the *Kaṇvas*, a sub-section of the *Angirasas*. The 142nd in the same *mandala* belongs to the *Dirgha-tamasas*, another sub-section of the *Angirasas*, while the 188th to the *Agastis*. The 3rd hymn in the 2nd *mandala* belongs to the *Shunakas*. The 4th hymn in the 3rd *mandala* belongs to the *Vishvú-mitras*. The 4th *mandala* contains no *Ápri*. In the 5th *mandala*, the 5th hymn is again an *ápri* owned by the *Atris*. The 6th *mandala* again has no *ápri* in it; but the 2nd hymn in the 7th *mandala* is the *ápri* belonging to the *Vasishthas*. The 8th *mandala* again contains no *ápri*, but the 5th in the 9th is the *ápri* of the *Kashyapas*. The last two *ápris* are found in the 10th *mandala* (hs. 70 and 110), and they are owned respectively by the *Vádhryashvas* and the *Jamadagnis*. It will be seen from the last chapter of the *Ásh. Shr. Sûtra* that the priestly class in those

"Gotras" the post-vedic times was divided into 7 distinct sections called *gotras*-basis of Ápris. each section claiming descent from a first progenitor brought into existence by individualisation of the tribal or the national name. Each section had again its sub-sections. The names of the 7 principal sections will be found to be (1) *Angiras*, (2) *Bhrigu*, (3) *Atri*, (4) *Vishvú-mitra*, (5) *Kashyapa*, (6) *Vasishtha*, and (7) *Agasti*. The *Kaṇvas* and the *Dirghatamasas* were recognised as sub-sections of the *Angirasas*, while the *Jamadagnis*, the *Vádhryashvas*, and the *Shunakas* as those of the *Bhrigus*. Of the 10 *ápri* hymns, five will thus be claimed by the five sub-sections, while the remaining five will have to be allotted to the five of the seven principal sections. In the last chapter of the *Ásh. Shr. Sûtra*, the number of sub-sections will be found to have been more than seventy-five. A good many of the sub-sections had, perhaps, their own *ápri* hymns. But only 10 are preserved in the

Shūkala Sanhitā, and they are recognised as such by authors and commentators of ritualistic works.

This *āpri* of the *Kaṇvas* has 12 verses, the *āpri* of the *Dirgha-tamasas* has 13 verses, while the remaining 8 *āpri*s have uniformly 11 verses each. In this *āpri*, *tanūnapāt* and *Narāshansa* having each a verse assigned to them, the number of verses is 12; while in the *āpri*s with 11 verses, one of the two divinities *Tanūnapāt* and *Narāshansa* will be found omitted. The *āpri* of the *Dirgha-tamasas* closes like the other *āpri*s with a verse in honour of Indra; but a verse in honour of *Indra-Vāyū* being inserted before the closing verse, and both *Tanūnapāt* and *Narāshansa* being honoured with a place, the number of verses in their *āpri* has risen to 13. The first *āpri* of the two sub-sections of the Angirasas may be distinguished from the remaining *āpri*s by the prominence given in them to both *Tanūnapāt* and *Narāshansa*, while the *āpri* of the *Dirgha-tamasas* may be distinguished from its sister *āpri* of the *Kaṇvas* by the *Indra-Vāyū* verse.

The 11 *āpri* verses of the 8 hymns are, according to later ritualists, for pouring 11 oblations, technically called *prayājas* of *ājya*, which they hold to be clarified butter, into the fire, as preliminary to the commencement of the bloody sacrifice. But this *āpri* of the *Kaṇvas* with its 12, and the *āpri* of the *Dirgha-tamasas* with its 13 oblations are evidently older; they are relics of a time when *Narāshansa* was not substituted for *Tanūnapāt*, but followed it. The *āpri* oblations originally in all likelihood were oblations of fat, not of clarified butter.

They seem to have been originally oblations for minor divinities supposed to be presiding over the various requisites of a sacrifice bloody or bloodless; though in later times the bloodless sacrifice was performed with 5 *prayājas*, evidently picked up from the 11 *āpri* oblations, which were now reserved for the bloody sacrifice alone.

The first *āpri* oblation was no doubt intended for the presiding divinity or divinities of the *samidhas*, "pieces of some sacrificial wood." The 2nd and the 3rd were, perhaps, for the divinities presiding over the food and the liquid offerings respectively. The fourth oblation seems to have been for the divinity of the vocal offerings. The fifth oblation was doubtless for the divinity presiding over the *barhis*, that was procured by the sacrificer and spread for sacrificial things to rest upon. It is not quite clear whether the expression "divine doors," for whose presiding divinity or divinities the 6th oblation is, was taken literally and applied to the passage or passages leading into the sacrificial enclosure, or was held to be

The *Āpri* of the *Kaṇvas* (13th hymn) compared with other *Āpri*s.

Eleven "*Āpri* verses = eleven "*prayājas*."

What a "*prayāja*" originally meant.

Eleven "*prayājas*", explained.

figuratively used for "preliminary preparations" or "rites." The oblation for "Night and Dawn" is, perhaps, indicative of the two hours when the two chief oblations were usually offered; one, that is, the opening oblation being offered after sunset, while the other, that is, the closing oblation was offered before sunrise. Was the bloody sacrifice among the *Kaṇvas* and others originally performed during night? Were the *hotṛis* also, like the *adhvaryus*, originally two? Were they symbolical of "Night and Dawn" or rather "Day"? Did they represent the two principles, the female and the male? The dual in very old verses ought to raise this or some such suspicion. The 8th oblation was for the presiding divinities of the "two divine *hotṛis*." Who were the 3 goddesses—*Ilā*, *Saras-vatī* and *Mahī*, for whom the 9th oblation was? Could the 3 gods *Īda*, *Narúshansa*, and *Tanūnapāt* have been the two varieties of cups and the birch-leaves or barks, while these 3 goddesses were their contents? Or did the 3 goddesses preside over the 3 different rites that were indispensable and were severally assigned to the two *hotṛis*, and the *yajamāna*? The 10th oblation was for *Tvaṣṭṛi*, the presiding divinity, of course, of carpentry, since the vessels were wooden. The 11th is for the presiding divinity of the *Vanaspati*, that was felled down for the making of sacrificial vessels. The 12th verse is no oblation-verse; it is a verse in which the chief priest "asks (the other priests) to have the *svāhā-yajnya* performed in the house of the sacrificer, where he intends calling down the gods." This verse seems to establish that the 11 oblations of fat for the minor divinities were offered out of the house, and that after these 11 oblations, unaccompanied by *svāhā*, were offered, the other priests that were standing there to receive orders had to go into the house and make preparations for the celebration of the *svāhā-yajnya*, "the sacrifice with *svāhā*" in honour of Indra and the gods. This *yajnya* of 11 oblations of fat without *svāhā*, in all likelihood called *āprī*, was preliminary to the *svāhā yajnya* of Indra which followed and which, from the fact of these *āprī* verses or rather rites being held to be the preliminaries of a bloody sacrifice, must certainly have demanded the blood of an animal; the word *ājya* was, perhaps, substituted for *ghṛita* in later times, though the oblations, as originally, were offered unaccompanied by *scākhā*, the word used at the end being one of the 3 forms of the 3rd person of the *Parasmai-pada* imperative of *i* with *vi*, *vaśha!* or *vausha!* being at times added to it. The various *ṛishis* must have put together the verses as they found them among the several sections and sub-sections, and thus brought

Last verses of
the 13th hymn
analysed.

the *âpri* hymns into existence; they could not be said to have arranged them, much less to have made or seen them. In this particular *âpri* at least, the 5th verse, like the 12th, being addressed to priests, and not to any divinity, cannot be said to contain any oblation; if any divinity was at all intended, it must have been *amrita*. The Kâṇvas thus had either no fifth oblation; or, if they had, it was in honour of a forgotten *amrita*, and not in honour of *barhis*. Fifth verse of this Âpri analysed.

The 14th hymn seems to have been in honour of a fire called *sujihva* (v. 7). The *vahnayah* in the 6th verse is a hard nut to crack, except they be supposed to have been the demi-gods, whose duty was to bear the gods on their "bright" or "heated backs." Could they have been the Ribhus (v. 8, h. 20)? The fire *sujihva* also bore the gods in "the chariot to which they were yoked." The name of the rite was *vashatkrit* (v. 8) and the performers seem to have been the Kâṇvas "desirous (v. 5) of protection." The two verses 3 and 4 have all the appearance of later insertions. The fire "sujihva"
The rite "vashat-krit."

The 15th hymn as a whole has no sacrificial value, no part also of it seems to be recognised in any sacrifice. The hymn originally most probably contained (1—4, 6, 11—12) seven verses. The 3 verses (5, 9, 10) with *ritu* in the plural were evidently later additions, the couplet (7-8) being inserted to familiarise the reader with the divinity *Dravîṇodas* (Bestower of wealth) occurring in the 9th. The divinity *Dravîṇodas*, was, perhaps, identical with *Neshṭri*, since he is asked (v. 9) to drink from the cup *neshtra*, which is apparently connected with *Neshṭri* (v. 3). Was *Neshṭri* the older name of *Tvashṭri*? Since *Mâdhava* (v. 3) interprets *Neshṭri* by *Tvashṭri*, since *Dravîṇodas* in the 10th verse is called the *fourth* with the *ritus*, the number of the recognised *ritus* "seasons" was three, and these three must have been the hot, the wet and the cold. It is not quite clear how many seasons were recognised in the 5th verse, whether 3, or, as in later works, 6. The three verses 5, 9 and 10, are evident interpolations, because the divinities Indra and *Neshṭri* invoked in them will be found to be already invoked in the verses 1 and 3 which have *ritu* in the singular. The adjective (v. 7) *grâva-hastâsah* "stone-in-hand" raises a suspicion that the verse belongs to a time when by the word *soma* "a plant" had come to be understood. What did *ritu* in the singular mean? Did it mean the 3 or 6 "seasons" collectively or only "the fixed hour" of offering the oblations to the several divinities? The divinity *Neshṭri* in the Seven verses older, five later.
The original meaning of "ritu."

3rd verse is accompanied by his wife. In the 4th verse, there seems to be an allusion in *yonīṣhu triṣhu* to the three-fold division into the *Vasus*, the *Rudras* and the *Ādityas* of the Devas. The divinities asked to drink with the *ritu* are Indra (v. 1), the Maruts (v. 2), Neṣṭṛi and his wife (v. 3), Agni (v. 4), Mitrā-Varuṇan (v. 6), the two Ashvins (v. 11) and Santya (v. 12). The instrumental *gārhapatyena* and the epithet *yajnya-nī* point, perhaps, to the fire in the house, from which the sacrificial fire was kindled, as being addressed by *santya* in the verse. It should also be noted that the Maruts (v. 2) are called "good *Dānus*," who drank from a cup called *potra*. In the 16th hymn, Indra has (v. 2) "two horses" and also "more than two horses" (vs. 1 and 4). The worshipper begs of Indra not only cows but also (v. 9) horses.

Contents of the
10th hymn.

The original
meaning of "vi-
pra."

The 17th is like the 16th, one of the older hymns; though unlike the 16th, it has no sacrificial value at all. In respect of the sacrificial value, the 17th is more like the 15th; though unlike it, it has not its uniformity in any way disturbed. The author of this hymn seems to have belonged (v. 2) to the *charṣhanis* and being in difficulties seeks (v. 1) the protection of Indra and Varuṇa, who are both called "good lords." He was, no doubt, a *vipra*. But what was the original meaning of *vipra*? *Vipra* is evidently a possessive adjective meaning "one having a *vip*;" as to the original meaning of *vip*, the reader is referred to "*vipā vardhamayo-agrayāhan*" (v. 6, h. 99, *mandala* 10). *Vip* is generally interpreted as "finger;" but the adjective "iron-pointed and the action of killing" ought to leave no doubt, that in the particular text *vip* must have meant "a weapon for killing." If *vip* meant "a weapon for killing," *vipra* must originally have meant "one who wielded" or "possessed the weapon;" hence "a warrior." What the author wants is "victory on the (v. 7) battle-field," and he is praying to Indra and Varuṇa evidently "for the sinews of war" in such a quantity that after satisfying his wants for the time being, he may have enough left (v. 6) for burying underground for the time to come. The author is, of course, doing all he can to secure the favour of the mighty divinities by (v. 8) performance of *dhis* and also by composition (v. 9) of hymns (*su-śtuti* "good praise" or *sadha-stuti* "joint praise") like this in their honour. He goes "very close" (v. 3) to both Indra and Varuṇa; but whether only mentally or also otherwise is not quite clear. He wishes to be remembered "among givers of battles" (v. 4), and is therefore

anxious to have "strength" and also "sound sense." "Indra," the author proceeds, "is the strength of givers of battles, while Varuṇa (is) the praiseworthy (quality) of the praiseworthy" (v. 5). The four words *Sahasra*, *Kratu*, *Shansya* and *Ukthya* do not seem to be used in the sense in which they occur in compositions of later times. The word *Sahasra* seems to be connected with *sahas* "force" and even in the hymns of the first group, it may in almost all places be safely held to be used in the same or some similar sense. The *Kratu* also may be held to denote "strength" in the hymns of the first group. But this can scarcely be said of the remaining 2 words *shansya* and *ukthya* or rather *uktha*. The hymn is thus apparently older than the hymns of the first group, being composed at a time when the words *shansya* and *ukthya* had yet assumed no technical meaning, and Indra and Varuṇa were prayed to as "the bestowers of strength and sense," respectively. There being nothing in the hymn to connect it with fire or fire worship, the author, whoever he was, need not be held to have belonged to a fire-worshipping tribe; he, perhaps, belonged to some tribe of the *Charṣhanis*, worshipping both Indra and Varuṇa. In the 18th hymn, the first 3 verses were no doubt written by a brewer named Kakṣhivat of the tribe or clan of *Ushij*. The tribe *Ushij* seems not to have been on good terms (v. 3) with the *Ararushas* and the *Martyas*. Kakṣhivat of the *Ushij* tribe having suffered at the hands of both the *Ararushas* and the *Martya*, naturally seeks the protection of *Brahmanaspati*. In the 4th verse *Brahmanaspati* has two equals in Indra and Soma, the word *Martya* also seems not to be used in the sense in which it is used in the preceding verse. In the 5th verse, the 4th *Dakṣhiṇā* is added to the trio of Indra, Soma and *Brahmanaspati*, and the word *Martya* is again used in the same sense in which it is used in the 4th verse. The couplet (4-5) was thus, in all likelihood, not composed by the author of the preceding triplet (1-3). The next triplet is in honour of *Sadasaspati*. The last verse is in honour of *Narāshansa*, which word as used in the verse seems to have denoted "a province, a region." This *Narāshansa* could have had little to do with the *Narāshansa* of the *Āprī* hymn. *Narāshansa* has a third meaning of "sacrifice" forced upon it by *Kāt-thakya* and another of "fire" by *Shāka-pūṇi*, both are duly recorded by *Yaska*, an ancient authority. The compiler of this hymn, whoever he was, seems to have belonged to the *Shākapūṇi* school of etymolo-

Four words, "Sahasra," "Kratu," "Shansya," and "Ukthya" have an older and a later meaning.

The author is a "Charṣhani" and a worshipper of Indra and Varuṇa.

The seer is a brewer.

The tribe "Ushij" at war with the tribes Ararush and Martya.

The word "Narāshansa."

gists and accepting the interpretation of *Narā-shansa*, as suggested by *Shāka-pīṇi*, saw no reason why he should not make the word an epithet of *Sadasas-pati*, since *Sadasas-pati* also "was praised by men" (*naraih prashasyo bhavati*) equally with "sacrifice" and "fire." Thus treated, the word *Narāshansa* could yield what the compiler desired, and the verse has consequently the honour of being added to the triplet of *Sadasas-pati*. This hymn may thus safely be said to have had four compilers. He, who added the verse to the *Sadasas-pati* triplet, was the *first* compiler; he, who putting together the first part of 5 verses and the 2nd part of 4 verses produced this whole made up of these 9 verses, was the *2nd* compiler. The names of these two compilers are, of course, lost. Medhā-tithi of the *Kaṇva* clan or tribe, who gave the 7th place to the hymn in his collection, was the *3rd* compiler; while Shākala, who has given the hymn the 18th place in his collection, was the *4th* compiler. If Sanskrit had been a spoken language when the first compiler of unknown name lived, the addition of the *Narā-shansa* verse to the *Sadasas-pati* triplet would have been an impossibility. Could Sanskrit have been a spoken language when the first triplet and the 2nd couplet in honour of *Brahmaṇas-pati* were written? Or when the couplet in honour of *Sadasas-pati* was composed?

The verses contain many forms that are undoubtedly archaic. But the fact of the forms used being archaic is not likely to prove much. When a language has become settled, when forms and expressions have become crystallised, do not succeeding poets and writers think themselves bound to follow the path beaten by their predecessors, even after the language has become dead for all practical purposes? Madhu-Chhandas (v. 2, h. 1) belonged to the

Sanskrit a later, not to the older generations, of the *ṛishis*. When the older living language, when "older" generation wrote, Sanskrit was in all likelihood an every-day language, a living language having a capability of assimilating foreign words and ideas. But whether Sanskrit was a living language

Sanskrit when Madhu-Chhandas and other *ṛishis* of later generations lived probably ceased and wrote, is an open question. Those generations of the *ṛishis*, who live when which brought into life imaginary divinities like *Brahmaṇas-pati* "later" *ṛishis* and *Sadasas-pati*, were certainly the latest. It is hard to believe like Madhu-Chhandas wrote, that Sanskrit at the time of the conception of such divinities was a living language. It lived, perhaps, among priests and particularly decidedly a dead language when the latest generations of the *ṛishis* managed "latest" *ṛishis* the spiritual affairs of the classes submitting to them. wrote.

In the 19th hymn, Agni is asked to be present with the Maruts. The Maruts in this hymn are the companions of Agni, not of Indra. Had the Maruts also, like Varuna, altars on or before which human victims were immolated? The hymn is rather in honour of Agni, while the Maruts seem to occupy a subordinate position. The three parts, of which the 20th hymn is formed, were composed when the legendary lore in connection with the *Ribhus* had considerably increased. The *Vaishva-deva shastra* of the evening libation was in honour of the *Vishve deváh* "all (classes of the) gods"; and the ritualists appropriately made room for the three parts on the three *chhandoma* days of the *vyádha*. The *Ribhus* had, at first, no place among the gods; but they waited and had at last (v. 8) the coveted place assigned to them. Why were they called *vahnis*? The worshippers of the *Ribhus*, who seem originally to have been carpenters by profession, had multiplied and had also done their best to lower Indra (v. 2) and the two Ashvins (v. 3). The *Ribhus* were made the makers of the two horses of Indra and also of the chariot of the two Ashvins; they even made their aged parents young (v. 4)—such was the virtue of the *mantras* they had with them. So the worshippers had commenced offering to the *Ribhus* the intoxicating oblations, as they did to Indra (v. 5) with his *Maruts* and to the ruling *Adityas*. The *Ribhus* surpassed or confounded even (v. 6) *Tvashtri*. May it not be that the *Ribhus* with their worship were originally non-Vedic, though later on their cult came to be incorporated with that of the Vedic people? The *Ribhus* with their *mantras* are likely to remind a Zoroastrian of some Avestic divinities, who had their *mantras*. The *ṛishi* or *ṛishis*, who wrote these verses, certainly belonged to the latest generations.

Maruts companions of Agni, not of Indra.

The Ribhu hymn analysed.

Is the word *vahnis* in such places used in the Avestic sense of "pure, good"?

The 21st hymn is in honour of Indra and Agni. The *stoma* in the first verse denotes, perhaps, the alimentary offering. When the hymn was written, *gáyatri*, or rather *gáyatra* (v. 2), was the metre specially honoured by the *ṛishis*. The worshippers of Indra and Agni had formed "congregations" (v. 5) in which prayers were offered for the overthrow of the *Rakshas* tribes and the extinction of the *Atrins*, either a separate tribe or a sub-section of the *Rakshas*. May it not be that the *Atrins*, for the extinction of whose race a prayer is offered to Indra and Agni, were also "worshippers" or rather "keepers of fire", the word *atra*, from which the possessive adjective *atrin* is formed, being connected with *Atlar*,

The Rakshas and the Atrins.

or rather *áthra-átra*, with which no student of Zoroastrianism can afford to be unfamiliar? The author of the hymn also was a fire-worshipper? but he was an Indra-worshipper as well, while the *Atrins* were, perhaps, no Indra-worshippers. Our author, though a fire-worshipper, worshipped fire as *agni*, not as *atra*; while the *atrin*s worshipped fire as *atra*, not as *agni*. The form of worship also in all likelihood differed, and hence the intense bitterness. The words *agni* and *atra* do not seem to be cognate; the word *agni*, notwithstanding the fanciful attempts of Yáska, cannot be satisfactorily derived. The Vedic word, which seems nearest to the Avestic *áthra* or *átra*, is *atharva*, which with *narya* and *shansya* (Anu. 10, Prapâ. 1, Kāṇḍa 1, Taitti. Brāh.) formed the earlier three first fires, and which the later ritualists are fond of identifying with *dakṣiṇágni*, *narya* being identified with *gárhapatya* and *shansya* with *áhavanīya*. If *atrin*s be identified with the *átra*-worshipping Zoroastrians, it will be necessary to take them as an independent people, between whom and the *Rakṣhas* no friendly feeling ever existed (5, Yasna XII). The 22nd hymn endows the three gods Indra, Varuṇa, and Agni with one wife each. The word *gandharva* in the 14th verse is obscure."

Is the "at-
ra" in "atrin
s" identical
with the
Avestic
"átra"
and Vedic
"Ath-
arva"?

In the 23rd hymn, "the good Dānus," that is, the Maruts (v. 9), are asked to slay the enemy (*vr̥itra*), of course, of the author and his clan or tribe; while *prishni*' is (v. 10) given as the name of their "mother" or "motherland."

Explan-
ation of why some
hymns have no
sacrificial value.

Hymns like the 19th, the 18th, the 17th, and the 15th raise one question. These 4 hymns are unquestionably ritualistic; there is no history, no philosophy, no poetry in them. They describe in one or another form ritual pure and simple; and yet they or their parts have recognition in no sacrifice, the 1st verse of the 19th being the only honourable exception. The same remark holds good in regard to the *Marut* (7—12) and the *Pūshan* (13—15) parts of the 23rd hymn and the *Brahmanas-pati* (1—5) part of the 18th hymn; ritualistic they are, and yet are recognised in no sacrifice. Why so? The only answer that can be attempted is, that these also had their value in the various *shákhás* or ritualistic schools that *once* existed; but all these ritualistic schools having in course of time become extinct, Mādhava in the 14th Christian century had to rely on the only surviving school, the *Áshvaláyana-Shaunaka*, founded on the *Bráhmaṇa* and the *Áranyaka* of the older *Aitareya* school of *Rig-veda*. Mādhava could thus know and make a note

of the sacrificial value only of those hymns with their parts that were recognised by the *Āshvalāyana-Shaunaka* school and the *Bráhmaṇa* or the *Aranyaka* of the Aitareya school ; as regards the other hymns or non-recognised parts of recognised hymns, there was no other course left for him, but to ask the reader to find out their value for himself.

Sankitá of the Rig-Veda searched.

III—(The *Shunash-shepa* or *C Group*.)

The *Third* or *C Group* consists of 7 (24—30) hymns. All these hymns are ascribed to *Shunash-shepa*, the second out of the three sons of *Ajigarta*. At the conclusion of the *Marutvatīya Shastra* on the *abhi-shechanīya* (anointing) day of the *rāja-sūya* sacrifice, these 7 hymns are recited by the *hotri* priest before the anointed king surrounded by princes and ministers of state. The anointing was with water, not with oil.

The 25th hymn (*yach-chid-hi*) has 21 verses. The hymn is of some use in the *abhi-plava* sacrifice.

The 26th (*vasiṣṭhā*) and the 27th (*Ashvam na*) hymn are both used in the *ágneya kratu* of the *prátaranuvāka*. The former has 10 verses, while the latter 13.

The 27th seems to have been recited in the *Āshvina shastra* also, though the last verse, beng in honour of the *Vishvedevas*, was, in this *Shastra* and also in the *ágneya kratu*, appropriately omitted.

The 28th hymn (*yatra grāvā*) has 9 verses. The first 4 are of use in the *homa* (pouring the oblations into the fire), the next 4 in the *abhishava* (preparation of the liquid oblations), the last in the *avanayana* (pouring down) of the liquid into the *droṇakalasha* (liquid-pot)—the whole hymn will thus be found to have had a special value in the so-called *anjas-sava* of the *rāja-sūya*, a *soma-sacrifice* which only a king could perform.

The 29th hymn (*yach-chid-hi-satya*) is made of 7 verses. It is recited on the 5th day of the *prishṭhya* a “ six-soma-days ” sacrifice, in the mid-day libation.

The 30th hymn (*á va Indram*), having 22 verses, is the longest in this group. The last two triplets are recited in the *āshvina* and the *ushasya kratu* respectively of the *prátaranuvāka*. The *prátaranuvāka* consists of 3 *Kratu*s or sections, the first being the *ágneya*, the 2nd *ushasya*, and the 3rd *āshvina*.

Observations.

This 3rd group resembles more the 2nd than the first in that all the hymns in it are not homogeneous. The last hymn in this is made at least of three distinct parts, having no connection among themselves. The first part of this hymn, made of 16 verses, is comparatively longer, the 2nd and the 3rd containing each only 3 verses. The other hymns also will look more or less heterogeneous to a critical eye, the one exception being the 29th, which, by the by, is one of the most remarkable hymns, not only on account of its burden, but also owing to its subject-matter. The 28th also is equally remarkable, the only difference being that the burden does not extend to all its verses.

Shunash-shepa cannot be the author.

Unlike the two preceding groups, this group of 7 hymns forms in itself a unit duly recognised by the author of the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa, though its claim to be considered as such will dissolve like mist before a critical eye. The Aitareya Brâhmaṇa ascribes all these hymns to Shunash-shepa, simply because his name occurs twice (12—13) in the 24th hymn. But this way of arriving at the authorship of a hymn is most unsafe. No one knowing English will ever father expressions like "May that Lord Varuna, whom Shunash-shepa taken (a prisoner) invoked, free us" and "May the Lord Varuna, whom Shunash-shepa invoked, free this (person)" on Shunash-shepa. To arrive at the simple truth that the author of these expressions, whoever he was, was distinct from and lived after Shunash-shepa, very little critical knowledge is required; this will be more a question of the knowledge of the ordinary meaning of these expressions and less of a critical knowledge of them. The fact of the hymn containing the expressions between the inverted commas, along with the following six hymns, being fathered upon Shunash-shepa, conclusively establishes one great point, namely, that even the ordinary meaning of the hymns was not understood at the time this fathering took place. Such a fathering or its acceptance inevitably necessitates the assumption of ignorance of even the ordinary meaning of these verses on the part of the author or compiler, whoever he was, of the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa.

Analysis of the story of Shunash-shepa. For the original story the reader of Sanskrit is referred to the 3rd Chapter of the 7th *panchikâ* of the *Aitareya*, and the English reader to its excellent translation by Dr. Haug.

The story will be found to be made up of two originally distinct parts—the prose text of the Brāhmaṇa and the poetical portion of the *gāthās*. The fabric of the prose will be found to be reared in part on the basis of the poetical *gāthās*. The *gāthās* may thus safely be held to form the older portion, while the prose in decidedly a later formation. The authorship of the prose may be ascribed to Mahidāsa, son of Itarā, but certainly not the authorship of the *gāthās*. A parallel to this will be found in Lalita-vistara, a Budhistic work. As this work also is made up of the *gāthās* and the prose portion, Dr. Rājendra Lāl's attention was drawn to this very point of the relative ages of the two, and he has discussed the point at some length with his usual critical acumen in his Introduction to the work, coming to the conclusion (p. 40) that the *gāthic* portion was prior to the prose portion found in it. The word *gāthā* being equally respected in the Brahmiical, the Budhistic, and the Zoroastrian Scriptures may be pronounced one of the most remarkable. It will be found to be used not only for verses in honour of Agni (v. 14, h. 71, m. 8), but also for those in honour of Indra (v. 1, h. 31, m. 6), though in later times it came somehow to be degraded, not being applied to a Vedic verse.

"Gāthā" a Sanskrit word.

Let us now turn to the *gāthic* portion of the original story. the 31 *gāthās* contained in the story may, for convenience sake, be divided into four sections, which may respectively be called the *Putras* The *Indra*, the *Ajigarta*, and the *Vishvāmitra* sections. The 1st and the 4th section will contain 11 *gāthās* each, while the 2nd and the 3rd, 4 and 5 respectively. The 1st section is of very little value. In its first verse there is a question to Nārada by some one, the next 10 verses being supposed to be in answer to the question in the 1st. The 2nd section, though not quite relevant, is very interesting, as preaching or teaching out and out activity. In its first verse the addressee is one Rohita, who is plainly told by *some one* that Indra helps those who help themselves. The 4th *gāthā* is very valuable as containing the four words *Kali*, *Dvāpara*, *Tretā*, and *Kṛita*, which in later times denoted the four ages, *kali* being the worst or iron, and *kṛita* the best or golden. The words originally belonged to the language of gamblers, and, as such, they occur also in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (Ann. 1, ch. 4, k. 3).

The "Gāthās" in the story classified.

In the 1st *gāthā* of the *Ajigarta* section, the son of Ajigarta is declared to belong to the tribe of the Angirasas and is addressed " (O) *Rishi*." It is said in the 2nd that "no one is found

The story as found in the "Gāthās."

śhūsa-in-hand even among the *Shūdras*" and that "the father received 300 cows" as the price of his son's head. In the 3rd the father is penitent and ready to return all the cows. In the 4th the son is rightly deaf to the entreaties of his father to return home.

In the 1st *gāthā* of the *Vishvāmītra* section, Vishvāmītra calls Ajlgarta son of Su-yavasa and presses him not to return to his father, but to be *his* (Vishvāmītra's) son. In the 2nd the son addresses Vishvāmītra as "prince" and asks him how one of the Angiras tribe can become his son. In the 3rd Vishvāmītra proposes to make him his eldest son and heir. In the 4th the son addresses Vishvāmītra as "lord of the Bharatas." In the 5th the names of four sons of Vishvāmītra are given as Madhuchhandas, Rīṣhabha, Reṇu, and Aṣṭaka. In the 6th, the sons of Vishvāmītra obey his father and thereupon are blessed by him in the 7th. In the 8th, Vishvāmītra addresses his sons as *gāthināḥ* and introduces his newly adopted son as Deva-rāta. In the 9th, the name Deva-rāta again occurs, while *Khushikāḥ* is substituted for *gāthināḥ*. In the 10th the word Vishvāmītra and *gāthināḥ*, again occur and also the words Deva-rāta. In the 11th, Deva-rāta, a *Rīṣhi*, inherits the chiefship of the *Janhus*, apparently a sub-section of the Angirasas, and also succeeds to the temporal and spiritual heritage of Vishvāmītra, chief of the *gāthins*. Now to a critical analysis of the *gāthās*.

The first two sections irrelevant.

The first two sections appear to have no connection with the last two. In the 1st section we are left completely in the dark in regard to the antecedents of Nārada and also of the addressee or addressees. The whole address was not intended, perhaps, for one person; the 5th *gāthā* raises a suspicion that it was originally a piece of advice given to all *Brāhmaṇas*, that is, *priests*, by Nārada, the head-priest. We know absolutely nothing about the addresser or Rohita the addressee in the 2nd section, except that the addresser, whoever he was, making known the plain truth of Indra's befriending only the active and not the sluggard or the sleeping, wants one Rohita, perhaps his son, to shake off his laziness or lethargy and show more activity. The last two sections are replete with information. The word *Rīṣhi* occurs twice (17 and 31), and in both places is applied to Deva-rāta, who was *the* or *a* son of one Ajlgarta, whose father's name is given as Su-yavasa. Deva-rāta is also one of the *Janhus*, whose

Origin of the story in the last two sections.

chiefship he is said (31) to have inherited. He is again an Ângirasa. The *Janhus* thus seem to have formed a sub-section of the *Angirases*, who formed one of the sections of the *Rishis*. The *Rishi* was in all likelihood the national, the *Angiras* the sectional, the *Janhu* the sub-sectional or generic name of Devarâta, while *Ajigarti* was the patronymic. The epithet *kavi* (17) is somewhat obscure. That Ajigarta sold Deva-râta for 300 cows is a fact. But why should he have sold him? Ajigarta was either the chief or a very near relation of the chief of the *Janhus*, since Ajigarta's son Deva-râta, in course of time, obtained their chiefship. What could have led the chief or a very near relation of the chief to sell his son for 300 cows? Did the father sell his son on account of a scarcity, as the prose portion affirms, caused either by drought, pestilence or war? It was, perhaps, as the prose portion affirms. But a knowledge of customs and habits of primitive tribes of all races of mankind, to which a reader has an easy access in these days, is likely to rouse his suspicion that the custom or habit of human sacrifice is at the bottom of the story. There was, perhaps, a tribe, occasionally immolating human victims, and to such a tribe Ajigarta had the honour, or the dishonour, to belong. If he himself did not belong to such a tribe, he at least sold his son to one of such a tribe for 300 cows, and even undertook to stab or behead him. The name of the purchaser or of the tribe he belonged to is unfortunately not mentioned in the *gâthic* portion. Who were the *Shûdras* mentioned by Deva-râta? Vishvâmitra, a prince, intensely (22) feels for the human victim, snatches away, and at once adopts him for his son. But a question again arises—how came Vishvâmitra, a prince, to be present at the sacrifice? If Vishvâmitra were accustomed to the sight of sacrifices in which human victims were slaughtered, nothing on earth would have moved him to become the saviour of the boy on this occasion. The noble behaviour of Vishvâmitra on the occasion is conclusive evidence against his having belonged to a tribe or nationality in which human sacrifices were even occasionally offered. It is a pity that no *gâthás* are found throwing light on the relations of Vishvâmitra with the tribe occasionally slaughtering human victims, or with him who had paid 300 cows as the price of Deva-râta. Was Vishvâmitra asked to officiate as a priest by the sacrificer, who perhaps had not the courage to take him first into his confidence? Or was Vishvâmitra a casual guest, not knowing that his host was

The story
scanty of the cus-
tom of human
sacrifice.

Vishvâmitra
probably abolish-
es the custom.

soon about to be engaged in a human sacrifice, or was the tribe or clan of the *Janhus*, tributary to the tribe of Vishvāmītra, who, as lord paramount, was present with the noble resolve of stopping or abolishing the custom of an occasional human sacrifice that was in vogue among them? A prince's officiating as priest at a sacrifice need not surprise a thoughtful student of older Vedic literature, especially as Devāpi is said to have officiated as priest at the sacrifice of his younger brother Shantānu. The passage in Yāska's *nirukta* has been made accessible by Mādhava in his *bhāṣya* of the Shantānu (98) hymn in the 10th *mandala*. Of course, it would shock a Brāhmaṇa of post-vedic times and also his more bigoted ritualistic descendant of to-day. But facts are, after all, facts; that princes officiated as priests at sacrifice among the ancestors of Indian or cis-Indus Aryans in remote times, is a fact, which no sober scholar can ever deny or dispute. Parallels will be found in the histories of other nations or nationalities, especially in the history of the Spartans, among whom the king was also the chief priest. The same seems to have been the case with the early Romans. So Vishvāmītra the prince was no doubt entitled to officiate as the priest at a sacrifice; though, whether he acted in that capacity at the particular human sacrifice, would be, owing to the silence of the *gāthās*, an open question, notwithstanding the assertion of the author of the prose portion, who ungrudgingly assigns to Vishvāmītra the office of *hotri*, the chief priest of the Rīg-veda.

The age of the
"gāthās."

The *gāthās* belong to an age when the law of primogeniture was in force, when the temporal as well as the spiritual, or rather ritualistic, heir-loom descended to the eldest son. It was a patriarchal age, an age in which the will of a patriarch was set by public opinion above the law; and so Vishvāmītra the patriarch by one solemn breath of his mouth could and did make Deva-rāta the sole heir of both his temporal and ritualistic treasures, his dutiful family cheerfully acquiescing in what their worthy begetter was pleased to do. A student cannot learn from the *gāthās* how many sons in all Vishvāmītra had, though four among them, *viz.*, Madhu-chhandas, Rīṣhabha, Reṇu, Aṣhaṭaka seem to have been better known. The names Bharata and Kushika, by which Vishvāmītra and his kinsmen were known, had their origin undoubtedly in the particular nationality or section to which they had the honour to belong, though the names *gāthina* (30) and *gāthina* (31),

"Gāthina" and
"gāthina" con-
nected with
"gāthā."

which they had received, seem to be connected more with *gāthā* "song general" or "special," than with any nationality or section. It has already been pointed out that there were *gāthās* in honour of Indra, and the word *gāthīn* also has been used as an equivalent for "priest" (v. 1, h. 7). Having thus disposed of the *gāthās*, let us now turn our attention to the prose portion.

The prose portion makes "king Harischandra, son of Vedhas, born in the tribe of Ikṣhvāku and husband of 100 wives," the host, and Nārada his guest. Nārada brings with him his companion Parvata. Nārada counsels Harischandra to pray to Varuṇa to bless him with a son, promising to sacrifice that son at his altar. Harischandra accordingly prayed and promised to Varuṇa, and in course of time was blessed with a son named Rohita. Immediately after birth (1), after 10 days (2), when all the milk-teeth put in their appearance (3), when they fell off (4), when they re-appeared (5), when the boy was able to bear armour (6)—thus six times Varuṇa claimed his victim, and though Harischandra, with one or another excuse, put him off five times, the 6th time he had no other course left but to show that he was ready to make good his promise, and communicated to Rohita the doom that awaited him. Rohita at once ran away and sought shelter in a forest. Dropsy, the disease of Varuṇa, now seized the king. Rohita, on hearing of the condition of his father, was on his way home, when Indra, in the disguise of a *Brāhmaṇa*, accosted him and asked him to pass one more year in the forest. Every time that Rohita was on his way home he was ordered back by Indra; thus 6 years passed. At the end of the 6th year, Rohita found in the forest a *Rishi* by name Ajigarta, whose father's name was Su-yavasa, and who, with his wife and three sons, Shunah-puchchha, Shunah-shepa, and Shuno-lāngūla, was dying of hunger. Out of the three sons, Rohita was ready to buy one for 100 cows, to redeem himself. The eldest of the three was claimed by the father, the youngest by the mother; so it fell to the lot of the middle son to leave his parental roof and accompany Rohita. The human victim was placed by Rohita before his father. Harischandra now consulted Varuṇa, who declared a *Brāhmaṇa* to be more acceptable to him than a *Kshatriya*. Varuṇa, who was highly pleased, even taught the *rājāsūya* form of sacrifice to Harischandra, who accordingly on the *abhishchanta* day had Shunash-shepa, the human victim, brought

Additions made
by the prose portion.

forth. In the sacrifice, Vishvāmītra officiated as *hotṛi*, Jamadagni as *adhvaryu*, Ayāsa as *udgātṛi* and Vasīṣṭha as Brahman. No one would now come forward to tie the human victim to the post. But Ajigarta was there, and for 100 cows more he tied his own son to the post. But there was again no one ready to slaughter the victim. But the Brāhmaṇa father for 100 cows more undertook to cut the throat of his own son, and, sharpening the knife, brandished it before his eyes. "They are ready to slaughter me, as if I were not a human being, let me call upon the gods," said the wretched Shunash-shepa. He first called upon Prajāpati (*Kasya nūnam*—1), who referred him to Agni, who in his turn (*Agner vāyam*—2) referred him to Savitṛi, who (*Abhi tvā*—3 to 5) referred him to Varuṇa, to whom he was to be sacrificed. Shunash-shepa thereupon called upon Varuṇa (6—36) in the next 31 verses. Varuṇa referred him again to Agni, whom Shunash-shepa called upon in the next (37—58) 22 verses. Agni referred him to the Vishve-devas, to whom one verse (*namo mahadbhūyo*—59) is dedicated. The Vishve-devas referred him to Indra, to whom the hymn opening with *Yach-chid-hi satya* of 7 verses and the 15 verses of the next hymn (60—81) are devoted. Indra gave to Shunash-shepa a chariot of gold, which was, of course, accepted (*Shashva-dindrah*—82) and referred him to the two Ashvins (83—85), who in their turn referred him to (86-88) Uṣhas. The dropsy of Harischandra, which began to decrease appreciably at the opening verse, completely disappeared at the end of the closing verse of the Dawn triplet and the bonds of Shunash-shepa loosened. The sacrificial priests now asked Shunash-shepa to conclude the rites which they had commenced. Thereupon Shunash-shepa received the revelation of the so-called *anjas-sava*, which he prepared as described in the 4 verses (5—8) of the 28th hymn; after which he poured the liquid into the jug reciting the last (9) verse and then into the fire reciting the first 4 verses (1—4), accompanied with *smāhā*, of the same hymn. Harischandra took the concluding bath during the recitation of the two verses (4—5, h. 1, m. 4), after which he was duly brought before and presented to the śhavanīya fire in course of the recital of the *shunashhit-shepa* verse (7, h. 2, m. 5). The *rāja-sūya*, or rather the *abhi-śhechanīya*, rite apparently ends here.

Shunash-shepa identified with Deva-rāta.

After thus finishing the *rāja-sūya* commenced by Harischandra; Shunash-shepa approached Vishvāmītra. Ajigarta now claimed

Shunash-shepa as his son. But Vishvámitra would not entertain the claim of Ajigar̥ṣa, and, calling now the boy his own, he changed the boy's name Shunash-shepa into Deva-rāta ("given by the gods"). Shunash-shepa henceforth became known as Deva-rāta and as the son of Vishvámitra. The Kápileyas and the Bâbhravas were the descendants of Shunash-shepa *alias* Deva-rāta. Ajigarta now entreated or even importuned the boy to return, but he flatly refused. Vishvámitra, according to the author of the prose portion, had 100 sons. The elder 50, headed by Madhu-chchandas, obeyed, while the younger 50 disobeyed, Vishvámitra. The obedient sons were blessed, while the disobedient ones were cursed by the father. The barbarous tribes like the Ândhras, the Punḍras, the Shabaras, the Pulindas, and the Mútibas, living on or beyond the frontier of the land of the Áryas, are said to have received additions from the children of those sons, on whom Vishvámitra had cast the curse. The story is said to contain "more than 100 *ṛiks* and *gáthás*" and was to be told to the king by the *hotṛi* in the *Ája-súya* sacrifice, the response to the *ṛiks* being "om" and to the *gáthás* "tathâ."

Let us now turn to some points omitted in the *gáthás* and added by the author of the prose portion; also to some, which, though important, are noticed nowhere in the *gáthás* or in the prose portion. In the 1st section of the *gáthás*, only one name of Nârada occurs; Nârada "is asked," but, by whom, we are not informed. The prose portion supplies the name of the king who asked, and also the names of his father and tribe. The 2nd section of the *gáthás* has in the very first verse the name of Rohita, and Indra is described as sympathising with those who have and who show activity. But the parentage or the tribe of Rohita is not mentioned. The prose portion fills up the gap by making Rohita the son of Harischandra and arousing the sympathy of Indra, who, every year, in the disguise of a Brâhmaṇa, sends the boy back into the forest. But why Nârada advised Harischandra to pray specially to Varuṇa, and not to any other god, or why it was necessary to have the son himself sacrificed, or why Rohita should have had to pass six years in exile and only in the seventh should have succeeded in finding out a substitute to redeem himself, are points in regard to which no information has been vouchsafed. Besides, was not Rohita a fugitive? How or whence could he have procured the 100 cows to purchase the boy? The name Shunash-shepa is not found, nor

Omissions in the "Gáthás" and additions to the prose portion; also points not noticed in either.

is the fact of his having had an elder and also a younger brother recorded in any of the *gāthās*. Neither the *rāja-sūya* nor the *abhi-śhehanīya* is mentioned in the *gāthās*. In the prose portion the *rāja-sūya* is said to be revealed to Harischandra by Varuṇa, who was pleased at the prospect of getting a *Brāhmaṇa* for a *Kṣatriya* victim; while in the *rāja-sūya* which followed, the office of *hotṛi* is assigned to Vishvāmītra. In the *gāthās* Ajigarta is no doubt made a recipient of 300 cows; but no details of how he came into possession of such a large number of cows are given. The prose portion, on the other hand, says that Ajigarta received 100 cows as the price of his son, 100 for having tied him to the post, and 100 more for having readily accepted the odious office of the executioner of the innocent child of his own bowels. As for the connection of Shunash-shepa with the particular hymns, it is all the work of the author of the prose portion, there being not the remotest allusion to it in the *gāthās*. The decrease with the final disappearance of the dropsy of Harischandra, the loosening of the bonds of Shunash-shepa, the *Anjas-sava*, the *avabhṛita*, the presentation to the *āhavanīya* fire of Harischandra, all these details are conjured up and presented to the reader by the half-poetical and half-ritualistic author of the prose portion, the *gāthās* observing an ominous silence in regard to all these points. The writers of the *Brāhmaṇas* are, as a rule, great adepts in the art of deriving most fancifully the words they meet with, and the author of the prose portion before us, forming no exception to the general rule, is pleased to derive the word Deva-rāta, the name as given in the *gāthās* of the human victim, by *devā vā imam mahyamārāsata* ("the Devas have certainly given him to me"). The human victim is mentioned in no *gāthā* as Shunash-shepa, but is always mentioned as Deva-rāta. Our author makes the tribes or clans of the Kāpileyas and the Bābhṛavas descendants of Shunash-shepa, while the *gāthās* make no mention of Deva-rāta's descendants. Madhu-chchhandas from the *gāthās* seems to have had more than three younger brothers, and all of them are described as obedient. The prose portion is responsible for making Vishvāmītra the father of 100 sons and for dividing them into two equal divisions of 50, the senior division, with Madhu-chchhandas at the head, being obedient, and the junior disobedient. The *gāthās* mention no frontier or barbarous tribes; while the prose portion makes the blood of Vishvāmītra run through his cursed son in the veins of the five frontier

or barbarous tribes of the *Āndhras*, the *Pundras*, the *Shabaras*, the *Pulindas*, and the *Mútibas*. The *Āndhras* are the inland Telugus; the *Pundras* had their home on the river *Kosi*, a northern tributary of the Ganges, while the *Shabaras* are the *Saorae*, who gave not a little trouble to the sovereigns of Orissâ. The *Pulindas* and the *Mútibas* must have been, like the *Āndhras*, the *Pundras*, and the *Shabaras*, some eastern tribes. Now the most interesting question would be, whence came this Shunash-shepa, whom our author identifies with Deva-râta of the *gâthâs*? There was one Shunash-shepa, whom Agni was reputed to have released from the *yûpa*, and whose name figures in the 2nd hymn (v. 7) of the 5th *mandâla*. This verse had to be recited at the presentation to the fire of the *Yajamâna* after the concluding bath, as mentioned in the prose portion. There is a suspicion that in the age of the author of the prose portion, the 28th hymn was the last in the Shunash-shepa group, that it was followed by the two *avabhârita* verses (4-5, h. 1, m. 4), and that the presentation verse *shunash-chit-shepam* closed the group. This suspicion is again strengthened by the expression *rik-shata* (100 *riks*) in *para-rik-shata-gâtham*. According to the author, the number of the *riks* ought to be full one hundred; but the three verses being detached and made part and parcel of the two hymns in two different *mandâlas*, the number of the *riks* falls short by three. This state of things would necessitate the assumption that the Sanhitâ which the author of the prose portion had before him was altogether different from the *Shâkala Sanhitâ* as we have it to-day. There was, perhaps, the *Aitareya Sanhitâ* corresponding to the *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa* and the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, in which the hymns were differently numbered and even differently arranged. The author of the prose portion seems to have taken advantage of the word Shunash-shepa occurring in the opening hymn (12, 13) and also in the closing verse of the group, and by help of the words *grîhîta* and *tripadeshu baddhah* in the former and *yûpa* in the latter succeeded first in spinning out of his head, full of resource, the story of Shunash-shepa, and then in establishing an identity between his Shunash-shepa as spun out of the *riks* and Deva-râta as found in the *gâthâs*. It will be necessary to assume, before we arrive at this stage, that the author and his brother-ritualists did not always know or care to know the meaning of the verses and hymns which they intended to employ or did actually

Sources of the word "Shunash-shepa."

The corresponding Sanhitâ to the "Aitareya Brâhmaṇa," i. e. "Aitareya Sanhitâ," not the "Shâkala-sanhitâ."

How the story in the Brâhmaṇa saw the light.

The Sanhitâ-text not understood even in the Brâhmaṇa age.

employ in various sacrifices. It is with the greatest reluctance that such an admission has to be made. But there seems to be no other way of getting out of the difficulty. Much knowledge of grammar is not required to be convinced that *kah* in the first verse (h. 24) is the interrogative pronoun. The author puts to himself the question in the 1st verse and answers it in the 2nd by giving preference to Agni. But, even supposing the verse to be cut off from the following verse, there is *katama*, the superlative of the interrogative *kim*, to set at rest the doubt, if there be any, that *kah*, in this place at least, is nothing more than the interrogative pronoun; and yet the ritualists, among whom was our author also, persistently insist that *kah* in this verse means the Vedic divinity Prajāpati. Such interpretations cannot but force the conviction even on the most elementary student that even in the age in which the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa was written, and the corresponding *Aitareya Saṅhitā* compiled, the meaning of the verses forming the hymns was, as a rule, not appreciated, pronunciation being held to be all in all. It was in such an age, which did not appreciate meaning, that these one hundred verses were fathered on Shunash-shepa, between whom and Deva-rāta of the *gāthās* an identity also was besides established. There is yet another point which, though rather of ritualistic importance, and, as such, not likely to interest the general reader like the point of the identity between Shunash-shepa and Deva-rāta, imperatively demands a treatment here. It is the point of the *rāja-sūya* and the *abhi-śhechanīya*.

The age of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa determined by chronology of thought, not by chronology of years.

First to the age of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.

Professor Max Müller, in his latest work, has somewhere said to this effect that as there is no chronology of years in Sanskrit literature, we have to be contented with the chronology of thought. Consequently, whether the Aitareya was written B. C. or A. C., and if B. C., in what century, if A. C., in what century, are points which it would be better to leave in the hands of bolder and abler brains wont to soar higher. Ours is the humble lot to deal in the chronology of thought, not in the chronology of years.

The Aitareya age followed the degradation age of the warrior classes.

Though the superiority or the sovereignty of the Kṣatriyas could not be completely consigned to limbo, distinct attempts will be found made on the part of the author of the Aitareya to lower their dignity and to insinuate that they cannot or ought not to lay claim to equality with the priestly classes in sacrificial matters or on the platform of sacrifice. Not only were there

covert attempts to oust the martial classes from the responsible office of *purohita* (ch. 5, pan. 8) by recommending one of their own classes for it, but bolder heads among priests went further, aye, even to the length of denying them their individual ancestors and substituting, perhaps silently at first, the ancestors of their Brâhmaṇa *purohita* (ch. 4, pan. 7), as if the martial classes were one and all without any kind of sacrifice, before the priestly classes graciously taught them.

A characteristic story is inserted at the opening of the 4th chapter (pan. 7) as to how *sacrifice* was frightened at the terrific implements of a Kṣatriya, how it was attracted by, and irresistibly, though gradually, drawn towards, the tranquillising implements of a Brâhmaṇa, and how under the guidance of a Brâhmaṇa, laying down his own implements and accepting those of the priestly class, a Kṣatriya, as a matter-of-fact, became a Brâhmaṇa for the time being. This view necessitated a division of the then Âryan society into ministers and non-ministers of sacrifice. The ministers of sacrifice considered themselves as pre-eminently entitled to the privilege of taking into the system the sacrificial food, especially the *soma*, which privilege they most carefully withheld from the non-ministers, thus, cleverly placing the martial classes on a level with the industrial and the servile in sacrificial matters. At times there seem to have been even ebullitions of temper on the part of the princes, but they were generally most cleverly dealt with by shrewd or crafty priests. All military classes did not submit to the contumely of not being allowed to eat the sacrificial food. Some seem to have been allowed to eat : while others were denied that privilege. Among the latter, a few, insisting that their portion should be eaten by no human being, proposed the compromise of throwing the remains into the fire, and had the pleasure of seeing it accepted by their priests or priest. The author of the Aitareya, of course, roundly condemns the practice. Now let us turn to the story showing a very clever compromise proposed by a priest, a very crafty specimen of his class, and thankfully accepted by the simpleton of a prince.

How the priest was raised above the warrior.

The priest cuts off the warrior from the tasting of the "soma" juice.

Vishvantara, a prince, was once determined to have the sacrifice performed without any priest of the Shyâparṇa clan being allowed to officiate, because, as the sequel proves, the Shyâparṇas would not allow a Kṣatriya to partake of the *soma* juice remaining in a sacrifice. But a party of the Shyâparṇas, unobserved, usurped the

How Rîma the priest outwitted Vishvantara, a prince.

altar, and when Vishvantara had ordered his servants to kick them out without ceremony, their leader Rāma, being above the ordinary run, stood up and boldly proclaimed that (ch. 5, pān. 7) "if the priests disallowed a Kṣatriya to drink the *soma* juice in a sacrifice, it was only in the interest of the Kṣatriyas themselves that they did so, as, by drinking the *soma* juice in a sacrifice, a Kṣatriya was sure to make his 2nd and 3rd generations belong to, and owned by, priestly-classes, that is, by classes that were notoriously beggars, drinkers, eaters, and, as such, fit only to be kicked out from his presence by a Kṣatriya at his sweet will; while, if a Kṣatriya had no wish to see his 2nd or 3rd generation associate with or be called brethren by begging priests, and if his earnest prayer to the gods was that he might extend his conquests, enriching himself by tribute from conquered princes, and that his 2nd or 3rd generation also might follow the path beaten by him, let him never harbour "the thought of drinking the *soma* juice." "Besides," continued Rāma, "from the day on which Indra, from whom every prince and Kṣatriya claimed descent, was first publicly deprived of the privilege of drinking the *soma* juice for the sins he had committed, every prince and Kṣatriya had by bitter experience learnt the evil consequences caused by its drinking; that is why they have since that time, instead of the *soma* juice, taken to the juice of the fruits of the four shady trees, *nyagrodha*, *udumbara*, *ashvattha*, and *plaksha*, all of which are endowed with greater virtue and efficacy than the *soma* plant, at least for a Kṣatriya." The long harangue had its desired effect, and the kicked-out Shyāparṇas managed to get themselves kicked in, thanks to the advocacy of their cause by Rāma, an advocate of a very high order. Rāma thus only completed the degradation of warrior classes commenced by earlier priests, though even in the times in which the son of Itarā lived, there was no attempt on the part of the priestly class to usurp the temporal power of warriors and princes by forcing a member of those classes to beg of a member of their class the plot of ground required for the performance of a sacrifice. The priestly classes, along with the industrial, whenever they had to perform a sacrifice, had to beg the ground to be consecrated for it of a member of the warrior (ch. 4, p. 7) classes, thus openly acknowledging their suzerainty; while a member of the warrior classes, acknowledging the suzerainty of no mortal, prayed to the "(Divine) Father," that is, the sun, to grant him the *deva-yojana*. Thus, notwithstanding

His brother-priest of the Vishvantara-age, as described by Rāma, the great advocate.

The great Indra accused and dragged down by priests.

The warrior degraded spiritually, not temporarily.

the degradation in sacrificial matters of the warrior by the priestly classes, the temporal power or rule of the former does not seem to have ever been called in question by the latter.

The Aitareya Brâhmaṇa thus belongs to an age in which the spiritual degradation of the warrior classes was complete, and when the priestly classes, who had assumed an air of superiority and sanctity, generally took care to keep themselves at a decent distance from those that were non-priestly. The so-called *râja-sûya* is pre-eminently a sacrifice of the warrior classes. Even in later times, only a crowned head, who invariably belonged to one of the warrior classes, could perform it, no one from among the priestly classes having ever set his claim to the performance of it.

The reader will now be prepared to bear in mind at least one cardinal difference between the *râja-sûya* of the Aitareya and the older *râja-sûya*, that while in the former the warrior performer, being brought down to the level of the industrial classes, was robbed of his privilege of drinking the *soma* juice and had to substitute for it the juice of fruits of the four trees, there is no ground for assuming that the performer in the latter was debarred from tasting the precious liquid, which remained over and above after it was quaffed or sipped by the divinities invoked, as it could only be for partaking of the remains of the sacrificial food or drink made holy by the tongues of the immortals that the performer of a sacrifice first agreed to its performance.

The "Râja-sûya" of the pre-Aitareya age contrasted with that of the Aitareya age.

Bearing in mind this one great departure, let us turn to the nature of the *râja-sûya* as disclosed in the Aitareya. It seems from the closing paragraph of the first chapter of the 8th *panchikâ* that there were three model sacrifices which had served as the basis of the three forms of the *râja-sûya* current in the age of the Aitareya. The *agni-ṣtoma*, unconnected with *jyoti-ṣtoma*, was the basis of one form, the *agni-stoma*, connected with *jyoti-ṣtoma*, of another, while the *ukthya* of the third. The Aitareya condemns the third and recommends the second, passing over the first in silence. The difference between the second and the third form lay mainly in the *shastras* and the *stomas*, whose number in the latter aggregated to 30, while in the former to 24. The morning and the evening libations of both the model *agni-ṣtoma* and *râja-sûya* corresponded to each other, there being deviations, more or less important, only in the mid-day libation. The *râja-sûya* had one *soma*-drinking day from time immemorial; in the ritualistic language of the day it was an *ekâha*; and an *ekâha* it continued to be

Three forms of the "Râja-sûya."

even after the warrior classes were deprived of their valued privilege of tasting the *soma* juice by the priestly classes. As the king had to lay down for the time being the implements of his class and assume those of the priestly class, it was necessary, nay, inevitable, that he

Reconsecration of a king after the Rája-súya.

be re-anointed or re-consecrated and thereby restored to the class which he had temporarily deserted ; so the king at the formal conclusion of the *rája-súya* had to be re-consecrated, and after the

The king to hear the story of Shunash-shepa as found in the Aitareya.

kingdom was thus re-conveyed to him, his first duty was to hear in state from the *hotri* the story of Harishchandra as related in the Aitareya, of course, in commemoration of that human victim

How the Bráhmaṇa class is raised in the story.

Shunash-shepa, a priest, who, as a Bráhmaṇa, was superior to, and so more acceptable to, Varuṇa than Rohita, the son of Harishchandra ; he, a Bráhmaṇa, was thus the cause of the *rája-súya* being revealed to Harishchandra by Varuṇa, and it was he who, even after the inevitable interruption caused by his release to the human sacrifice peremptorily demanded by Varuṇa, could introduce the so-called *anjas-sava* and thereby solemnly close the *rája-súya* of Harishchandra by the usual *avabhṛita* bath, followed by the subsequent presentation of the *yajamána* to the *áhavanīya* fire. Though the story is told at the beginning of the "*rája-súya* chapters," the adjective *abhi-śhikta* "consecrated," seems to refer to the consecration or rather the re-consecration described in the closing chapter, and the story must have been, at least in the Aitareya age, told to the sacrificer *after* the natural dignity of the warrior class and with that also of the king were reconveyed to him, and not while he continued in the assumed garb of priest. The

How the Ash. Shr. Sūtra differs from the Ait. Br.

abhi-śhechanīya day was, perhaps, identical with the day on which the *punarabhiśheka*, "re-consecration," took place. The *Ash. Shr. Sūtra* puts the *abhi-śhechanīya* day earlier, that is, even before the *soma*-day ; but, curiously enough, makes no mention of the re-consecration in the Aitareya, the *abhi-śheka* on the *abhi-śhechanīya* day alluded to in the *Shr. Sūtra* being, according to the commentator, a subject-matter of Yajur-Veda, not of R̥g-Veda. On the whole, the *rája-súya*, as described in the *Shr. Sūtra* by Áshvaláyana, differs, no doubt, on a good many points from that described in the Aitareya ; but the fact of the Áshvaláyana school being an off-shoot of the *Shaunaka* school, and quite distinct from the Aitareya school, ought not to be lost sight of, Áshvaláyana himself acknowledging at times that on some points he did differ (S. 13, k. 1, ch. 10) from the Aitareya school.

This account of the *rāja-sūya* given in the Aitareya raises some questions. The first question is—was the *rāja-sūya* originally human sacrifice? Did it demand a human victim? The tenor of the story is that it did; that in every *rāja-sūya* a human victim was immolated, and that a stop was put to the immolation of a human victim only after Shunash-shepa, the last of human victims, on being released by grace of the Vedic divinities from the bonds, had succeeded in completing the interrupted sacrifice by substitution of the *anjas-sava* for his own released self, thereby averting or appeasing the wrath of the disappointed Varuṇa. In telling this story, especially in this particular place, the writer decidedly wanted to convey that a death-blow was dealt to manslaughter in the *rāja-sūya* sacrifice by priests who embraced the opportunity to substitute the harmless *soma* juice for the human victim. The story will, no doubt, be appreciated in this aspect by every thoughtful reader. Though the prose portion ascribes the abolition to Shunash-shepa the Brāhmaṇa, the *gāthās* give the credit of it to Vishvamitra the Kṣatriya. Another question, of course, in connection with this aspect will be raised, and it is this: "Is there any independent evidence to prove that the *rāja-sūya* of older, that is, pre-Aitareya days, was tainted by the immolation of a human victim? The testimony of the story cannot count for much, as it will necessitate not only an assumption that before Varuṇa, making the confession that the blood of a Brāhmaṇa victim was more acceptable to him than that of a Kṣatriya one, was pleased to reveal it to Harishchandra, no *rāja-sūya* was known to any one on the earth, but also another assumption that the Brāhmaṇa Shunash-shepa, a poor mortal though he was, could and did successfully outwit the mighty immortal Varuṇa by forcing him at last to drink the *soma*-juice instead of the more acceptable blood of a Brāhmaṇa. The necessity of these two assumptions reduces the value of the testimony of the story nearly to a cipher. May it not be that the story was originally a legacy left by the fire-worshippers, who had multiplied and had consequently levelled a thrust at the Varuṇa-worshippers, who, with their rites, perhaps, tainted by human sacrifice, were at a discount? Varuṇa will be found to be in the story degraded exactly in the same ratio in which the Brāhmaṇa or fire-worshipping priest is exalted. The story in the Aitareya, which, however, assigns the credit of the ultimate release of Shunash-shepa to the not-much-known Uṣhas, is evidently a second edition. The exclusive claim of the Brāhmaṇas or fire-worshipping

The story ascribes the abolition of human sacrifice to the Brāhmaṇa Shunash-shepa.

No evidence for holding the *Rāja-sūya* to have been a human sacrifice.

The story originally a legacy of some Varuṇa-reviling fire-worshippers.

The exclusive claim of the Brāhmaṇa classes to the "*soma*" plant based on the story.

priests to *soma*-juice, often given expression to in the *rāja-sūya* chapters of the Aitareya, seems to rest only on the slender basis of this story. Shunash-shepa, the Brāhmaṇa, introduced for the first time the so-called *anjus-sava*, "instantaneous fermentation," or, in other words, the *soma*-juice; and the classes, claiming Shunash-shepa as their own, claimed also the plant first brought to notice by him, and, keeping the secret of the preparation and all rites connected with it to themselves, jealously shut up all outsiders from participation in the knowledge of its mysteries; this would be the Brāhminical view. The *anjus-sava* hymn will, however, have shortly to be analysed, when the claim of Shunash-shepa to the discovery or introduction of *anjus-sava* will, as a matter of course, be entered into at some length.

Shunash-shepa's claim to being called Brāhmaṇa or priest not proved.

Now another point or question crops up—"Was Shunash-shepa a Brāhmaṇa, a priest?" Is there any independent testimony to establish that Shunash-shepa belonged to the priestly class? The story, no doubt, makes him a Brāhmaṇa. But the claims of Shunash-shepa to being considered as belonging to a priestly class will be found to rest on no better basis than his two epithets of *Āngirasa* and *Ṛṣiḥi*, more on the former than on the latter. As this very Aitareya has preserved a story in which even a Shūdra, by name Kavaṣha (ch. 3, pan. 2), ultimately became a *Ṛṣiḥi*, that is a seer of Vedic hymns, the epithet of *Ṛṣiḥi* applied to Shunash-shepa is not likely to prove much. The burden of proving that Shunash-shepa belonged to a priestly class will thus fall on the epithet *Āngirasa*. The *Āngirasa*s, no doubt, formed one of the seven sections into which the priestly class was divided; but while in the *Vishvāmītra* section of the last chapter of the *Āsh. Shr. Sūtra* all the children mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa, except *Ṛṣiḥabha* of *Vishvāmītra*, are represented, and even *Deva-rāta* is there, in the *Āngirasa* section no Shunash-shepa, no *Ajigarta*, no *Su-yavasa*, is found. Besides, the fact of Shunash-shepa, or rather *Deva-rāta*, having gone over to *Vishvāmītra* a born prince, and not to *Vasiṣṭha* a born priest, and also of his having obtained the chiefship of the *Jahnus* with that of the *Kushikas*, militates against his being considered as belonging to any priestly class at all. Shunash-shepa and *Deva-rāta*, with *Vishvāmītra*, are, as a matter of fact, persons of times when priestly and military duties were combined, as among the early Spartans and Romans, and not of times when, for one reason or another, they came to be separated.

Now, as to the derivation of the two words *rāja-sūya* and *abhi-ṣhechaniya* and their nature.

The word *rāja-sūya* is derived as follows : *rāja sūyate asmin*, "the Lord is bruised in which" ; by the word "Lord" the priests understanding the *soma* plant. But how is it that "the Lord" has not entered into the composition of any of the names of sacrifices which the priestly classes are authorised to perform ; while it has been the cause of giving a compound name, in which it occupies the first place, only to that sacrifice which a member of no priestly class is authorised to perform. This etymology, like many others attempted in this Brâhmaṇa, is a forced one, and, as such, cannot be acceptable to a critical student. The word *rāja-sūya* in all probability meant originally "the brewed offering for the Lord," while by *abhi-ṣhechaniya* was understood the "consecration" or "coronation" day. "The Lord" meant, of course, Varuṇa, often addressed as such in the hymns. The *rāja-sūya* thus originally meant any "brewed offering for Varuṇa," of course by Varuṇa-worshippers, and there must have been a *rāja-sūya* also on the *abhi-ṣheka* day of a "chief," as on other occasions. In course of time, the word *rājan* having come to be applied to a "chief," the word *rāja-sūya* was specialised and applied to the "brewed offering" brought "by the chief" on the *abhi-ṣheka* day. Thus the two words *rāja-sūya* and *abhi-ṣhechaniya* came to be linked together. In course of time, Varuṇa lost for one reason or another the premier position which he had long occupied and came to be recognised *only* as the god of all waters on the earth. A connection was consequently established between dropsy, "the water-disease," and Varuṇa, who seems to have been specially invoked by dropsical patients. The author of the Aitareya evidently lived after a connection was established between the rule of Varuṇa and waters or dropsy.

The word *rāja-sūya* derived.

An attempt to derive "abhi-ṣhechaniya."

Varuṇa recognised in the Aitareya age only as the god of Waters.

It is now high time to turn to the hymns.

The 24th hymn forms *apparently* one unit. The prayer in the last verse, as in the first, is for restoration to the "vast indestructible (world)," that is "motherland," as the author was in all likelihood shipwrecked and a refugee in some far off isle. He is anxious to be restored to his parents (1 v.) as well. He knows only three gods, or immortals, *viz.*, fire, the sun, and Varuṇa. He first invokes fire for restoration (2 v.) to his motherland and also to his parents. The sun was, it seems, the god of wealth.

Hymn 24 of two distinct pieces.

The Varuṇa
decad distin-
guished.

and, as such, must have been invoked by traders. Our author was possibly a trader by sea. He could not have belonged (4 v.) to the *Deva-reviling* division; he must have been a *Deva-worshipper*, but with no spark of bigotry or fanaticism in him. On a closer examination it will be found that the Varuṇa decad is in no way connected with the preceding pentad. The connection between the closing and the opening verses is more apparent than real. Varuṇa is the lord of *Aditi*; the author is a tenant of *Aditi*; he has sinned and his fervent prayer to Varuṇa is for forgiveness of his sins and freedom, or exemption from their three-fold consequence called *pásha* "snare, trap," by securing which forgiveness the humble tenant expects a renewal or extension of his lease. The author had lost his way either in a desert (v. 9) or on the sea, and illness also had seized him. All this calamity is, in his opinion, the outcome of his sins. So he propitiates Varuṇa by *brahman* (v. 11) "prayer," *namas* "offering," and *yajnya* "sacrificial rites" (v. 14), and hopes in return to be rewarded with (v. 11) long life. The author in the 6th verse vividly describes the irresistibility of Varuṇa's strength, force and grasp; in the 7th, it is the Lord Varuṇa who is said to have placed in the sky "the globe of glory"; in the 8th, the Lord Varuṇa is said to have made the path in the vast space for the sun and to be a "denunciator of the murderer"; in the 9th, the Lord Varuṇa is described as the patron of physicians; in the 10th, the moon and the stars at night are placed among the "indestructible works" of Varuṇa; in the 11th, Varuṇa is specially asked by the author not to shorten his life; in the 12th and the 13th, the Lord Varuṇa is described as the divinity sought by Shunash-shepa when taken prisoner, and is therefore earnestly prayed to by the author for his deliverance; in the 14th, Varuṇa is addressed as *Asura*, and in the 15th as *Aditya*: all the ten verses will thus be found interesting and also instructive. The author was, perhaps, a descendant of one Shunash-shepa, who, when taken prisoner and tied to the post, owed his deliverance to Varuṇa. The one point which will strike a close reader of these ten verses is that in five verses (7-9, 12-13), the word Varuṇa has *rājan* qualifying it; in the two verses (10-11), it has no such qualifying adjective; in the 14th the qualifying adjective is *Asura*; in the 15th it is *Aditya*, which occurs also in the 13th; while in the 6th, even the word Varuṇa is absent, though the context is

Varuṇa ad-
dressed either as
"rājan, Aditya"
or "asura," never
as "deva."

doubtless in favour of its being taken as understood—in fact, in these ten verses the adjective qualifying Varuṇa, when there is one, is either *rājan*, *asura* or *āditya*, never *deva*. In the first three verses the word *deva* is quite prominent; in the 4th the word *vid* “reviler (of the Devas)” occurs; in the 5th alone the word *deva* is not found, though the verse being connected with the 4th, the word will have to be taken as understood. This raises a suspicion that the author of the last ten verses was originally different from the author or authors of the first five; that the former was a Varuṇa-worshipper, that is an Asura-worshipper, while the latter was or were Deva-worshippers. Was Varuṇa-worship different in origin from fire-worship or sun-worship? Nothing but sheer ignorance of contents could have led one to take up such two distinct and conflicting pieces as parts, and, putting them together, make of them a whole, which, howsoever well arranged and smooth it may appear to the pious, must necessarily look clumsy to the critical eye. The 25th hymn has 21 verses, which, with the last ten of the preceding, seem to have formed one hymn of 31 verses in the Aitareya Sanhitā. But the Shākala Sanhitā deserves congratulation on having made a separate hymn of these 21 verses, without making them part and parcel of the preceding hymn. As these 21 verses, like the last ten of the preceding hymn, are in honour of Varuṇa, the compiler of the Aitareya Sanhitā was naturally tempted to make one long Varuṇa hymn of 31 verses. But the internal evidence against making one hymn of these two parts of 10 and 21 verses, respectively, is pretty strong. The two words *Deva* and *Vrata* in the opening verse are decidedly against this hymn being taken as a continuation of the preceding hymn, notwithstanding that the same divinity Varuṇa is invoked in both these, and their own sinfulness was uppermost in the minds of the authors when occupied with the composition of these two. The author of the decade does certainly not know Varuṇa as *Deva*, which word may safely be said to distinguish this hymn from the decade. The word *vrata* for “law,” no doubt, occurs in the last verse of the decade, though whether the law of Varuṇa the *Asura* was identical with the law of Varuṇa the *Deva* would be an open question.

The author of this hymn, who was as devout a Varuṇa-worshipper as the author of the decade, does not count himself among the *Viśvas*; so he seems to have been a *Kshatriya* (v. 5), though not belonging to the division (v. 15) of the *Mānuśhas*. He had somehow broken

The arrangement in the Shākala Sanhitā preferred to that in the Aitareya Sanhitā.

The 21 verses distinguished from the Varuṇa decade.

The age of the author of the 21 verses described.

the law of Varuṇa, for which he was sincerely penitent. There seems to have existed in this age a "law" or "moral code" which was ascribed to Varuṇa and which distinguished between sin and holiness. Whenever a sin was committed and there was consequently a violation of the law, the Lord Varuṇa was offended, and there were visible manifestations of his displeasure or wrath in the form of one kind of visitation or another. Under such circumstances, a peace-offering, accompanied with sincere repentance, seems, according to the law, to have been demanded of the worshipper by Varuṇa. One who "conformed to" the teachings of "the law" of Varuṇa was called *dhṛita-vrata* "conservator of the law." The Varuṇa-worship seems to have required a priest called *hotṛi*, an intoxicating drink and also a food offering (vs. 17 and 18). In the 6th verse, Varuṇa has a companion whose sex cannot be determined. According to Mādhava, the companion was *Mitra*. In the 7th verse, a connection will no doubt be found established between Varuṇa and the sea-faring ship, but his rule over the other world also is explicitly recognised in that and the two following verses. In the 8th verse, the adjective *dhṛita-vrata* being applied to Varuṇa seems to mean "the fountain of the law" not "the conservator of the law." The adjective *dhṛita-vrata* as qualifying Varuṇa occurs again in the 10th verse. In the 12th the adjective *Āditya* will remind the reader of verses 13 and 15 in the preceding hymn. In the 13th, Varuṇa is described as an active ruler with his *spashah*, "angels" or "agents" or "personal attendants," seated around him. This verse will remind an Avestic student of Mithra surrounded (k. 10) by *spaso*. In the 14th, Varuṇa is again a *Deva*. The closing verse will remind the reader of the closing verse of the preceding hymn. This hymn could have been written only after Varuṇa the *Asura* had received recognition from the *Deva*-worshippers. This recognition was possible only when the intercourse between the two divisions had a greater freedom, when the word *Asura* had not become a bye-word with the one or the word *Deva* with the other division.

"D h ṛ i t a"
has two mean-
ings.

Varuṇa an
active ruler like
the Avestic Mi-
thra.

Some ritua-
listic and other
details of the age
come to light.

"S a h a s"
originally "a
kind of wood."

The 26th hymn of 10 verses is an address by a *yajamāno* of the *Manus* division to Agni. It is a valuable hymn as disclosing the form of ritual current in the age in which the author lived. The fire seems to have been produced by friction from a species of wood called *sahas* (v. 10). Any doubt as to *sahas* being originally "a kind of wood" ought to be dispelled by the expression *sahasrūd yūpād* in the presentation (v. 7, l. 2, m. 5) verse. The number of

hotri priests was two, one was called "senior" or "older" (v. 5) the name of the other will be found in the 7th verse, but whether it was *vish-pati*, *mandra* or *varenya* cannot be determined; perhaps it was *mandra*, and his duty was the preparation of beer or mead. The two *hotris* in this hymn will remind the reader of the "two divine *hotris*" for whom there was an oblation in the *ápri* verses (v. 8, h. 13). The *yajamána*, the 2 *hotris*, and the *vishas* seem to have been the three divisions, the former two forming the militant, while the latter the industrial or servile type of society, as constituted in those days. The *barhis* was spread (v. 4) for the three *risha*-eating gods Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman. The hymn is certainly of an age when the national or the divisional name of the author was not only individualised, but the imaginary patriarch thus brought into existence was remembered as the teacher or performer of sacrifice. After the oblations were offered to these three divinities, an "all-fires" offering seems to have closed the *homa* (v. 10). The *hotri* priest, who was in charge of the *homa*, had to make himself holy, put on the (v. 1) sacerdotal vestments and then open the *adhvara*. The 8th verse raises a suspicion that the *Devas* was originally the name of a fire-worshipping nationality or human division, and that the *mánushas* were traditionally indebted to it for the form of fire-worship then prevalent among them. The word *manman* in the 2nd verse stands for some kind of offering, perhaps the vocal.

Two "hotris."

The three-fold divisions of society.

"Barhis" spread for three "risha"-eating divinities.

"Manus," the tribal name metamorphosed into a sacrificing patriarch.

An "all-fires" offering.

The priest had to make himself "holy" and put on "sacerdotal vestments."

The "Devas," originally fire-worshippers.

The 27th hymn of 13 verses is not quite homogeneous. The first 9 verses may be taken as forming one homogeneous hymn, but the 10th verse is in honour of Rudra, *Jarábodha* being evidently the name of some priest; the adjective *animánah*, "measureless" or "bottomless" in the 11th, perhaps, indicates that some volcanic crater is by its author intended to be described; the 12th may be connected with the 11th or taken as an independent verse, while the 13th can have no earthly connection with any of the preceding verses. If there were young and old among the *Devas*, and also short and tall, would it not be better to hold that the word *Deva* originally denoted a militant division of mankind, and *yajnya* the "tribute" paid to its members by the tribes conquered and brought under subjection? The author of the solitary verse was from among the tribes or nationalities accustomed to pay tribute, but, not being as well off as before, he is anxious under his changed circumstances that he should not be open to the charge of having deliberately withheld the payment of his dues. This

A heterogeneous hymn. The fire rather "volcanic."

Old and young among the *Devas*.

verse ought to strengthen the suspicion raised by the 8th verse in the preceding (26th) hymn with its adjective of *svagnayah* qualifying the *Devas*, that the *Devas* were originally no imaginary or aerial beings or spirits but as they were "preservers of fire" and had "old and young" or "short and tall" among them, they must have had also hands and feet, and, as such, formed an independent and very important division of mankind.

The majority of verses bellicose.

The first 9 verses, of this hymn, especially the five from 5 to 9, have a decidedly bellicose tone. The scene is placed on or about the Indus. The author must have composed this new *gāyatra* of 9 verses on the eve of a great battle. The insertion of *ya* in the form *kāyasaya* (v. 8) is equally curious with that of *iy* in *mīyedyu* (v. 1. h. 26).

Analysis of the "Anjas-sava" hymn.

The 28th hymn of 9 verses is the so-called *anjas-sava* hymn. The 9 verses may be divided into 3 parts, the first two parts made of 4 verses each, and the third of the remaining one verse. In the 1st verse is mentioned one stone or stone-pestle, and also one mortar; in the 2nd two *adhī-shavanīs* "long vessels," one containing the cereal to be put into the mortar, the other for receiving the contents of the mortar; in the 3rd a woman is described as "letting in" and "letting out." In all these verses, the contents are not named; but the word *mantha* in the 4th verse removes all doubt that it was barley-flour that formed the contents of the mortar.

The word *vanas-pati* in the singular, no doubt, occurs in the 6th, and in the dual in the 8th, but Mādharma has correctly interpreted the word by "wooden," both the mortar and the pestle, especially the larger specimens, being made of wood. There is an order in the 9th verse to have the deposit put into the two *shamās*, to have the liqueur strained through the strainer, and then to have it preserved in cow-skins. The word *soma* occurs, of course, in the 6th and the 9th verses, but it occurs in these verses just as it does in those of many a preceding hymn. From the 8th verse it is clear that *Madhu*, that is either "honey" or "mead," was added to the contents in the mortar. What an instructive commentary on the ways of ritualists of the Aitareya and also of the pre-Aitareya age, when all these 7 hymns were fathered on Shunash-shepa and when all these 9 verses were cited as containing or declaring the origin of the *anjas-sava*, " instantaneous fermentation "!!!

A historical hymn misunderstood or misinterpreted.

The treatment of the 29th hymn of 7 verses by the ritualists is equally instructive. There seems to have been a powerful and rich

chief of the name (v. 5) of Gardabha. He had two wives, the name of one being Kandṛināchi (v. 6). Gardabha had thousands of cows and horses and his enemies (v. 1) were for robbing him of some ; but all their attempts failed. *Shiprin* was, perhaps, the name of the bold commander or counsellor who had set treachery at work in the camp of Gardabha. In the 3rd verse there is a prayer to Indra to make the two queens sleep a sound sleep, as they, perhaps, viewed with suspicion the doings of Shiprin and his associates. Some females not privy to the conspiracy, are not (v. 4) to be disturbed in their sleep, while those that were " givers " of information to be purposely kept awake. Gardabha with one wife was (v. 5) to have his name erased from the book of the living, while the other (v. 6) was not to be obstructed or molested in her flight. All (v. 7) those that raised a hue-and-cry were to be slain, while those who attempted opposition were to be at once dispatched. The hymn cannot be said to be in honour of Indra, it is rather a prayer to him ; there is no ritual, no religious rite in it. It describes, with some details, a plot on the part of the adversaries of Gardabha, who, being rich and powerful, had proved invincible in the open battlefield : and hence this attempt to stab him in the dark.

The 30th hymn of 22 verses is, as already pointed out, heterogeneous. Even the first 15 verses have not the appearance of a homogeneous whole. The 4 verses (6-9) have a distinctly bellicose tone, in the last the author remembering the fact of his father having once called upon Indra and obtained victory in a battle. The preceding 5 verses describe the drinking power, the capacity of the stomach, and the inordinate fondness for liqueur of Indra. In the following 6 (10-15) verses, the author is pleading before Indra the cause of his or of some other priests. In the 12th, the author seems to have promised to Indra the performance of an *ishṭi* for him. In the 16th, which is again a solitary verse like that at the end of the 27th hymn, and equally important with it in respect to the original meaning of the word *Deva*, Indra is described first as winning riches by means of his neighing and panting horses and then making the present of a chariot of gold to the author and his kindred. Here again, would it not be better to take Indra as some warlike king or prince, making a present of a chariot of gold to the warrior to whom he thought himself indebted for the victory. The *uṣhas* triplet is cleverly made to close the hymn, as the expression "at the disappearance Uṣhas" occurs in the 2nd of the two *ava-bhṛita*

A distinct heterogeneo. hymn. The bellicose part of verse.

The not bellicose part of 6 verses. An authentic pleading for priests.

A solitary verse.

The uṣhas triplet analysed

verses. But here again it was only the word *uṣhas* that was taken notice of by the compiler and not its meaning. In the 2nd *avabhṛita* verse, the author begs protection of Agni "at the disappearance of *uṣhas*," the ordinary "dawn"; while in the last verse of the triplet, the prayer is to *Uṣhas*, "Dawn" personified; besides, it is for wealth and food, not for protection. In no verse of the triplet is mention made of any fetter or disease; whence then could there be in the triplet room for a prayer for deliverance from one and for disappearance of the other? How then could the triplet be connected with the deliverance of Shunash-shepa from the *yúpa* or the disappearance of the dropsy of Harishchandra? and yet the Aitareya declares that these two objects, for which no prayer is found or to which not even a remote allusion is made in any of the verses forming the triplet, were attained at the conclusion of the third verse!!!

No order among the divinities in the story."

Even the order in which the divinities are in the story made to appear on the stage is not quite intelligible. Prajâ-pati stands at the head of the Vedic pantheon, even Indra being made one of his numerous sons. Why should Prajâ-pati, father of the gods, refer Shunash-shepa to Agni, occupying rather a subordinate position according to this very Aitareya, the lowest, the highest being reserved for Viṣṇu. Why should Agni refer him to Savitṛi, Savitṛi to Varuṇa and Varuṇa to Agni again? Who are these Vishe-Devas whom Shunash-shepa has been referred to by Agni? The same Agni who before referred Shunash-shepa to Savitṛi, now refers him to Indra. The great Indra, after giving the boy a chariot of gold, refers him to the two Ashvins, his subordinates, who refer him to *Uṣhas* "Dawn". Of course, some quaint reason is in some places given to the boy by the divinity referred to for referring him to another divinity. But where or what was the necessity for a higher divinity to refer the boy to a lower one? is the question likely to be asked by an inquiring student, and no satisfactory answer can be given. Besides, when even the Vishve-Devas were honoured with a reference, why were Viṣṇu, Vâyu, Pâśhan, Mitra, Sarasvatî, the Maruts and others forgotten or omitted? The truth seems to be that the

The Shunash-shepa story in the Aitareya, an attempt to connect Shunash-shepa with the authorship of the "seven hymns."

hymns were found arranged in a particular order in a particular *Sanhitâ*, and then an attempt was made probably by some enthusiastic worshipper of *Uṣhas*, to establish a connection between these seven hymns and the story of Shunash-shepa, as received by the people. The story seemed to have had for its basis, as already

noticed, the name of Shunash-shepa, occurring in the 24th hymn (vs. 12 and 13) and also in the presentation verse. The maker of the attempt steadfastly kept the Sanhitâ order of the seven hymns and also the *gâthâs* before him, and the result is the grotesque story of Harishchandra, as preserved in the Aitareya.

¹ ART. XX.—*A Peep into the Early History of India from the foundation of the Maurya Dynasty to the fall of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty. (B. C. 322—circa 500 A. D.).* BY DR. R. G. BRANDARKAR, M.A., C.I.E.

[Contributed April 1900.]

INTRODUCTORY.

I think I may take it for granted that an Indian who has received English education and has been introduced to the ancient history of European countries, naturally has a desire to be acquainted with the ancient history of his own country, to know by whom and how that country was governed in ancient times, or how its social and religious institutions have grown up and what revolutions the country has gone through; but means for the satisfaction of this desire are wanting. India unfortunately has no written history. There are some chronicles written by Jainas and others referring to kings and princes who lived from about the eighth to the eleventh centuries of the Christian era and ruled over Gujarat and Rajputana. There are also lives of individual kings such as the Śrī-Harshacharita of Bāṇa and the Vikramāṅkadevacharita of Bilhāṇa. The hero of the former ruled over Northern India in the first half of the seventh century, and of the latter over Southern India in the latter part of the eleventh and the early part of the twelfth century. The Purāṇas contain genealogies of certain dynasties. With these exceptions, sometime ago we had absolutely no knowledge of the history of the different provinces of India before the foundation of the Mahomedan Empire. But the researches of European and some Native scholars and antiquarians have thrown considerable light over this dark period. The knowledge hitherto gathered cannot be pronounced to be very satisfactory or to be as good as written books would have supplied. Still, it is sufficient to give us a general idea of the political, social, and religious movements that took place from remote times to the arrival of the Mahomedans. The materials for these researches I shall here shortly describe.

First,—Gold, silver and copper coins of ancient kings are found in all parts of the country, especially in Northern India, when old mounds composed of the ruins of buildings are dug out. These

¹ This article consists of a lecture read in March last before a Poona audience, but afterwards considerably amplified.

coins bear certain emblems, and also legends in ancient characters containing the names of the Princes who issued them, and sometimes of their fathers, with occasionally the date of their issue. From these we derive a knowledge of the kings and dynasties that ruled over the provinces in which the coins are found.

Secondly,—We find inscriptions engraved on rocks and columns and on the remains of ancient temples wherein occur the names of Princes, and sometimes of the provinces ruled over or conquered by them. In the case of temples and other benefactions we have the names of the donors, their profession, the description of the nature of their gift, and sometimes the name of the king in whose reign the gift was made. Again, we find in digging old ruins charters of land-grants made by Princes, inscribed on plates of copper. The grants therein recorded were made to individual Brāhmins or to temples or Buddhistic Vihāras. These copper-plate inscriptions often give a full genealogy of the dynasty to which the grantor belonged, together with the most notable events in the reign of each of the princes belonging to the dynasty. Often-times, there is a mere vague praise of the different kings which can have no historical value, but one who possesses a little critical power can without much difficulty distinguish between what is historically true and what is not. A very large number of such grants has been found in our own Maratha country, in consequence of which we have been able to construct a sort of continuous political history from about the beginning of the sixth century to the time of the Mahomedan invasion.

Thirdly,—Another important source consists the writings of foreigners who visited this country or obtained information about it from others. The invasion of Alexander the Great brought the Greeks in communication with India, and after his death his general Seleukus who obtained the province of Syria kept up a regular intercourse with a king who is called Sandracottus by the Greeks, who reigned at Pātāliputra, and at whose court resided an ambassador of Seleukus of the name of Megasthenes. The work of Megasthenes, though not extant, was abridged by other writers and in this form it has come down to us. Then we have Ptolemy's geography which was written between 151 and 163 A. D., the date of his death. He gives the names of Indian towns and sometimes of the princes who reigned there at the time. Similarly we have got another work called the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea whose author is unknown. He too gives valuable geographical and historical information. After Buddhism had pene-

trated into China, several Chinese pilgrims visited India from time to time and have left us an account of what they saw. Such are Fa Hian, Sung-yun, Hieun Tsiang, and Itsing. The Mahomedans who visited the country in later times have also left us similar works. Besides the information given by these writers about the people, their literature, and their kings, what is of the highest value is the help they afford in determining the dates of events in India. For all these foreigners had good systems of chronology.

Besides these, some of the later Sanskrit and vernacular works contain what are called *Prasástis* or historical accounts of princes in whose reign they were composed and sometimes of the dynasties to which they belonged.

These are the authorities for the political history of the country ; but the history of thought as well as of religious and social institutions is to be gathered from the literature itself, which is vast. But though it is vast, still older works calculated to enable us to solve many a problem in literary and social history have perished.

In using all these materials, however, one should exercise a good deal of keen critical power. No one who does not possess this power can make a proper use of them. A good many years ago, I delivered a lecture on the critical and comparative method of study, which has been published. To what I have stated there, I shall only add that in dealing with all these materials one should proceed on such principles of evidence as are followed by a judge. One must in the first place be impartial, with no particular disposition to find in the materials before him something that will tend to the glory of his race and country, nor should he have an opposite prejudice against the country or its people. Nothing but dry truth should be his object ; and he should in every case determine the credibility of the witness before him and the probability or otherwise of what is stated by him. He should ascertain whether he was an eye-witness or a contemporary witness, and whether in describing a certain event he himself was not open to the temptation of exaggeration or to the influence of the marvellous. None of the current legends should be considered to be historically true, but an endeavour should be made to find any germ of truth that there may be in them by evidence of another nature.

THE MAURYS.

I shall now proceed to give a short sketch of the history of India as determined by the critical use of these materials. As I have already

observed, the Purānas give lists of kings who, they say in prophetic language, will reign in the future. In consequence of the corruption of manuscripts there are a great many discrepancies in the lists as given in different works of that class. Besides, there is no chronological clue whatever to be found in them. We will, therefore, begin with that dynasty of which we have intimation elsewhere, and with that king whose date can be determined by unimpeachable evidence. Chandragupta is mentioned as the founder of the Maurya dynasty. He is said to have uprooted the family of the Nandas who ruled before him and to have been assisted by a Brahman of the name of Chāṅakya. He is one of those whose memory has been preserved by both Buddhist and Brahmanic writers. We have a dramatic play in which his acquisition of the throne through the help of Chāṅakya is alluded to. Buddhistic works also give similar accounts about him. The grammarian Patañjali alludes to the Mauryas and speaks of a *Chandraguptasabhā*. In an inscription, dated in the year 72, which has been referred to the Śaka era and is consequently equivalent to 150 A. D., Chandragupta the Maurya is spoken of as having caused a certain tank to be constructed; and we have contemporary evidence also of the existence of the king and of his acquisition of the throne in the writings of Greek authors. They speak of Chandragupta as being an ambitious man in his youth, and as having been present in the Panjab at the time of Alexander's invasion. He is said to have freed the country from the Macedonian yoke, to have fought with Seleukus, who had obtained the Syrian province of the Alexandrian empire, and to have finally concluded a treaty with him. Seleukus sent an ambassador to his court of the name of Megasthenes. From this connection of Chandragupta with Seleukus we have been able to determine the date of his accession, which is about 322 B. C. Chandragupta's capital was Pāṭaliputra, which is represented by Greek writers to have been situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Erannobos, which last corresponds to our Hiraṇyabāhā. Hiraṇyabāhā was another name of the Soṇa, and Patañjali speaks of Pāṭaliputra as situated on the banks of the Soṇa.² His successor, according to one Purāna, was Bindusāra, and, according to another, Bhadrāsāra. He is mentioned also in Buddhistic works, but the name does not occur in any inscription or foreign writing. His son was called Aśoka. This is a very important name in the ancient history of the whole of India, and as the connection of the prince

² अनुशीलं पाटलिपुत्रम्.

with Buddhism was close, and that religion plays an important part in the general history of India, I must here give a short account of it.

RISE OF BUDDHISM,—ITS DOCTRINES AND AIMS.

After the Indian Âryas had established the system of sacrificial religion fully, their speculation took its start from the sacrifice. Every thing was identified with some sacrificial operation. The gods are represented in the Purusha Sûkta to have sacrificed the primordial Purusha, from whom thus sacrificed arose the whole creation. *Brahman* is a word which in the Riksamhitâ means a particular Mantra or verse addressed to a god, or that sort of power from which one is able to compose such a Mantra. Thence it came to signify the true power or virtue in a sacrifice, or its essence; and when the whole universe was regarded as produced from a kind of sacrifice, its essence also came to be named *Brahman*. There was at the same time religious and philosophical speculation upon an independent basis starting from the self-conscious soul. In the Rîgveda Samhitâ we have several philosophical hymns, and the speculation which they indicate ran on in its course, and the results of it we have in the Upanishads. In the celebrated hymn beginning with *Nâsadâsinnosadâsit*³ it is represented that in the darkness which enveloped the whole world in the beginning, that which was wrapped up in the Unsubstantial developed through the force of brooding energy, and there arose in it a Desire which is spoken of as the first germ of the mind. This idea that our worldly existence with its definite modes of thinking is the result of desire developed in a variety of ways. This appears to be the idea adopted or appropriated by Buddhism, and one sense of the name Mâra of the Buddhistic Prince of Darkness is Kâma or desire. Of the four noble truths of Buddhism the first is misery (*Duḥkha*), and the second the origin of misery. This is thirst or desire. If, therefore, the misery of worldly existence is due to desire, the conclusion follows that, in the words of the Kaṭha Upanishad, by uprooting your desire you are free from misery and attain immortality and eternal bliss.⁴ This is the third of the noble truths. But immortality or eternal bliss one can speak of when one regards the soul as something different from and lying beyond the mind or thoughts which have been set in motion by desire. When, however, the existence of such a thing beyond the mind or thought is denied, the condition of eternal bliss

³ B. X. 129.

⁴ यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य इति स्थिता : &c. Katha U, VI., 14.

means, when thought has ceased, what some people call, annihilation. In one of the sections of the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, which Upanishad and the *Chhândogya* might be regarded as collections of the speculations of various Rishis, there occurs a passage which comes very near to the denial of the soul as a separate substance. "Yājñavalkya," says *Âtabhâga*, the son of *Jaratkâru*, "when the speech of a man or *Purusha* who is dead, goes to *Agni* or fire, his breath to the wind, his sight to the sun, his mind to the moon, his power of hearing to the quarters, the body to the earth, and the self to the *Âkâśa* or ether, the hairs of his body to the herbs and the hairs on the head to the trees, and the blood and seminal fluid are placed in the waters, where does the *Purusha* exist?" *Yājñavalkya* answers "*Âtabhâga*, give me your hand. We alone shall know of this and not the people here." So then they went out and conversed with each other and what they spoke of was *Karma* (deeds), and what they praised was *Karma*. He who does meritorious *Karma* or deeds becomes holy, and he who does sinful deeds becomes sinful. With this *Âtabhâga*, the son of *Jaratkâru*, was satisfied and remained silent.⁵ Here it will be seen that the different parts of which man is composed are represented as being dissolved into the different parts of the Cosmos, and what remains is the *Karma*. The ideas therefore involved in this dialogue are three :—(1) That the soul is not a substance separate from the component parts of a human being ; (2) that what renders transmigration or the production of a new being possible is the *Karma*, and (3) that according to the nature of the previous *Karma* is the nature of the new being, holy or sinful. The third idea is common to all Hindu systems of philosophy or religion ; but the first two are heterodox, and must have been considered so when the dialogue was composed, since it was to avoid the shock which the exposition of such doctrines would cause that *Yājñavalkya* retires from the assembly and speaks to *Âtabhâga* alone. Still the ideas had been developed in the times of the Upanishad and were adopted by Buddhism. In the celebrated dialogue between the Greek king *Milinda* or *Menander* of *Śākala* and *Nāgasena*, a Buddhist Saint, the king asks: "How is your reverence known? What is your name?" *Nāgasena* replies: "I am called *Nāgasena* by my parents, the priests, and others. But *Nāgasena* is not a separate entity." And going on further in this way *Nāgasena* gives an instance of the chariot in

⁵ Br. Âr. Up. III, 2, 13-14

which the king came, and says: "As the various parts of a chariot when united form the chariot, so the five Skandhas⁶ when united in one body form a being or living existence." Here we see that as there is nothing like a chariot independently of its parts, so there is nothing like a man independently of the various elements of which he is composed. Further on in the same book we have, "The king said, ' what is it Nāgasena that is re-born?' 'Name-and-form is re-born?' 'What, is it this same name-and-form that is re-born?' 'No; but by this name-and-form deeds are done, good and evil, and by these deeds (this Karma) another name-and-form is re-born.'"⁷ In the external world also the Buddhist believes in the existence of no substance. To him all knowledge is phenomenal, and this is what appears to be meant by the doctrine that every thing is *Kshanika* or momentary.

But it was not the metaphysical doctrines of Buddhism that influenced the masses of the people. What proved attractive was its ethical side. The Buddhist preachers discoursed on *Dharma* or righteousness to the people. Such discourses on *Dharma* without the introduction of any theistic idea have their representatives in the Brahmanic literature. In many of the episodes of the *Mahābhārata* especially in the *Śānti* and *Ānuśāsana* books, we have simply ethical discourses without any reference to God, of the nature of those we find in Buddhistic works; and sometimes the verses in the *Mahābhārata*, are the same as those occurring in the latter. There appears to be at one time a period in which the thoughts of the Hindus were directed to the delineation of right conduct in itself without any theistic bearing. And Buddhism on its ethical side represents that phase. Right conduct is the last of the four noble truths of Buddhism. The origin of misery alluded to above is destroyed by what is called the eight-fold Path—*viz.*, right views, right resolve, right speech, right action, right living, right effort, right self-knowledge, right contemplation.⁸ Thus the Buddhistic gospel is, that righteous conduct is the means of the de-

⁶ The five Skandhas are रूप physical constituents, विज्ञान self-consciousness, वेदना feeling of pleasure or pain, संज्ञा name, and संस्कार love, hatred, and infatuation. These five constitute the human being.

⁷ नायरूप or name-and-form is equivalent to the five Skandhas of which a living being is composed. The expression, therefore, signifies a living individual.

⁸ सम्यग्दृष्टिः, सम्यक्संकल्पः, सम्यग्वाक्, सम्यक्कर्मन्तः, सम्यगाजीवः, सम्यग्ध्यायानः, सम्यक्स्मृतिः, सम्यक्समाधिश्च। The true sense of सम्यक्स्मृति has, it appears to me, not yet been correctly given. स्मृति is remembrance of what a man's true condition

struction of suffering which may end in positive happiness or not according as one regards his soul as substantial or phenomenal. It was this phase of Buddhism that with the strenuous efforts of the missionaries and of the Emperor Aśoka enabled it to achieve success amongst the masses of the people; and what was wanting on the theistic side was supplied by the perfection and marvellous powers attributed to the founder of the religion. Without this faith in the perfection or, what we should call, the divine nature of Buddha, a mere ethical religion would probably not have succeeded. Buddhism was not a social revolution as has been thought by some writers. It was a religion established and propagated by persons who had renounced the world and professed not to care for it. From times of old there existed in the Indian community such persons, who were called Śramanas and belonged originally to all castes. These gave themselves to contemplation and sometimes propounded doctrines of salvation not in harmony with the prevalent creed. Buddhism was not even a revolt against caste, for though men from all castes were admitted to the monastic order, and though in the discourses of Buddha himself and others the distinction of caste is pronounced to be entirely worthless, still the object of those who elaborated the system was not to level caste-distinctions. They even left the domestic ceremonies of their followers to be performed according to the Vedic ritual. This is one of the arguments brought against Buddhism by Udayanāchārya. "There does not exist," he says, "a sect, the followers of which do not perform the Vedic rites beginning with the Garbhādhāna and ending with the funeral, even though they regard them as having but a relative or tentative truth."⁹ Buddhism, however, was a revolt against the sacrificial system and denied the authority of the Vedas as calculated to point out the path to salvation. And this is at the root of the hostility between itself and Brahmanism.

is; being blinded to it is स्मृतिविभ्रम or स्मृतिभ्रंश, Bhag. G. ii. 63. Seeing where one's course of conduct is leading one and remembering what one ought to do is स्मृति; and that is awakened in one by God; *Ib.* xv. 15. When infatuation disappears, स्मृति returns: *Ib.* xviii. 73.

⁹ नास्त्येव तदर्थानं यत्र सांभृतमतेदित्युक्त्वापि गर्भाधानान्योष्टिपर्यन्तां वैदिकां क्रियां जगो नामुतिष्ठति। *Ātmatattvaviveka*. Calc. Ed. of Sunvat 1906. p. 89. सांभृत relating to संभृति, a Buddhist technical term.

PROPAGATION OF BUDDHISM,—AŚOKA'S EDICTS.

Buddhism was propagated by a number of devoted persons. But I think the efforts of Aśoka contributed a good deal to its acceptance by the large mass of the people. Though of course in his edicts he does not inculcate upon his people faith in Buddha and Saṅgha, still the Dharma or righteousness that he preaches is in the spirit of Buddhism. The inscriptions of Aśoka are engraved on rocks, pillars, and tablets of stone. Those of the first class are found at Gīrnār in Kāthiawād, on the west, Shahbazgarhi in Afghanistan, Mausehra on the northern frontiers of the Panjāb, Khalsi near the sources of the Jumna in the Himālaya, and Dhauli in Katak and Jaugad in Ganjam on the east. All these contain the same edicts, their number in some cases being fourteen, and less in others. In the last two places there are two separate edicts not found on the other rocks. These inscriptions are in two different characters—those at Gīrnār, Khalsi, Dhauli and Jaugad being in the character called Brāhmi, which is the earliest form of our modern Devanāgarī, and those at Shahbazgarhi and Mausehra are in the character called Kharoshthi, and are written from right to left in the manner of the ancient Pahlavi and the modern Persian and Arabic documents. Two of the columns bearing inscriptions of the second class are now at Dehli. They were brought there by the Emperor Firozshah from Siwalik and Merat. The others exist at Allahabad, Radhia, Mathia, and Rāmpurvā. The edicts are the same on these columns, but the number of these on the Siwalik Dehli pillar is seven, the second Dehli pillar contains five, that at Rāmpurvā four, and the rest six. In the case of both these classes, the inscriptions are well-preserved in some cases and mutilated in others. Smaller edicts on rocks and tablets are found at Rūpnāth and Sahasarām in Bhāgelkhand, Bairat on the north-eastern boundary of Rajputana, and Siddāpur in the Maisur territory. There is also a tablet inscription addressed to the Māgadha Saṅgha, and three small ones in caves at Barābar near Gayā. Two more inscriptions have been found at Paderia and Nigliva in the Nepāl Terai.

EXTENT OF AŚOKA'S EMPIRE AND THE DATE OF HIS CORONATION.

Now, in the first place, from the localities in which we find these inscriptions it appears that Aśoka's dominions extended from Kāthiawād on the west to Katak and Ganjam on the east, and to Afghanistan, Panjāb, and the sources of the Jumna in the north. To the south it extended over the centre of the table-land of the Dekkan up to

Maisur. In the second rock-edict he speaks of "conquered" countries and the "neighbouring or bordering" countries. In the last class he mentions the Choḍas, the Pāṇdyas, Satiyaputa, Ketalaputa or Keralaputa up to Tambapaṇṇi, and the countries of Antiyoko the Yona king and his neighbours. In the thirteenth rock-edict he speaks of his having achieved religious victory "here" and in the neighbouring or bordering countries up to six hundred *Yojanas*, where reigns Antiyoko, the Yona king, and further away from him where the four kings, Turamāya, Antikina, Maka, and Alikasudara hold sway, and down below where the Choḍa and the Pāṇdyas rule up to Tambapaṇṇi, and also in the countries of "Hidarāja." This last expression must be translated by "the kings about here," among whom he enumerates those of the countries of Visha, Vaji, Yona, Kamboja, Nābhāta, Nābhapanti, Bhoja, Pitinika, Andhra, and Pulinda.¹⁰ Here there is a threefold division, *viz.*, his own empire, spoken of as "here"; the neighbouring independent countries ruled over by Antiochus and others, and those of the Choḍas and Pāṇdyas; and the "Hidarājas" or "kings here," *i. e.*, in his empire. On comparing both these passages, it would appear that Antiochus and the other Greek princes as well as the princes of the Choḍas and Pāṇdyas, were independent; while the kings of the Vajjis, whose country lay near Pātaliputra, and of the Bhojas, the Petenikas, and the Andhras and the Pulindas were under his influence, *i. e.*, were probably his feudatories; while the rest of the country was under his immediate sway. Among the feudatory princes must also be included those of the Gandhāras, Rāṣṭhikas, and the Aparāntas, who are mentioned in the fifth rock-edict, and to whose dominions he sent overseers of righteousness.¹¹ From the mention of Antiyoko and others in the second and thirteenth edicts, the date when they were composed can be accurately determined. Antiyoko was Antiochus of Syria (260—247 B. C.), Turamāya was Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt (285—247 B. C.), Antikini was

¹⁰ Epigr. Ind. Vol. II. pp. 449-450 and 462-465. Hidarāja has been taken to be a proper name by both M. Senart and Dr. Bühler. But *Hida* everywhere in these inscriptions means "here," and the sense the "kings here" fits in very well with the context. *Aśoka* distinguishes between *Hida* and *Antes*—*i. e.*, his own empire and the territories of his neighbours. The third class left must be of those who were kings in the extent of country that could be spoken of as *Hida*, *i. e.*, princes comprised in his empire or dependent princes. *Ib.* p. 471, and Inscriptions of Piyatasi, by Senart, Vol. II. p. 84, and p. 92, note 63.

¹¹ अशोकसूक्तः

Antigonus Gonatus of Macedonia (278—242 B. C.), Maka was Magas of Cyrene (died 258 B. C.), and Alikasudara was Alexander of Epirus (died between 262 and 258). All of these were living between 260 and 258 B. C., wherefore the matter in the inscription was composed between those years, *i. e.*, about 259 B. C., and Aśoka was crowned about 271 B. C., as the edict was promulgated in the thirteenth year after the event.¹²

AŚOKA, A BUDDHIST, BUT TOLERANT AND LIBERAL.

In the edicts at Sahasarīm, Bairat, Rūpnāth, and Siddāpur,¹³ Aśoka says that he was an *Uṇāsaka* or lay-follower of Buddhism for more than two years and a half, but did not exert himself to promote righteousness; but for more than a year afterwards he did so, and the result was that those men and gods that had been regarded as true in Jambudvīpa before, were rendered false. In the eighth rock-edict, he speaks of his having "set out for Sambodhi," which technically means perfect knowledge, after the end of the tenth year since his coronation. This expression occurs in Buddhistic Pāli works, and signifies 'beginning to do such deeds as are calculated to lead in the end to perfection.' From these two statements it appears that Aśoka was a Buddhistic lay-follower, and worked with a view to gain the highest good promised by Buddhism. He visited the Lumbinī grove, where Sākyamuni was born, after he had been a crowned king for twenty years, and, having done worship, erected a stone column on the site with a stone enclosure (enclosing wall).¹⁴ Paderia, in the Nepāl Terai, where the inscription which mentions this was found engraved on a mutilated pillar, must be the site of the birth-place of Buddha. The other Nepāl inscription that was found at Niglīva represents his having increased the stūpa raised to Konākamana, when fourteen years had elapsed since his coronation, and some years afterwards, probably in the same year in which he visited the Lumbinī grove, he did worship there.¹⁵ In the Bahhra inscription addressed to the Māgadha Churoh, Aśoka expresses his faith in the Buddhist Triad of Buddha, Dharma (Righteousness),

¹² Inscriptions of Pyadasi, by Senart, Vol. II. p. 86, Eng. Trans.

¹³ Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII. pp. 302-303; Inscr. of P. Vol. II. pp. 57-58 and 67; and Ep. Ind. Vol. IV. III. p. 138.

¹⁴ Ep. Ind. Vol. V. p. 4. I think सिलाविगडभीषा must be an enclosure or railing made of stone. भीषा is probably connected with भिन्नि or भिन्निक्का "a wall."

¹⁵ Ep. Ind. Vol. V. pp. 5-6.

and Saṅgha (the Assembly), and recommends that certain works which he names should be read and pondered over by the priests as well as by lay followers.¹⁶ All this shows distinctly enough that Aśoka was a Buddhist; but in the edicts his notions seem to be so liberal and exalted, and his admission that there is truth in the teachings of all sects is so plain, that it must be concluded that he was not actuated by a sectarian spirit, but by a simple respect for truth; and his ethical discourses were such as to be acceptable to everybody, and his moral overseers worked amongst people of all classes and creeds.

AŚOKA'S AIMS AND OBJECTS AND THE MEANS HE EMPLOYED.

Aśoka's great object in publishing his edicts was to preach and promote righteousness amongst his subjects. Dharma or righteousness consists, as said by him, in the second pillar-edict, (1) in doing no ill, (2) doing a great deal of good, (3) in sympathy, (4) beneficence, (5) truth, and (6) purity. In the seventh edict he adds, (7) gentleness, and (8) saintliness.¹⁷ Besides this, he prohibited the killing of animals for religious sacrifices, and was very particular about it.¹⁸ In the fifth pillar-edict he does seem to allow the flesh of certain animals to be used, but he carefully enumerates those that should not be killed at all, and the conditions under which others should not be killed. Large feasts or banquets, where hundreds of thousands of animals were killed, he prohibited.¹⁹ He directed his officers to go on tours every five years for the inculcation of Dharma or righteousness and for other matters. He had Mahânâtras or Governors of provinces before, but in the fifth rock-edict he speaks of his having created the office of Dharmamahâmâtras or overseers of righteousness in the fourteenth year after his coronation, and sent them to different countries—those under his immediate sway and those which were semi-independent. They were to work amongst old and young, rich and poor, householders and recluses, and amongst the followers of the different sects; and their business was to look to the good of all, to establish and promote righteousness, and to protect all from oppression. They were also to work

¹⁶ Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 257.

¹⁷ Ep. Ind. Vol. II. pp. 249, 269-71, and also Inscr. Pij. Vol. II. pp. 6, 26-27. The words are: (1) अपासिनव, (2) बहुकयाण (बहुकस्याण), (3) दया, (4) दान, (5) सच (सत्य), (6) सोचये (सौच), (7) मदवे (मार्दव), and (8) साधवे (साधुत्व).

¹⁸ 1st Rock Edict and also the 4th.

¹⁹ 1st Rock Edict.

amongst those who were near to him, in his family, and amongst his relations. In the fourth rock-edict he tells us that by his efforts the destruction of animals, which was enormous before, has almost ceased by his religious orders or instructions, and a regard for one's relations, for Brahmans and Śramaṇas or holy recluses, obedience to father and mother and to the old, and general righteousness have increased and will increase, and he hopes that his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, &c., up to the end of the Kalpa will go on promoting it; and, being righteous themselves, will instruct their subjects in righteousness. For, "this," he says, "is the highest duty one can perform, *viz.*, that of preaching righteousness." In the seventh rock-edict he allows the followers of all sects to live wherever they like, because what they all aim at is self-restraint and purity; and in the twelfth he says that he shows his regard for the members of all sects, for the recluses and householders, by gifts and in various other ways; but the highest or the best way of showing regard is to seek to increase the importance of all sects. This importance is increased by ceasing to extol one's own sect or revile that of another, and by showing respect for the creed of another. Aśoka also speaks of his having planted trees and medicinal herbs, dug wells, and opened establishments for the distribution of water, for the good of men and animals in different places, even in the countries of his foreign neighbours.²⁰ The inscriptions in two of the caves at Barūbar mention their being dedicated after he had been a crowned monarch for twelve years to the use of members of the Ājīva sect, which, like that of the Buddhists, was a sect of recluses; that in the third does not give any name.²¹

This will give the reader an idea of the sort of religion preached by Aśoka. He prohibited animal sacrifices and taught that right conduct was the only way to heaven. He inculcated respect for Brahmans as well as Śramaṇas or ascetics of all sects, and was tolerant towards all. The old Vedic or sacrificial religion, *i. e.*, the Karmakāṇḍa, thus received an effectual blow not only at the hands of Buddhists generally, but of Aśoka particularly; so that though attempts were made later on to revive it, as I shall hereafter show, it became obsolete; and it is only rarely that one meets with an Agnihotrin or keeper of the sacred fires, and even the simplest of the old great sacrifices is performed in modern times in but a few and stray instances.

²⁰ 2nd Rock Edict.

²¹ Cunningham's *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* plate XVI.; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 364.

BUDDHISTIC ACCOUNTS.

The Buddhist records give long accounts of Aśoka and represent him as one of their great patrons ; but they are more or less legendary, and it is difficult to separate the truth from falsehood. Some of their statements, such as that Aśoka visited Buddha's birthplace, are, as we have seen, confirmed by the inscriptions. A great council of Buddhist priests is said to have been held at his instance to settle the Buddhistic canon ; and though there is nothing improbable in it, still it is rather remarkable that no reference to the event occurs in the inscriptions ; and Aśoka does not seem to have interested himself with doctrinal Buddhism so much as to seek its settlement.

SUCCESSORS OF AŚOKA.

The names of the successors of Aśoka given in the Purāṇas do not agree. The Vishṇu Purāṇa gives Daśaratha as the name of his grandson, and there are three inscriptions in three caves in the Nāgārjuni hills, near Gayā, in which Daśaratha is represented immediately after his coronation to have dedicated them for the use of the Ājīvaka monks.²² We have seen that Aśoka dedicated similar caves, which are in the Barābar hills, for the use of the Ājīvakas. No trace of any other successor of Aśoka is found anywhere.

THE SUNGAS AND THE KĀṆVĀYANAS.

The dynasty of the Mauryas was uprooted, according to the Purāṇas, by Pushyamitra or Pushyamitra, who founded the dynasty of the Sungas. Pushyamitra is several times alluded to by Patañjali in the Mahābhāshya, and from the occurrence of his name in a particular passage, I have fixed Patañjali's date to be about 142 B.C.²³ Pushyamitra is represented by the Buddhists to have been their persecutor. It appears from the Mahābhāshya that he was a staunch adherent of Brahmanism and performed sacrifices. His son Agnimitra is the hero of Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra, in which also there is an allusion to the Aśvamedha performed by Pushyamitra. It will thus appear that he could by no means have been a patron of Buddhism, and the story of his having persecuted them may therefore be true. An inscription on the Buddhistic Stūpa at Bharaut, between Jabalpur and Allahabad, represents the place to have been situated in the

²² Cunningham's *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* plate XVI., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 364-65.

²³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 299 and ff.; Vol. II. p. 69 and ff.

dominions of the Śuṅgas. Agnimitra was probably his father's viceroy at Vidiśā in eastern Mālwa. The Śuṅgas are mentioned as having reigned for 112 years in the Purāṇas. They were followed by the Kāṇvāyanas, the first of whom was Vāsudeva. A duration of forty-five years is assigned to this dynasty.

THE YAVANAS OF BACTRIAN GREEKS.

Long before this time, however, the Yavanas and even the Śakas make their appearance in Indian history. The instances given by Patañjali of the use of the Imperfect to indicate an action well-known to people, but not witnessed by the speaker, and still possible to have been seen by him, are, as is well known, *Arunad Yavanah Śāketam: Arunad Yavano Madhyamikām*.²⁴ This shows that a certain Yavana or Greek prince had besieged Śāketa or Ayōdhyā and another place called Madhyamikā when Patañjali wrote this. The late Dr. Goldstücker identified this Yavana prince with Menander. He may, however, be identified with Apollodotus, since the coins of both were found near the Jumna, and, according to the author of the Periplus, were current at Barygaza (Broach) in the first century A.D.²⁵ But since Strabo represents Menander to have carried his arms as far as the Jumna, his identification with the Yavana prince is more probable. In another place Patañjali, in the instances to the Sūtra, beginning with *Sūdrāṇām, &c.*, gives *Saka-yavaṇam* as an instance of an aggregate Dvandva which signifies that they were Sūdras and lived beyond the confines of Āryāvarta. I have already alluded to a work in Pāli consisting of dialogues between Milinda and Nāgasena, which is called Milinda-Pañho. Milinda has been identified with Menander, and is represented as a Yavana king whose capital was Śākala in the Panjāb. The Purāṇas, too, in a passage which is greatly confused, assign the sovereignty of India to Śakas and other foreign tribes. But as the only reliable and definite evidence about these foreign kings is furnished by their coins, we shall now proceed to consider them.

Coins of silver and sometimes of copper have been found in Afghanistan and the Panjāb, even as far eastward as Mathurā and the Jumna, which bear bilingual legends besides certain emblems characteristic of them. One of these is on the obverse in Greek characters and language, giving the name of the prince as well as his titles; and the

²⁴ Under Pān III. 2, 111.

²⁵ Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII, p. 143.

other, which is on the reverse, is in the Kharoshthi characters, to which I have already drawn attention, and which are written from the right to the left, and in the Pāli or Prākṛit language. For example, the coins of one of the earlier of these Bactro-Indian princes, Heliokles, contain on the obverse the legend *Basileus Dikaioy Heliokleoy*, which means "Heliocles, the righteous king," and on the reverse the legend *Mahārajasa Dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa*, which is the northern Prākṛit for the Sanskrit "Mahārājasya Dhūrmikasya Heliyakreyasya." Now, this Prākṛit legend could have been used only because the coins were intended to be current in provinces inhabited by Hindus. The princes, therefore, whose coins bear such legends must be considered to have held some province in India. The Kharoshthi characters, as stated before, are used in the rock inscriptions of Aśoka in Afghanistan and on the northern frontiers of the Panjāb. The Kharoshthi legend used on the coins, therefore, indicates that in the beginning, the princes who used them must have governed some part of Afghanistan or the Panjāb; and their use was continued even after their possessions extended further eastward. The founder of the Greco-Bactrian monarchy was Diodotus. He was followed by Euthydemus who appears to have been totally unconnected with him. Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, succeeded him and even in the life-time of his father carried his arms to India and conquered some territory. Eucratides was his rival and they were at war with each other. But Eucratides in the event succeeded in making himself master of a province in India; and there appear to have been two dynasties or rather factions ruling contemporaneously. To the line of Demetrius belonged Euthydemus II. probably his son, Agathocles and Pantaleon. A prince of the name of Antimachus seems also to have been connected with them.²⁶ The coins of the first two princes have no Prākṛit legend; those of the next two have it in the Brāhmi or ancient Nāgarī characters, while those of the last have it in the Kharosthī. Eucratides was succeeded by Heliocles, his son who probably reigned from 160 B. C. to 150 B. C.²⁷ There are bilingual legends on the coins of these. There were other princes who followed these, but whose order has not yet been determined, and the dates, too, have not been settled. Their names are these:—Philoxenus, Lysias, Antialkidas, Theophilus, Amyntas, and Archebius. These and the preceding princes ruled over

²⁶ Percy Gardner's coins of the Greek and Scythic kings, &c., Introduction.

²⁷ Lassen Ind. Alterth. Vol. II. pp. 325-26.

Bactria and Afghanistan to the south of the Paropamisus, but not over the Panjáb. The names of those who held also the Panjáb, and in some cases some of the eastern provinces as far as the Jumna, are as follows :—Mendander, Apollodotus, Zoilus, Dionysius, Straton, Hippostratus, Diomedes, Nicias, Telephos, Hermaeus.²⁹ Of these the name of Menander occurs, as already stated, in the Páli work known as Milindapañho. Milinda is the Indianized form of Menandro; and the prince is represented as being very powerful. His capital was Sákala in the Panjáb.

In the coins of some of these princes the middle word is *apađihatasa* corresponding to *Anikhtoy* in the Greek legend, as in *Mahárájasa Apađihatasa Philasinasa*. In those of others we have *Jayadharasa* corresponding to *Nikhphoroy* in the Greek legend, as in *Mahárájasa Jayadharasa Antiakiasa*. On the coins of Archebius we have *Mahárájasa Dhramikasa Jayadharasa Arkhebiyasa*, and on those of others, such as Menander, we have *Tradarasa* corresponding to the Greek *Suthros*, as in *Mahárájasa, Tradarasa, Menandrasa*. *Tradarasa* is a corruption of some such word as *trátúrasa* for Sanskrit *trátuh*. On some coins we have *Tejamasa Tádárasa*, where *tejamu* stands for the Greek *Ehiphenoy*, and means brilliant. Sometimes we have *Mahatasa Jayatasa* after *Mahárdjasa*.

The chronology and the mutual relations of these Greco-Indian kings are by no means clear. Some of the princes reigned in one province contemporaneously with others in other provinces. But it may generally be stated, especially in view of the passage quoted from Patañjali above, and of the tradition alluded to by Kálidása in the *Málavikágnimitra*, that Pushpamitra's sacrificial horse was captured on the banks of the Sindhu or Indus by Yavana cavalry; it may be concluded that these kings were in possession of parts of India from about the beginning of the second century before Christ to the arrival of the Sakas whom we shall now proceed to consider.

THE IMPERIAL ŚAKAS.

The Saka coinage is an imitation of the Greco-Bactrian or Greco-Indian coinage, though there are some emblems peculiar to the Sakas. There are two legends, as in the case of the former, one on the obverse in Greek letters, and the other on the reverse in Kharoshthi character and in the Prākṛit language. Here, too, the mutual relation between the princes, their order of succession, as well as their dates,

²⁹ *Ib.* Vol. II., Bk. II.

are by no means clear. Still, from the bilingual legends on the coins, we have recently determined the order of the princes, and endeavoured to fix the period when they ruled. The following are the names arranged in the order thus determined:—(i.) Vonones, (ii.) Spalirises, (iii.) Azas I., (iv.) Azilises, (v.) Azas II., and (vi.) Maues. There are coins of two others, *viz.*, Spalahores and his son Spalgadames, who, however, did not succeed to supreme power.²⁰ Now, one thing to be remarked with reference to these princes is that in the legends on their coins, unlike the Greco-Indians, they style themselves *Basileus Basileon*, corresponding to the Prākṛit on the reverse *Maharajasa Rajarajasa*. Thus they style themselves "kings of kings," *i. e.*, emperors. They also appropriate the epithet *Mahatasa*, corresponding to the Greek *Megaloy*, which we find on the coins of Greek kings. Now, the title "king of kings" cannot in the beginning at least have been an empty boast. The Sakas must have conquered a very large portion of the country before they found themselves in a position to use this imperial title. And we have evidence of the spread of their power. First of all, the era at present called Sālivāhana Saka was up to about the thirteenth century known by the name of 'the era of the Saka king or kings' and 'the era of the coronation of the Saka king.' Now, such an era, bearing the name of the Saka king that has lasted to the present day, cannot have come to be generally used, unless the Saka kings had been very powerful, and their dominions extended over a very large portion of the country and lasted for a long time. And we have positive evidence of the extent of their power. Taxila in the Panjāb, and Mathurā and the surrounding provinces were ruled over by princes who use the title of Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa. So also a very long dynasty of Kshatrapas or Mahākshatrapas ruled over the part of the country extending from the coast of Kāthiawād to Ujjayinī in Mālwa. Even the Maratha Country was for some time under the sovereignty of a Kshatrapa, who afterwards became a Mahākshatrapa. Evidence has been found to consider these Kshatrapas as belonging to the Saka race, and the very title Kshatrapa, which is evidently the same as the Persian *Kshathrapa*, ordinarily Satrap, shows that these princes were originally of a foreign origin. The coins of the early princes of the Western or Kāthiawād-Mālwa Kshatrapas bear on the obverse some Greek

²⁰ See the paper written by Mr. Devadatta R. Bhandarkar and published in his volume (pp. 16-25).

characters, and also a few Kharoshthi letters, together with a Brâhmi legend on the reverse. And this also points to their connection with the north. These princes give dates on their coins and use them in their inscriptions which have now been considered by all antiquarians to refer to the Saka era. It is by no means unreasonable therefore to consider these and the Northern Kshatrapas to have been in the beginning at least Viceroys of the Saka kings, and the Saka era to have been founded by the most powerful of these kings. If these considerations have any weight, the Saka kings, whose names have been given above, founded their power in the latter part of the first century of the Christian era. This goes against the opinion of all scholars and antiquarians who have hitherto written on the subject and who refer the foundation of the Saka power to about the beginning of the first century before Christ.³⁰

NORTHERN KSHATRAPAS.

The names of Northern Kshatrapas found on coins and in inscriptions are Zeionises, Kharamostis; Liaka and Patika who bore the surname Kusulaka and governed North-Western Panjâb at Taxila; and Râjub(v)ula and his son Sodâsa who held power at Mathurâ.³¹ The names of Liaka and Patika are found in a copperplate inscription in which the foundation of a monastery and the placing of a relic of Sâkyamuni are recorded.³² Inscriptions have been discovered at Mathurâ and Morâ in Rajputana,³³ which are dated in the reign of Sodâsa. There was also found a Lion pillar at Mathurâ on which there is an inscription in which the names of the mother of Sodâsa, his father Râjuvula, and other relatives are given as well as those of the allied Kshatrapas, viz., Patika of Takshasilâ and Miyika.³⁴ The names of two other Kshatrapas, Hagâna and Hagâmasha,³⁵ have been discovered. The coins of Zeionises and Kharamostis, and some of

³⁰ See D. B. Bhandarkar's paper referred to before, for the whole argument. Many circumstances have been brought forward, all of which point to the conclusion which we have arrived at, and thus render it highly probable. The objection against it, based on the style of the coins, has also been considered.

³¹ Numismatic Chronicle for 1890, pp. 125-129; Percy Gardner's Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of India.

³² Ep. Ind. Vol. IV., p. 54 ff.

³³ Cunningham's Arch. Rep. Vol. III., p. 30, and Vol. XX., p. 49, and Ep. Ind. Vol. II., p. 199.

³⁴ Jour. R. A. S. 1894, p. 533 ff.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 549, and Cunningham's Coins of Anc. Ind., p. 87.

Rājuvula, bear on the obverse a Greek legend and on the reverse one in Kharoshthī characters, thus showing their close connection with their Saka masters. Some of Rājuvula and those of Soḍāsa, Hagāna and Hagāmasha have a Brāhmī legend only. Rājuvula uses high-sounding imperial titles on some of his coins, whence it would appear that he made himself independent of his overlord. The date of his son Soḍāsa is 72,³⁶ equivalent, according to our view, to 150 A. D. It would thus appear that the Satraps who governed Mathurā and the eastern portion of the Saka empire declared themselves independent some time before 150 A. D.; while those who governed north-western Panjāb at Taxila, and consequently were nearer to their Sovereign Lords, acknowledged their authority till 78 Saka or 150 A. D., as is evident from Patika's mention of Moga, who has been identified with the Saka Emperor Manes, in the Taxila copperplate inscription referred to before.

KSHATRAPAS OF KĀTHIAWĀḌ-MĀLWĀ.

Silver coins of the Kshatrapas of Kāthiawāḍ or Surāshtra and Mālwa have been found in large numbers in those provinces. The latest find was in the rock-cells and temples to the south of the Uparkoṭ, a fortress of Junāgaḍh in Kāthiawāḍ, which consisted of twelve hundred coins of different kings.³⁷ On the obverse there is a bust of the reigning prince very often with the date, and on the reverse there is in the centre an emblem which has the appearance of a Stūpa with a wavy line below and the sun and the crescent of the moon at the top. Round this central emblem is the legend giving the name of the prince with that of his father and the title Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa, in Brāhmī or old Devanāgarī character and in mixed Sanskrit and Prākṛit. The first prince of this dynasty was Chashtana, son of Ghsamotika. There are Greek letters on the obverse of his coins which have but recently been read and found to contain the name of the prince. The legend on the reverse is *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Ghsamotikaputrasa Chashtanasa*. The coins of this prince do not bear dates; but Chashtana is mentioned by Ptolemy as Tiasenes, a prince reigning at Ozene or Ujjayini. And from this and other circumstances his date has been determined to be about 132 A.D. The name Chashtana and Ghsamotika are evidently foreign and not Indian. Chashtana had a large number of successors, some of whom are called

³⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 199, and Vol. IV., p. 55, n. 2.

³⁷ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX., p. 201.

Kshatrapas only and others Mahākshatrapas. There are others again who were Kshatrapas in the early part of their career and Mahākshatrapas in the later. The former was evidently an inferior title and showed that the bearer of it was a dependent prince, while a Mahākshatrapa held supreme power. There are inscriptions also in which the names of some of these princes are mentioned. In one at Junāgaḍh dated 72, Rudradāman's minister Suviśākha, a Pahlava, son of Kulaipa, is represented to have re-constructed the dam that had broken away of the lake Sudarśana. In it Rudradāman is spoken of as having been at war with Śātakarṣi, the lord of the Dekkan, and subjected to his sway a good many provinces to the north of Surāshṭra. There is another inscription bearing the date 103 found at Guṇḍā, in the Jāmnagar State, in which Rudrabhūti is represented as having dug a tank and constructed it in the reign of the Kshatrapa Rudrasimha, son of Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman, grandson of Kshatrapa Jayadāman, and great grandson of Mahākshatrapa Chashtana.³⁸ A third found at Jasdan in Kāthiawāḍ and dated 127, while Rudrasena was ruling records the construction of a Sattrā or a feeding-house for travellers by one whose name appears to be Mānasasagara, and who was the son of Pranāthaka and grandson of Khara.³⁹ The genealogy of Rudrasena, that is given, is, that he was [the son] of Rudrasimha, grandson of Rudradāman, grandson of the son of Jayadāman, and great-grandson of the son of Chashtana. Another inscription at Junāgaḍh of the grandson of Jayadāman represents some sort of gift in connection with those who had become Kevalis, *i. e.*, perfect individuals, according to Jains. And the last that I have to notice is that found at Mulwāsar in Okhāmaṇḍala which refers itself to the reign of Rudrasena and bears the date 122.⁴⁰

The following is a complete list of the Kshatrapa princes with the dates occurring on the coins, and in the inscriptions:—

I. *Mahākshatrapas.*

II. *Kshatrapas.*

1. Chashtana.

1. Chashtana.

2. Jayadāman son of Chashtana.

³⁸ Bhowmgar Coll. of Inscr., p. 22.

³⁹ *Ib.* p. 22 facs. and Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 234.

⁴⁰ Bhowmgar Coll. of Inscr., p. 7 and p. 23; see also Jour. R. A. S., April 1879 pp. 380 ff.

I. *Mahākshatrapas.*

2. Rudradāman son of Jayadāman, 72.
3. Dāmagsada son of Rudradāman.
4. Rudrasimha son of Rudradāman, 103, 106, 108, 109, 110, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118.
5. Jivadāman son of Dāmagsada, 119, 120.
6. Rudrasena son of Rudrasimha, 122, 125, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144.
7. Saughadāman son of Rudrasimha, 144.
8. Dāmasena son of Rudrasimha, 145, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158.
9. Dāmajadaśri son of Rudrasena.
10. Yaśodāman son of Dāmasena, 161.
11. Vijayasena son of Dāmasena, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172.
12. Dāmajadaśri son of Dāmasena, 172, 174, 175, 176.
13. Rudrasena son of Viradāman 17(8?), 180, 183, 185, 186, 188, 190, 194.
14. Viśvasimha son of Rudrasena, *dates illegible*.
15. Bhartridāman son of Rudrasena, 203, 207, 210, 211, 214, 217, 220 ?

II. *Kshatrapas.*

3. Dāmagsada son of Rudradāman.
4. Rudrasimha son of Rudradāman, 102, 110, 112.
5. Satyadāman son of Dāmagsada.
6. Rudrasena son of Rudrasimha, 121.
7. Prithvisena son of Rudrasena, 144.
8. Dāmjadaśri son of Rudrasena, 154, 155.
9. Yaśodāman son of Dāmasena, 160.
10. Vijayasena son of Dāmasena, 160, 161, 162.
11. Viśvasimha son of Rudrasena, 198, 199, 200, 201.
12. Bhartridāman son of Rudrasena, 201, 202.
13. Viśvasena son of Bhartridāman, 216, 217, 218, 219, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226.

I. *Mahākshatrapas.*

16. Svāmi-Rudrasena son of
Svāmi-Mahākshatrapa
Rudradāman, 270, 271,
272, 273, 288, 290, 292,
293, 294, 296, 298, 300.
17. Svāmi-Simhasena sister's
son of Svāmi-Rudrasena,
304.
18. Svāmi-(Rudra?)sena son of
Svāmi-Simhasena.
19. Svāmi-Rudrasimha son of
Svāmi-Mahākshatrapa
Satyasena, 310.

II. *Kshatrapas.*

14. Rudrasimha son of Sovāmi
Jivadāman, 227, 229,
230, 231, 240.
15. Yaśodāman son of Rudra-
simha, 239, 240, 241,
242, 243, 244, 249, 252,
253, 254.

Though the Kshatrapas occupied a subordinate position, they issued coins in their name, and from that it would appear that they were put in charge of a separate province. Probably the Mahākshatrapas reigned at the capital, whether it was Ujjayini as in Chashtana's time, or any other town, and the Kshatrapas in Kāthiawād.

THE RULE OF SUCCESSION AMONG THE KSHATRAPAS AND THE
IMPERIAL ŚAKAS.

It will be seen that Rudradāman, the second in list I., was succeeded by his son Dāmaghsada, and he by his brother Rudrasimha and not by his son Satyadāman, who was only a Kshatrapa under his uncle. After the two brothers, their sons became Mahākshatrapas successively; and after Rudrasena, the eldest son of Rudrasimha, his two brothers held the supreme power one after another, and two sons of Rudrasena were only Kshatrapas under their uncle. Similarly, three sons of Dāmasena (Nos. 10, 11 and 12) reigned one after another. The position of Kshatrapa under the Mahākshatrapa was occupied by the brother of the latter, as in the case of No. 4 in list II.; in the absence of the brother, by the elder brother's son, and in his absence, his own son. After the brothers had been in power succes-

sively, their sons, beginning with those of the eldest, got possession of the throne, as in the case of Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 in list I. Thus, according to the custom of this dynasty, the rightful heir to the throne was the next brother, and after the brothers, the sons, in the order of their father's seniority. Dr. Bühler conjectures the existence of a similar custom among the northern Kshatrapas from the fact of Kharoshta's bearing the title of *Yuvarāja*, while his brother Sodāsa was a reigning Kshatrapa.⁴¹ But it can be distinctly traced among the imperial Sakas. For, while the coins of Vonones represent him in Greek characters on the obverse as "King of kings," they show on the reverse in Kharoshthī characters that his brother Spalahores held power under him, as the brother of a Mālwa Mahākshatrapa did under the latter. On other coins we have Spalgadames, the son of Spalahores, associated on the reverse with Vonones on the obverse. This Spalgadames is again connected on the obverse with Spalirises, who is styled "the king's brother." There are other coins on which Spalirises appears in both the Greek and Kharoshthī legends as "King of kings." Still others we have, on which he, as supreme sovereign, is associated with Azes on the reverse in Kharoshthī characters. There is one coin described by Sir A. Cunningham, in which Azes on the reverse is associated with Vonones on the obverse. No coin has been discovered on which Vonones appears on the reverse in Kharoshthī characters. All this shows that Vonones was the first supreme sovereign; that Azes was dependent first on him and afterwards on Spalirises; and consequently that Spalirises succeeded Vonones; and that the *Maharāja*, or 'Great King,' whose brother Spalirises is represented to be, must have been Vonones. The latter had another brother named Spalahores; but since he is not represented as an independent sovereign on the obverse in Greek characters on any coin, and instead of him his son's name is associated with Vonones, he must have died during the life-time of the latter, and Spalirises, another brother, assumed Spalahores' position, and Spalgadames was at one time subordinate to him, and also at another time directly to Vonones. Subsequently Spalirises, being Vonones' brother, obtained supreme power after his death. The phrase *Mahārājabhrātā*, or "king's brother," is used pointedly to indicate the right of the person to be crown prince and subsequently to be successor. The prevalence of this custom among the imperial Sakas

⁴¹ Jour. R. A. S., 1894, p. 582.

shows that Mahākshatrapas and Kshatrapas of India were intimately connected with them, *i. e.*, derived their authority originally from them and were Śakas.⁴²

FORTUNES OF THE KSHTRAPA FAMILY OF KĀṬHIDWĀD-MALWĀ.

Chashtana was at first a Kshatrpa and then a Mahākshatrpa, probably because he first acknowledged the supremacy of his Śaka overlord and afterwards assumed independence. Jayadāman, his son, was a Kshatrpa only; and the reason appears to have been the same as that given by me in the "Early History of the Dekkan," *viz.*, that Gotamīputra and Pulumāyi invaded Ujjayinī and deprived him of supreme power. Rudradāman, his son, then acquired his lost kingdom and assumed the title of Mahākshatrpa.⁴³ After Rudradāman the succession is regular up to Bhatṛidāman, *i. e.*, till about 226 Śaka, or 304 A.D. Then up to 270 Śaka, or rather 288, *i. e.*, for about 62 years, we have no Mahākshatrpa. This must have been due to a prince or princes of some other family having established their sway over Mālwa; and we have an inscription at Sāñchi of Vāsushka, Bazdeo, or Vāsudeva who belonged to the Kushana family to be mentioned hereafter, bearing the date 78.⁴⁴ If the interpretation of the date of the princes of that family given in the paper referred to above and explained below is correct this corresponds to 278 Śaka. Very likely, therefore, Kanishka, the first or most famous prince of the family, whose dates range from 205 to 228 Śaka, subjugated Mālwa about the year 226 Śaka, and he and his successors retained possession of the province till about 288 Śaka. The earliest date of the restored Mahākshatrpa is 270, but his coins are continuous only for four years. Then there is a gap of 15 years between 273 and 288, which shows that his power was not firmly established in 270, and that he was driven out again in 273. But a short time after, the Kushanas were humbled by the rising Guptas; and this last circumstance must have been availed of by the Mahākshatrapas to regain their power, which they did in 288 Śaka. It was, however, not long before the rising power turned its attention to Mālwa also and the Mahākshatrpa dynasty retained its regained sovereignty for about 22 or 23 years only, and was finally exterminated by the Guptas in 310 or 311 Śaka,

⁴² Percy Gardiner's *Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings*, pp. 98-102; and *Num. Chr.*, 1890, p. 138.

⁴³ *Second Ed.*, pp. 28-29.

⁴⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II., p. 369.

i.e., 388 or 389 A. D. There must have been some minor revolution before this, when a prince of the name of Íśvaradatta made himself a Mahākshatrpa and issued coins dated in the first and second years of his reign. He does not appear to have belonged to this dynasty.

KSHATRAPAS AND ŚĀTAVĀHANAS IN THE DEKKAN.

From an inscription at Junnar and others in the Nāsik and Kārli caves, we see that the sovereignty of Satraps was established over Mahārāshṭra also. But we find the name of one Mahākshatrpa only, viz., Nahapāna, and after him we have no names of Satraps that may be supposed to have ruled over the country, and find instead that the princes of the Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana race were in possession of Mahārāshṭra. An inscription in one of the caves at Nāsik speaks of Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi as having beaten the Śakas, the Yavanas and the Pahlavas, and left no remnant of the race of Khakharāta. In the inscriptions, Nahapāna is also named Kshaharāta, which is but another form of Khakharāta. Gotamīputra therefore must be understood to have destroyed the lineal successor of Nahapāna. Agni, in the inscription alluded to above he is also represented to have re-established the power of the Śātavāhana family. Thus, the Śātavāhanas were in possession of Mahārāshṭra before the Śakas invaded the country. The principal seat of the family was Dhanakaṭaka, but the younger princes ruled over the Dekkan and had Paiṭhaṇ for their capital. The earliest prince of this dynasty whose name is found in the inscriptions was Kṛishṇa. The name of one still earlier Simuka Śātavāhana also occurs, but not as a prince reigning at the time. Kṛishṇa was followed by Śātakarṇi. Śātakarṇi's successors must have been in possession of the country till the latter part of the first century of the Christian era, when the Śakas established their power. These, however, were driven out of the country by Gotamīputra, and we have the names of Puḷumāyi, Yajñasṛī Śātakarṇi, Chatushparṇa Śātakarṇi and Maḍharīputra Śakasena, the successors of Gotamīputra, in the inscriptions in the caves and on the coins found at Bassein and Kolhapur, and not that of any Kshatrpa. So that the Śakas ruled over the Dekkan for about one generation only.

The Śātavāhana dynasty is mentioned in the Purāṇas under the name of the Audhrabhṛityas, and most of the names given above, Simuka, the founder, Kṛishṇa Śātakarṇi, Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, Puḷumāyi and Yajñasṛī Śātakarṇi occur in the genealogy there given. The names of Chatushparṇa and Śakasena, however, do not occur.

This dynasty is represented in the Purāṇas to have succeeded the Kāṇvāyanas. But they do not appear to have held sway in Northern India. Nahapāna's dates occurring in the inscriptions of his son-in-law, Ushavadāta, are 40, 41, and 42, and that occurring in the inscription at Junnar of his minister Ayama is 46. On the supposition that the era is Śaka, these are 118, 119, 120 and 124 A.D. Puḷumāyi is represented as ruling at Paithan by Ptolemy, as he has represented Chashtana to be the king of Ujjayini. They were therefore contemporaries. Hence the Sakas or Satraps were driven away from Mahārāshṭra between 124 and 132 A. D. They, however, as has been shown before, ruled over Surāshṭra and Mālwā with some intermissions till 389 A. D. In the earlier years Nahapāna is called a mere Kshatrpa in the inscriptions; but in the Junnar inscription of his minister he is called a Mahākshatrpa, which shows that like Chashtana he at first acknowledged the sovereign power of his Śaka lord in the north, and then assumed independence.

THE INDO-PARTHIANS OR PAHLAVAS.

In the north, the Kshatrapas and the Śaka emperors soon lost their power. They were succeeded by the Indo-Parthian or Pahlava kings. Their names, determined from coins, are as follows :—

1. Gondophares.
2. Abdagases, nephew of Gondophares.
3. Orthagnes.
4. Arsakes.
5. Pakores.
6. Sanabares.

An inscription of Gondophares bearing date 103 has been discovered at Takht-i-Bahi, to the north-east of Peshāwār. This is represented as the 26th year of his reign, and if the date refers to the Śaka era, and is equivalent to 181 A. D., Gondphares began to reign in 155 A. D. His coins are found in Seistan, Kandahar, and even in Western Panjāb. He had probably dispossessed the Sakas of their western provinces about the time his reign began, but they continued to hold those to the east as we know from the date 78, equivalent to 156 A.D. of Moga. The date in Takht-i-Bahi inscription has been referred to the Vikrama era and supposed to correspond to 47 A. D., and Gondophares' accession to the throne placed in 21 A. D. A story that for the first time became current in the fourth century in Christian countries in the west represents St. Thomas to

have visited Gondophares and suffered martyrdom, and if regarded as true it confirms the date 21 as that of his accession. But if such a prince was remembered in the fourth century, much more reasonable is it to suppose that he was not removed from it by so many as three hundred years, but only by about 150 at the most, and probably less than that. The coins of these kings have Greek legends on the obverse and Kharoshthī in the Prākṛit dialect, as in the case of the Śakas and the Greeks. But they use high titles like the Śakas. On some of Gondophares' coins we have in the Greek legend *Basileus Basileon Megaloy Gundopherroy*, and in the Kharoshthī *Maharajasa rajarajasa Devatrataṣa Gudapharasa*, meaning 'of Gudaphara the great king, king of kings, protected by the gods.' On his coins all the high-sounding epithets, one of which only was used by his predecessors, are found, such as *Apratihata*, *Dhramika* equivalent to *Dhārmika*, *Mahata*, and *Trādāta* equivalent to *trātuḥ*. Some of his coins have not the Kharoshthī legend at all, but only Greek—which probably shows that he added Indian provinces to his dominions after he had reigned for some time. The legends on the coins of his successors are more or less corrupt. This as well as the fact of the use of all the magniloquent epithets noticed above shows that his dynasty succeeded those I have already noticed. The most important of these Parthian princes was Gondophares, and he held possession of a large extent of country; but he does not seem to have penetrated to the east of the Panjāb. The territories ruled over by his successors were much narrower.

THE KUSHANAS.

After the Indo-Parthian or Pahlava dynasty, and perhaps in the beginning, contemporaneous with it, we have another that gave itself the name of *Kushana*. The Princes of this family known to us by name are as follows :—

1. Kujula-Kadphises.
2. Wema-Kadphises.
3. Kanishka.
4. Huviahka.
5. Vāsudeva or Vāsushka.

Copper coins of a prince whose imperial titles are given thereon, but whose name does not occur, are found in large numbers in the Panjāb, Kandabar, and the Kabul valley, and even in Mālwa. There are a w silver coins also. He probably belonged to this family and

preceded Wema-Kadphises. The last three princes in the above list are noticed in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī and are represented as belonging to the Turushka race ; that is to say, they were Turks. And the dress, especially the cap, and the features of the royal figures on their coins appear Turkish. I have already observed that some of the Greek kings reigned contemporaneously with princes of the later dynasties. Some coins of Kujula-Kadphises, on the obverse of which is the name of the Greek prince Hermæus, have on the reverse the name of Kujula-Kapsa or Kasa without high-sounding titles. This would show that he was subordinate to Hermæus and also that some Greek prince continued to reign somewhere while the Śakas and the Indo-Parthians had supreme power. There are, however, other coins on which the name of Hermæus does not occur, which indicates that he afterwards acquired independence. But it was his successor Wema-Kadphises who appears to have conquered a large extent of the country and risen to supreme power, as imperial titles appear on his coins, while they do not on those of Kujula-Kadphises. The same conclusion is pointed to by the fact that his coins are not merely confined to the Kabul valley and the Panjāb as those of Kujula, but are found eastward as far as Gorakhpur and Ghazipur and along the line of railway from Allahabad to Jabalpur. Some of his coins have in the Greek legend *Basileus Basileon Megas Wema Kadphises*, and in the Kharoshtī legend *Maharajasa rajadhirajasa Sarraloga-isvarasa Mahisvarasa Hima-Kathpisasa trdata*, i. e., 'Hima Kadphises the great king, king of kings, the sovereign lord of all people, devotee of Maheśvara and Saviour.' Several much later kings are called *Māheśvaras*, i. e., devotees of Maheśvara or Śiva, or belonging to the sect of Māheśvaras. Wema-Kadphises seems to be so spoken of on his coins ; and that he was a worshipper of Śiva is shown also by the emblem of Nandin on the reverse of his coins accompanied by a human figure which, because it holds a trident in its right arm, must represent Śiva. He was the first of all the kings we have noticed who used gold coinage and was in this respect followed by his successors.

THE LAST THREE KUSHANAS.

The three next kings call themselves Kushanas on their coins, The royal figure on them has a dress similar to that on those of Wema-Kadphises. But these three Kushanas seem to have struck an independent path for themselves in respect of their coins, which may perhaps point to their constituting an independent family. The

legend is only one in Greek letters. On some coins of Kanishka it is in the Greek language also and reads, *Basileus Basileon Kanheshkoy*, i. e., 'Kanishka, king of kings.' On the majority of his coins, however, and on those of his successors it is in Greek letters, and perhaps in the Turkish language, and reads *Shaonano Shao Kanheski Kushano*, *Shaonano Shao Huviski Kushano*, i. e., 'the Shah (king) of Shahs, Kanheski Kushana, &c.' The emblems on the reverse are figures of deities from the Greek, Persian, and Brahmanic pantheon and of Buddha. By the side of these figures their names also are given in Greek characters. Thus we have Salene, Helios, and Heraklio; Miuro = Mihira, Mazdohano = Mazdaonho; Skando, Mahaseno, Komaro, Bizago, which last is equivalent to Visákha, Boddo = Buddha, and Saka Mana Boddo = Sákya Muni Buddha.⁴⁵ Thus these Turkish kings paid an equal respect to the gods of all these four religions. But the figure of Buddha, in the sitting or meditative and the standing posture, occur on coins of Kanishka only. This may be regarded as evidence of the truth of what the northern Buddhists say as to Kanishka being their patron. In his time and under his patronage a council of priests was held to settle the canon again, and it was at this time that Buddhism, which had gradually been veering towards the Mahâyána form, had that character definitely impressed upon it.

THEIR DATES.

There are a great many inscriptions dated in the reigns of these three kings. They are chiefly dedications of Buddhistic and Jaina objects of worship for the use of the people, and occur principally at Mathurá. As stated before, there is one inscription bearing the date 78 and referring itself to the reign of Vāsudeva at Sāñchi. There is not a single Brahmanic inscription. The dates vary from 5 in the reign of Kanishka to 98 in the reign of Vāsudeva. Most scholars and antiquarians a few years ago believed Kanishka to be the founder of the Saka era, but the faith of some has been shaken. On this supposition the dates mentioned above run from 83 A.D. to 176 A.D. But, according to all accounts, the Guptas succeeded the Kushanas; like the latter, and unlike the previous rulers, they issued a gold coinage which is a close imitation of that of the latter. The forms of letters in the inscriptions of the Kushanas appear to belong to a later period. For these reasons

⁴⁵ Percy Gardner, p. 129, pp. 129 ff.; Cunningham Num. Chron. 1892, pp. 63 ff.

I have always believed Kanishka to have flourished later than the first century of the Christian era, and we have recently considered the whole question and come to the conclusion formerly stated that one of the Imperial Saka kings founded the Saka era. Kanishka, between whom and the Saka founder of the Saka era came the other Saka princes, the Indo-Parthians, and Wema-Kadphises, reigned much later. The practice of omitting hundreds in dates has long existed in that part of India; and, in consideration of the fact that an inscription found at Mathurâ, which, though the name of the prince is omitted, contains titles used by the Kushanas and bears the date 290 and some units which are not distinct,⁴⁶ the conclusion is reasonable that the dates in the inscriptions of these three Kushana princes are abbreviated by the omission of two hundreds. These dates must be referred to the Saka era, and will thus run from 205 Saka to 298 Saka, i. e., 293 A. D. to 376 A. D. And the period here assigned to the Kushana princes agrees with all that is known of them and their relations with other princes. The chronology of the previous dynasties also has been arranged in a manner consistent with it, and there is nothing against it, except numismatic theories, which, however, in consideration of the many types available for the princes of these dynasties and the play of fancy, such as is presented to our view by the coins of the last three Kushana princes, cannot be rigidly adhered to.⁴⁷

PREDOMINANCE OF EARLY BUDDHISM AND OF THE PRÂKRIT
DIALECTS DURING THE PERIOD GONE OVER.

Thus from about the beginning of the second century before Christ, to about the end of the fourth century after, princes of foreign races were prominent in the history of India and ruled sometimes over a large portion of the country up to the limits of Mahârâshtra. The names of no Hindu princes appear in inscriptions or on coins during this period, except in Mahârâshtra, where, as we have seen, the Sâtavâhanas drove the foreigners and governed the country, and in the south to which the foreigners did not penetrate. During this period it is the religion of Buddha alone that has left prominent traces, and was professed by the majority of the people. The vestiges of the time are Stûpas or hemispherical structures purporting to contain a relic of Buddha or of saints, and monasteries, and temples containing smaller

⁴⁶ Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. X., pp. 171-2.

⁴⁷ See D. B. Bhandarkar's paper referred to before (pp. 26 ff.).

Stûpas or Chaityas. These Stûpas or Chaityas were the objects of worship amongst the Buddhists. And wherever there is a stupendous Stûpa, we find sculptures representing Buddhistic sacred objects, such as the Bodhi or Pippala and other trees under which 'Sâkyamuni and the previous Buddhas attained perfection, wheels representing, metaphorically, the *Dharmachakra*, or wheel of righteousness, which Buddha turned, and so forth. There are sculptures also representing events in the previous births of Buddha, about which many stories were current, and which we now find in the so-called Jâtaka literature. Now, the remains of Vibâras, Chaityagrihas, and Stûpas are found in all parts of the country, including Afghanistan. Some of them contain inscriptions also recording the gifts of public or private individuals. These gifts are the big structures themselves, as well as smaller parts thereof, such as railings, pillars, and sculptures, and sometimes land or deposits of money for the maintenance of the priests. Now, from the inscriptions recording these gifts, we find the position of the persons who made them. The remains of two great Stûpas exist in Central India at Sâñchi in the Bhopal territory, and Bharaut between Jabalpur and Allahabad, near the Sattan Station of the Railway. From the form of characters existing in the inscriptions found in them, the ages of the Stûpas can be approximately determined. That at Bharaut was begun about the middle of the third century before Christ, and continued to be added to till about the end of the second century. The Sâñchi Stûpa was probably first constructed about the same time; and it continued to be an object of adoration and additional gifts till about the eighth century of the Christian era. The donors, as recorded in these two places, were oftentimes the Buddhist monks and nuns themselves, but the names of a great many lay-followers also occur. Thus we have gifts from Grahapatis or householders or land-holders; Setthihs or Seths, who occupied a prominent position in a town or village; simple traders, who are called Vâñija or Vâñika; Râjalipikâras or royal scribes; Lekhakas or professional writers; and even Kâmikas, or ordinary workmen. In the cave-temples in Mahârâshtra, which began to be excavated about the middle of the first century before Christ, and continued to increase in number and to have additional decorations till the end of the second century after, and were the objects of adoration and resort up to about the end of the ninth century, we find, among the donors, princes and chiefs who called themselves Mahâbhojas and Mahârâthihs, Naigamas or merchants, Suvarṇakâras or goldsmiths, Vardhakas or carpenters, Dhânyakârenihs

or guilds of corn-dealers, and Grihapatis or ordinary householders. There are some Sakas and Yavanas also amongst them. The great cave-temple at Kārli was originally excavated by Bhūtapāla, the Set of Vaijayanti; the lion-pillar in the court in front was scooped out by a Mahārāṭhi named Agimitra. One of the cave-temples at Nāsik was the gift of Gotamī mother of Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi and grandmother of Puṣumāyi. A monastery there was the benefaction of Ushavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, who deposited sums of money also with the guilds of weavers and another guild at Govardhana near Nāsik, out of the interest on which new garments were to be given to the priests in the rainy season. Such money-benefactions were also made by private individuals, as recorded in the inscriptions at Nāsik and Kānheri. The period that we have been speaking of has left no trace of a building or sculpture devoted to the use of the Brahmanic religion. Of course, Brahmanism existed, and it was probably, during the period, being developed into the form which it assumed in later times. The large but unfortunately mutilated inscription at Nānāghāt, which is to be referred to the second half of the first century before Christ, opens with an invocation to Dharma, Indra, Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva, and seems to speak of the Dakṣiṇā, or fees given by a royal lady for the performance of several Brahmanic sacrifices. Gifts were made even by princes and chiefs to Brahmans. Ushavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, was a patron of both Brahmans and Buddhists. Some of the Satraps of Surāshṭra and Mālwa were probably adherents of Brahmanism, as is indicated by their adoption of the name of the god Rudra as a component of their own names. Wema-Kadphises was, as we have seen, a worshipper of Śiva. In the South, we have inscriptions of Sivaskandavarman, a ruler of Kānchi, of Hārītiputra Sātakarṇi and of a king of Banayāsi which are to be referred to the early part of the third century after Christ, and in which grants of land to Brahmans are recorded ^{47a}. But the religion certainly does not occupy a prominent position, and Buddhism was followed by the large mass of the people from princes down to the humble workman. Another peculiarity of the period was the use of the Pāli or the current Prakṛit language in inscriptions. Even the Brahmanic inscription at Nānāghāt and those in the south just noticed are composed in this dialect. Sanskrit was the language of learned Brahmans and Prakṛit of ordinary people of all castes.

^{47a}. Ep. Ind. Vol. VI. p. 84 ff. and Vol. I. p. 2 ff. Ind. Ant. Vol. XXV. p. 28.

The use of the latter, therefore, indicates a greater deference for these people than for Brahmanic learning. The inscriptions in Kāthiawād, however, of the reigns of the Satrap kings are in Sanskrit and those of Ushavadāta are in mixed Sanskrit and Prākṛit. But in the middle of the fourth century, the whole scene changes, and we now proceed to the consideration of the events which it presents to our view.

CHANGE OF SCENE,—THE GUPTAS.

I have already observed that the Guptas succeeded the Kushanas. The first prince was named Gupta, and his son was Ghaṭotkacha, both of whom are styled *Mahārāja*. Ghaṭotkacha's son was Chandragupta I., who is styled *Mahārājādhirāja*, or "King or kings" in the inscriptions. It was during the time of this king that the power of the Guptas must have begun to rise. But his son Samudragupta seems to have been one of the most powerful princes of this dynasty. There is a long inscription describing his exploits on the same pillar at Allahabad, which contains inscriptions of Aśoka. There he is called *Paṇḍikramāṅka*, which title is also to be found in other inscriptions as well as on his coins. He is represented to have conquered and re-established in their dominions Mahendra, king of Kosala, Vyāghrarāja, king of Mahākāntāra, Maṅṭarāja of Kerala and many other kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha, to have rooted out kings reigning in Āryāvarta of the names of Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Chandravarma, Gaṇapatināga, Nāgasena, Achyutanandin, Balavarman and others, and probably established his supremacy over their provinces; reduced to submission the chiefs of the forest regions; exacted tribute from and subjected to his power the kings of Samatata, Dāvaka, Kāmarūpa, Nepāla, Kartripura, and other countries on the borders, and tribes of Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Mādrakas, Abhīras, Prārjunas, Sanakāṅikas, and Kākakharaparikas; to have re-established certain royal families which had lost their kingdoms; and to have formed alliances with Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi, princes of the Saka and Muruṇḍa tribes, and with the Saimhājakas, who propitiated him with presents.⁴⁸ There is an inscription referring itself to his reign found at Eraṇ in the Sāgar district, which bears evidence to the fact that his dominions extended up to that district.⁴⁹ He was followed by Chandragupta II., one of whose inscriptions dated in the year 82, is found at Udayagiri, near Bhilsā, in Eastern Mālwa.⁵⁰ It must here be remarked that the Guptas established an era of their

⁴⁸ Dr. Fleet's *Insc. Early Gupta Kings*, No. 1.

⁴⁹ *Ib.* No. 2.

⁵⁰ *Ib.* No. 3.

own as to the initial date of which there were long controversies among antiquarians, though it was given by Alberuni, the Arabic traveller, as corresponding to 242 of the Śaka era. But the question is now settled. Alberuni's statement has been found to be correct and the first year of the Gupta era fell in 318-19 A. D. Chandragupta's date 82, therefore, corresponds to 400 A. D. Another inscription of the same occurs at Mathurā, showing that the Guptas had extended their power to that province which was subject before to the Kushanas.⁵¹ There is one more at Gaḍhwā, near Allahabad, dated in the year 88, corresponding to 406 A. D., another at Sāñchi, dated 93, corresponding to 411 A. D., and a third at Udayagiri, which bears no date.⁵² These inscriptions show that the dominions of the Guptas embraced in the time of Chandragupta II., the whole of the North-Western Provinces and Mālwa and the Central Provinces. In the Udayagiri inscription which bears no date that monarch is represented as "wonderful sunlike Brilliance" itself, and Śāba Virasena, who was his minister and a native of Pāṭaliputra as having accompanied the king in his career of conquest (*lit.* "the king whose object was to conquer the whole world") to the place, *i. e.*, Udayagiri, or the region in which it was situated. The conquest of Mālwa by Chandragupta thus alluded to in this inscription took place before 400 A. D. the date of the first Udayagiri inscription. The latest date of the Ujjayini Mahākshatrapas is, as we have seen, 310 Śaka or 388 A. D. These were exterminated by him in that year or about a year after, a conclusion which follows from the facts that the Kshatrapas issued new coins nearly every year, and there is no issue later than 310 Śaka. Chandragupta II. was followed by Kumāragupta. There are six inscriptions of his reign,—two at Gaḍhwā, one at Bilsāḍ, Etā district, North-Western Provinces, one at Mankuwār, Allahabad district, one at Mathurā, and one at Mandasor in Western Mālwa. One Gaḍhwā inscription bears the date 98, corresponding to 416 A. D., that at Bilsāḍ, the year 96, corresponding to 414 A. D., that at Mathurā, the year 113, *i. e.*, 421 A. D., that at Mandasor, the year 493 of the Mālava era, corresponding to 437 A. D., and that at Mankuwar the year 129, *i. e.*, 447 A. D. The latest known date of Chandragupta II. is 411 A. D. and the earliest of Kumāragupta 414, wherefore the latter must have acceded to the throne in the interval between those two years. Kumāragupta was followed by his son

⁵¹ *Ib.* No. 4.

⁵² *Ib.* Nos. 7, 5, 6.

Skandagupta, of whom we have five inscriptions. One of them, that at Junâgadh in Kâthiawâd, represents the dyke of the celebrated Sudarsana lake to have burst in 136 and to have been repaired in 137. These years correspond to 454 and 455 A. D. Another at Kahâum, Gorakhpur district, North-Western Provinces bears the year 141, corresponding to 459 A. D. ; a third, engraved on a copperplate, and found in a stream at Indor in the Bulandshahr District, gives the year 146, *i. e.*, 464 A. D.⁵³ There is another at Bihâr, and the last or fifth is engraved on a pillar at Bhitâri, Ghazipur district, North-Western Provinces.⁵⁴ In this inscription a new foreign race makes its appearance for the first time—that of the Hûnas or Huns. Skandagupta is represented to have defeated them and to have subjugated a tribe of the name of Pushyamitras. After Skandagupta, the power of the dynasty began to decline. There is an inscription at Eraṇ in the Sâgar district which bears the name of Budhagupta, and the date 165, corresponding to 483 A. D.⁵⁵ This Budhagupta, however, and even Skandagupta are not mentioned in the genealogy of the main branch found engraved on a certain seal discovered at Bhitâri.⁵⁶ Very likely, therefore, the family broke up, about the time of Skandagupta, into two or three branches which ruled over different provinces. The Vâyu and Vishṇu Purânas, after a confused list of foreign princes and the rulers of certain provinces, state that the Guptas will rule alongside of the Gaṅgâ, and over Prayâga, Sâketa, and Magadha.

HÛNAS OR HUNS AND THE AULIKARAS.

In the inscription of the reign of Budhagupta mentioned above a Brahman Mahârâja of the name of Mâtri-Vishṇu and his brother Dhanya-Vishṇu record the erection of a *Dhvajastambha* or flagstaff to the god Janârdana. In another of the first year of a prince named Toramâna, Dhanya-Vishṇu speaks of his brother Mâtri-Vishṇu as having died in the interval, and of his erecting a temple to the Boar or Varâha incarnation of Vishṇu.⁵⁷ There is another inscription at Gwalior, dated in the 15th year of Mihirakula, who is represented as Toramâna's son, and it records the erection of a temple of the sun by Mâtricheta.⁵⁸ Toramâna belonged to the Hûna race, so that it would appear that a short time after 174, G. E. or 492 A. D. the latest date of Budhagupta occurring on one of his coins, *i. e.*, about 500 A. D.,

⁵³ *Ib.* Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 218.

⁵⁴ *Ib.* Nos. 12-16.

⁵⁵ *Ib.* No. 19.

⁵⁶ *Jour. Beng. As. S.*, Vol. LVIII, pp. 88 f.

⁵⁷ *Inscr. E. G. Kings*, No. 36. ⁵⁸ *Ib.* No. 37.

the Hūnas established their power up to the Central Provinces. But since only two princes of the race are mentioned, it appears that they did not retain it for a long time. An inscription at Mandasor in Western Málwā represents Yaśodharman to have subjugated Mihirakala.⁵⁹ We have an inscription of the same prince, dated 589 of the Málava era corresponding to 533 A. D.⁶⁰ The engraver of both is the same person, and his name was Govinda. From the manner in which the different statements are made in this inscription, it appears that the family of the prince, which was known by the epithet of Aulikara, was brought into importance by Viṣṇuvardhana, who was a predecessor of Yaśodharman, and it was he who first assumed the title of "Supreme Lord, King of kings." From this date of Yaśodharman, therefore, it may be safely concluded that the two Hūna princes could not have reigned for more than forty years on the Cis-Satlaj side of India.

VIGOROUS BRAHMANIC REVIVAL AND RENOVATION.—SUPERSESSION OF THE PRÂKRITS BY THE SANSKRIT.

Now, in Chandragupta's inscription at Mathurâ, and Skandagupta's Bihar and Bihâri inscriptions, Samudragupta is represented as having performed the *Aśvamedha*, which is pointedly spoken of as having gone out of use for a long time. This is the first instance of the Brahmanic revival under this dynasty. This achievement was considered so important that Samudragupta struck golden coins or medals, on the obverse of which is the figure of a horse let loose, and the title *Aśvamedhaparâkrâma*, or "one who performed the achievement of a horse-sacrifice" on the reverse.⁶¹ Similar coins bearing on the reverse the legend *Aśvamedha-Mahendra* have been found. *Mahendra* was a title assumed by Kumâragupta, as is evident from some of his coins on which his proper name as well as the title occur.⁶² It appears, therefore that he too performed the horse-sacrifice indicative of supreme sovereignty. Chandragupta II., Kumâragupta, and Skandagupta are called *Parama-Bhâgavatas* on their coins, which shows that they were worshippers of Bhagavad Vâsudeva. One of the two Udayagiri inscriptions dated 82 G.E. = 400 A. D. is engraved on a panel over two figures,—one of a four-armed god attended by two female figures, and the other of a twelve-armed goddess. The god may be Vishnu and

⁵⁹ *Ib.* No. 33.

⁶¹ *Jour. R. A. S.*, Jan. 1889, p. 65.

⁶⁰ *Ib.* No. 35.

⁶² *Ib.* pp. 110, 105, 103.

the goddess Chandi. The other Udayagiri inscription records the dedication of a cave to Sambhu. The Bilsad inscription of Kumāragupta speaks of the building of a Pratoli or gallery in the temple of Swāmi-Mahāsena by Dhruvaśarman in the year 414 A. D. The Bihār inscription represents the erection of a *yūpa* or a sacrificial post, and that on the Bhitāri pillar records the installation of an image of Sārigin and the grant of a village by Skandagupta. In the Junāgaḍh inscription, a temple of Chakrabhrit (Vishṇu) is spoken of as having been erected in 456 A. D. by Chakrapālita, son of Parṇadatta, Skandagupta's governor of Surāshtra. The Indor inscription of the time of Skandagupta records the endowment of Devavishṇu in 464 A. D. for lighting a lamp in a temple of the sun. The Mandasor inscription speaks of the erection of a temple of the sun by a guild of weavers in 437 A. D. and its repair by the same in 473 A. D. According to Budhagupta's Eraṇ inscription, Mātrivishṇu and his brother Dhanyavishṇu erected, as mentioned above, a *Dhvajastambha*, or flagstaff, to the god Janārdana in 483 A. D. Mātrivishṇu is called "a great devotee of Bhagavat," *i. e.*, Vishnu.⁶³ The inscriptions of minor chiefs and private individuals during this period record grants of villages to Brahmans,⁶⁴ in the years 474, 481, 492, 495, and 509 A. D., to the temples of Pishtapuri⁶⁵ (527 A. D. and 532 A. D.), Bhagavat or Vishṇu⁶⁶ (495 A. D.), and Āditya or the sun,⁶⁷ (511 A. D.), the erection of a *dhvaja* of Vishṇu,⁶⁸ grants of villages for the performance of the five great rites,⁶⁹ (570 A. D.), the erection of a *yūpa*, or sacrificial post on the completion of a Puṇḍarika⁷⁰ sacrifice, the establishment of Sattras or feeding places for Brahmans and others,⁷¹ &c., &c.

Here we have ample evidence of a powerful upheaval; and the sacrificial rites and the gods and goddesses adopted into the Brahmanic Pantheon to which, except in one instance, there was not even an allusion in the epigraphical records of the country for more than five centuries, suddenly present themselves to our view about the end of the fourth century; and appear uninterruptedly for the whole of the subsequent period of about two centuries covered by the inscriptions

⁶³ अत्यन्तभगवद्भक्त.

⁶⁴ Inscr. E. G. Nos. 21, 22, 26, 27, 23.

⁶⁵ *Ib.* Nos. 25 and 31.

⁶⁶ *Ib.* No. 27.

⁶⁷ *Ib.* No. 28.

⁶⁸ *Ib.* No. 32.

⁶⁹ *Ib.* No. 28.

⁷⁰ *Ib.* No. 59. The date of the

Inscription is 423; but the Era is not specified. If it is the Mālava Era the date is 372 A. D.; if the Śaka, is 508 A. D. I incline to the latter supposition.

⁷¹ *Ib.* No. 64.

published in a collected form by Dr. Fleet. The worship of Siva, Vishnu, the Sun, and Mahāsena seems to have become popular with all classes from princes and chiefs to ordinary individuals. But a still more significant change is the universal adoption of the Sanskrit language for the documents inscribed on stone and metal instead of the Pāli or Prākṛit. It indicates the enhancement of Brahmanic influence. The Vernacular dialects had acquired such an importance that not only were they mostly used, as we have seen, in inscriptions, but a number of literary works presupposed by Hāla's *Saptaśatī* and others like the *Bṛihatkāthā* attributed to Guṇāḍhya were composed in them in the second or third century of the Christian era. Buddhism had, of course, used one of them for all its religious and literary purposes. But now we find that Sanskrit, or the language of learned Brahmans, rose in general estimation and acquired such an overwhelming importance that the Vernaculars were driven out of the field. It was more generally studied, and a new and more brilliant period in the history of Sanskrit literature dawned about this time.

REVIVAL IN THE SOUTH.

The influence of this vigorous Brahmanical revival in the north extended itself to the Dekkan. Of the early Chālukyas whose dynasty was established about the end of the fifth century, Pulakeśī I. solemnised the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice and several other princes belonging to the family performed the other great sacrifices, and grants of land were made to Brahmans. A cave temple to Vishnu was dedicated by Maṅgalīśa in Śāka 500 or 578 A. D., at Bādāmī. And other temples to the same god and to Śiva or Maheśvara were constructed in several other places. The worship of Śiva in the terrific form of Kāpālikeśvara seems also to have come into existence.

DECLINE OF BUDDHISM—RISE OF MĀHĀYĀNISM.

While Brahmanism thus rose in importance and popular favour, the influence of Buddhism declined in a corresponding degree. The number of records of Buddhist gifts during this period is smaller. In the Sāñchi inscription of Chandragupta (411 A. D.) is recorded a grant by a royal military officer for feeding ten Buddhist mendicants and lighting two lamps in the jewel-house.⁷¹ The Mānkuwar inscription of Kumāragupta (447 A. D.) records the installation of an image of Buddha by a Bhikshu of the name of Buddhamitra.⁷² Harisvāmiu,

⁷¹ *Ib.* No. 5.

⁷² *Ib.* No. 11.

wife of Sanasiddha, records in 449 A. D. in an inscription at Sāñchi the grant of twelve Dinâras as a fixed capital out of the interest on which a mendicant belonging to the Âryasaṅgha was to be fed daily, and of three Dinâras for the jewel-house out of the interest on which three lamps were to be daily lighted before the Blessed Buddha, and of one Dinâra for the seats of four Buddhas out of the interest on which a lamp was to be lighted daily at the seats.⁷³ An image of Buddha was set up at Mathurâ in 453 A. D., another in 548 A. D., and others, at Deoriyâ in the Allahabad District, Kasiâ in the Gorakpur District and in Buddhagayâ.⁷⁴ The last was set up by Mahânâman who also constructed a temple (Prâsâda) of Lokasâstre in 587 A. D.⁷⁵ The language of these inscriptions unlike that of those of the preceding period is Sanskrit and it will be seen that images of Buddha were set up and worshipped like those of the Brahmanic gods. In both these respects it cannot be denied that Buddhism became subject to the same influences which were in operation in the case of Brahmanism, or rather appropriated those points in the rival system which increased its popularity about this time. The principles of faith in personal beings and devotion to them were incorporated into their creed; and Sanskrit was resorted to to confer dignity on their religious books and teachers. The use of this learned language shows, at the same time, that, like Brahmanism, Buddhism now assumed a more exclusive character and ceased to appeal to the people at large in their own language; and the sphere of its influence became much narrower. Thus it appears that the revival and renovation of Brahmanism went on side by side with corresponding changes in Buddhism which impressed on it the form and character known by the name of Mahâyâna. The earlier form of Buddhism appealing only to the moral feelings of man had split up into a number of schools and exhausted itself; and its place was taken up by Brahmanism and Mahâyânism. But the charm of the names Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha, the three jewels, was lost; and Mahâyânism was unable to regain what had been lost by primitive Buddhism. Compared with revived Brahmanism it was feeble; and from the first it had to face the severe attacks of its renovated rival.

THE JAINAS.

We have two Jaina inscriptions also in this period recording the installation of images in the years 424 A.D. and 459 A.D., at Udayagiri

⁷³ *Ib.* No. 62.

⁷⁴ *Ib.* Nos. 63, 70, 68, 69 and 72.

⁷⁵ *Ib.* No. 71.

and Kahâum respectively.⁷⁶ Another inscription of the reign of Kumâragupta dated 113 G. E. or 431 A. D. records the setting up of an image at Mathurâ.⁷⁷ It would thus appear that that religion had not many adherents or patrons about this time.

CAUSES OF THE PREVIOUS DECLINE OF BRAHMANISM AND ITS
REVIVAL AND RENOVATION AT THIS PERIOD.

The vigorous Brahmanical revival we have been considering must have been due, in a large measure, to the natural decay of early Buddhism. It was this Buddhism that had supplanted Brahmanism in popular favour, and for the four or five centuries that it enjoyed the ascendancy it had acquired, Brahmanism and the Sanskrit language and literature were neglected. The Brahmins themselves regarded their decline as due to the triumph of Buddhism. Subandhu in one of his puns in the *Vâsavadattâ* tells us that the Buddha doctrine had brought about the destruction of the system based on the words of the Veda.⁷⁸ If so, the Brahmanic revival must be regarded as synchronous with the decline of early Buddhism and the rise of Mahâyânism. According to all accounts it was Nâgârjuna, the contemporary of Kanishka, that gave a distinct form to this Buddhism⁷⁹; though the movement may have begun a little earlier. As, according to our view, Kanishka reigned in the last quarter of the third century, the revival of Brahmanism must have already begun before that period. But the ascendancy of early Buddhism was not the only cause that had kept down Brahmanism. For about a century before Christ and three centuries and a half after, there was no powerful Brahmanic prince; and this is shown by the Gupta inscriptions already noticed, which state that the horse-sacrifice indicative of supreme sovereignty, had gone out of use for a long time, and also by the fact that no inscription or coin reports the existence of such a prince during the period. This circumstance must have been the result of the political condition of the country. It was overrun again and again by foreign invaders, each of whom established his power for a short time and had to yield to another. The Śakas of Mâlwa and Kathiawâd only retained their sovereignty for about three hundred years. The argument which has been advanced that these foreign

⁷⁶ *Ib.* Nos 81 and 15.

⁷⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II., p. 210.

⁷⁸ कश्चिद्वैदिसिद्धांत इव क्षपितभूतिवचनदर्शनीभवत् । p. 297, Hall's Ed.

⁷⁹ Wasmiljew *Germ. Tran.* p. 128.

princes held a comparatively small portion of the country, and could not have influenced its literary and religious condition for the worse has no weight. The unsettled condition of the country consequent on their frequent invasions rendered the rise of a supreme Brahmanic ruler impossible; and the foreigners themselves could not be expected to favour Brahmanism in a manner to enable it to deprive Buddhism of its ascendancy. Some of them were no doubt Hinduized, but they were not Brahmanized. And the Brahmans themselves complained of their being neglected by the Yavanas, Sakas and Pahlavas, as will hereafter be shown in connection with a passage from Manu and the Mahâbhârata.

PATRONS OF THE BRAHMANIC REVIVAL AND RENOVATION,—WEMA-KADPHISES.

Wema-Kadphises however seems to have become a more thorough Hindu than any other foreign prince, and in his time the Brahmanic revival may be understood to have truly begun, *i.e.*, in the middle of the third century of the Christian era. We have seen that his coins bear a figure of Nandin and Śiva on the reverse, and he styles himself a worshipper of Maheśvara or a member of the Mâheśvara sect. The Śakas had figures of Greek deities on their coins, and there are no distinct indications on them, or on those of the Parthians, of any Indian deity. But with Wema-Khadphises what might almost be called a revolution in this respect begins. His Kushana successors continue their respect for Brahmanic deities, but extend it also to those of the Greeks, and Zoroastrians, as well as to Buddha. Kadphises, however, could not have been a patron of the old Vedic religion, nor of Brahmans in particular as a sacred caste, nor of the Sanskrit language and literature. An all-sided revival and renovation could proceed only under the patronage of Hindu princes. And such were the Guptas.

THE GUPTAS,—SAMUDRAGUPTA AND CHANDRAGUPTA II. OR
VIKRAMÂDITYA ŚAKÂRI.

The fact that the inscriptions recording gifts to Brahmanic deities and for the daily sacrifices begin about the end of the fourth century shows unmistakably that the Brahmanic revival derived its force and vigor from the patronage of the Gupta princes. Samudragupta and Kumâragupta performed, as we have seen, the horse-sacrifice, which had gone out of use. The former is represented in his Allaha-

had inscription to have acquired the title of "Prince of poets" by writing works which served as models for learned men or pleased them.⁶⁰ He patronized poets, and thus put an end to the hostility between good poetry and worldly prosperity.⁶¹ The tradition about a Vikramāditya, who was *Sakāri* or enemy of the Śakas and drove them and other foreigners out of the country and patronized learning, is appropriately applicable only to Chandragupta II. of all the princes who flourished before him and after, and whose names have come down to us. For he conquered Mālwā, as we have seen, before 400 A. D., and probably in 388 or 389 A. D. and exterminated the Śakas, i. e., the Satraps of Mālwā, whose latest date is 388 A. D., and drove out the Kushanas since he is the earliest Gupta prince whose inscription is found at Mathurā, a town which belonged to the Kushanas.⁶² He assumed the title of Vikramāditya, which we find on his coins.⁶³ He made Ujjayinī his capital. For, certain chieftains of the name of Guttas (Guptas) of Guttal in the Dhārwar district give themselves in their inscriptions the title of *Ujjayaniṣpuravarādhīśvara*, which, like similar titles, found in other places, signifies that they belonged to a family which once reigned in glory at Ujjayinī. They trace their descent through Vikramāditya, specified as king of Ujjayinī, and are styled full moons of the ocean of nectar in the shape of the lineage of Chandragupta. Ujjayinī was thus the capital of the Guptas from whom the Dharwar Guptas derived their descent. The Chandragupta and Vikramāditya mentioned in their inscriptions are, it will be observed, one and the same person, and it is but right that he should be mentioned above all; for it was he who drove away the foreigners and first established himself at Ujjayinī. In one place, however, instead of *Ujjayinī* we have *Pāṭalī* in the title, showing that Pāṭaliputra, the original capital, had not been forgotten by the Southern Guptas.⁶⁴ There is no other Vikramāditya whose existence is authenticated by any contemporary document and who can be construed as the destroyer of Sakas. The supposition of the existence of one in the middle of the sixth century has no ground to stand on. Now, though Chandragupta II. was Vikramāditya Śakāri, the patron

⁶⁰ विद्वज्जनोपजीव्यानेककाव्यक्रियाभिः प्रतिष्ठितकविराजशब्दस्य. L. 27.

⁶¹ सत्काव्यभीविरोधान्बुधगुणितगुणाज्ञानेव कृत्वा

⁶² See D. E. Bhandarkar's paper, pp. (31-32).

⁶³ Jour. B. A. S., Jan. 1889, pp. 91, 82, 78, 76.

⁶⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II. Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese District*, p. 578.

of learning, it is by no means necessary to suppose that all the celebrated nine gems flourished at his court. Tradition often jumbles together persons and things belonging to different times and places. Varāhamihira, who died in 509 Śaka, or 587 A. D., and the epoch year of whose *Pañchasiddhāntikā* is 427 Śaka, or 505 A. D., cannot have flourished at the court of Chandragupta-Vikramāditya, who died between 411 and 414 A. D. But that Vikramāditya Sakāri was a patron of learning is stated by the *Bājatarānginī*. He is said to have made a poet of the name of Mātrigupta, king of Kaśmīr, and Mātrigupta had a poet dependent on him of the name of Menṭha or Bharṭrimeṭha, so that these two were contemporaries of Chandragupta-Vikramāditya. The date assigned by Cunningham to Mātrigupta is 430 A. D., which is not far removed from that of the Gupta prince as determined from his inscriptions. Menṭha has been associated with Vikramāditya by the compilers of anthologies who ascribe a certain verse to their joint authorship.⁸⁵

KĀLIDĀSA.

And some of the nine gems, perhaps Kālidāsa himself, may have lived during the reign of Chandragupta-Vikramāditya. Mallinātha, in his comment on verse 14 of the *Meghadūta*, states that there is in that verse an implied allusion to an opponent of Kālidāsa, named Diñnāga. This person is supposed to be the same as the celebrated Buddhist logician of that name, known also to Brahmanic writers; and the supposition is, I think, very probable. He is said to have been a pupil of a Buddhist patriarch of the name of Vasubandhu; and the date of the latter, and consequently that of his pupil and of Kālidāsa, has been determined by Professor Max Müller to be the middle of the sixth century. But the Professor goes, I think, upon the chronological traditions reported by the Chinese, and does not attach due weight to certain facts which necessitate our placing Vasubandhu earlier. One of Vasubandhu's works was translated into Chinese in the year 404 A. D. and another about the year 405 A. D.⁸⁶ This shows that Vasubandhu must have flourished before 404 A. D. At the same time the Chinese authorities make him a contemporary of King Vikramāditya of Śrāvastī,⁸⁷ or of Sāketa, since the

⁸⁵ लिम्पतीव तयोङ्गानि वर्षतावाङ्मनं नमः which occurs in the *Mricchakatika*.

⁸⁶ Cat. Banyin Nanjio, Nos. 1188 and 1218.

⁸⁷ Wassiljew, Germ Trans., p. 84.

town was situated in that province. If he was a contemporary of that King, the King may have lived in the last quarter of the fourth century. Sâketa, or Ayodhyâ, over which he ruled was a province belonging to the Guptas; and the attitude of the King towards the Bauddhas was hostile, as he convoked assemblies of learned Buddhists and Brahmans, for religious disputations, in which the former were defeated and lost the King's support.⁸⁶ For these reasons the Vikramâditya, whose contemporary Vasubandhu was, must in all likelihood have been the Brahmanic Gupta prince, Chandragupta-Vikramâditya. And if he held his court at Śrāvastī and is represented to have ruled over Sâketa, the time referred to must be that previous to the conquest of Mâlhwâ, which took place about 389 A. D., and after which the King in all probability resided at Ujjayinī. Vasubandhu therefore lived in the last quarter of the fourth century; and his pupil Diinnâga, about the end of that century; and if Kâlidâsa was his contemporary, he too must have lived about that time and thus have been one of the gems at Vikramâditya's court.

LITERARY REVIVAL AND RENOVATION.

If then after several centuries of neglect on the part of princes and people, Brahmanism began to rise in influence and importance under Wema-Kadphises about the middle of the third century after Christ, and made rapid strides in the time of the Gupta Emperors, we might expect the Brahmans to make every effort to widen their influence and render it permanent. And this is what, I think, we do find. With that object they gave a new and more popular shape to the literature of their creed and re-arranged it in a manner to meet the wants and be in harmony with the changed feelings of an increased number of followers, and strengthen their hold over them. They made a great endeavour to place it on a philosophical basis and show that the creed of their opponents had no such basis. This, therefore, was the age when metrical Smṛitis, Purâṇas, and Bhâshyas or commentaries containing explanatory, apologetic, and controversial matter began to be written; and the general literary impulse was communicated to other branches of learning including poetry. We shall now proceed to the elucidation of this point.

⁸⁶ Hiouen Tsiang's Travels, Beal's Trans. Vol. I., p. 106 ff.; Wassiljew, Germ. Trans., p. 240.

WORKS ON RELIGIOUS LAW.

In the olden times, the works on religious law existed in the form of Sûtras or prose aphorisms, and they were identified with particular schools or Śākhās of Brahmans. We have thus the Dharma and Grihya Sûtras of Āpastamba, of Baudhāyana, Kaṭha, Āśvalāyana, &c. But afterwards books written in Anuṣṭubh ślokas came to be used. They prescribed the same rules as those given in the Dharma and Grihya Sûtras, and in some cases a close resemblance has been found to exist between the words and expressions used in the Sûtras and the metrical Law-books or Smṛitis. Thus the Sûtras on the Vināyakaśānti in the Kaṭha Sûtra are reproduced almost word for word in the corresponding portion of the Yājñavalkya Smṛiti.⁶⁰ But in the new books the exposition is plainer than in the Sûtras, which were primarily meant to be supplemented by oral explanation. Here, therefore, is an attempt to disentangle the Brahmanic religious law from the narrow schools to which it was before attached, and put it in a form intelligible and applicable to all Brahmanic Hindus. Hence is the choice of the Anuṣṭubh śloka instead of the old Sûtras, as it was used ordinarily for all literary purposes. But in the revised Hindu Law certain customs such as the killing of cows even for sacrificial purposes, and levirate, the feeling against which had grown strong were prohibited; while a compromise was effected in the case of others which had not become unpopular to that extent. The old precept, for instance, about eating the flesh of five species of animals was hedged round by a number of restrictions; but in order to satisfy the claims of the old Vedic religion, the slaughter of some of them was freely allowed in religious rites. These metrical Smritis, therefore, it would not be wrong to refer to about the Kushana-Gupta period. There is a passage in the Smṛiti of Manu, in which it is stated that certain native Indian tribes, such as the Puṇḍrakas and the Draviḍas, and the Yavanas Śakas, and Pahlavas, were originally Kaṭatriyas, but they became Śûdras by their setting the Brahmans at defiance and gradually ceasing to perform the religious rites.⁶⁰ In a chapter in the Ānuśāsanika Book of the Mahābhārata, Bhīshma says to Yudhisṭhira "that the highest duty of a crowned king is to worship learned Brahmans; they should be protected as one protects oneself or one's children; and be respected, bowed to, and revered as if they were

⁶⁰ See Bradke on Mānava Gr. S. Jour. Germ. Or. S., vol. XXXVI, p. 427ff.

⁶⁰ X.43.44.

one's parents. If Brahmans are contented, the whole country prospers ; if they are discontented and angry, everything goes to destruction. They can make a god not a god, and a not-god a god. One whom they praise prospers, one whom they reproach, becomes miserable. The different Kshatriya tribes, Śakas, Yavanas, and Kāmbojas became Śūdras through not seeing or following Brahmans."⁹¹ In these passages a Kshatriya origin is supposed in order that the Śūdrahood of these tribes, which was consequent on their being beyond the Āryan pale and which, as stated before, is plainly asserted by Patañjali in the case of two of them, may appear as the result of their not paying deference to Brahmans. This shows that the neglect of the sacerdotal caste by the Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas and other tribes was uppermost in the minds of those who invented a Kshatriya origin for them ; and the passages and especially the chapter in the Mahābhārata look as if they were written when the foreign domination had come to a close and the Brahmans had fully triumphed, and were anxious to preserve their newly gained influence. The chapter, therefore, must have been interpolated into the epic in the Gupta period, and the Smṛiti of Manu based on a previous Sūtra work and traditional or floating texts,⁹² composed at about the same time. The Mahābhārata, however, already existed in its full form at the period ; for it is mentioned by name in copperplate inscriptions of the years 174 G. E. (492-3 A. D.) and 177 G. E. (495-6 A. D.) and two more, and as a Śatasāhasrī or a work of a hundred thousand verses in one of the year 214 G. E. (532-3 A. D.).⁹³ But it can hardly admit of a reasonable doubt that it was retouched about this period.

WORKS ON THE SACRIFICIAL RITUAL.

The works on the sacrificial ritual and especially the Bhāshyas or great commentaries on the Sūtras of the several Vedas or Śākhās must have begun to be written about this time. Since the sacrificial religion was being revived, the necessity of a definite and authoritative ritual was felt ; and as the sacrifices had been out of use for a long time, knowledge of the ritual was rare and vague. The names of the writers of the Bhāshyas and other works on the ritual end in the honorific title *Svāmin*, such as a Devasvāmin, the commentator on the Sūtra of Āśvalāyana ; Bhasvasvāmin, on that of Baudhāyana ; Dhūrtasvāmin on that of Āpas-

⁹¹ Chap. 83.

⁹² See below, p. 49.

⁹³ Dr. Fleet's Early Gupta Inscr. Nos. 26, 27, 28, 30 and 31.

tamba; Agnisvâmin on that of Latyâyana, &c. This title we find used in Central India in the last quarter of the fifth century and the first of the sixth. In the copperplate charter dated 474-5 A. D., 481-2 A. D. and 509-10 A. D. issued by the Parivrâjaka Mahârâjas occur such names as Gopasvâmin,⁶⁴ Bhavasvâmin,⁶⁵ Devasvâmin the son of Agnisvâmin, Govindasvâmin,⁶⁶ &c., among the grantees. In the Dekkan we find the title affixed to the names of some of the grantees in the copperplates issued by the princes of the early Châlukya dynasty in the second half of the seventh century and the early part of the eighth; and we have such names as Keśavasvâmin, Karkasvâmin, and Devasvâmin which are the names of writers of commentaries on the sacrificial Sûtras and other works on the ritual. The title *Svâmin* is indicative of the period between the fourth and the tenth centuries; for we do not find it used later.

PURĀNAS.

The idea of recasting the Purānas into their present form must have originated about this time. They existed long before, since they are alluded to in the Upanishads and Śrautasûtras, but their contents must have been strictly in accordance with the rule given by Amarasimha in his lexicon, and embraced an account of the creation and dissolution of the world, of the different families of Rishis and princes, and of the deeds of the most heroic among them, and of the Manvantaras or different ages of the world. But now the necessity of glorifying the different gods and goddesses whose worship was rising in favour and of firmly inculcating other religious duties had been felt; and new Purānas were composed having the framework of the old but with new matter introduced on every occasion. Thus, if we compare the chapters on Creation in the Vāyu, the Liṅga, and Mārkaṇḍeya Purānas, we shall find not only a similarity of contents but of language also. The Vishṇu contains an abridged account of the matter but oftentimes the words are the same. Most of the existing Purānas, perhaps all, were written to promote the worship of particular deities, Vishṇu, Śiva, and Durgâ in their several forms, or to strengthen the authority of the religious practices that had begun to prevail. The Vāyu appears to be one of the oldest of these works, as it is quoted in Saṅkarâchârya's Bhâshya. It mentions the Guptas, as I have already observed, as ruling alongside of the Gaṅgâ, over Prayâga, Sâketa and Magadha

⁶⁴ Fleet's E. G. Inscr. No. 21.

⁶⁵ Ib. No. 22.

⁶⁶ Ib. No. 23.

If this verse has undergone no corruption and was advisedly put in, the Purāna in which we find it must have been written before Chandragupta-Vikramāditya conquered Mālwa and Mathurā and drove out the foreigners, that is, before the last quarter of the fourth century. The Vishṇu has the text in a corrupt form. As the Purāna editors did not care very much for the matter which did not immediately concern their purpose, they were not careful to give the original before them correctly and even misunderstood it. The Vishnu is evidently later than the Vāyu. The Purānas began to be recast when the worship of Hindu deities rose in popular estimation about the time of Wema-Kadphises *circa* 250 A. D., and the process continued through the Gupta period to a much later date and new Purānas appeared from time to time; and it has hardly ceased even to this day, since we find Māhātmyas springing up now and then though not Purānas in a complete shape.

FLOATING LITERATURE.

In considering the question of the recasting of the works on the religious creed of the Brahmins and those on mythology, it should be borne in mind that the art of writing was introduced into India at a comparatively late period, and even afterwards was resorted to very rarely. Hence literary works and detached verses containing religious and moral precepts and beautiful poetic sentiments were, in the olden times, composed and transmitted orally. In the case of the latter the name of the author was forgotten; and there was thus a floating mass of anonymous verses in the mouths of the learned. When, therefore, systematic writing had to be resorted to, to give fixity and permanence to the creed, and when it came to be generally used even for purposes of profane literature, these floating verses were appropriated or used by several writers. Hence it is that we often find the same verses in such works as the Smṛiti of Manu, the Mahābhārata, and even in Pāli Buddhistic works, and sometimes, though very rarely, in dramatic plays and poems also. This source, therefore, was also drawn upon by the writers of Smṛitis and Purānas in the Gupta period, in addition to those already indicated.

ASTRONOMY.

Like the Dharma and the legendary-lore, the astronomy of the Hindus was also recast on the same principle as that which guided

the re-edition of those two branches, *viz.*, to put it in a form suited to the condition of the new times. Hence the old astronomical elements were combined with such ones of a Greek origin as had found acceptance among the Hindus, and some new elements discovered or thought out by the writers themselves being added, the works known as the original five Siddhântas arose.⁹⁷ As in the case of the new works on the first two subjects, the name of a profane author was not connected with these works; but it was expressly stated or left to be understood that they were composed by old Munis or gods. Dr. Thibaut thinks that two of them the Romaka and the Paulîsa must have been composed not later than 400 A. D. Probably all the Siddhântas were written about the middle of the fourth century or even earlier, especially as they were held in reverence by Varâhamihira who wrote about them in the middle of the sixth century. A direct borrowing from any particular Greek work is not contended for by anybody. As in the case of the art of coinage, the knowledge of some elements of Greek astronomy must have reached the Hindus through the Bactrians, the Sakas, and the other foreign races with whom they came in contact; and this was made use of in their works when the Brahmaus gained or regained influence in the fourth century. All the celebrated Indian astronomers flourished after this period. Âryabhata was born in 476 A.D. and Varâhamihira died, as already stated, in 587 A.D.

MIMÂNSÂ.

Subandhu in his Vâsavadattâ tells us that the doctrine of Tathâgata or Buddha was destroyed or attacked by those who followed the system of Jaimini.⁹⁸ The earliest of these followers whose works are extant is Sabaravâmin, the author of the Mîmâmsâbhâshya. Sabarasvâmin establishes the existence of the soul as an independent entity and not identical with the feelings, which are phenomenal only, against the Bauddhas generally, and the reality of the external word against the followers of the Yogâchâra School, and refutes the nihilism taught by the Mâdhyamika

⁹⁷ See Dr. Thibaut's Intr. to his Ed. of the Pañchasiddhântikâ pp. xlix to l.

⁹⁸ In the run contained in the expression केषिञ्जैमिनिमतानुसारिण इव तथा गतमतर्धसिनः ।

School.⁹⁹ The Yogāchāra School was founded by Āryāsaṅga, or Asaṅga, who was the elder brother of Vasubandhu, the preceptor of Dīnāgāchārya. Āryāsaṅga was thus a contemporary of Vasubandhu,¹⁰⁰ and lived in the last quarter of the fourth century. Sa-barasvāmin, therefore, probably composed his Bhāshya, on Jaimini, in the fifth century and we have seen that the honorific title, *Svāmin* which he bore, was in use in that century. Kumārila was the writer of a Vārtika on the Bhāshya, and he was a strong combatant. He flourished about the end of the seventh century. There was another school of the Mīmāṃsā, thoroughly atheistic, founded by Prabhākara. But it appears to have been soon neglected. All these writers laboured also to establish the authoritative-ness of the Vedas and their eternity against the objections urged by the Buddhists and Jainas.

LOGIC, DIALECTICS, AND SĀMĀNYA.

Buddhists and Brahmans carried on controversies in the field of logic also. The well-known passage in the beginning of Vāchaspati's work, entitled Vārtikatātparyāṭikā, gives us valuable information about the matter. "The revered Akshapāda having composed the Śāstra calculated to lead to eternal bliss, and an exposition of it having been given by Pakshilasvāmin, what is it that remains and requires that a Vartika should be composed? Though the author of the Bhāshya has given an exposition of the Śāstra, still modern (scholars) Dīnāga and others having enveloped it in the darkness of fallacious arguments, that exposition is not sufficient for determining the truth; hence the author of the Uddyota dispels the darkness by his work the Uddyota, *i. e.*, light (torch)."¹⁰¹ Vāchaspati here calls Dīnāga a modern in comparison with Pakshilasvamin or Vātsyāyana, the author of the Bhāshya. If he had correct information, Vātsyāyana must be supposed to have lived about two or more centuries before Dīnāga. But it can hardly be expected that he should have a correct historical knowledge of the matter. It is, therefore, not unlikely, especially in view of the fact that the title *Svāmin* is given to the author, that

⁹⁹ Ed. Bibl. Ind. pp. 19ff., 8, 9. Kumārīlā, in his ŚlokaVārtika indicates that Śābara refutes in the last two cases the doctrines of the Yogāchāra and Mādhyamika Schools.

¹⁰⁰ Wassiljew, Germ. Trans., pp. 146, 236 and 237.

¹⁰¹ See Ed. in the Vidyanagram Series, p. 1.

he flourished about half a century before Diñnāga, *i.e.*, about the middle of the fourth century. Bhāradvāja or the author of the Uddyota, is, as is well known, mentioned by Subandhu, who again is praised by Bāṇa in the middle of the seventh century. He may therefore have flourished in the middle of the sixth century, or even earlier. In later times Buddhist doctrines in logic and metaphysics were criticised by the Vedāntius Saṅkarāchārya and his pupil Sureśvara. The Sāṅkhya philosophy also was revived by Īśvarakṛishṇa, who wrote the Sāṅkhya Kārikās.¹⁰³ The oldest commentary on the work is that by Gauḍapādāchārya. The Kārikās and the commentary were translated into Chinese between the years 557 A. D. and 569 A. D. The Kārikās are in the Āryā metre, and this metre is used by Āryabhata and others, and appears to have been a favourite with the writers of the period. An author quoted by Dr. Hall says that Kālidāsa composed the Kārikās in the name of Īśvarakṛishṇa, or using the name Īśvarakṛishṇa. Whether this is true or not all that we know about Īśvarakṛishṇa is not inconsistent with the supposition that he flourished in the beginning of the fifth century.

ORNATE POETRY.

Sanskrit poetry was cultivated and appreciated more generally in this period than it could have been in the preceding ages, when the language itself was not generally studied and the Prākṛits were in favour. I have already spoken about Kālidāsa and Bhartṛiṃeṭha. Though the dates of all the poets from whose works we have excerpts in our anthologies are not known, my general feeling is that none of the writers of ornate poetry quoted therein is older than the fourth or the end of the third century. Āśvaghosha, the author of the Buddhacharita, which has often been compared to Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa, was a contemporary of Kanishka, as is admitted by all, and lived, according to our interpretation of the Kushana dates, at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century. Professor Max Müller started several years ago the theory of the "Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature." It was powerfully contested by several able scholars, and now it seems almost to have been given up. But there is no question that the inscriptions place

¹⁰³ Ed. Sāṅkhyasāra, Preface, p. 29. I understand the passage
इधरकृष्णनाम कालिदसेन कृताः कारिकाः as in the text.

clearly before us the facts of the decline of Brahmanism, the ascendancy of early Buddhism, and the neglect of the Sanskrit language and cultivation of the Prākṛits, from about the first century before Christ to about the middle of the fourth, and a powerful Brahmanic revival about the end of the century. This phenomenon may be called "Revival and Renovation of Brahmanism and of the Sanskrit Language and Literature." Professor Max Müller placed the Sakāri Vikramāditya in the middle of the sixth century, and assigned that period to the nine gems and later dates to the whole of modern Sanskrit literature. I have identified him with Chandragupta-Vikramāditya of the Gupta dynasty, who reigned about the end of the fourth century, and referred Kālidāsa to that period. Under this supposition most of the arguments used by the late Professor Bühler lose their weight; and the only Sanskrit inscription left for him to go upon is that of Rudradāman at Girnar of the year 150 A. D. But according to my way of understanding the matter, ornate poetry was not undeveloped or unknown in the centuries of Brahmanic depression; but the language chiefly used for its cultivation was one or other of the Prākṛits or Vernaculars, and Sanskrit was resorted to rarely. I attach full weight to the argument based upon the specimens of Sanskrit poetry occurring in the Mahābhāshya. But I maintain that, like Brahmanism itself, it had not many votaries and was not extensively cultivated. With the restoration of Brahmanic influence in the Gupta period, it received a fresh start along with the other branches of literature we have passed under review; and just as there were earlier works in those branches, so were these earlier poetic works. The decline in the previous period was due not to any positive hostility of the foreign rulers, but to the popularity of early Buddhism and of the Prākṛit languages; and the only way in which the foreigners exercised a baneful influence was, as has been already indicated, by not patronizing Brahmanic learning in the manner in which a Brahmanic universal sovereign would have done, and rendering, by their frequent incursions and their power, the rise of such a one impossible.

ART. XXI.—*The Coins of Aḥmadābād.*

By REV. G. P. TAYLOR, M.A., D.D., Aḥmadābād.

[Communicated, May 1900.]

The story of the founding of the city of Aḥmadābād has been told in considerable detail by more than one of the Muḥammadan historians of Gujarāt. From their writings we learn that Ḥafṣa Khān, a Tāuk Rājput, whose father had embraced Islām and gained preferment at the court of Fīroz Taghlaq, was in 1391 A. D. appointed by the Sultān of Dehlī his viceroy in Gujarāt. The next few years witnessed a continual shrinkage of the Dehli kingdom, province after province successfully revolting from under the imperial power, and in 1398 the invasion of the terrible Timūr Lang ("Tamerlane") practically completed the process of disintegration. It became thenceforward impossible for the Sultāns of Dehlī to maintain their hold over any province so remote as Gujarāt from the seat of Government, and though Ḥafṣa Khān seems, indeed, to have rendered a nominal allegiance till 1403, in that year he openly assumed independence, and in 1407, at the request of the chief men of the province, he formally mounted the throne under the title of Sultān Muḥaffar Shāh. On his death in 1411 his grandson Aḥmad Shāh succeeded to the Saltanat of Gujarāt. This monarch, fond of the air and soil of Aḥḥāval, a town already in the tenth century sufficiently important to be mentioned in the Tārīkh al Hind of Al Bīrūnī, determined to found there a city that should bear his own name and become the future capital of his kingdom. Accordingly, in the very year of his accession, he took counsel with the revered saint Shāikh Aḥmad Khattu, surnamed Ganj Dānish, or "the Treasure Giver," through whose aid the mysterious personage known to Muslim hagiographers as Al Khizr, held by some to be the prophet Elijah, and by others St. George, the patron saint of England, was invoked to appear before the royal presence. From him permission was obtained to found a city on the site desired, but on the singular proviso that four Aḥmads could be found who had never missed the afternoon prayer. The saint and the Sultān had each of them fulfilled this condition, and a search over Gujarāt yielded other two, a Shāikh Aḥmad and a Mullā Aḥmad. These four are said to have lined out with their own hands the four boundaries of the

city and some six years thereafter its fortifications were finished. Under the fostering hand of royalty the new capital rapidly grew in importance. It soon extended beyond its original limits, so that in process of time this city with its suburbs included not merely the sites of the earlier *Āshāvāl* and *Karāvātī*, but even covered, if tradition speaks truly, an area of thirty miles, while its population exceeded two millions. *Firishta*, in his brief but glowing description of the city, writes:—

“ There are 360 different *maḥallas*, each *maḥalla* having a wall surrounding it. The principal streets are sufficiently wide to admit of ten carriages abreast. It is hardly necessary to add that this is on the whole the handsomest city in Hindūstān, and perhaps in the world.”—*Briggs' Firishta*, IV. 14.

To the same effect are the words of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari* at the close of its account of the founding of the city:—

“ All four *Aḥmāds* have ever since been praised, for by the blessing of their instrumentality the city is so charming to behold that in beauty it outrivals all the cities of the earth. Travellers have agreed that they have found no city in the whole earth so beautiful and charming and splendid.”—*Bayley's History of Gujārāt*, 90, 91.

Now let us address ourselves to the question—What can one learn regarding the coins of *Aḥmadābād*? for it goes without saying that a city so important and so magnificent would certainly have a mint of its own. For a full century preceding the assumption of independence by *Zāfar Khān*, or more accurately from 1297 till 1403, the province of *Gujārāt* had been tributary to *Dehlī*, and its coins were the coins of the *Dehlī Sultāns*. In those days two means were commonly employed for making widely known any change in the Government. First, the name of the new monarch was inserted in the *Khutba*, or oration delivered on Fridays in every mosque at the time of *Zōhr*, or midday prayer. By this means all the “sons of the faithful” would be advised of the fact that the sovereignty of the land had changed hands, and that their allegiance should now be transferred to the new ruler. But a second way of conveying this information—and for *Hindū* subjects at least a more effective way—was the issuing of a new coinage, which should bear engraven on it the name of the monarch who had recently gained the throne. These freshly struck coins, circulating from town to town and passing from hand to hand, admirably served the purpose of proclaiming to all and sundry throughout the province the accession of a new king.

In conformity, then, with this recognized custom, coins were struck by the Sultāns of Gujarāt immediately on their defection from the Imperial Government of Dehli. The earliest, however, of the new coins were issued not by Zafar Khan, the founder of the dynasty, but by his son Tātār Khān. Concerning this son very conflicting accounts have come down to us. The most probable story is "that Tātār Khan, taking advantage of the age and infirmities of his father, imprisoned him in the tow of Āshāval, and forthwith caused himself to be proclaimed king. After a reign of little more than two months he died from poison administered in the interest, if not at the suggestion, of his father." Short though his reign was, the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi* expressly mentions that Tātār Khān assumed the royal style of Muḥammad Shāh and the royal umbrella, and had the Khutba read and coins struck in his name. (See *Bayley's Gujarāt*, 82, note †.) His full title is variously given as either Ghiyāth, or Nāsir, al Dunyā wa al Dīn Muḥammad Shāh. (See *ibid.* 81, note *.) The coins he struck are the earliest of the Gujarāt Sultānat, but whether any have survived to the present day is doubtful. Nor, so far as I am aware, is a single specimen known of the coins issued a few years later by his father Zafar Khān. Reference to these occurs in the *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadi*, which states that Zafar Khān, having in the year 810 H. (1407 A. D.) assumed the title of Muzaḥfar Shāh, "struck coins in his own name, and appointed his grandson, Aḥmad Shāh, to succeed him as his heir. He continued "to dispense justice, to punish the wicked, and to protect the poor, "till his grandson, Aḥmad Shāh, poisoned him in the year of the "Hijra 813."—*Dirā's Gujarāt*, 183, 184.

"The *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* gives Muzaḥfar Shāh's laqab, or title, as *Shams al Dunyā wa al Dīn*."—*Bayley's Gujarāt*, 84, note *.

Of Aḥmad Shāh's copper coins many are still to be found in the bāzārs of Gujarāt. Several are undated, but the earliest bearing a date would seem to be the silver coin represented on page 352 of Thomas's "Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli." Its year 828 H. (1424 A. D.) is inscribed on the obverse, which further reads

Aḥmad Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh bin Muzaḥfar Shāh, khald Khilāfat;

while the legend on the reverse reads

Al Sulṭān al 'uzm Nāsir al Dunyā wa al Dīn, Abu'l Faṭḥ.

The earliest dated copper coin of this reign is of the year 830 H. (1429 A. D.), and from that time onwards, till the close of the dynasty consequent on the subjugation of Gujarāt by the Emperor Akbar in 980 H. (1572 A. D.), coins seem to have been struck by

the successive Sultāns in considerable abundance. A few billon coins have been met with bearing dates ranging between 861 and 869 H., but the earliest in gold, so far as I can learn, is of the year 929 H.

No catalogue has yet been published of even an approximately complete set of the coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat. The collection in the British Museum is exceedingly meagre. The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1889 (Vol. LVIII., Part I., No. I.) contains an interesting and helpful article by Mr. E. E. Oliver on "the Coins of the Muhammadan Kings of Gujarāt," in which thirty-four of these coins, thirteen in silver and twenty-one in copper, are figured. The list given by Mr. Thomas in his "Chronicles" includes in all forty-seven, namely, six in gold, eleven in silver, twenty-nine in copper, and one in billon. As a resident for some years in Aḥmadābād, it has been my good fortune to be exceptionally favourably situated for making a collection of these special coins, and my cabinet contains—

110	specimens in silver,
590	,, ,, copper,
10	,, ,, billon ;

or a total of 710 specimens.

With twenty-six exceptions, every year between 830 and 980 H. (that is, between 1427 and 1572 A. D.) is represented in one or other of the metals. Though my collection is thus fairly adequate as far as dates are concerned, the coins unfortunately furnish only the scantiest information regarding the mint-towns at which they were struck. A few bear in their legends the name of Muṣṭafābād, and others apparently the name Meḥmadābād, both being towns founded by Maḥmūd Begaḍā within the first twenty years of his long reign. One may safely assume that many, if not indeed most, of the Gujarāt coins of this period must have issued from Aḥmadābād, the capital of the kingdom, yet none the less I have not come across a single coin in this series that can be assigned with absolute certainty to the Aḥmadābād mint. Numbers 4, 6, and 7 of Plate I. accompanying Mr. Oliver's article are, it is true, claimed by him for Aḥmadābād, but in all three specimens the correct reading seems to be Meḥmadābād. With the exception of a few silver and copper coins of Maḥmūd Begaḍā's reign, and possibly a very few of Aḥmad I.'s and Maḥmūd III.'s, none of the coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat, *i. e.*, none struck between 1403 and 1572 A. D., afford any indication as to their

place of mintage. These coins have hitherto received such slight attention that a complete description of them would supply a missing chapter in numismatics. Their description, however, would be out of place in a paper such as the present, which is limited definitely to the coins of Ahmadābād.

Before passing on to the next series, the coins issued in the name of the new conquerors of the province, special reference should be made to three coins, remarkable as forming a link between the earlier and the later types. The last independent Sultān of Gujarāt was Muẓaffar III. In the year 980 H. (1572 A.D.) his kingdom was annexed to the Empire of Dehli, and thereafter the victorious Akbar transported the erewhile monarch to enforced, if splendid, retirement in Āgra. Eleven years later, however, and thus in 991 H., Muẓaffar, who had meantime fallen under royal suspicion and suffered imprisonment, managed to effect his escape to Gujarāt. Here he again raised his banner, and after a brief struggle obtained possession of the city of Ahmadābād. During the six short months that he was able to maintain his government of the province, rupees were struck in his name. These rupees, however, are quite of a different type from the Maḥmūdīs current in Gujarāt prior to his exile, but they bear a close resemblance to the Mughal rupees, meanwhile introduced by Akbar. The specimen in my possession (No. 1) is round, being .85 of an inch in diameter and 170 grains in weight; thus a striking contrast to the issue of eleven years earlier, of which the weight was but 73 grains and measurement .62 of an inch. The later and larger coin fortunately bears the record of both its date and mint, being struck at Ahmadābād in the year 991 H. (1583 A. D.). Both on the obverse and on the reverse a square is inscribed, bordered by double lines, with dots between. The obverse reads within the square,

Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh ibn Maḥmūd Shāh,
with the Hijri year 991 above the Sīn of Sultān. Outside the square the lower margin gives as the mint-town Ahmadābād, but the three remaining margins are illegible.

The reverse contains, within the square, the Kalima—

Lā ilāha illa'l-lāh, Muḥammad rasūl'l-lāh :

There is no God but Allāh, Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh.

Its margins, also illegible, seem to have read on the specimen described by Mr. Oliver the names of the four Khalīfas and their Virtues.

Besides this very rare rupee, I have been able to secure two copper coins, which, though undated, I have no hesitation in ascribing to this same brief period of Muẓaffar's second reign. One weighs 170 grains and the other (No. 2)—a beautiful specimen—85 grains. The legend on each is identical, being on the obverse merely

Muẓaffar Shāh ibn Maḥmūd Shāh,

and on the reverse,

Dār al Ḍarb Aḥmadābād.

These simple readings, so widely different from those in the Gujarāt Saltanat series, place the coins in a class of their own, while the title Dār al Ḍarb, "Seat of the Mint," a title never found on the regular coins of the Saltanat, is met with on Mughal coins struck in Aḥmadābād in the years 982, 986, and 993 H. Hence one may safely conclude that these two dateless coins were issued from the Aḥmadābād mint during Muẓaffar's brief resumption of regal power in 991 H.

Besides Dār al Ḍarb, two other honorific epithets of Aḥmadābād are occasionally found engraven on its coins: to wit—

Dār al Khilāfat, "Seat of the Caliphate," and

Dār al Saltanat, "Seat of the Empire";

but none of these titles occur in the coin-legends after the year 993 H. Just once again, however, the Aḥmadābād mint was associated with an honorific title, for a rupee struck in that city during the six months of the reign of Rafī' al Darajāt in 1131 H. (1719 A. D.) supplies us with the charming title Zīnat al Bilād, "the Beauty of Towns."

Pass we now to the Mughal coins of Aḥmadābād, the coins, that is to say, struck at the Aḥmadābād mint in the name of the Mughal Emperors of Hindūstān subsequent to Akbar's annexation of Gujarāt in 1572, and prior to the issue by the Honourable East India Company of a general British currency in 1835, hence during the period covering the 270 Hijrī years from 980 to 1250. For the coins which we shall now proceed to describe in some detail, I have depended for the most part on my own cabinet, but note has been taken of all the Aḥmadābād coins entered in the published Catalogues of the British Museum (B. M.), the Lāhor Museum (L. M.), and

the Calcutta Museum (C. M.). The following Table gives the number of coins comprised in each of the four collections:—

Collection.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Total.
B. M.	14	45	2	61
L. M.	2	55	4	61
C. M.	5	20	6	31
Taylor Cabinet.	0	187	102	289

Deducting duplicates, we obtain from the above four sources a resultant aggregate collection of 370 varieties, 17 being of gold, 243 of silver, and 110 of copper, and all issuing from the Ahmadābād mint.

Both muhrs and rupees have come down to us of the year 980 H. (1572-73 A. D.), the year that witnessed the conquest of Gujarāt, and the type of coin then adopted continued with but slight variation till 986 H. The muhr of 980 (see British Museum Catalogue, No. 48) reads on its obverse in the central area,

جلال الدين محمد اكبر پادشاه غازی

Muhammad Akbar, the Glory of the Faith, the Victorious King,

with the year 980 fairly in the middle of the coin.

Below the central area comes

دار الخلافة احمد آباد

Ahmadābād, Seat of the Caliphate,

and above it

خدا الله تعالى ملكه

Allah, the Exalted, keep the kingdom for ever.

The inscription on the reverse contains the Kalima within an ornamental quatrefoil, and in the four marginal segments occur the names of the four Khalifas with their virtues, thus—

بصدق ابوبكر بعدل عمر بصحاى عثمان بعلم علي

By the veracity of Abū Bakr, by the rectitude of 'Ōmar, by the modesty of 'Othmān, by the learning of 'Alī.

The 980 rupee (No. 3) is very similar to the muhr, but, instead of the Dār al Khilāfat Aḥmadābād, it has merely Dār Aḥmadābād, and on the reverse a simple linear square takes the place of the ornamental quatrefoil.

Between 982 and 986 H. the rupee (No. 4) had on both the obverse and the reverse a large central square bounded by double lines with dots between. Both year and mint are entered on the obverse, the former in the right-hand corner of the square, the latter on the lower margin.

The rupees that have thus far engaged our attention are all round and broad and thin, their diameter measuring generally a full inch. It would seem, however, that in the year 987 H. (1579 A. D.) square coins (No. 5) were for the first time struck at the Aḥmadābād mint, and the type of coin then adopted continued current till the year 1000 H. While of the same weight as the previously issued round rupees, they are of smaller dimensions, the length of each side being only $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch, but increased thickness compensates for this reduction in size. The earlier legends are still retained both on the obverse and the reverse, but a new arrangement of them is now adopted. The obverse consists of four lines, the uppermost of which reads

Khalal Allah ta'ālā malkahu,

with the tail of the ل which comes as the final consonant of ta'ālā prolonged backwards so as to form an upper border for the central portion of the inscription. The next line reads

Muḥammad Akbar, Pādshāh,

with the Hijrī date inserted in the bosom of the Kāf of Akbar. The following line is

Jalāl al Dīn, Ghāzī,

in which again the final ل is utilized so as to make a lower border line for the central area. Under this comes the fourth line, which records the mint-town as

Dār al Dār Aḥmadābād.

The reverse of these square coins contains the Kalima inscribed in a smaller square, of which the four sides are ingeniously formed by lengthening some of the letters occurring in the names and virtues of the Four Companions, the remaining letters occupying the margins.

After the year 1000 the Hijrī date never appears on any of Akbar's coins struck in Aḥmadābād. In its place is substituted the

(solar) year reckoned according to the Ilāhī San, or 'Divine Era,' instituted by Akbar, and dating from the vernal equinox of 963 H., the year of his accession to the throne. Thus 1000 of the Hijrī, era corresponds to 1000-963, that is to 37, of the Ilāhī. Now in that year and the next the coins (No. 6) that issued from the Aḥmadābād mint were in the main identical with the square rupees current during the preceding thirteen years, save in the noteworthy particular that, instead of the Hijrī dates 1000 and 1001, the years are now entered as 37 and 38. In this respect these rupees reflect the religious changes then in process at the Imperial Court. Akbar had already abolished the official reckoning of the year from the date of Muḥammad's flight from Mecca, but he had not yet renounced the Muḥammadan Profession of Faith; and accordingly we find that the coins struck just at this stage in the process of change bear on their obverse the Ilāhī year, but on their reverse the Kalima. In the nature of things, so ambiguous a position could not continue long, and Akbar's defection from Islām soon became more pronounced. The revolt initiated by the institution of the Ilāhī era now culminated in Akbar's promulgation of a new creed, intended to supplant the Muslim Kalima. This new-fangled formula was, and still is, of doubtful interpretation. It may read

الله اكبر جل جلاله

Allah is most great, glorified be his glory;

but the more probable rendering is that accepted by the late Mr. Charles Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, to wit,

اكبر الله جل جلاله

Akbar is Allah, glorified be his glory.

It is most interesting to notice how Akbar's changing moods found expression not only in his official edicts, but also on his current coins. We have already seen that until the year 1000 H. the inscriptions on the Aḥmadābād rupees are all strictly orthodox—not yet had the religious vagaries of the imperial heretic extended to Aḥmadābād, or at least to the Aḥmadābād mint. Then in 1000 and 1001 H., or more accurately in 37 and 38 Ilāhī, the Aḥmadābād coins present the incongruous medley of the so-called Divine Era in association with the old Islāmic creed—clearly the change at Court had now begun and religious strife was brewing. And, lastly, from Ilāhī 38 right on to the close of Akbar's reign in Ilāhī 51, the

In the very interesting article, "Some Novelities in Mughal Coins," contributed by Dr. White King, I.C.S., and Captain Vost, I.M.S., to the "Numismatic Chronicle," Vol. XVI., Third Series, mention is made of an Aḥmadābād coin worthy of special note,

since presenting in association with the Hijrī year, part of the later Akbarī Creed. The coin is a square quarter-rupee, measuring on each side 0.55 inch and bearing date 987 A.H. (1579-80 A.D.). Read from below upwards the legend on the obverse is *صوب احمد اباد* and on the reverse *الله اكبر*

Muḥammadan era and the Muḥammadan creed were alike banished from the coins of Aḥmadābād, which now exhibit, with consistent heterodoxy, only the Ilāhī Era (with Persian month) and the Akbarī Creed—evidently the divorce from Islām was now complete. Even after this radical change in the inscriptions had been effected, the square form of coin was still retained during the two years 38 and 39 Ilāhī (No. 7), and of this type beautiful specimens may be seen not only of the full rupee, but also of the smaller denominations, the half, the quarter, and the eighth. From 39 to 51, however, the round coin entirely supersedes the square.

Most of the rupees of this period (No. 8) are characterized by a severe simplicity of design. The obverse legend, in two lines of long heavy letters, reads

Akbar Allah, jalla jalāluhu.

The reverse contains in its upper line the name of the ancient Persian month and the word Ilāhī written in full, with the tail of the final ← sprawling backwards right across the coin. Below this come the figures of the Ilāhī year, and to the left the place of mintage, Aḥmadābād, while below both stands the technical term *Ḍarb*, "minted at."

The rupees, however, struck during part of the Ilāhī year 47 (No. 9) furnish a striking exception to the prevailing plainness of the Aḥmadābād coins of the period, and relieve the general monotony of design. On the obverse is Akbar's Creed within a linear square, bearing on each of its sides a simple ornamental device. This all is encompassed by a wavy diamond border, itself inscribed in a double circle with dots between. The field of the reverse is an octagon, each of the eight sides of which supports a somewhat florid decoration, the whole circumscribed, as on the obverse, by two concentric circles with intervening dots. The issue in Aḥmadābād of these remarkably beautiful rupees seems to have been limited to the first eight months of the Ilāhī year 47, but specimens are known of rupees of a very similar design minted at Lāhor in each of the four years from 47 to 50 Ilāhī.

In now briefly summarizing the results arrived at regarding the gold and silver coinage of Aḥmadābād in Akbar's reign, we find as to the gold that only four muhrs in all are preserved in the British Museum and the Museums in Calcutta and Lāhor. These muhrs are dated 980, 982, 983, and 986 H., and resemble in type the rupees of the same years.

The silver coinage admits of division into five sufficiently distinct periods :—

1. From 980—986 H. (Nos. 3 and 4), when the rupees were round and thin, and bore on their obverse the Hijrī year of issue, and on their reverse the Kalima, associated in the margins with the names and virtues of the Four Khalifas.

2. From 987—1000 H. (No. 5), during which years the chief change introduced was in the shape of the rupee, which was now made square and thick instead of round and thin.

3. The Ilāhī years 37 and 38 (No. 6), when these square rupees, while retaining on the reverse the Kalima, present on their obverse the Ilāhī in place of the Hijrī year.

4. The Ilāhī years 38 and 39 (No. 7), when the Kalima too was banished from the rupee, which, still a square coin, now bears not only the Ilāhī year, inscribed on the *reverse*, but also on its obverse the Akbarī Creed.

5. From Ilāhī 39—51 (Nos. 8 and 9), throughout which period the rupee, having reverted to its original round shape, remained otherwise unaltered, with both Ilāhī year and Akbarī Creed.

These variations are shown in the following Table :—

Period.	Form.	Year.	Creed.
980—986 H. ...	Round.	Hijri.	Kalima.
987—1000 H. ...	Square.	"	"
Ilāhī 37 and 38 ...	"	Ilāhī.	"
Ilāhī 38 and 39 ...	"	"	Akbarī.
Ilāhī 39—51 ...	Round.	"	"

Though most of the specimens now to be met with have lost a few grains by wear, the original weight of the rupee in all the five periods was uniformly 180 grains.

No reference has hitherto been made to Akbar's copper coinage in Ahmadābād, partly because it differs in its type so widely from the contemporary muhr and rupee, and partly because, being so little

known, it merits special detailed treatment. While the British Museum contains but two Ahmadābād copper coins of Akbar's reign, the Lahor Museum three, and the Calcutta Museum five, it has been my good fortune to find, and nearly all in Ahmadābād itself, no less than 80 varieties. These coins thus form a unique collection, new to numismatics. The earliest specimen published of a copper coin of Akbar's is of the year 981 H., and hence of the year following the annexation of Gujārāt. From that date till 995 H., the one same type (No. 10) was consistently maintained. Round in shape, on both the obverse and the reverse, the horizontal diameter was traced in dots closely flanked by two straight lines joined at their extremities by simple curves. The lower semi-circle of the obverse contains the legend

Dār Fulūs,

and the upper

Dār al Salṭanat, Ahmadābād.

The inscription on the reverse, read from below upwards gives the Hijrī year, expressed in *words*, beneath which comes the same year in figures, preceded by the introductory formula *Fī sanah*, "in the year." Like most of the Mughol coins of the period, these fulūs are much worn, and have in consequence suffered considerable reduction in weight. As they now turn the scale between the limits of 290 and 315 grains, one may infer with probability that the original weight was 320. A unique Quarter Fulūs (No. 11) in my possession weighs 77 grains. The diameter of a Fulūs averages $\cdot 9$ of an inch, and the thickness of its edge $\cdot 2$.

So far as I am aware, no specimen is forthcoming of an Ahmadābād Fulūs bearing a later Hijrī date than 995, and the next earliest dated coin is of the Ilāhī year 38, corresponding to 1001 H. and 1593 A. D. Hence with reference to the copper coinage of Ahmadābād current during the six years subsequent to 995 H., we are dependent entirely upon conjecture, and it becomes thus impossible to fix with precision the year in which the Ilāhī Era was first introduced on the Fulūs. It was, however, there in 38 Ilāhī (No. 12) and continued in vogue till the close of Akbar's reign. The design of the Ilāhī differs only slightly from that of the Hijrī Fulūs. On both we have alike on obverse and on reverse the horizontal diameter composed of dots flanked by a double line. In the obverse inscription of the Ilāhī Fulūs the only change now introduced is that the honorific epithet Dār al Salṭanat, which, it will be remembered, had hitherto been prefixed to the mint-town Ahmadābād, is altogether

omitted. The reverse inscription, however, is entirely new. The upper semi-circle contains the word *Ilāhī* written in full, and to its right the year in figures, while the lower segment is reserved for the Persian name of the month in which the coin happened to be struck.

In *Ilāhī* 40 a coin of quite a different type comes in evidence. No longer a *Fulūs*, it is now a *Tanka* (No. 13), which designation is stamped on the coin itself. Its obverse reads in the upper line

Tanka Akbar Shāhī

with the final \leftarrow retracted backwards right across the face of the coin : and in the lower line

Darb Ahmadābād,

while, as a border round the rim, we have a double circle with intervening dots.

The reverse bears in the upper half the year in figures, followed by the word *Ilāhī*, of which also the final \leftarrow sweeps across the coin from left to right. The lower half records the Persian month of issue. Here, too, again we have, as on the obverse, the circumscribing double circle with dots between.

These copper Tankas were current during the seven years from *Ilāhī* 40 to 46, and were of the following four denominations :—

1. The Large, or Double, Tanka, originally of 640 grains, hence twice the weight of the earlier *Fulūs* (No. 13).
2. The Small Tanka of 320 grains (No. 14).
3. The Half Small Tanka of 160 grains (No. 15).
4. The Quarter Small Tanka of 80 grains (No. 16).

Of these the Double Tanka is not only a heavy, but a somewhat massive coin, being three-tenths of an inch thick, and measuring eleven-tenths of an inch in diameter.

Yet once again the copper coins of Ahmadābād underwent a radical change, for in the *Ilāhī* year 46 the *Tānkis* superseded the Tankas, and thereafter held the field till Akbar's death, five years later. The coins of this final type are of three denominations, known as :—

1. The Chau *Tānkī* of 250 grains' weight (No. 17).
2. The Do *Tānkī* of 125 (No. 18).
3. The Yak *Tānkī* of 62 (No. 19).

On these the obverse legend reads from above downwards

Akbar Shāhī Chau (or Do or Yak) *Tānkī*,

the long tail of the \leftarrow both in *Shāhī* and in *Tānkī* being elongated backwards.

The reverse upper half gives the Persian month, followed by the word *Ilāhi* with its final \leftarrow too retracted, as usual, across the coin. Beneath this long line comes the year in figures, the mint-town *Aḥmadābād*, and, lowest of all, the technical term *Ḍarb*. The average diameter of a *Chau Tānki* piece is $\cdot 8$ of an inch, of a *Do Tānki* $\cdot 65$, and of a *Yak Tānki* $\cdot 5$.

Thus, of Akbar's copper coins struck at the *Aḥmadābād* mint, there are three distinct classes, the *Fulūs*, the *Tanka*, and the *Tānki*, each having its own sub-classes. My cabinet contains of the *Fulūs* eighteen specimens; also one *Quarter Fulūs*. It would seem that no *Half Fulūs* has yet been found. Of the large *Tankas*, I possess seven specimens, of the *Small Tankas* twelve, of the *Half Small Tankas* six, and of the *Quarter Small Tankas* three. Lastly, of the *Chau Tānkis* twenty-seven specimens are in my collection, of the *Do Tānkis* five, and of the *Yak Tānkis* one.

The following Table shows the class of copper coin current in *Aḥmadābād* at different periods in Akbar's reign, subsequent to his conquest of *Gujarāt*.

Period.	Class of Copper Coin.
980—995 H. ...	<i>Fulūs</i> (also $\frac{1}{4}$ F.) with <i>Hijrī</i> year (Nos. 10, 11).
996—1001 H. ...	<i>Deest</i> .
<i>Ilāhi</i> 38—40 ...	<i>Fulūs</i> with <i>Ilāhi</i> year (No. 12).
<i>Ilāhi</i> 40—46 ...	<i>Tanka</i> (Large, Small, $\frac{1}{2}$ Small, and $\frac{1}{4}$ Small) (Nos. 13—16).
<i>Ilāhi</i> 46—51 ...	<i>Tānki</i> (<i>Chau</i> = 4; <i>Do</i> = 2; and <i>Yak</i> = 1) (Nos. 17—19).

Having now completed our survey of the coins struck at the mint of *Aḥmadābād* in Akbar's name we pass on to the consideration of a little known, but especially interesting, group of rupees and *Chau Tānkis*, bearing the name of Akbar's son and successor, *Salim*, more familiar to students of history under the name of *Jahāngir*, which he assumed on his accession to the throne. Of these coins the British Museum has only two specimens, and the *Lāhor* Museum three, but

in Ahmadābād itself I have been able to secure thirteen in all, nine in silver and four in copper.

The rupee (No. 20) bears on its obverse the inscription.

سَلْمُ شَاهِ سُلْطَانِ اَكْبَرِ شَاهِ

The Sultān Salīm Shāh, (son of) Akbar Shāh,

followed by the Persian month and year, but with a marked absence of the heretical term Ilāhī.

The reverse reads

مَالِكُ الْمَلِكِ سِكَّةَ زَدِ بَرَزَرِ ضَرْبِ اَحْمَدَا بَادِ

The king of the kingdom struck coin in gold, minted at Ahmadābād.

One coin (No. 21), which is, I believe, unique, contains on its obverse alone the full legend

Sultān Salīm Shāh Akbar Shāh

Mālik al Mulk Sikka zad bar zar;

while its reverse follows in every detail the type of Akbar's latest rupees, reading Ilāhī with the tail of the ← retracted backwards, above which comes the Persian month Abān, and below the year five, with the words Darb Ahmadābād.

The copper coins (No. 22) of this group resemble this last rupee in their reverse, but the obverse inscription, as usual with coins of the baser metal, is much simpler, reading merely

Shāh Salīmī Chau Tanki.

Of the total thirteen coins the regnal year is visible on nine, each of which is dated either two or five. I have never seen a single specimen of any other year. Stanley Lane-Poole, referring to the two Salīmī coins in the British Museum, hazards the suggestion that they may have been struck during Salīm's governorship of Gujarāt; and, if this conjecture be correct, that governorship must thus, on the evidence of the coins themselves, have lasted as long as five years. But the Prince Murād was the only one of Akbar's sons who held the viceroyalty of Gujarāt, and during the three and thirty years of Akbar's reign, subsequent to his annexation of the province, it is impossible to make out the five years required for Salīm's governorship. Those thirty-three years are all covered by the tenures of office of nine viceroys, the name and date of each of whom are perfectly well known.

It remains, then, a difficult problem to explain how coins came to be struck at all in Ahmadābād in the name of Salīm Shāh Sultān, and especially puzzling is it to account satisfactorily for the years two and

five. The late Mr. Rodgers, in the very last letter he wrote me suggested that these coins may have appeared when Salīm was in rebellion against his father, being issued possibly by partisans in fond anticipation of the rebel prince effecting a victorious entry into Ahmadābād. A like anticipatory issue of rupees took place, as we shall see, in the fateful year of Nūdir Shāh's invasion of India. But this ingenious hypothesis seems incompatible with the year five found on several of the coins, for the rebellion raised by Salīm is explicitly termed in Catrou's Manouchi (page 134) "the disobedience of a few months."

* * * *

Of the coins struck at Ahmadābād during the first six years of Jahāngīr's reign, that is, from 1014—1019 H., or 1605—1610 A.D., one of the most notable features is their increased weight—the rupee, which in Akbar's reign had remained constantly at 180 grains, now rising in the first three years to 215, and in the next three to 222. This increase was effected for the most part by adding to the thickness of the coins. The copper coins of the same period were also enhanced very considerably in weight, two in my possession, of the second regnal year, weighing 367 and 372 grains over against the 320 of Akbar's Fulūs and (Small) Tanka, and a third coin, of the fourth year, as much as 393 grains.

Between the years 1014 and 1017 H. the Ahmadābād rupees (No. 23) were all of a uniform type. Their obverse inscription reads from below upwards,

نورالدين محمد جهانگیر پادشاه غازی

The Light of the Faith, Muḥammad Jahāngīr, the Victorious King, and quite at the bottom Sanah, with the figure denoting the regnal year.

The reverse gives the Kalima, below which comes Darb Ahmadābād and the Hijrī year.

It is well known that on the larger number of Jahāngīr's coins Persian distichs, or *baits*, were engraven, with which, in many cases, the name of the mint-town was blended. The first of such coins to issue from the Ahmadābād mint would seem to have been struck in the fourth year of his reign, and the type of coin then introduced (No. 24) continued in vogue for the three years from 1017 to 1019 H. The Kalima, which, as we have just noticed, had a place on the immediately preceding rupees, is now abandoned, and does not re-appear on any of

the later coins of this reign. In its stead, the first couplet that found favour was as follows:—

سکه زد در احمدآباد از عنایات اله
شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر پادشاه

*Shāh Nūr al Dīn Jahāngīr, son of Akbar Pādshāh,
Struck coin in Ahmadābād by the blessings of God—*

which distich was contained part on the obverse and part on the reverse. The Hijrī year was inserted to the left of the initial word *Sikka*, and the regnal year in the curve of the *Nūn* of *Ibn*.

In 1020 H. this “*Ināyāt Couplet*” was in its turn surrendered, and during the following seven years quite a number of designs and inscriptions were adopted one after the other. First, from 1020—1022 H. (Nos. 25 and 26), we have on the obverse of the rupee the simple legend

Nūr al Dīn Jahāngīr Shāh (ibn) Akbar Shāh ;

while the reverse, clearly reflecting *Jahāngīr’s* now more open estrangement from *Islām*, exhibits once more the year dated according to the heretical *Ilāhī* era and the Persian month, with which, however, are also associated the Hijrī year in figures and the customary formula *Ḍarb Ahmadābād*.

Next, from 1022—1026 H. (No. 27), an altogether new legend finds a place on the *Ahmadābād* rupee, which now reads, partly on the obverse and partly on the reverse,

بنام شاه نورالدین جهانگیر مزین باد

Let it be beautified by the name of *Shāh Nur al Dīn Jahāngīr*.

The obverse further gives in figures the *Ilāhī* year in the top line to the left of the *Mīm* of *Nām*, and the Hijrī year in the lowest line to the left of the *Re* of *Jahāngīr*; while the reverse contains the word *Ilāhī* in full, also the Persian month, coupled with the generic term *Māh*, “month,” and, quite at the bottom, *Ḍarb Ahmadābād*.

It is nowise strange that the year 1027 H. (1617-18 A. D.) was specially rich in coins, variously fashioned at the *Ahmadābād* mint, for it was in this year that *Jahāngīr* held his court in that city. He records in the *Tārīkh i Salīm Shāhī*:—

“I remained in the province (of *Gujarāt*) a period of five months, amusing myself in the sports of the field, and making “excursions to view the different parts of the country.”—(*Price’s Translation*, p. 117.)

The earliest coin of this year, 1027 (No. 28), bears inscribed on obverse and reverse, read consecutively, the couplet

بهت کشور این زر همیشه باد روان
زنقش نام جهانگیر پادشاه جهان

In the seven olimes may this money be always current
Through the stamp of the name Jahāngīr, king of the world.

The mint-town Aḥmadābād is entered on the reverse, while the obverse gives the Hijrī year 1027 and the regnal year 12; the latter associated with the technical expression, now for the first time introduced on the Mughal coins of India, Sanah Julūs, "in the year of the accession." Of this very rare type of coin I have been so fortunate as to secure two specimens, a rupee and a half-rupee.

This same Hijrī year 1027, but the 13th after the accession, is the date of the earliest known Nithār of Aḥmadābād. Nithār coins formed the "largesse" money, or jeton, distributed amongst the crowds assembled to witness the pageantry of a royal procession. They are, as Lane-Poole has candidly remarked, "economically thin for their diameter." This Aḥmadābād Nithār, for example, of 1027 H., now in the Lāhor Museum (L. M. Catal. p. 156, No. 187), though $\cdot 7$ of an inch in diameter, weighs only $43\frac{1}{2}$ grains, or less than a four-anna piece. The obverse reads simply,

Sanah 13 Julūs, Nithār Jahāngīrī,

and the reverse,

Sanah 1027, Darb Aḥmadābād,

the legend on each side being inscribed in a double circle, the inner linear and the outer dotted.

Quite the most remarkable coins, however, minted at Aḥmadābād in the year 1027 H. and 13th after the accession, are the well-known Zodiacal Rupees. Regarding the introduction of the Zodiacal coinage, the Emperor wrote in the Wāqi'āt i Jahāngīrī :

"Formerly it was customary to strike my name on one side of the coin, and that of the place and the month and the year of the reign on the reverse"—this, we have already seen, had been the custom from 1020 to 1022 H.—"It now occurred to my mind," Jahāngīr adds, "that, instead of the name of the month, the figure of the sign of the Zodiac corresponding to the particular month should be stamped This was my own innovation. It had never been done before."—(Dowson's Elliot, VI. 357).

It certainly was an innovation counter to the iconoclastic spirit of Islām, and in the graven Zodiacal rupees of the Ram, the Bull, &c., many of the Emperor's co-religionists must have discerned a distinct infraction of the Qur'anic injunction,

“O ye who believe! verily wine, and al maisar, and statues, and divining (arrows), are only an abomination of Satan's work; avoid them that haply ye may prosper.”—(Sūra V. 92.)

Of the Zodiacal coins, it would seem that “with one or two exceptions, the gold muhrs were all struck at Agra, and the silver rupees at Aḥmadābād”—this at least was the conclusion arrived at by the late Honourable Mr. James Gibbs, C.S.I., and communicated to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in a paper read by him as President in the year 1878 (Jour., B. B. R. A. S., No. 36 Vol. 14). Three legends in all are met with on the Zodiacal rupees of Aḥmadābād :—

First (Nos. 29 and 30), the simple formula,

فرب احمد اباد جهانگير پادشاه اکبر پادشاه

Struck at Aḥmadābād, King Jahāngir (son of) King Akbār,

with the Hijrī year 1027 over the elongated Be of Akbar.

This inscription occurs on

Aries, Taurus, Gemini, and Pisces,

Mr. Gibbs's specimen of this last being possibly of the year 1026 H.

My cabinet contains a Gemini rupee (No. 31) remarkable as being undated, owing to the letters of the inscription being so large as not to afford room for the digits of the Hijrī year.

Second (Nos. 32 and 33).—The “Zewar Couplet”—

زر احمد اباد را داد زيور

جهانگير شاه شهنشاه اکبر

King Jahāngir, (son of) Akbar, King of Kings,

Gave adornment to the money of Aḥmadābād,

with the Hijrī year 1027 at the bottom of the coin and to the left of the initial word Zar.

This legend is found on

Cancer, Leo, and Scorpio (B. M. No. 374).

Third (No. 34).—The “Ināyāt Couplet”—

سکه زد در احمد اباد از عنایات اله

شاه نورالدین جهانگير ابن اکبر پادشاه

Shāh Nūr al Din Jahāngir, son of Akbar Pādshāh,

Struck coin in Aḥmadābād by the blessings of God,

with Hijrī year 1027 entered to the left of the lowest line.

This distich, though very rarely met with on Zodiacal coins, is inscribed on a beautiful specimen of the Cancer rupee purchased by me in Ahmadābād; also on an undated Aquarius Muhr in the British Museum.¹

Of all these Zodiacal coins, the reverses, struck from dies probably engraven by a European artist, and one of no mean order, exhibit on a background of Solar rays some one of the twelve conventional signs of the Zodiac, while in a few cases (Cancer, Leo) even the stars of the constellation are represented. Beneath the sign comes the regnal year 13 and the phrase *Sanah Julūs*, or, in the case of Gemini, Cancer, and Scorpio, the word *Sanah* alone.

The description now given covers, I believe, all the genuine Ahmadābād Zodiacal coins hitherto published, with the single exception of a Capricornus in the late Colonel Seton Guthrie's collection. Of this coin the only information I can glean is that it was a rupee of 1027 H., and thus presumably from the Ahmadābād mint.

Of the complete series of the twelve Zodiacal Ahmadābād rupees, it will be seen that four, Virgo, Libra, Sagittarius, and Aquarius are quite unrepresented in the published Catalogues. That all the twelve were issued there is no room to doubt, and James Forbes, writing his "Oriental Memoirs" in 1813, expressly states: "I once saw an entire collection of these rupees in silver, and a few others procured by chance of the same metal." (2nd Ed., Vol. II., 215.) While poor imitations of the whole series are still sometimes exposed for sale—in Bombay I have been offered the twelve for Rs. 25—it is much to be feared that the complete sets, formerly met with, as Forbes quaintly puts it, "in the cabinets of the curious," have long since been broken up and dispersed.

The last coin to be mentioned as having been struck in Ahmadābād in the year 1027 H. is one closely resembling the rupees issued in the years 1017 to 1019 H. It bears the same inscription as those—*wit*, the 'Ināyāt bait, but with a slight difference in the arrangement of the words, and the weight is now the normal 180 grains, instead of the 222 of the rupees of that earlier period. The obverse gives the regnal year 13 over the word *Sanah*, which in a unique coin I secured (No. 35) stands in the topmost line, but in all other specimens (No. 36) comes at the left of the middle line. The Hijrī year is

¹This is, I have no doubt, the true reading of the coin No. 357, only partially deciphered in the British Museum Catalogue.

entered at the base of the reverse. This type of coin, introduced in 1027, was current through the six succeeding years, 1027—1033 H.

Next to be issued were the celebrated muhrs and rupees that bear along with Jahāngīr's name that of his beautiful and ambitious queen, Nūr Jahān. The issue of these coins from the Sūrāt mint seems to have been fairly plentiful, but it is only by exceptional good fortune that one lights upon either muhr or rupee of this type struck at Ahmadābād (No. 37). The obverse and reverse, read consecutively, yield the following felicitous couplet:—

بحکم شاه جهانگیر یافت صد زیور
 ز نام نور جهان پادشاه بیگم زر

By the order of Shāh Jahāngīr money gained a hundred beauties
 Through the name of Nūr Jahān Pādshāh Begam.

In the rupees the mint-town Ahmadābād comes at the foot of the obverse, and the Hijri and regnal years on the reverse, also at the foot; but on the unique muhr in the Lāhore Museum (L. M. Catal. p. 128, No. 18) the words

Sanah 23 Julūs, Sanah 1027,

are inscribed within a mēhrābī, or arched, area, while a similar pattern on the reverse contains the words

Ḍarb Ahmadābād.

This type, both in gold and silver, continued during the last four years of Jahāngīr's reign, or from 1034—1037 H. (1624—1627 A. D.).

The distinguishing features of the silver coins, exclusive of Nithārs, struck at Ahmadābād in successive periods of Jahāngīr's reign, may be tabulated as follows:—

No.	Period.	Weight.	Legend.	Year.	Month.
No. 23	... 1014—1017 H. ...	215 grains.	Kalima ...	Hijri and regnal.	None.
No. 24	... 1017—1019 H. ...	222 „ ...	'Ināyāt ...	„ ...	„
No. 25 & 26...	1020—1022 H. .	180 „ ...	Simple ...	Hijri and Ilāhi.	Persian and word Māh.
No. 27	.. 1022—1026 H. ...	„ „ ...	Muzaiyan.	„ ...	„

No.	Period.	Weight.	Legend.	Year.	Month.
No. 28	... 1027 ¹⁸ H. ...	" " "	Kishwar...	Hijri and Julūs.	None.
Nos. 29-34	... 1027 ¹⁸ H. ...	" " "	Zodiacal...	" ...	"
Nos. 35 & 36	... 1027-1033 H....	" " "	' Ināyāt ...	Hijri and regnal.	"
No. 37	... 1034-1037 H....	" " "	Nūr Jahānī	" ...	"

Of the Aḥmadābād gold coins of Jahāngīr's reign, mention has been already made of the undated Aquarius in the British Museum, and of the 1037 H. Nūr Jahānī in the Lāhor Museum. Besides these, only four other muhrs have been catalogued. They are dated 1028, 1029, 1030, and 1033 H., and are all of a uniform type. As in the Nūr Jahānī muhr, so in these also, a mēhrābī area is engraven on both the obverse and the reverse, the former containing the words

Jahāngīr Shāh Akbar Shāh,

and the latter

Sanah Julūs, Sanah

with both regnal and Hijrī years expressed in figures. .

The secondary inscription, contained in the segments above and below these Mēhrābī areas, supplies the distich

بشرق و غرب مهر احمدآباد
 الهی تا جهان باشد روان باد

In East and West may the stamp of Aḥmadābād,
 O God, be current while the world lasts.

None of the published Catalogues record any copper coins of Jahāngīr's from the Aḥmadābād mint, but my own cabinet contains five specimens, four of which are fully dated. On all five the obverse reads merely روانے Rawānī, with the tail of the ← reverted so as to form a complete diameter of the coin. Beneath this on the four dated specimens comes the word Sanah and the regnal year. The reverse inscription on all is just Fulūs Aḥmadābād, and the Hijrī year present on the four is expressed in figures at the bottom. The two earliest specimens (No. 38) bear each the same date, namely, 1016 H. and regnal year 2, and weigh 367 and 372 grains respectively, over against the 320 grains of the Fulūs in Akbar's time. The one undated specimen,

being of weight 89 grains, is clearly a Quarter Fulūs of the 1014—1017 period of coinage. The next coin (No. 39), an exceptionally fine specimen dated 1017 H. and regnal year 4, differs from the others by having on both its sides an ornamented horizontal diameter formed of dots flanked by a double line. Its weight rises to the high figure of 393 grains, while as to measurements its diameter is $\cdot 9$ of an inch and its edge $\cdot 3$. The latest of the five coins is of 1019 H. and regnal year 6. Though stamped with the technical designation Fulūs, it weighs only 247 grains, and is thus clearly intended to be a reversion, in the matter of weight at least, to Akbar's Chau Tānkī of 250 grains.

* * * *

The inscriptions on the muhrs and rupees struck in Aḥmadābād in 1037 H., the first year of the reign of Shāh Jahān, were retained with only the slightest change till the close of his reign in 1069 H. The obverse reads

صاحب قران ثانی شهاب الدین
محمد شاه جهان پادشاه غازی

Second Lord of Conjunction, Flame of the Faith,
Muḥammad Shāh Jahān, the Victorious King ;

and the reverse gives the Kalima.

The arrangement of the words differs on the coins of the different periods of this reign, but the chief variations have reference to the position of the name of the mint-town Aḥmadābād and to the methods of indicating the year of issue of the coin.

Of three rupees struck in the first year each has distinguishing features of its own. In two (Nos. 40 and 41) of the three, Shihāb al Dīn comes in the lowest line of the obverse, while in the third (No. 42), and in all subsequent coins of this type, Ṣāhib Qirān ṭhānī occupies the lowest line, and Shihāb al Dīn the one next above it. Again, on one (No. 40) of the three coins, Ḍarb Aḥmadābād stands at the base of the reverse, above which come the figures of the Hijrī year. But on the other two (Nos. 41 and 42), the Hijrī year is written not above but under Aḥmadābād, and with its figures are now associated the words Sanah Hijrī, this being the first occurrence of the term Hijrī on any of the coins of India. Further, on all three coins the regnal year 1 on the obverse is now for the first time written in full, سنه احد, Sanah ṣhad, and hereafter in all the later reigns the first year is invariably thus indicated.

In the coins of 1038 H. the newly adopted term Hijrī gives place to Ilāhī and the Persian month, coupled with the word Māh, these all being written in full on the reverse, while the Hijrī year now stands instead of the regnal year on the obverse. This type (No. 43) obtained both in muhrs and rupees for the six years from 1038 to 1043 H.

The latter year, however, witnessed the introduction of an entirely different design (No. 44) for the gold and silver coins struck in Aḥmadābād, a design suggesting that of the rupees current shortly after Akbar's conquest of Gujārāt. Compare No. 4 with No. 44. This type is specially important since maintained from 1043 H. right on till the close of the reign in 1069 H.

A large square, generally knotted at the corners, is marked out on both the obverse and the reverse. Within the obverse square the legend is

Shāh Jahān Pādeshāh Ghāzi.

with the regnal year entered generally in the right hand margin, but in the earlier coins in or near the curve of the Nūn of Jahān.

The left hand margin reads	Darb Aḥmadābād,
" upper " "	Shihāb al Dīn,
" right hand " "	Muḥammad Shūhib,
and the lower " "	Qirān thānī.

On the reverse the Kalīma is inscribed within the square area, the Hijrī year in small figures finding a place in the coins of early issue in the lower left hand corner, and in the later coins (No. 45) in the left hand margin, while the four margins contain each the name of one of the four khalīfas associated with his distinguishing "virtue," thus

بصدق ابوبكر	By the veracity of Abū Bakr,
وعدل عمر	and the rectitude of 'Ōmar,
بارزمتيمان	by the mildness of 'Ōthmān
وعلم علي	and the learning of 'Alī.

The various methods of indicating the date of issue of the gold and silver coins of Aḥmadābād in successive periods of Shāh Jahān's reign admit of tabulation as follows :—

Period.	Hijrī year.	Regnal year.	Month.
1037 H. ...	Figures alone on reverse.	Sanah ١٠٣٧ on obverse.	None.

Period.	Hijri year.	Regnal year.	Month.
1037-1039 H. ...	Figures & Sanah Hijri on reverse.	Sanah Δ on obverse.	None.
1038-1043 H. ...	Figures alone on obverse.	Ilāhī Sanah on reverse.	Persian and word Māh.
1043-1069 H. ...	Figures alone on reverse.	Figures alone on obverse.	None.

I have been so fortunate as to secure a unique Aḥmadābād nithār in silver (No. 46) of this reign. Though thin, it is in excellent condition. The obverse reads from bottom upwards.

Nithār Shāh Jahān 1069.

and the reverse

Sanah 33, Darb Aḥmadābād.

Of Copper Coins of this reign struck in Aḥmadābād my cabinet contains six unique specimens, of which one is a Fulūs of 309 grains, and each of the others a Half Fulūs, weighing from 154 to 156 grains. Of the six the four earliest are dated.

Ilāhī 6 Farwardin.

„ „ Isfandārmuz (No. 47).

„ 7 Mihr.

„ x Mihr with the Hijri year 1043.

On all four the obverse inscription is simply

Fulūs Shāh Jahāni,

with the regnal year under the Sīn of Fulūs or in its loop.

The reverse contains in the upper portion the word Ilāhī, preceded by the Persian month and the word Māh written in full, while the lower half reads Darb Aḥmadābād, below which comes on one of the coins the Hijri year 1043 in figures.

The two remaining Copper Coins (No. 48) are of 1044 H. regnal year 8, and 1046 H. regnal year 10. They are of an identical type, the obverse reading, as in the preceding group of four,

Fulūs Shāh Jahāni

with the regnal year in the loop of the Sīn of Fulūs, while the reverse legend is merely

Darb Aḥmadābād

with the Hijrī year under the elongated Be of Darb.

During his brief and abortive rebellion the ill-fated Murād Bakhsh caused coins to be struck at Aḥmadābād in both gold and silver. The unique gold specimen, now in the British Museum, (Br. Mus. Catal. No. 692) bears within a square on the obverse the inscription

محمد مراد بخش پادشاه فاعزے

Muhammad Murād Bakhsh, the victorious king.

and in the margins

ابوالمظفر مزوج الدين ضرب احمد اباد اله احد

The father of the victorious, wedded to the Faith (?), struck at Ahmadābād, in 1 of the Divine era.

The square on the reverse contains the kalima, and its margins record the names and virtues of the Four Khalīfas, the Hijrī date 1068 being inscribed between the 'Ilm and 'Ali of the last, or upper margin.

The inscription and design borne on Murād Bakhsh's Aḥmadābād rupees (No. 49) are the same as on his muhrs, save that Saḥāh aḥad seems to have been substituted for the Ilāhī aḥad in the upper margin of the obverse.

In the reign of Aurangzeb an altogether new inscription was devised for the current coins. We have seen that every muhr and rupee struck at Aḥmadābād from the time of the accession of Shāh Jahān in 1037 H., bore, stamped on its reverse, the Kalima or Muslim Creed. The abolition from the coinage of this Symbol of the Faith was reserved, strange to say, for Aurangzeb, who beyond all other Emperors of India affected the rôle of an avowed, even a fanatical, champion of orthodoxy. Apprehensive that some of the coins bearing the sacred Formula of the Faith might "pass into many unworthy places and fall under the feet of infidels" Aurangzeb introduced a new legend which, so far as I can discover, appears on every rupee struck in Aḥmadābād during his long reign of nearly fifty years, 1659-1707 A. D., (1069-1119 H.)

The obverse (No. 50) bears the Persian distich,

سکه زد در جهان چو بدر منیر
شاه اورنگ زیب عالم گیر

Shāh Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir

Struck money through the world like the shining moon.

On the obverse is also entered the Hijrī year, which, in the coins of the earlier part of the reign, stands over the "dar jahān" in the lowest line, but in those issued towards its close (No. 51) near the top of the coin and over the Gāf of Aurang.

The reverse inscription reads

سنه جلوس صیمنت مأنوس

In the year of the reign of tranquil prosperity,

with the figures of the regnal year superscribed over the word *Sanah*. In the lower portion of the reverse the mint-town is indicated by the usual formula *Ḍarb Aḥmadābād*. This reverse legend appears on the rupees of most of the succeeding Emperors.

Of Aurangzeb's gold coins struck at Aḥmadābād not a single specimen is now known to collectors, and of his copper coins just one. Much worn, it now weighs only 211 grains. On the obverse the letters, with difficulty decipherable, seem to read *Fulūs bād Shāh 'Ālmagir, 1097*, but the reverse, though unfortunately illegible in the upper half, contains quite clearly in the lower the words *Ḍarb Aḥmadābād*.

* * * *

On Aurangzeb's death in 1118 H. (1707 A. D.) his son A'ẓam, in the absence of an elder brother, strove to secure the throne for himself. Slain within three months in a battle fought on the plains near Āgra, he had none the less, during his short term of usurpation, caused coins to be struck in his name at Aurangābād, Burhānpūr and Aḥmadābād. A solitary rupee from the last mint is in the British Museum (Br. Mu. Catalogue, No. 850). The obverse bears the couplet

سکه زد در جهان بدولت و جاہ

پادشاه ممالک اعظم شاه

The king of the realms, A'ẓam Shāh,

Struck money through the world with prosperity and majesty,

with the Hijrī year 1119 under the final *Shāh*.

The obverse gives . . .

ضرب احمدآباد سنه احد جلوس اشرفی

Minted at Aḥmadābād in the year 1 of the most noble reign.

* * * *

A'ẓam's elder brother, Mu'azzam, on ascending the throne, took the title of *Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur*, which duly appears on the very few rupees (No. 52) now known of his reign from the Aḥmadābād mint. These coins are the first to bear on the obverse an inscription which, with, of course, the necessary change of name, continued

in vogue through the reigns of nearly all the succeeding Emperors.
It reads

سکه مبارک شاه عالم بهادر پادشاه فازه

The auspicious coin of *Shāh 'Ālam Bahādūr*, the victorious king.

The lowest line also gives the Hijrī year.

The reverse repeats the formula introduced by Aurangzeb,

Ḍarb Aḥmadābād, Sanah julūs maīmanat ma'nūs.

Shāh 'Ālam's successor on the throne was his third son, the profligate *Jahāndār*, whose reign had reached only eleven months when he met his death at the hands of *Farrukh Siyar*. *Jahāndār's* coins were issued certainly from twelve, perhaps from thirteen, different mints, but no specimen, so far as I am aware, has been catalogued from the mint of *Aḥmadābād*.

Of *Farrukh Siyar's* reign, 1124-1131 H. (1713-1719 A. D.), two *Aḥmadābād* coins are known, both of them rupees, one of his sixth, and the other of his seventh, regnal year. On these (No. 53) the obverse bears the couplet

سکه زد بر سیم و زر از فضل حق :. پادشاه بحرو بر فوخ سیر

Farrukh Siyar, king of sea and land,

Struck coin of silver and gold by grace of the truth,

the Hijrī year coming to the left of the *Kāf* of *Sikka*.

The reverse has the regular *julūs* formula introduced by Aurangzeb

Farrukh Siyar was succeeded in 1131 H. (1719 A. D.) by *Rafī' al Darajāt*, who held the throne for little over six months. Of this short reign two rupees from the *Aḥmadābād* mint are known, one entered as "unique" in the *Lāhor Museum Catalogue* (page 207, No. 4), and one—its duplicate—in my own cabinet (No. 54). The couplet on the obverse reads

زد سکه بهند با هزاران برکات :. شاهنشاه بحرو بر رفیع الدرجات

Rafī' al Darajāt, Emperor of sea and land,

Struck coin in India with a thousand blessings;

and at the right of the top line comes the Hijrī year.

In this distich the presence of the word "barakāt" is probably due to the Emperor's title of *Shāms-ul-Dīn Abu'l Barakāt*.

The reverse of this rupee is of special interest as furnishing the honorific epithet *Zinat al Bilād* (the Beauty of Towns), the only title

applied to Ahmadābād since the earlier issues of Akbar's reign. Read from below upwards, the inscription is

سنه احد جلوس ميمنت مانوس .: ضرب زينت البلاد احمداباد

In the year 1 of the reign of tranquil prosperity,
Struck at Ahmadābād, the Beauty of Towns.

* * * *

On Rafi' al Darajāt's death his elder brother, Rafi' al Daulat, whose name appears on coins as Shāh Jahān (II.), succeeded to the throne. His reign lasted but three months. The only Ahmadābād coin, hitherto known, struck in his name is a rupee that came into my possession just a few days ago, but unfortunately too late to be photographed with the coins on Plate V., on which its place would come between Nos. 54 and 55. Its severely simple inscriptions are of the type represented by the rupee of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur's reign (No. 52). On the obverse the arrangement is as follows:—

پادشاه غازی
شاه جهان
—
مبارک ۱۱۳۱

The auspicious coin of Shāh Jahān, the victorious king, 1131.

The inscription on the reverse is identical with that on Ahmad Shāh's rupee, shown as No. 56 of Plate V.

* * * *

The successor of Shāh Jahān II. was Muhammad Shāh, 1131-1161 H. (1719-1748 A. D.), nine of whose rupees (No. 55) are in my cabinet. They all bear the inscriptions which we have already associated with the reigns of Aurangzeb and Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, being on the obverse

Sikka mubārak Pādshāh Ghāzi Muḥammad Shāh,
with the Hijri year;
and on the reverse

Ḍarb Ahmadābād, Sanah julūs malmanat ma'nūs
with the regnal year.

Of Muhammad's Copper Coins of Ahmadābād I have four specimens, all poor, one of the 26th and one of the 28th regnal year, and the remaining two with dates illegible. These coins weigh

between 208 and 214 grains each, which, considering their worn condition, may well represent an original weight of 250 grains.

The obverse seems to read

Fulūs Muḥammad :Shāh

while the reverse is clearly

Ḍarb Aḥmadābād, Sanah julus,

with the figures of the regnal year over Sanah.

It was during the reign of this Muḥammad Shāh that the Persian usurper Nādir Shāh invaded India, and massacred so ruthlessly the inhabitants of Dehlī. Mirzā Muḥammad Bakḥsh expressly records:—

“The Persians and others of Nādir’s army, having dismounted
“and picketed their horses, were plundering and ransacking
“without check. They had broken open the chests with blows
“of axes and swords, torn in piecemeal the bags of gold and silver,
“and, having scattered the contents on the ground, were engaged
“in picking them up. Furniture, especially the culinary utensils
“of silver and copper, fell into the hands of the plunderers.” —
Dowson’s Elliot, VIII., 233, 234.

Later on, however, it appears the men were compelled to surrender the silver they had thus attached as booty, and from it Nādir Shāh caused rupees to be struck in his own name at the mint of Dehlī, then known as Shāhjahānābād. But Nādir’s coins issued also from the mint of Aḥmadābād — a fact the more remarkable, inasmuch as the Persian invader, after the sack of Dehlī, proceeded homewards without even putting foot in the province of Gujarāt. The probable explanation is that these coins were struck at a time of panic, when the hearts of the Aḥmadābādīs failed them for fear, in dread anticipation of Nādir’s arrival before the gates of their city. The Gujarāt Viceroy may have hoped by this acknowledged symbol of submission to mollify the cruel conqueror, and assure him of the city’s loyalty to him as lord.

The legend on the obverse of these coins is

پست ملطان بر ملاطین جهان .: شاه شاهان نادر صاحب قران

The monarch of monarchs, Nādir, the lord of conjunction.

Is a Sultān over the Sultāns of the world.

The inscription on the reverse reads from below upwards,

سنه ۱۱۵۲ ضرب احمدآباد ملكه خلد الله

Year 1152, struck at Aḥmadābād, Allah! keep the kingdom for ever.

Some four years ago I picked up in the Aḥmadābād bāzār a rupee, and more recently an eight-anna piece, of this type, and had the pleasure of sending both to the late Mr. Rodgers as unexpected "finds."

Subsequent to Muḥammad Shāh, the Emperors Aḥmad Shāh (No. 56), 'Ālamgīr II. (No. 57), Shāh 'Ālam II. (No. 59), and Akbar II. (No. 60), also the "mimic king" Shāh Jahān III. (No. 58), all caused coins to be struck at Aḥmadābād of the type that had already come to be regarded as conventional.

On the obverse we have the familiar legend

Sikka mubārak Pādshāh Ghazī,

with the topmost line reserved for the regnant Emperor's name, and to the right the Hijrī year; while the reverse reads, as usual,

Sanah julūs maimanast ma'nūs,

the regnal year being written above the word Sanah, and the formula Darb Aḥmadābād, recording the mint-town, occupying the lower portion of the coin.

Of the above-mentioned Emperors, Akbar II. alone is represented in the numismatic cabinets by any copper coins (No. 61) of Aḥmadābād. On these rare coins

Fulūs Akbar Shāh,

with Hijrī year, constitutes the legend on the obverse, and

Aḥmadābād, Sanah julūs,

with regnal year, the legend on the reverse.

Five fairly good specimens in my collection range in weight between 116 and 121 grains, and thus suggest an original weight of 125 grains, equivalent therefore to that of the Do Tānkis of Akbar's coinage.

The last of the Mughal Emperors of India, Bahādur II., mounted the throne in 1253 H. (1837 A.D.). By that year, however, the rupees and paise of British currency had already come into circulation in Gujarāt, and, accordingly, it is not strange that no coins seem to have issued from the Aḥmadābād mint bearing the name of Bahādur II. His authority, indeed, was at no time more than merely nominal beyond the precincts of the Fort of Dehlī.

One coin of Aḥmadābād still remains to claim attention. In the 30th year of his reign the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam was barbarously blinded, and a puppet king, Bidār Bakht, the son of the late Emperor Aḥmad

Shāh, was placed on the throne of Dehlī. During eight months of 1202-3 H. (1788-89 A.D.) sovereign power was nominally vested in his hands, though the *de facto* ruler was the infamous Ghulām Qādir; but at the end of that time the Marāthā general Rāpā Khān defeated Ghulām, and, in contravention of the rule that no blind man may be a Sultān, reinstated the unfortunate Shāh 'Ālam. In its account of this short-lived rebellion, the 'Ibrat-nāma expressly mentions that

“Ghulām Qādir took the gold and silver mounted articles from
“the apartments of Shāh 'Ālam and the princes and princesses,
“then piled them in a heap and burnt them, and sent the metal
“to the mint to be coined.”—*Dowson's Elliot*, VIII. 247.

The mint referred to was doubtless that of Shāhjahanābād (Dehli) and of Bidār's coins struck there, the British Museum contains one in gold and one in silver. The Lāhor Museum Catalogue registers a muhr of Bidār's, issued from the Muhammadābād mint, and the British Museum Catalogue two other muhrs, which, if the legends have been read aright, hail from Ahmadābād (Br. Mus. Catal., Nos. 1207 and 1208). Of these last, indeed, the specimen given on Plate XXIX. of the Catalogue wants the initial letters of the name of the mint; so, possibly, this coin may be just a duplicate of the Muhammadābād muhr, and not an Ahmadābād coin at all. Assuming, however, the correctness of Mr. Lane-Poole's rendering, the reverse legend is,

Sanaḥ aḥad julūs maimanat ma'nūs, Darh Ahmadābād,

In the year 1 of the reign of tranquil prosperity, struck at Ahmadābād;

while the obverse exhibits, along with the Hijri year 1203 (1788-89 A. D.), the following distich:—

بزر زد سکه وارث تاج و تخت جهان
شاه محمد بیدار بخت

Shāh Muhammad Bidār Bakht,

Owner of the crown and throne of the world, struck coins of gold,

* * * *

In now concluding this account of the Mughal coinage of Ahmadābād, it may be of interest to note how many of the fifteen Emperors and nine Pretenders that occupied the throne of Dehlī, subsequent to the annexation of the province of Gujarāt, are represented by their

coins in the four collections that have supplied the material for this article. The following Table furnishes this information :—

Collection.	Emperors (15).	Pretenders (9).	Total (24).
British Museum	4	4	8
Lāhor ,, ...	6	0	6
Calcutta ,, ...	7	0	7
Taylor Cabinet ...	13	2	15

The aggregate collection, formed from these four, contains Ahmad-ābād coins of thirteen of the fifteen Emperors and of four of the nine Pretenders. The two Emperors and five Pretenders still unrepresented are:—

- Emperors* : 1. Jahāndār Shāh.
 2. Bahādur Shāh II.
Pretenders : 1. Dāwar Bakhsh.
 2. Shāh Shujā',
 3. Kām Bakhsh.
 4. Niku Siyar.
 5. Ibrāhīm.

Of the two Emperors, the latter, Bahādur Shāh II., ascended the throne in 1837, and thus two years after the issue of a uniform coinage for British India. Hence, as we have already had occasion to remark, probably no coins were ever struck at the Ahmadābād mint in the name of Bahādur II.

The only remaining Emperor whose coins are still wanting is Jahāndār, who reigned for eleven months of the year 1124 H. (1712 A. D.).

Of the five Pretenders in the above list, four, it would seem, coined each at but a single mint—to wit, Dāwar Bakhsh at Lāhor, Shāh Shujā' at Akbarābād (Agra), Ibrāhīm at Shahjahānābād (Dehli), and Niku Siyar at Sūrat, possibly also at Bhakkar; while of the fifth, Kām Bakhsh, coins are known to have issued only from the two mints of Bijāpūr and Haidarābād. It is doubtful whether any of these five Pretenders continued coining for a full twelve month. Hence, omitting Bahādur II. from our reckoning, inasmuch as his date (1837-1857 A. D.) is later than the lowest limit (1835 A. D.).

assigned to the Mughal currency of Ahmadābād, the coins of all the unrepresented Emperors and Pretenders do not cover in the aggregate a period of more than four or five years. Clearly, then, the Mughal coins of Ahmadābād contained in existing cabinets constitute, as to type at least, a collection very nearly complete.

GEO. P. TAYLOR,

Ahmadābād, 10th January 1899.

I desire here to express my deep obligations to my friend, Mr. Henry Cousens, M. R. A. S., the accomplished Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Western India, for the very great trouble he has so kindly taken in connexion with the production of the Plates that illustrate this article. Having with his own hands made casts in plaster of the original coins, he sent me excellent photographs of them, from which the accompanying five Plates have been prepared by the ordinary processes.

G. P. T.



PLATE I.

No.	Sultān or Emperor.	YEAR.		Month.	Weight in grains.	Typical of Hijri period.
		Hijri.	Regnal.			
1	Sultān Muḡaffar Shāh III.	991	.....	.....	170	
2	"	...	.....	.....	85	
3	Akbar	980	.....	.....	174	980-982
4	"	982	.....	.....	174	982-986
5	"	991	.....	.....	172	987-1000
6	"	...	37	.....	177	1000-1001
7	"	...	39 Ilāhi	Ardibihisht.	177	1001-1003
8	"	...	44 Ilāhi	Bahman ...	176	{ 1002-1009 1011-1014
9	"	...	47 Ilāhi	Abān ...	174	1010
10	"	982	... ..	.....	308	Æ. 981-995
11	"	98x	.....	.....	77	"

PLATE II.

No	Sultān or Emperor.	YEAR.		Month.	Weight in grains.	Typical of Hijri Period.
		Hijri.	Regnal.			
12	Akbar	...	38 Ilāhi...	Abān ...	812	A. 1001-1003
13	"	...	44 Ilāhi...	Amardād ...	690	A. 1003-1009
14	"	...	" ...	" ...	810	"
15	"	...	16 Ilāhi...	? ...	154	"
16	"	...	44 Ilāhi...	Amardād ...	74	"
17	"	...	47 Ilāhi...	Farwardīn...	242	A. 1009-1014
18	"	...	46 Ilāhi...	Bahman ...	115	"
19	"	...	? ...	? ...	58	"
20	Sultān Shāh.	Salim	5 ...	Dī ...	176	?
21	"	...	5 Ilāhi...	Abān ...	176	?
22	"	...	5 Ilāhi...	Asr ...	244	?

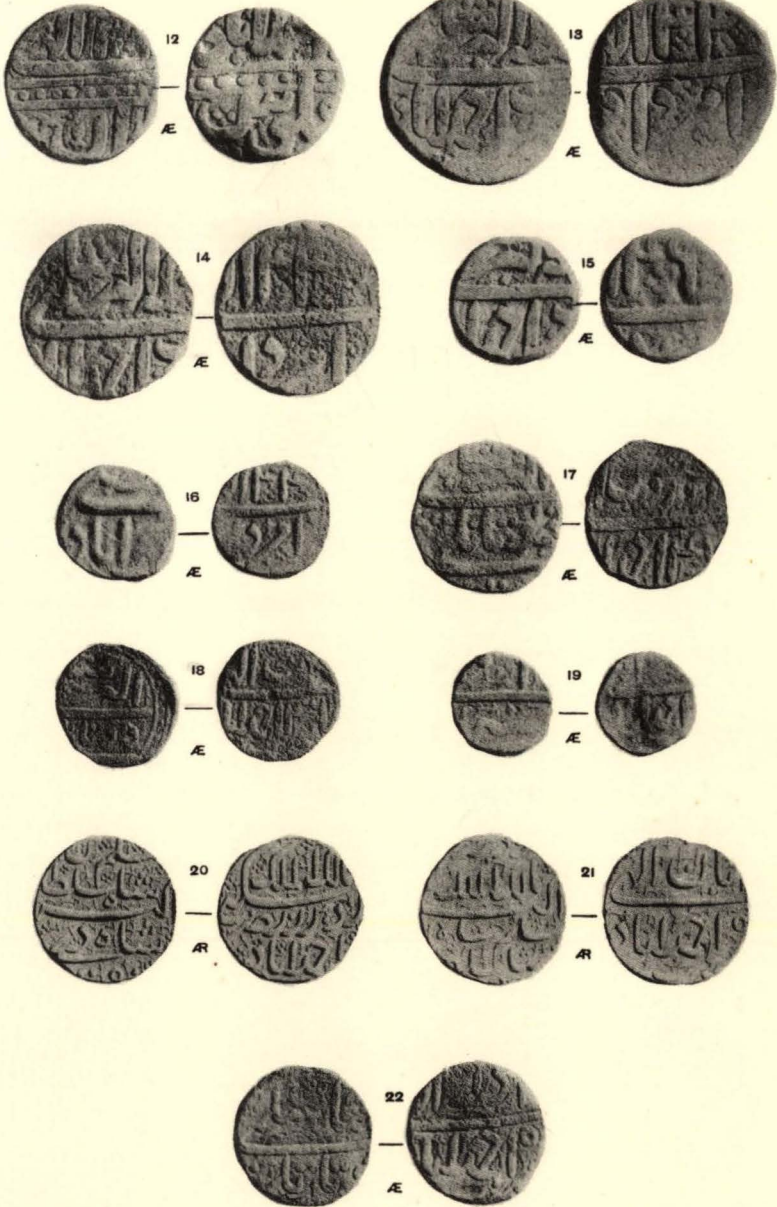




PLATE III.

No.	Emperor.	YEAR,		Month.	Weight in grains.	Typical of Hijri period.		
		Hijri.	Regnal.					
23	Jahāngir	...	1015	1	...	211	1014-1017	
24	"	...	1019	6	...	219	1017-1019	
25	"	...	1021	7 Ilāhi	...	Māh Abān...	175	1020-1022
26	"	...	1022	7	...	Māh Mihr...	175	
27	"	...	1025	11 Ilāhi	...	Māh Amardād	174	1022-1026
28	"	...	1027	Sanah 13 Julūs.	...	...	175	
29	"	...	1027	Sanah 13 Julūs.	(Aries)	...	175	
30	"	...	(1027)	Sanah 13 Julūs.	(Taurus)	...	175	
31	"	...	.....	(Sanah 13)	(Gemini)	...	173	
32*	"	...	1027	Sanah 13	(Cancer)	...	174	
33	"	...	(1027)	Sanah 13 Julūs.	(Leo)	...	174	
34*	"	...	1027	Sanah 13	(Cancer)	...	175	
35†	"	...	(1027)	Sanah 13	.....	...	173	
36†	"	...	1027	Sanah 13	.....	...	175	1027-1033

* The legend on No. 32 differs from that on No. 34.

† The legends on Nos. 35 and 36 are the same, but the obverses of these two coins present different arrangements of the words.

PLATE IV.

No.	Emperor.	YEAR.		Month.	Weight in grains.	Typical of Hijri period.
		Hijri.	Regnal.			
37	Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān	1036	2 x ...	.....	175	1034—1037
38	Jahāngir ...	1016	2 ...	.....	371	Æ
39	„ ..	1017	4 ...	.....	390	Æ
40	Shāh Jahān (I.).	1037	Sanah 1	.....	172	
41*	„ ...	1037 Hijri	Sanah 1	.....	174	
42*	„ ...	1037 Hijri	Sanah 1	.....	174	1037—1038
43	„ ...	1039	2 Ilāhī Sanah.	Ardibihisht Māh.	175	1038—1043
44†	„ ...	1043	6 ...	.....	174	} 1043—1049
45†	„ ...	1055	19 ...	.....	176	
46§	„ ...	1069	Sanah 33	.....	43	
47	„ ...	P	6 Ilāhī...	Isfandārmuz.	154	Æ
48	„ ...	1044	8 ...	.....	156	Æ

* The legends on Nos. 41 and 42 are the same, but the obverses of these two coins present different arrangements of the words.

† Nos. 44 and 45 differ only in the positions assigned on their obverses to the regnal year and on their reverses to the Hijri year.

§ No. 46 is a nithār.



AHMADABAD COINS.



AHMADABAD COINS.

PLATE. V.

No.	Emperor.	YEAR.		Month.	Weight in grains	Typical of Hijri period.
		Hijri.	Regnal.			
49	Marād Bakhsh ...	1068	1	.....	176	
50*	Aurangzeb 'Ālam- gir (I.)	1075	Sanah 7julūs	.....	177	} 1069—1119.
51*	" " ...	1116	" 48 "	.....	177	
52	Bahādur Shāh 'Ālam (I.)	1120	" 2 "	.....	178	1119—1124.
53	Farrukh Siyar ...	[112]9	" 6 "	.....	177	1124—1131.
54	Rafī'al-darajāt ...	(1131)	" (1) "	.....	178	1131.
55	Muḥammad Shāh	1143	" 13 "	.....	177	1131—1161
56	Aḥmad Shāh ...	1161	" 1 "	.....	174	1161—1167
57	'Ālamgir (II.) ...	1169	" 2 "	.....	178	1167—1173
58	Shāh Jahān (III.)	1173	" (1) "	.....	178	1173.
59	Shāh 'Ālam (II.)	1188	" (16) "	.....	178	1173—1221.
60	Akbar Shāh (II.)	1230	" 8 "	.....	178	1221—1251.
61	"	1236	" 14 "	.....	120	Æ

* Nos. 50 and 51 differ only in the positions assigned on their obverses to the Hijri year.

ART. XXII.—*Introduction to the Peshwa's Diaries.*—By the
Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. RANADE, M.A., C.I.E.

(Read, 30th June 1900.)

During the past two or three years, most of my leisure time has been devoted to the perusal of the Selections from the Peshwa's Diaries, commencing with the accession of Raja Shahu, and ending with the close of the reign of Bajirao II. These Selections were prepared by Rao Bahadur Wad from the original Marathi record, and they made up in all about 22,000 folio pages, including the English summary prepared in the Daftar office. These selections cover a period of over a hundred years, from 1708 to 1816-17, and they furnish most valuable materials for constructing a true history of the people of Maharashtra during the most eventful period of their annals. Our ordinary Bakhars, and the works written by English historians, like Grant Duff, content themselves chiefly with the narration of political events, and throw little or no light upon the condition of the people, how they lived and thrived, the pleasures which amused them, their superstitions and their beliefs, their morals, their manners, and their customs. These histories do not also give a clear account of the way in which the work of government was carried on under Native rule, how the land revenue was assessed and collected, how the forts were guarded, how the Sayer revenues (consisting of Mohturfa, Abkari, Salt, Customs), and tributes, &c., were administered, how the armies were raised and paid for, how the navy was manned, how the State borrowed its public debt, how civil and criminal justice was dispensed, how the departments of police, post, mint, prisons, charities, pensions, public works, medical relief, and sanitation, were regulated and controlled, how trade and commerce was encouraged, and learning fostered. To many it will be a matter of no little surprise to find that, only a hundred years ago, all these varied activities engrossed the attention of the Native rulers, and that they grappled with the problems of Government to a large extent successfully. They even went, as some might say, out of their way, in undertaking reforms of social economy with a courage which is thought in these days by some to be outside the functions of the State. In all these respects, these State diaries, kept by responsible officers in the Peshwa's Daftar, are simply invaluable, and though they have their own defects, in the absence of better materials, they shed a flood of light upon the real movements and the hopes and fears, the strength and

weakness of the people for over a century, and for purposes of instruction and guidance, they far outweigh the value of narratives of wars and conquests, dynastic changes, and revolutions, which take up so much space in our ordinary histories.

It is proposed in this paper to introduce this vast record to the attentive student of Maratha history, and with a view to give point to the lessons which it suggests, an attempt will be made to set forth the contrast between the causes which helped the Maratha Confederacy in the first half of the last century, to spread its rule and influence over the whole of India, and prevail over every country power, Musalman or Hindu, Sikh or Jat, Rohilla or Rajpoot, Kathis or Gujars, the Portuguese, the Nizam and Hyder of the Telangana and Dravid Countries, and the circumstances which led, in the latter half, to the gradual dismemberment of that power. The dividing line which separates the two periods coincides with the transfer of sovereign power from the descendants of Shivaji and Shahu to the hands of the Brahmin Peshwas, when, on the death of Shahu, the Maratha capital was removed from Satara to Poona. The deed executed by Raja Shahu empowered the Peshwa to manage the whole government of the Empire on the condition of perpetuating the Raja's name, and keeping up the dignity of the house: and this deed was ratified, later on, by Shahu's successor, Ram Raja, when he agreed to renounce all power on condition of a small tract near Satara being assigned to his own management. The battle of Panipat, which closed the flood-tide of Maratha conquest, may be regarded as a serviceable historical boundary mark for this period. The next 60 years bring out, one by one, the weak points in the character of the rulers and of the nation generally, and show how the fall was hastened long before the English conquest of the country in 1817. This contrast will illustrate how the later Peshwa's policy departed from the principles laid down by Shivaji, and pursued with more or less fidelity by Rajaram and Shahu, and how their neglect of the true policy and their return to the old Brahminic ideals of exclusiveness and division sowed the seeds of decay, which ultimately hastened the downfall of the Confederacy.

Constitution.

The changes in the constitution of the Government under Maratha rule necessarily demand our first attention. In my paper on 'Shivaji as a Civil Ruler,' read before the Asiatic Society, I have described

at some length, the principal features of the constitution of the Raj Mandala, or the Council of the State, consisting of the eight chief ministers, including both Civil and Military functionaries. In the final arrangements adopted by Shivaji, there were two Sarnobats, or Military members, one the Commander-in-Chief of the Cavalry and the other of the Infantry. The Peshwa was the Prime Minister and executive head of the Council. The Pant Amatya had the charge of the revenue and account departments; the Pant Sachiva or Soorvis had the charge of all correspondence and record, and the Dabir or Sumant was minister in charge of foreign affairs. Another minister, the Mantri, was in charge of the household, and there were two purely civil functionaries, the Nyayadhisha and Nyayashastri, or Panditrao, who represented the judicial and ecclesiastical department. None of these offices were hereditary, and there were frequent transfers from one office to another. The Peshwa's office, for instance, had been held by four different families before it became hereditary in Balaji Vishvanath's line, after nearly a hundred years from its first creation. The offices of the Pratinidhi, and of the Sachiva, and the Mantri, became hereditary after passing through three different families. The Commander-in-Chiefship became hereditary in the Dabhade family after it had been held by seven or eight chiefs, including Palkar, Gujar, Mohite, Ghorpade, Jadhaw and other leaders. The same remark holds good of the other minor ministers. In the official order of precedence, the Peshwa was a smaller functionary than the Pant Pratinidhi, whose office was created by Rajaram at Jinji, and Pralhad Niraji was made the vice-regent of the Raja. The fixed salary of the Pratinidhi was 15,000 Hons, while for the Peshwa the salary was fixed at 13,000 Hons. The Mantri, Sachiva, and Senapati had 10,000 each, and the Nyayadhisha had 1,000 Hons only. The old Pant Amatya went over to Kolhapur, and the Satara Amatya or Rajadnya occupied a comparatively subordinate place. All these officers had Saranjams besides, and special establishments. On the permanent establishments of these great departments, there were eight sets of officers named Diwan, Mujumdar, Fadnis, Subnis, Kar-khanis, Chitnis, Jamdar, and Potnis. By extending the principle of this subordination, certain officers called Darakdars, Diwan, Fadnis, Mujumdar, &c., were attached to every district and every large military command. These subordinate officers were chosen by the central authority, and the commanders were required to have the work done by the hands of these men, whom they could not remove, and who

prepared and submitted the final accounts to the central authority. The division of work was so arranged that the officers served as checks on one another, and this feature of inter-dependence and mutual control was reproduced in the arrangements about the garrisons of forts, the Subha Armar or the naval establishment, and all the great offices connected with Customs. In the case of the forts, the three principal officers were selected from three different castes, the Havildar or the head being a Maratha, the Subnis being a Brahmin, and the Karkhanis a Parbhu. It was this constitution which kept up the Maratha power throughout the troubled times which followed Shiwaji's death. Though Raja Sambhaji did not pay much attention to these internal arrangements, Rajaram followed his father's traditions faithfully, and set up his Ashtapradhan Council even at Jinji. Shahu, on his accession to the throne, changed the Councillors, but retained the Council. Though each Councillor had his separate department, he was also a Military Commander, except in the case of the Nyayadhisha and Panditrao, and as in Shiwaji's time, so under Shahu, the Pratinidhi and the Sachiva, the Mantri and the Amatya, assisted the State in its wars, as much as the Senapati and the Peshwa themselves. The Council is frequently mentioned as holding Majlasi or Meetings for purposes of consultation, adopting measures of State policy, dispensing justice, and maintaining the dignity of the State, both at home and abroad. The great Council where Bajirao advocated the forward policy of marching up to Delhi, and was opposed by the Pratinidhi, is a matter of history. On Shahu's death a change for the worse took place. The predominance acquired by the Peshwas, by reason of the great services rendered by them, necessarily tended to diminish the importance of the other members of the Council. When the seat of power was removed from Satara to Poona, these offices became hereditary, but their holders ceased to be of much importance in the Councils of the State. The two successors of Shahu were not personally fitted to wield the authority exercised in their name by the Peshwas. Though they were honoured as titular heads of the State, their movements were kept under strict control. In fact, after the failure of Damaji's attempt to undo the grants of the sanads transferring the power to the Peshwa, as noted above, the Raja was kept a prisoner in the fort of Satara, and an establishment of about Rs. 30,000 was attached to his Court. It was not till the elder Madhaorao showed more liberality towards the Raja that he could claim a garden for his pleasure-house, and attendants, musicians,

and singers were attached to his Court, and a decent provision was made for his near relatives by Nana Fadnavis. In the nature of things, there was however nothing to prevent the continuance of the old arrangement of associating the great Military and Civil Commanders in the Councils of the State, but the Peshwas apparently contented themselves with ignoring the usefulness of the Raj Mandal, and substituting in its place the subordinate purely civil officials, Fadnis, Mujumdars, and others, who, under the old arrangements, were attached to departments, and helped the ministers or district Commanders. Of the Darakdars, only two, Fadnis and Mujumdars, appear to have been retained by the Brahmin Government at Poona, and the rest, the Dewan, Karkhanis, Potnis and Jamdar, seem to have been dropped, and the Peshwa's Fadnis superseded his superior the Mujumdar, and became virtually what Pant Pratinidhi was under Shahu's rule. This diminution of the power of the Raj Mandal, while it helped to strengthen the ascendancy of the Peshwas over the whole kingdom, naturally led, in course of time, to the alienation of the great Commanders who had helped in Shahu's reign to extend the power of the Marathas over Gujarath, Malwa, Bundelkhand, Rajputana, Delhi, Bengal, Orissa and Nagpur. The Peshwa's own model served as an example to the several Commanders who established themselves in power at Baroda, Indore, Gwalior, Dhar, Nagpur, and other places. The common bond of union which, in Shahu's time, held all the Chiefs together, ceased to be operative, and, in its place, each great commander, like the Peshwa, strove to be chief master in his territories and only helped the common cause on occasions of great emergencies. Even the Peshwa's favourite Commanders, Scindia, Holkar, and the Powars, followed the traditions of independence, which the Gaikwads, the Dabhades, and the Bhosales of Nagpur, who claimed to hold their possessions under Shahu's Sanadas, had begun to cherish, as the equals of the Peshwas, in their own dominions. The later additions of Brahmin Sardars represented by the Patwardhans, the Fadkes, and the Rastes, in the South, the Vinchurkars, and the Raje Bahadurs, the Bundeles, the Purandares, and the Bhuskutes in the North of the Deccan, naturally followed the same example, and by the time the first period ends with the battle of Paniput, when the whole nation was represented by its leaders, small and great, the bond of union became virtually dissolved; and though they joined together, on great occasions, such as at Kharda, and in the wars with the English, Hyder, and Tippu, the old solidarity

of interest became a thing of the past. The constitution which had served such great purposes under Shiwaji, Rajaram and Shahu, in holding the nation together for a hundred years, gave place to a mere Government by single chiefs, assisted by subordinates, instead of equals, and naturally failed to evoke that spirit of patriotic co-operation which had achieved such wonderful results. In the forty years of rule enjoyed by Shahu, he was not merely a titular head of the Maratha Government. Though he led no armies in the field, he directed all operations, ordered and recalled Commanders, and he exercised a great controlling power on the Chiefs. It was due to his efforts that Gujarath was divided between the Peshwa and the Dabhades or Gaikwads in equal halves after the battle of Debbhai. When Balaji Bajirao wanted to invade Bengal, Raghoji Bhosale protested at Satara, and Shahu was strong enough to enforce moderation even over the towering ambition of Balaji, and forced him to leave the Eastern provinces of India free for the development of the Bhosale's power. Bajirao was only a general under Shahu, and the Pratinidhi, Bhosales, Nimbalkars, Dabhades, Gaikwads, Kadam Bandes, Angres, Ghorpades, all respected his orders. When Shahu's great authority was withdrawn, this restraint was removed, and though the Peshwas succeeded in establishing their authority, both over Janoji Bhosale and Damaji Gaikwad, their submission was made reluctantly; and when the Peshwas themselves lost the advantage enjoyed by the first four members of the family, and minorities, and internal dissensions commenced at Poona, neither the Gaikwads nor the Bhosales would concern themselves with the common weal, and though Scindia and Holkar, the Patwardhans, and the other Chiefs showed more fidelity for a longer period, the balance of power was destroyed, and even Nana Fadnavis's genius could not control these Chiefs to subordinate their private interests to the general good, and they began to strengthen themselves by forming treaties of peace with foreign Powers. Nana, indeed, tried to correct the mistake, by setting up the Satara Raja's power after Sawai Madhaorao's death, but he found that this was impracticable, as the dismemberment had proceeded too far. If the Peshwas had continued true to the ancient Raj Mandal, while substituting themselves as the deputies of the hereditary Rajas, had maintained the old constitution intact, and had not tried to rule the Empire by a machinery of subordinates, originally intended by Shivaji for particular offices and commands, there was no reason why the great purposes served by the Raj Mandal under Shivaji, Rajaram,

and Shahu, might not have been fulfilled with equal success in the times of their Brahmin ministers. This seems to be the principal point of departure between the old traditions and the new order of things established in their place at Poona, and it was a departure attended with disastrous effects. The change meant the conversion of the organic whole into an inorganic mass, and it reproduced the old Mahomedan methods of single rule, against which Shivaji had successfully struggled when he organized the Raj Mandal.

Caste Ascendency.

One other general feature which distinguishes the first period under Shivaji and Shahu, from the period which followed the establishment of the Peshwa's power at Poona, relates to the fact that while most of the great Military Commanders in the earlier period were Marathas, with the notable exception of the Peshwas themselves, the men who rose to distinction in the latter half of the century were, for the most part, Brahmins. In the wars of Independence, Dhanaji Jadhav and Santaji Ghorpade made their mark as leaders, the Nimbalkars, Attoles, the Bhosales, the Pawars, the Angres, and the Dabhades distinguished themselves in the war, which led to the accession of Shahu to the throne. In Shivaji's own time, Moropant Pingle, the Hanmantes, Abaji Sonadeo, Datto Annaji, and others played as prominent a part as did Gujara, Mohites, Palkars, Kanks, and Malusares; but in the wars of Independence, the Brahmin element chiefly exerted its influence in the Council, and not in the battle-field. In the time of the Second Peshwa, the great leaders were Malharrao Holkar, Pilaji Jadhav, Ranoji Shinde, and his three sons. In Balaji's time this preponderance of the Maratha element continued, and excepting the members of the Peshwa's family, the Brahmins made themselves useful chiefly as civilians. After the removal of the capital from Satara to Poona, a change took place in this policy, and we find that all the great Commanders who acquired fame and territory after 1760 were in the Deccan, almost exclusively, Brahmins. Even the Parbhu element ceased to be of any importance at the Poona Court, though it enjoyed considerable power at Baroda and Nagpur. Similarly, the Shenvi gaud Saraswat Brahmin element rose to eminence in the Scindia's territory; the other Brahmin element in those great camps at Indore, Baroda, Gwalior and Nagpur occupied a very subordinate position. In the Deccan, however, the men who rose to power were all Brahmins, the Vinchurkars, the Raje Bahadars, the Bhuskutes, the

Bundeles, the Khers, the Kanades, the Panses, the Biniwales, the Patwardhans, the Mehendales, the Gokhles, the Beheres, the Lagus, the Rastes, the Fadkes, the Pethes, and a host of other smaller names might be mentioned in support of this view. And even among the Brahmins it so happened that later in the century, the Deshastha section took sides with Raghoba Dada, while the Konkanastha section followed the lead of the Poona ministers. Sakharam Bapu, the Raj Bahadars, the Vinchurkars, and the Hinganes took part in these wars on Raghoba's side ; while the other Brahmin leaders mentioned above sided with the party opposed to Raghoba. When in course of time, Bajirao succeeded to the throne, he had no sympathy with the section which had followed Nana Fadnavis, and the Patwardhans, the Rastes, and Nana Fadnavis himself were the objects of the bitterest hostilities. This infusion of the racial and caste element among the military leaders of the nation was the most distinguishing mark of the latter half of the century. There were parties within parties, with little chance of a common and active sympathy throughout all the classes, who had been held together with such successful results by Shiwaji, Rajaram, and Shahu. The first half of the century was singularly free from these racial and caste jealousies. In the latter half, they had attained such prominence that concert was impossible, and each great leader naturally cared to pursue his own interest to the sacrifice of the commonwealth. The Brahmins at this time came to regard themselves as a governing caste, with special privileges and exemptions, which were unknown under the system founded by Shiwaji. The Konkanastha Brahmin Karkoons, who had the monopoly of all the Secretariats of Daftar offices, and received respectable salaries, obtained the privilege of having their goods exempted from Custom duties and ferry charges when they imported grain and other goods from outside ports and places. The Brahmin land-holders in the Kalyan Prant, and also in Maval, had their lands assessed at half or lower rates than were levied from other classes. In Criminal Courts the Brahmins had always enjoyed the exceptional privilege of exemption from the extreme penalty of the law, and even when they were confined in forts, they were more liberally treated than the other classes. Besides these advantages, they had the monopoly of the charities freely bestowed by the State to this class in consideration of their sanctity. The record which relates to Bajirao II.'s time bears ample testimony to the extent of the abuses which followed this indulgence. The Dakshana charity, started with a view to encourage learning, became

generally a grant to all Brahmins, and Poona became the centre of a large pauper population. As many as 30 to 40 thousand Brahmins were fed for days together at the State expense at the great festivals with the costliest viands. All these distinguishing features of purely sacerdotal caste ascendancy characterised the close of the century, and introduced a demoralisation of which few people have any correct idea. In the hands of the last Bajirao the State ceased to be the ideal protector of all classes and upholder of equal justice. Ramdas's high ideal of the region of Maharashtra was lowered down to one in keeping with the belief that the State had no higher function than to protect the cow and the Brahmin, and the usual consequences followed such a decadence of virtue.

Army.

The next point of departure relates to the army, which, in fact, represented the Maratha nation more faithfully than any other single section of the population. Shivaji commenced his work of conquest of the forts round about Poona and in the Konkan with the help of the Mavales and the Hetkaries. The army then consisted only of the Hasham Infantry, who were armed generally with swords and matchlocks. When later on, he descended into the plains, the cavalry became the chief agency of offensive warfare in the hands of the Marathas. The old Mavales and Hetkaries were retained, but chiefly in commands of the Hill-forts. The Cavalry thus brought into existence fought with the Moguls under Aurangzeb, and spread the terror of the Maratha name throughout India. They were not mercenaries in the usual sense of the word. They enlisted in the army either singly, or with their horses and men, for the fair season of the year, and when the rains approached, they returned to their homes and cultivated their ancestral lands. The highest families gloried in being Shilledars and Bargirs, and their pride consisted in the number of troops or Pathaks that followed them, and the recruiting was made without any difficulty. The summons to arms was accompanied with a payment called Nalbandi, made in advance for the expenses for joining the field with accoutrement and equipment of the horse and man alike, and each trooper had his own favourite commander, whose standard he followed wherever he led them. The strength of the Maratha Cavalry continued to be its most distinguishing feature till about the year 1750, when contact with the French and the British armies discovered the superior advantages in

modern wars of regularly-trained infantry battalions protected by artillery, the third arm in modern warfare. The success of the English and the French induced the Maratha leaders to have recourse to this new agency, and for the first time we find mention made of the Gardis or the trained battalions. The weakness of this new addition to the Military force consisted in the fact that, unlike the Mavales or the Shilledars, who each owned his plot of land and served the State, not as mercenaries, but as militia, the Gardis were mercenaries pure and simple, made up of foreign recruits of different nationalities, who had to be paid fixed salaries all the year round, and only owed loyalty to the commanders who paid them their wages. There was no national element in this new force. The first Maratha Gardis employed by Sadashiva Rao Bhau were composed of disbanded battalions of the French native army led by the famous Ibrahimkhan Gardi. So great was Bhau's confidence in him that he, at Panipat, set at nought the wise counsels of the great Maratha leaders who opposed the plan of entrenching themselves before the enemy and risking a pitched battle with the Afghans. The calamitous result of this over-confidence did not deter the Maratha commanders from valuing the superior advantages of trained battalions officered in the European ways of war. Within ten years from the defeat at Panipat, the Gardis strengthened by this time by recruits from Arabs, Siddis, Abyssinians, Sikhs, and other foreigners, were enlisted in large numbers at rates of pay often nearly equal to what was paid to the Skilledar Cavalry for horse and man. The mercenary character of these men exhibited itself in the cruel death of Narayenrao Peshwa at their hands, and there was for a time a reaction against their employment. The advantages were, however, so obvious that the old scruple soon vanished away, and in the new armies created by Mahadaji Shinde in Hindustan trained battalions of foreign mercenaries, officered by Europeans, outnumbered the old cavalry, which was permitted to occupy only a secondary place. The success which attended this effort induced Holkar, Gaikwad, Bhosle, and lastly the Peshwas themselves, to engage foreign mercenaries and to rely chiefly on their support. Arabs, Gosawies, Sikhs, and Portuguese battalions were thus formed, and Bajirao II. himself engaged two battalions officered by English adventurers towards the close of the century. Even the Hill-forts which had been hitherto guarded by Mavales, were placed in charge of these mercenaries. The infantry and the cavalry elements in the native armies were thus elbowed out of their importance, and the

army, instead of being national, became mercenary in the worst sense of the word. Attached to the regular armies there was a licensed host of free-booters called Pendharis, who accompanied them and made a living by pillage of the enemy, and ultimately of their own people. If the innovation of employing trained battalions had been accompanied by the acquisition of requisite knowledge of the scientific and manufacturing processes necessary to command success in the use of superior arms, the helplessness, which in the absence of such knowledge, paralyzed the native armies when their European officers left them, might have been avoided, but no care seems to have been bestowed in this direction, so that, when the actual crisis came, they were more helpless than ever in the field. In the meanwhile the martial instincts of the neglected infantry and cavalry forces underwent a change for the worse, so that, when General Wellesley and Lord Lake broke down the strength of the battalions opposed to them, there was no power left in the country which could resist the conquest that followed as a matter of course. The old infantry and cavalry had lost their stamina, and the new mercenaries without leaders, and without any knowledge of military science, except the drill, were as ineffective as the Pendharis who accompanied them. It was this change which paralyzed the nation towards the end of the last century.

Navy.

A few remarks on the Navy may not be out of place here. The sea has always been a more or less strange element to the Marathas except on the Western Coast. Though Shivaji had the strength of mind to organise a navy, and place it under a Mahomedan commander who plundered far to the south on the Malabar coast, and fought with the Siddhis, it was not till the Angrias rose to power that the Marathas were able to dominate the sea-coast and hold the Mogul admiral in check. Under the Peshwas the Subha Armar was a part of the regular establishment, with its head-quarters at Vijayadurg and a subordinate establishment at Bassein, which was also called the second Subha Armar. Mention is frequently made of the struggles carried on by the fleet of the Angrias with the English, till at last the Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao, co-operated with the English, and he helped them to crush the Angrias' power on land and sea in 1756. Balaji Bajirao had organized a plan by which the mercantile vessels which traded from port to port might be utilized for defensive

purposes by enlisting the Tandels and Sarangs in private employ on increased pay when their services were wanted by the Government. Nothing came of this proposal. Anandrao Dhulap and his son Janrao continued to be the Peshwa's admirals in charge of the navy at Vijayadurg, but no great use was made of this force, except for the protection of commerce and the occasional overthrow of pirates from the Cutch and Gujarath side. Altogether, in assisting the English to put down the Angrias' power, the Peshwas diminished the importance of their own navy for defensive and offensive purposes.

Forts.

To turn next to the Forts. In the best times of the Maratha rule more than 200 forts were garrisoned in all parts of the country. Shivaji understood the duties of the king to include the preservation of the forts as a matter of special concern, and elaborate regulations were made for the garrisons stationed in the forts. The defenders of the forts had lands assigned to them for their maintenance, and room was found for the employment of all classes, Brahmins, Marathas, Ramosis, Mahars, Mangs, &c. These latter performed out-post duties. Besides the garrisons specially attached to the forts, detachments of regular infantry were stationed in the large forts for protection. Later on, Portuguese artillerymen were employed, and guns were mounted on their battlements in some places. In the Carnatic, Gardis were employed on similar duties as a check on the Canarese garrisons. The old system was departed from in the employment of these mercenaries, and even the old garrisons were shifted from one place to another for supposed reasons of State. Under the later Peshwas, these forts appear chiefly to have served the double purpose of State granaries and State prisons. State prisoners were sent to the forts for custody, and the condemned criminals of both the sexes were sent there for penal servitude. In the latter half of the century, the forts are chiefly mentioned in this connection. Against the more improved means of warfare represented by the artillery, these hill-forts ceased to be valuable for the purposes of defence, and in many places they were neglected and allowed to go into disrepair. In the wars with the English, the forts offered little or no protection, and submitted without firing a shot. The army, the navy, and the forts were thus by the course of events, and the neglect of the State, rendered incapable, for different reasons, of doing any service in the latter half of the century.

Public Debt.

While in these higher spheres of statesmanship and the art of Government the lines of departure pursued by the latter Peshwas and their ministers indicate visible signs of decay, it must in justice to them be admitted that, in the matter of the revenue and judicial management, the Government at Poona showed great powers of application, careful elaboration of detail, and an honest desire to administer well the charge entrusted to them. The financial condition of the State was decidedly superior to the hand-to-mouth system which characterised the first half of the last century. It is well-known that all the great Maratha leaders, including Bajirao I., always found it difficult to raise the monies required for their great expeditions in Hindustan, and the information given in the Diaries of the debts contracted by Balaji Bajirao between 1740 and 1760 shows a total of a crore and a half of public debt. The strain represented by this amount will be better understood when it is mentioned that the Peshwa's Government had to pay from 12 to 18 per cent. interest on these loans. Owing to the great collapse at Panipat, things did not much improve in Madhavrao's time. The poor Prince had a heavy load of debts, amounting to some Rs. 24,00,000, which had to be satisfied by the assurance given on his death-bed by the ministers about him that his bonds would be discharged there and then. Under Nana Fadnavis's careful management, this state of things appears to have greatly improved, and the accounts do not show that the debts contracted by him exceeded a few lacs. The last Peshwa had apparently no debts to pay, but was able to collect a large private treasure of his own.

Revenue Management.

The system of revenue management under Balaji Bajirao, Madhavrao, and Nana Fadnavis, was on the whole careful. New sources of revenue were developed, and the old improved. The land settlements made by the Peshwas during this period show that, while anxious not to oppress the ryots, every care was taken to insist on the rights of the Government. Whenever the country needed that relief, leases varying from three to seven years were granted on the terms of 'Istawas,' i. e. gradually-increasing assessments. The old 'Kamal' figures (maximum amounts collected) of village and pargana revenues were, of course, never realized, and were never meant to be realized. These amounts were reduced so as to suit the conditions

of the population and general prosperity in fixing the 'Tankha' or realizable revenue, and large reductions were made in the 'Tankha' figures whenever, owing to war or famine, enquiries showed that the complaints were reasonable. Wherever the Batai, or system of crop division, obtained, the Government, after deducting seeds and other necessary charges paid by the ryots, left $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the crop to the cultivator, and took the rest for the State. In Shiwaji's time the proportions are stated to have been $\frac{2}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$. The Batai system was not much in favour, but grain and proportionate cash rents prevailed throughout the country. In the South Konkan the normal assessment appears to have been 10 maunds per bigha of rice land paid in kind. This amount was reduced to 9 and even 8 maunds in certain districts on the complaint that it was too exorbitant. When cash payments were required, or were convenient to the ryots, they were fixed at the low amount of Rs. 15, 20, or 30 per khandy, according to season. The Brahmins had to pay lighter rates of 5 maunds or thereabouts in Northern Konkan. In a settlement of the Nera Taluka, the cash rates were from Rs. 3 to 5 per bigha, according to the quality of the soil; and the sugar-cane rate was Rs. 5 per bigha. Where the cash rates prevailed, Rs. 2 per bigha for good black soil, and Re. 1 for middling soil of Jirait land, and Rs. 5 to 6 for Bagaie lands were deemed to be reasonable rates in the Nasik District and at Pimpalgaon Baswant. In the Khed Taluka, Poona District, the rate in Bajirao II.'s time was Rs. 3 per bigha. In the less-favoured parts of the Satara District, the rates are stated to have ranged from $1\frac{3}{4}$ maunds to 6 maunds per bigha according to the quality of the soil. In Gujarath the rates were much higher.

Remissions.

Large remissions were made whenever the seasons were found to be unfavourable. Under the old revenue system, cultivated lands alone paid revenue, and in bad years the revenues fell, and remissions had to be constantly made in the State accounts.

The Kamavishi System.

The revenue management to the commencement of Bajirao II.'s rule was conducted on the Kamavishi principle, *i. e.*, the Kamavisdar or Mamalatdar and his establishment and contingencies were all paid by the State, the general proportion of charges being about 10 per cent, on the collection. The number and pay of the Karkoons and the Shibandi, *i. e.* the horsemen and sepoy, were carefully fixed in a sort

of budget or Beheda statement, and the Kamavisdar had thus little or no motive to practise oppression. The Jamabandi made by him had to be approved by superior officers called Subhas and Sir Subhas, and the complaints of the Jamidars, village authorities, and ryots were listened to and redressed by the removal and punishment of these officers when they misconducted themselves. The Kamavisdar, though appointed for one year, held the office during good behaviour.

Jiara or Farming System.

In the times of the second Bajirao, the Kamavishi system gave place to what is called the Ijara or farming system, the Ijardar undertaking to pay his own establishment, and making profit for himself after paying the State dues and certain secret payments to the Peshwa himself, which were not brought to the State account, but were credited in his Khasgi or private treasure. If we except these Ijara abuses introduced by the last Peshwa, the Kamavishi management was as carefully looked after under Maratha rule as in the best times of any native or the British rule, before or after. Mr. Grant-Duff has admitted that the weak points of the system told more against the interests of the State than on individuals, and that the Maratha Country was more thriving than any other part of India in proportion to its fertility.

Revenue Divisions.

The whole country was divided into about twelve Subhas, each Subha consisting of Parganas or Mamalat divisions, or Taluka divisions as we now call them. These Subhas were:—(1) Khandesh, 30 Parganas, including Baglan; (2) Nemad Prant, Handa, 5; (3) Poona and Nagar, 18; (4) Konkan, 15; (5) Gangathad, including the Nasik District, 25; (6) Gujarath Prant, 20; (7) Carnatic; (8) Satara with Wai, and Karad; (9 & 10) the Customs Subhas, Poona and Junnar, and Kalyan and Bhiwandi; and (11 & 12) two Armar Subhas, Vijayadurga and Bassein.

Village Autonomy.

The village autonomy was not interfered with. The Patil and the Kulkarni were responsible for the collections, and received their dues independently of the Government. Security of the sowkars had to be given for the payment of the year's revenue, and the village ryot had a joint responsibility. The country, on the whole, was prosperous.

Wages and Prices.

The rates of wages were from Rs. 3 to 7 for menials and sepoy's, and for higher artisans, very much what they now are outside the great towns, from Annas 6 to 10 per day. The Karkoon's wages were generally Rs. 7 to 10 per month. The prices of food-stuffs were generally more unsteady than they are now, but it may be roughly stated that staple grains, Jwari and Bajri, were about three to four times as cheap as they now are. The rates of wages being, on an average, half of what they have been for many years past, while the prices were 3 to 4 times as cheap, the people had ample resources during good seasons, and no great famine is recorded during this period, though partial famines are frequently mentioned. There was no dearth of remunerative employment throughout this period, by reason of the large wealth acquired from the successes of the Marathas in foreign conquest, and there was thus no pressure felt of the land tax and other cesses, except in the border provinces devastated by wars. Oppression seems to have been rare, as the people had the remedy in their own hands, of either putting down the oppressor, or migrating in other territories for a time.

Tagai Advances.

Besides granting remissions for seeds or implements, the Peshwa's Government encouraged the Kamavisdar to make Tagai grants to the cultivators, as also for rebuilding houses when destroyed by fire, and supplying cattle.

Public Works.

The Government also undertook such public works as constructing dams, building roads in the Ghats, and landing-places on river-banks, digging tanks, and securing water-supplies to towns, and several such large items are found in these accounts. The advances to the cultivators were made for short periods, one or two years, but the Kamavisdars were lenient, and they were generally not removed till these advances had been repaid. In cases where such removal took place, the successor was required to pay off the previous holder. Owing to the necessities of the State, the Government frequently borrowed of the Kamavisdar the instalments in advance of the time fixed. On such advances, the State agreed to pay 12 per cent. interest to the Kamavisdar till the debt was paid off.

Forced Labour or Wetha.

Under the earlier Peshwas, the system of forced labour or 'wetha' was extensively in use, and caused great annoyance to the poorer

classes and artisans who were subjected to it. In the first Madhao-
 rao's time, these grievances were partially redressed, and money pay-
 ments were allowed to be substituted, to the convenience of both
 the parties. The State, in this respect, was more liberal than private
 masters. The general impression left on one's mind by the study of
 the revenue portion of the record in these Diaries is, on the whole,
 very favourable, and it will be difficult to show that there has been
 during the last eighty years, any decided improvement in this respect.

Other Taxes.

Besides the land-tax, a number of other cesses were in force, the
 chief among them being the house-tax, and shop-tax, called the
 'Moha urfa.' In the Konkan Districts, tobacco imports were taxed
 at Revdanda and other ports.

Salt.

The manufacture of salt was made to yield a small income at
 Nagotna and at Bhyndar near Bassein, the duty being at Nagotna
 Rs. 2-10-0 per khandy, and at Bhyndar Rs. 1-6-0 per khandy on salt
 produced. These rates were 20 to 31 times lighter than what are
 now charged by Government.

Abkari.

Toddy and Cocoanut trees were taxed, when tapped for drawing
 liquor, in Bassein and the territories held previously by the
 Portuguese on the Konkan coast. This last tax had been introduced
 on the express representation of the Bhandavis, and the rayats of
 those parts, who complained that they could not carry on their trade
 without the use of some kind of liquor. No revenue was derived
 from Abkari except in the Konkan, and a little receipt from liquor
 farms near Poona itself. There were similarly petty taxes on the
 production of ghee, grazing-fees, marriage-fees, the buffalo tax and
 the right of catching fish in some places.

Ferries.

The ferries were in general free of all charges, being kept by the
 State, but in some cases farms were given for the collection
 of revenue from the more frequented ferries. These were later
 creations suggested by the greed of petty farmers, and yielded very
 scanty revenue. When the Ijara system was introduced by
 Bajirao II, the abuses consequent on the farming system necessarily
 multiplied, and must have caused considerable annoyance and

oppression. Under the Kamavishi system, which prevailed before, the inducements to oppression were, as stated above, not so powerful, and they were checked by the Subhas and Sir Subhas corresponding with our Commissioners. There were five such officers in the Konkan-Carnatic, Khandesh, Gujarath and Baglan. On the whole, the Peshwa's Government kept up the reputation of a mild native rule.

Customs—Jakat or land Customs.

There was no separate department of Sea Customs, except the revenues assigned to the Subha Armars, under the Peshwas, but the land customs levied on the transport of goods yielded a considerable revenue, and the Customs Subhas as they were called, of Kalyan and Bhivandi, Poona and Junnar, were especially prosperous. The Kalyan and Bhivandi Subhas yielded in Balaji's time, a sum of Rs. 55,000, and it developed to Rs. 3,00,000 towards the close of the century, and the income of the Poona Subha increased from Rs. 35,000 to nearly a lakh. The town duties in Poona itself were farmed, and yielded a considerable revenue, chiefly from octroi, on goods imported and exported, and on sales of cloth, tobacco, and other necessaries of a town population. Similar duties were levied at Ahmedabad on the scales originally laid down by the Emperors of Delhi. The revenue management thus reflected no little credit on the ingenuity and skill of the Brahmin ministers and their District and Pargana officers, and little fault can be found as regards the way in which these resources were developed and administered.

Justice.

The proper administration of civil and criminal justice may well be regarded as a more decisive test of the efficiency and success of native rule than the collection of the land revenue, the cesses and customs. Judged by this test, it must be said to the credit of the Brahmin Peshwas, that while they did not reconstitute any of the other departments of the State included in the Raj Mandal, they revived the office of the Nyayadhisha at Poona, and entrusted him with the fullest power in disposing of civil and criminal cases, which in the last resort, came up before the Poona Court by way of appeal, or original trial, or confirmation, from the Subordinate District officials.

Rama Shastri.

This creation of the office of the Nyayadhisha appears to have taken place about the year 1760, and the choice of Rama Shastri for the post was a peculiarly happy one, and brought honour and credit to

the Government. The office was continued after Rama Shastri's retirement, and seems to have been filled by equally learned men, the last of whom was Balkrishna Shastri Tonkekar, who lived in the reign of Bajirao II. The general arrangement appears to have been that each Kamavisdar had both civil and criminal powers attached to his office, and the proceeds of civil and criminal fines, up to a certain amount in petty cases of assault, theft and similar offences, as also the payments made by the civil suitors who gained or lost their cases, formed a regular source of his income, though he had to account to the State for these receipts. The amounts of all fines above the prescribed limit were credited to the State account. Besides the new chief court started at Poona, it further appears that small provincial courts with limited jurisdiction, to help the Kamavisdar or Subhedar, were also established in some of the Districts.

Civil.

In civil cases, the fines paid by the successful suitor and his defeated antagonist, were respectively called 'Harki' and 'Gunhegari,' and the total of civil fines thus recovered seems to have been about 25 per cent. on the value of the matter in dispute, the Gunhegari being about twice the figure for the Harki.

Money Suits.

In our modern sense of the word, suits for the recovery of money due from debtors were very rare. As the creditors generally enjoyed large powers of enforcing their dues, State-help was only required in the case of powerful debtors, and 25 per cent. of the recoveries so made were claimed by the State as a charge for its help.

Vatan suits.

Civil litigation was chiefly confined to Vatan, Adoption, Partition, Partnership, Boundary disputes, and other cases of a like character. The decision was made to rest chiefly on the evidence of the witnesses on both sides, who were examined under the sanction of the most effective oaths, and solemn asseverations on the waters of the sacred rivers. After the parties had stated their respective cases, the witnesses' testimony was recorded, and then the men were called upon to choose their arbitrators from their own or neighbouring villages, and the decision of the Kamavisdars gave effect to the views of the arbitrators. In very rare cases, where the evidence was conflicting, or no evidence could be secured, resource was had to ordeal, and the decision depended upon the result. Out of some seventy contested cases, the decisions in which are recorded in these Diaries,

the test of ordeal was made to regulate the verdict in six cases, and even in these six cases, there were only two occasions when the parties challenged each other to the ordeal of fire. In the other four cases, bathing in the river sufficed to bring out the truth. There was no room for the employment of pleaders. The parties had the right to carry their appeals to the head of the Government, who if not satisfied with the arbitration, called on the parties to select a new Panch, to whom the case was referred. In all big civil cases, the decision appears to have been brought into force after reporting to the central Authorities.

Criminal.

In regard to criminal justice, it deserves to be noted that under the Raja and the early Peshwas, the only punishments judicially administered were penal servitude, imprisonment, attachment of property, fine, and in a few cases, banishment beyond the frontiers. Capital punishment or mutilation appears to have been studiously avoided, even in cases of murder, treason, or dacoity. Mutilation was inflicted in a few cases in the reign of Madhavrao I.; but even in the troublous times in which he lived, capital punishment was never inflicted. In Sawai Madhaorao's time under Nana Fadnavis, there seems to have been a clear departure from this mild administration of the law, and cruel mutilation and wholesale capital punishments were inflicted on criminals convicted of murder, treason or dacoity. The Brahmins and women alone were exempted from capital punishments. In the case of Brahmins, confinement in the fort was the highest punishment, and the civil penalties were joined with religious penalties, including excommunication. The cruel punishments inflicted in Nana Fadnavis' time, seem to have been the result of internal dissensions which began to disturb the public peace in the first Madhavrao's time, and increased in virulence when Raghoba Dada contested the throne. A comparative statement of figures compiled from the Diaries will bring out these points more distinctly than any description in words.

Murder.

In Shahu's time, there were 8 trials for murder, in 5 of which the accused were acquitted, and only in three, convictions took place, and fine and imprisonment were imposed. In the last ten years of Balaji Bajirao, there were 20 trials for murder, in 3 of which the persons charged were acquitted, in 8 heavy fines were imposed, and in the

remaining 9 confiscation of property was the only punishment awarded. Out of the property confiscated, steps were taken to make compensation to the heirs of the murdered persons by making a grant to them out of the attached property. In the times of Madhavrao I, there were 7 cases of murder tried before him. Fines were levied in 3, and vatans were attached in the 3 other cases, and in one where the murderer was a Brahmin, confinement in the fort was ordered. In Nana Fadnavis' time, capital punishment was awarded in two cases involving a number of criminals, and the other 6 cases of murder were disposed of by the award of imprisonment, fine and confiscation. In Bajirao II's time, two cases of murder are mentioned in these Diaries, in which Brahmins were the offenders, and were sent to prison.

Treason.

The punishment for minor treason, *i. e.*, for creating a rebellion or joining the enemy, was throughout the whole period, confinement in the forts, or confiscation of property. As regards persons convicted of political treason by way of attempts on the person of the Peshwas, or waging war, the punishment was for the criminal to be trampled by an elephant.

Dacoity.

In dealing with armed dacoities, Madhavrao I. and Nana Fadnavis inflicted more cruel punishments than in the case of private murders. Mutilation of hands and feet which never disfigured the annals of criminal administration up to 1760, were first ordered in Madhavrao's reign, and in Nana Fadnavis's time, wholesale executions were ordered of the criminals locked in the gaols and convicted of this charge. In one case, 20 men were beheaded, in another 13 men had their both hands and feet cut off, and in the third case, 18 men had either their hands or feet or ears cut off. These cruel punishments appear to have been extensively resorted to with a view to strike terror. Later on, these extreme penalties were inflicted even in cases of robberies, which did not come under the head of dacoities, or in which members of the criminal tribes were not concerned.

Robbery, Adultery.

The punishment for robbery generally was fine or imprisonment in the forts. For adultery in the case of women, the punishment was imprisonment with penal servitude in the forts or in the kothis, and in the case of men, imprisonment or fine.

Slaves.

As regards women condemned to penal servitude, it may be noted that they lost their status, and were treated as slaves. Their progeny especially was regarded as the children of no father, but were only known by their mothers' names. The ranks of these condemned slaves had accessions made to them of other persons from the lowest classes who lived by prostitution, and of children captured in foreign territory by Banjaris or Lamans who brought them for sale in the Peshwa's territory.

Slavery so recruited thus became a recognized institution, and men and women slaves were transferable like the dumb cattle from one owner to another for a money consideration. When the slaves grew old, some of them were released from prisons, and the private slaves were also set free by their owners for charitable considerations. The slaves on the whole appear to have been kindly treated, especially those women slaves who were made to work in the Peshwa's kothis, or in private houses.

Casting evil spirits.

There was one kind of criminal offence not known to our modern code, but which seems to have been severely punished under the Peshwas. It refers to the charge of casting evil spirits, and offences under this head seem to have been an important feature of criminal administration, especially in the Konkan. In fact, under the last two Peshwas, regular officers with establishments were employed for the discovery and punishment of offenders who were accused of troubling their neighbours by the agency of evil spirits. It formed a part of the Police duty of the District officers to exterminate the evil spirits.

Perjury, Cow-killing.

For perjury and forgery, the usual punishment was fine, and imprisonment where fine could not be levied by reason of poverty. Cow-killing was punished severely.

Other offences.

False coinage, and offences regarding false weights and measures, were punished with fines and imprisonment. Abduction and seduction, theft, and cheating were punished by fines. This brief conspectus of the way in which criminal justice was administered, will show that except under Nana Fadnavis, the administration of the law

was never vindictive or cruel, but sympathetic, and mild to a degree unknown before or since. The punishments were adequate to the offence, but not too severe. Nana Fadnavis' administration was exceptional for the reasons stated above, and he appears to have been equally severe in the way in which he treated his political enemies.

State prisoners.

Sakharampant Bapu, who was at one time a pillar of the State, was imprisoned in the forts for the part he took in siding with Raghoba Dada, and the same fate overtook Raghoba's other friends, chiefly Parbhus, Raghunath Hari, Baburao Hari, &c. Nana Fadnavis's own near relative, Moro Baburao, was similarly sent to prison, and in Bajirao's time Nana Fadnavis had himself to share the same fate. The strife of the parties seems to have been much more bitter in those days than was the case under the first three Peshwas. State prisoners were treated with leniency in those days. This generosity was not shown to the friends and followers of Raghoba Dada, or the Pretender's followers, who were mostly Brahmins holding high offices.

Police.

As regards the Police, the Kamavisdar with his shibandi force of horse and foot, constituted the regular police defence of the country. In the villages, the Patel and Kulkarni and the Jaglias, or Rakhwaidars consisting of Mahars and Maugs secured their own internal quiet, and in the larger villages or towns, each man had to do watch duty at the Chawdi by turns.

City Kotwals.

Besides the shibandis and the village police, kotwali establishments were organized for the detection and the punishment of crime, and we find that Kotwals were appointed at Poona, Nasik, Pandharpur, Nagar, Satara, Wai, Ahmedabad, Burhanpur, Trimbak, and other large towns.

This Kotwali.

This Kotwali establishment had also the charge of the conservancy of the cities, and scavengers were provided and paid for by cesses levied from the house-holders. The appointment of scavengers was made at Poona, Nagar, Pandharpur, Nasik, and other places. The Kotwals at Poona, Nagar, Pandharpur, Junnar, and Nasik had powers of Magistrates in miscellaneous cases which in the Districts were disposed of by the Kamavidars.

Mints.

In the miscellaneous departments, mints occupied an important place. I have treated the subject of the Mints under the Maratha rule in a separate paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society.

Post.

The post office did not occupy any recognized position under the Peshwa's rule. Special agencies were employed on particular occasions, when the armies went to Hindustan or to the Karnatic. These agencies consisted of special Jasuds or Kassids, who apparently took 18 days to go to Delhi from Thalner, and 13 days from Maheshwar, and they were paid handsomely, Rs. 3 a day, the amount being regulated inversely according to the number of days they took in the journey. When the Peshwas had to correspond with Calcutta, they sent their Jasuds to Burhanpur, and thence they took on the post to Benares, where an English officer, in charge of postal arrangements, despatched the Peshwa's post to Calcutta. In the wars in the Karnatic, the Peshwas found it necessary to organize special postal arrangements from Poona to Badami, and sixty men were employed to carry the daily post to and fro while the war lasted. Beyond these stray efforts, no regular post service for private or official use appears to have been maintained, and the private work was done by the employés of Sawkars who made these long journeys to carry remittances, at stated intervals, and took the private post of those who cared to correspond with their distant relations.

Medicine.

As regards medicine, the function of the State in the distribution of charitable relief was not recognized beyond the fact that well-known Hakims and Vaidyas were honoured with grants of villages, and were often supplied with other necessary help for the preparation of medicines. The Hakims were in requisition for the army, and were valued chiefly as surgeons. There is only one mention made of a Gujarathi native doctor who supplied medicines gratis at Nasik, and was rewarded with a jahagir, which was continued to his son, as he maintained the dispensary. There was another native Vaidya for whom a sort of a botanical garden was provided for the cultivation of rare drugs, and he was supplied with other help for the preparation of medicines from them. These scanty notices are all that can be gathered from the Diaries as regards the way in which this most important State function of charitable relief was discharged.

Military pensions.

The State was more liberal in the rewards it gave to soldiers who lost their lives in the battle-field. Hundreds of such cases are mentioned in the Diaries, where the heirs of the deceased were rewarded with inams, or maintenance allowances were made to the widows and children, and in some cases, the office held by the father was conferred on the son. In making these awards, no distinction was made between Brahmins and Marathas, Hindus and Mahomedans. All those who had received wounds or had died in the service of the State, were generously treated without distinction.

Religious Charities.

The same liberality was shown in the distribution of grants to religious charities. The bulk of the benefactions were conferred upon Brahmins as might be expected, but the old Mahomedan grants were continued to Dargas and Mosques, and many new grants were made to Mahomedans and even Christians, the last especially in the Konkan. There was a singular absence of any religious prejudice in the distribution of this charity. These Dewasthan and Varshasan allowances granted by the State under the Maratha rule, make up a very large total exceeding many lakhs which attests the generosity of the State in this respect.

Honoric Titles.

Under Raja Shahu, the function of the State of granting honorific titles on deserving officials found considerable scope, and on the model of the Delhi Emperors high-sounding titles were freely bestowed on Hindu generals and commanders. Under the later Peshwas, this function was more sparingly exercised, and the honours conferred took the form chiefly of allowing the officer the dignity of riding in a Palkhi or having the permission to employ a person to hold an Abdagir, for which a separate allowance was made by the State.

Encouragement to Trade.

In regard to the encouragement of trade, the Diaries show that in Balaji Bajirao's time, the Puuna Diamond mines in Bundelkhand were worked to advantage under concessions granted by the Peshwa, Traders from Arabia were encouraged to settle in the Konkan ports. Their trade was chiefly in horses, and they were allowed to enter the territory free of customs duty. Similar favours wereshown to the

European traders who sought admission into the country for their goods. Liberal concessions were made for enlarging the limits of the more prosperous towns by grants of land, exemptions, and Vatans to those who undertook to bring foreign settlers and induce them to build new houses, and open new bazars. The silk and embroidery industry of Poona was entirely due to the encouragement given to the foreign settlers from Barhanpur, Paithan, and other towns to come and live under the Peshwa's protection on house-sites which were granted free to them. Individual merchants were encouraged in large towns to open shops with the help of Government advances.

Extension of Poona.

The prosperity of Poona attracted a large number of people to come and settle there, of their own accord, so that Poona, which was before 1748 only a small Kasba town, developed into the proportions of a city, which it now exhibits in its 16 suburbs or Peths, all of them established by private citizens under State patronage, and named after the principal Sardars, or of the members of the Peshwa family.

Encouragement of learning.

Reference has already been made to the Dakshina grant paid to Shastris, Pundits and Vaidiks. This Dakshina was instituted in the first instance by the Senapati Khanderao Dabhade, and when on the death of that officer, his resources were curtailed, the charity was taken over by the State into its own hands. Disbursements increased from year to year, till they rose to 60,000 in Nana Fadnavis's time. These Dakshina grants redeemed to a certain extent the reprehensible extravagance of Bajirao II.'s charities. Learned Sanskrit scholars from all parts of India, from Bengal, and Northern India, as also from the South, the Telangan, Dravid and the Karnatic, flocked to Poona, and were honoured with distinctions and rewards securing to them a position throughout the country which they highly appreciated. Some four lacs of rupees were annually disbursed by Bajirao II. in his charities. The ordinary Brahmins were served with food in the Ramana gathering, while the learned people who refused to take part in the miscellaneous assembly were invited to the Peshwa's Palace and were honoured with shawls and money, gifts according to their tested merits. The amount thus spent came to a lac and a quarter. The remaining three lacs were spent on the Ramana charity. The result of this munificence brought credit to Poona as a city of learn-

ing, and this credit it continued to enjoy even after the downfall of the Peshwas, as long as the old Pathashala was maintained out of the Dakshina grant by Mr. Elphinstone and his immediate successors. Times have altered since then, and the Dakshina grant has been utilized for similar purposes which have popularized the study of Sanskrit literature and philosophy, among all classes of students. No direct encouragement was given to other than the Sanskrit Pandits, but the Puraniks and Haridasas were regarded as being equally entitled to special grant with Vaidiks and Shastris, and these were noted for their command and skill in the exposition of the great Maratha poets. Rich Sardars patronized Marathi learning, as for instance, the great Maratha poet Moropant was patronised by the Baramatkar Joshis. As regards the lower classes, the national fondness for Pawadas and Lawanis, contributed to the rise of ballad and love poetry, and some of the most noted composers of this kind of literature derived encouragement from Bajirao's support. These brief notices of the miscellaneous activities of the State will suffice to recommend the subject to the fuller consideration of those students of our past history, who might be inclined to pursue their researches further into the old record.

Superstitions.

Perhaps the most interesting and permanently useful information furnished by these records is that which relates to the social changes attempted by the Maratha Government. It is not to be supposed for a moment that the Brahmin leaders, who were entrusted with the government of the country, had not their full share of implicit belief in the superstitions of the time. Reference has already been made to the attempted regulations of the practice of exorcising evil spirits, whose agency was, it was believed, utilized by evil-doers to ruin their enemies. Belief in omens and prognostics was common to all classes. It is recorded that a student cut off his tongue, and another Gujarathi devotee cut off his head by way of offering it to the deity he worshipped, and in both the cases, the events were reported to the Government by the local officials, and large sums were spent to purify the temples and ward off the dangers threatened by these unholy sacrifices. People were filled with alarm when it was reported that an earthquake had disturbed the Kalyan Taluka. A fortress on the Ghats was believed to have suffered injury from the influence of evil sights, and another fortress a few years later, was

rendered unfit for occupation by the prevalence of an unaccountable disease. In all these three cases, steps were taken to pacify the elements, by general purification. The donee of a Jahagir village prayed to Government to resume the grant, and exchange it for some other, as the gift became undesirable on account of the prevalence of the evil spirits. Partial and local famines gave frequent trouble in those days, and large sums were spent in employing Brahmins to drown the Gods, or pour water over them for days and weeks together. Sacrifice of buffaloes to a goddess at Trimbak which had been stopped for some years, was resumed by the order of the Government at the instance of Brahmin devotees. When a man-eating tiger appeared on the Saptashringi Hill in the Nasik District, the Kamavisdar was ordered to consult the pleasure of the Goddess, and if she consented, to employ men to shoot it.

A lizard having fallen on the body of the idol at Pandharpur, a great penance was ordered in which Brahmins took part. The sale of cows to butchers was strictly prohibited throughout the country. Some Mahomedans, who were guilty of breaking the law, were severely punished, and a Brahmin who cut off the tail of a cow, was sent to prison. The revival of the old Yajnyas, or great sacrifices, lasting over many days and weeks, was encouraged as being conducive to the prosperity of the State, and several large sacrifices were so patronized by the Government by the supply of all the necessary articles in cash and kind, costing several thousands of rupees. Shrines and temples multiplied in and about Poona, and the last portion of the Diary gives a list of some 250 temples which were of sufficient importance to receive State-help in 1810-1811. The relative popularity of the several deities will appear from the analysis which shows that there were 52 temples of Maruti, the attendant of Rama, while Rama himself had 18 places of worship. The temples dedicated to Vishnu were 9, to Vithoba 34, to Krishna as Balaji 12. Rama and Krishna incarnations had thus 73 places of worship. The most popular god with the Brahmins was Mahadeo, who had 40 temples, and Ganpati had 36 temples. Judged by the number of temples the worshippers of Shiva and Vishnu were thus nearly equal. The old aboriginal gods had in all 32 places of worship. The Devi had 10, and there were 8 places of Mahomedan Dargas held in veneration, while Dattatraya had only one temple for his worship.

Too great stress should not be placed upon the accounts given above of the popular beliefs and superstitions. They were in keeping

with the general condition of the country all over India, and no man or any body of men should be condemned for simply following the current of the time. The Peshwa's government deserves credit for the inculcation of better principles and a more liberal social code adopted by them, and to the principal items of reforms attempted by that Government we may now fitly refer here with advantage. In those times of wars and troubles, there were frequent occasions when men had to forsake their ancestral faith under pressure, force, or fraud, and there are four well-attested instances in which the re-admission into their respective castes, both of Brahmins and Marathas, was not merely attempted, but successfully effected with the consent of the caste, and with the permission of the State authorities. A Maratha named Putaji Bandgar, who had been made a captive by the Moguls, and forcibly converted to Mahomedanism, rejoined the forces of Balâji Vishvanath, on their way back to Delhi, after staying with the Mahomedans for a year, and at his request, his re-admission with the consent of the caste was sanctioned by Raja Shahu. A Konkanastha Brahmin who had been kept a State prisoner by Haider in his armies, and had been suspected to have conformed to Mahomedan ways of living for his safety, was similarly admitted into caste with the approval of the Brahmins and under sanction from the State. Two Brahmins, one of whom had been induced to become a Gosawee by fraud, and another from a belief that he would be cured of a disease from which he suffered, were re-admitted into caste, after repentance and penance. These two cases occurred one at Puntamba, in the Nagar District, and the other at Paithan in the Nizam's dominions, and the admission of these Brahmins was made with the full concurrence of the Brahmins under the sanction of the authorities. In regard to temperance, it may be noted that the Brahmin Government of Poona absolutely prohibited the manufacture and sale of liquors as a general principle of action, but it was practical enough to make exceptions, when local necessities were pleaded by Bhandaries, Kolis and other communities in the territories conquered from the Portuguese in Bassein, Chowl, and other places. Exception was made in favour of these men, and the lower castes generally, but the order provided that Brahmins, Shenvis, Parbhus, and Government officers generally were to be strictly prohibited from the use of drink, and very heavy penalties were exacted from the offender who broke the law. Several Brahmins of Nasik who were Dharmadhikaris of the place, were suspected of having indulged in drink, and as they proved contumacious, they

were sent to forts, and were imprisoned there by way of punishment. A rich Maratha Patil in the Khed Taluka was warned once against the danger incurred by reason of his intemperate habits, and when this warning proved ineffective, half of his Inam land, measuring one Chahur, was confiscated by way of punishment.

As regards marriage reforms, it may be noted that Bajirao II. passed strict orders specially for the Konkan District and for Wai, prohibiting the sale of girls by the bride's father in consideration of marriage. Very strict regulations were passed imposing fines equal to the amounts received, upon one or both the parties and the marriage brokers. Apparently with a view to check the practice, Bajirao further ordered that no girl above 9 should remain unmarried, thereby claiming for the State to interfere in what is generally regarded as the province of the Shastras. In a few cases, where attempts had been made to marry young children by force, and the full rite was not completed, the Peshwas set aside the attempted marriages, and permitted the girls to be given to other more suitable persons. In one case where a marriage alliance had been formally settled, and the bridegroom was afterwards found to be suffering from leprosy, the Peshwa's Government interfered. The betrothal was set aside, and the bride's father was permitted to give his girl to whomsoever he chose. It is also well-known that on Sadashivrao Bhau's disappearance on the battle-field of Panipat, his wife Parwatibai who survived him, was allowed to retain all the insignia of wifehood, till the day of her death, which took place in 1783, 21 years after the disappearance of her husband, and the funeral rites of both the husband and wife were performed together on her death. This exhibition of chivalrous regard for the feelings of the lady in question, is to be noted, specially because, a Kanoja pretender had appeared in the meanwhile and claimed to be Sadashivrao Bhau himself, and had to be put down after great exertions by the Peshwa's army. After being once put in prison, he had escaped after some years' confinement, and raised a rebellion in the Konkan, which was put down about 1776, and he was sentenced to be trodden under foot by an elephant. Narayenrao Peshwa's widow was similarly allowed to remain without disfigurement for several years during the time she survived her husband's death. Though the Diaries are silent on the point, it is well-known that the efforts made by Parasharam-bhau Patwardhan on behalf of his widowed daughter to secure the consent of the Brahmins for her second marriage, found no opposition

from the Peshwa. But Bhan had to give up his idea under pressure from his own female relations.

As between caste and caste, the Peshwas held the balance evenly, even when the interests of the Brahmin priests were affected. The right of the Sonars to employ priests of their own caste was upheld against the opposition of the Poona Joshis. The claim made by the 'Kumbhars' (potters) for the bride and the bridegroom to ride on horseback, was upheld against the carpenters, who opposed it. The Kasars' right to go in processions along the streets, which was opposed by the Lingayats, was similarly upheld. The right of the Parbhus to use Vedic formulas in worship had indeed been questioned in Narayenrao Peshwa's time, and they were ordered to use only Puranic forms like the Shudras. This prohibition was, however, resented by the Parbhus, and in Bajirao II.'s time the old order appears to have been cancelled, and the Parbhus were allowed to have the Munja ceremony performed as before. A Konkani Kalal who had been put out of his caste, because he had given his daughter in marriage to a Gujarathi Kalal, complained to the Peshwa, and order was given to admit him into caste. In the matter of inter-marriage, Balaji Bajirao set the example by himself marrying the daughter of a Deshastha Sowkar named Wakhare, in 1760. The Peshwas in Shahu's time issued order prohibiting alliances by way of marriages between second cousins, that is, the children of brothers and sisters, which practice seems then to have been in vogue in Konkan, and is possibly continued to this day in many castes. The point to be regarded in all these instances is not to be estimated by the actual success achieved, but by the fact that these native rulers interested themselves in these matters, and showed considerable liberality in the orders issued by them to correct existing social evils. The right of the State to interfere in such matters was broadly claimed in one of these orders, when it was directed that when the Subha had ordered the exclusion of any person from his caste, the members of the caste had no right to take on themselves to set the order aside without reference to the Dewan, that is, to the State or the Central Authorities. In the case of those castes where ordinary punishments could not be inflicted by reason of their being Brahmins, or otherwise, the authorities under the Peshwa showed considerable skill in supplementing the more lenient and civil penalty by the employment of religious penances and fines. And it was in this connection that the order noted above was issued.

These brief notices of the social regulations attempted under the Maratha rulers with a view to promote the admission of converts, the practice of inter-marriage, the prohibition of the sale of girls, the enforcement of temperance, their policy in permitting second gift of girls informally married or engaged by force or fraud, and the claim made by them to control the action of the castes and their independence, and the enforcement of equality in the treatment of different castes, all these afford clear indications, that social reform was not a subject about which the native rulers were indifferent. They strengthen the view which the late Hon'ble Mr. Justice Telang first advocated in his 'Gleanings from the Bakhars,' that in this respect these rulers showed greater moral courage and liberality of sentiment than people are at present disposed to give them credit for, and that the advantages of English education may well be regarded as too dearly purchased, if our people, in this respect, show a more retrograde tendency or greater weakness of the moral fibre than commended itself to our ancestors only a hundred years ago. These notes on the Peshwa's Diary may fitly conclude here.

The administration of the Peshwas compares favourably with that of the best Hindu or Mahomedan rulers of the time. It was wanting, certainly, in the higher statesmanship of Akbar or Shiwaji, and it had the germs of its own dissolution implanted in it. Its fall was doomed when it lost touch of these higher traditions, and had to fight the race of life with a stronger power. But for the time it lasted the Government of the country was wisely and honestly administered on the whole, excluding, of course, the periods when internal dissensions disturbed the public peace. The hidden tendencies of caste exclusiveness and sacerdotal pride soon began to manifest themselves, and to this was joined an utter incapacity to realize the claim of a higher civilization and to study the development of the arts and sciences, and the advantages of a liberal social polity, and a purer religion. Our failure to realize this higher life brought on the final collapse long before any outside influences were brought to operate upon us. This seems to be the moral which the study of these papers is fitly calculated to teach the inquirer into our past history, and it will be well if all of our writers and publicists would take that lesson to heart, and profit by it.