OUR MAHĀBHĀRATA WORK

A RETROSPECT AND A PROSPECT

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[The following paper was read at the meeting of the Institute held on 30th November 1920 under the presidentship of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar to welcome Dr. F. W. Thomas, M.A., Ph. D., of the India Office Library.]

Taking advantage of the presence in our midst of the distinguished visitor of this evening, who is also very easily one of the foremost Orientalists of the West of the present day, I have been charged with presenting a brief statement regarding the progress of our Mahābhārata work, its outlook, the difficulties likely to be encountered, and the results likely to be achieved. This behest it is my duty and pleasure to follow to the best of my abilities.

It is now for about two years that work is being done here on the Pant Pratinidhi Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*. The circumstances which led to the inception of the scheme, and the main support that led to the Institute's accepting the task, are now well known to all. A critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* had been one of the greatest wants of Sanskrit philology: recognising this, a scheme was evolved in Europe as far back as 1901 for an edition of the type wanted. And though the original idea seems to have been to aim at a critical edition of the epic in its Southern recension (which was then believed to contain a purer and better text than the current Nāgarī one,) still it is to be presumed that the idea soon gave way to that of a critical edition as such without confining to any one recension. Work was evidently being done in this direction till late when it was abruptly put a stop to by unforeseen circumstances. This in brief is how matters are generally understood to be with regard to the project of the European edition of the *Mahābhārata*. And a reference has been made to it only because our distinguished visitor was

one of the scholars intimately connected with that edition, and so he may favour us with advice and directions, both of an editorial and general nature, and thus we may learn out of his great experience and deep learning. It is also hoped that he could indicate ways and means whereby a co-operation between the two editions could be brought about, and thus a duplication of work and energy avoided.

Coming nearer home, the work we have so far accomplished may be indicated in a few sentences:—We began with the second (Sabhā-) parvan of the epic. In all fourteen MSS. have been utilised in collating, of which five however were after they were collated for about thirteen Adhyāyas discovered to be exactly similar to each other, and were therefore with the exception of one no longer collated. Many of these MSS. belong to the Nāgarī group, and the rest to the Devanāgarī. We have in our Library a Kashmir Bhūrja MS. in Śāradā characters, containing the first three books of the Mbh, only the middle one of which is complete. A transcript in Devanāgarī of this valuable MS. is also being secured. After Sabhāparvan, we took up another small book viz. the Virāṭaparvan. This is also finished and we have before us the collation of eleven MSS., both of the Nāgarī and the Devanāgarī groups. And, lastly, as the first two Adhyāyās of the Ādiparvan have a value of their own, these two chapters have been collated from six MSS. as above, and the Mahābhārata Committee have recently decided that the Ādiparvan should be now worked on. This is being done. In short, we have secured the collation of close upon six thousand verses from about thirty MSS., mostly independent of each other, although belonging to the Nāgarī and the Devanāgarī group mainly.

It has also been decided that a tentative edition of the Virāṭaparvan on the basis of the collation secured here and also on that of a few select Bengali, Grantha and Telugu MSS. and the already existing editions should be issued forthwith. This edition would serve a double purpose: it would enable scholars to offer suggestions for our final work, and would also enable them to properly

evaluate and put into the right perspective the almost huge mass of manuscript and other critical material to be dealt with in each of the different parvans of the epic. This tentative edition will exhibit the application of the general as well as the special critical principles evolving or likely to evolve from the ever increasing evidence of the MSS. of the Mbh. Most of the preliminary arrangements for this tentative work are finished, and the edition itself should be out by the middle of the next year. It must in no case be supposed that this or our final edition would be more or less for popular consumption or that it would represent any one particular recension only. On the other hand, while we are not oblivious to the stupendous nature of our work, our aim has ever been and shall ever be to make our edition as critical and as scientific as is possible by giving due weight to the MS. evidence and to each of the recensions, and any attempt tending towards a lowering of the ideal would be stoutly deprecated.

There is another direction too in which work is being steadily followed. The first essential of a critical edition of any work is to know beforehand all the available material in the form of MSS. and previous editions, as also other testimonia. This task is all the more necessary in the case of the Mbh., because many of the editions have been more or less a replica of the *editio princeps*, and in the case of this last, we have no very definite information as to the nature and number of the MSS. utilised in bringing it out, or the methed followed in its preparation, and we are left to our own conjectures as to what these might have been. Apart from this however, the first task with regard to our edition was to know what and how many and where are the MSS. available, and in a paper submitted to our Mahābhārata Editorial Committee, all this information as based on Aufrecht's Catalogues was collected together and presented in the form of tables. The MSS. of the poem as a whole, and also of each single parvan separately, have been tabulated according to the Libraries where they are deposited in India and abroad *and according to the scripts in which*

the MSS. are written. The immensity of the mass of the MSS. of the text only of the epic may be judged from the fact that in the different libraries in India there are 76 MSS. of the Ādiparvan: 43 in Devanāgarī characters of which 12 are here with us, 17 at Tanjore, 6 at Calcutta and the rest scattered; 12 in Telugu, 8 in Grantha, 9 in Kairali, and 1 in Dravidi characters; 2 in Bengali and 1 in Śāradā characters (with us); i.e. 43 represent the Nāgarī and the Devanāgarī recension., 30 the Southern recension, 2 Bengali and 1 Kashmir. Śāntiparvan exists in 92 Devanāgarī and Nāgarī MSS., 7 Telugu, 6 Dravidi 9 Grantha and 2 Kairali MSS., 4 Bengali MSS. and 2 Maithila i. e. in all in 122 MSS. of the different recensions. Svargārohaṇa has the least No. of MSS. viz, 35 in all—26 in Nāgarī and Deva., 6 Telugu, 2 Grantha and 1 Bengali. Virāṭa exists in 72 MSS., 44 Nāgarī and Devanāgarī, 9 Gr., 4 Kairali, 5 Telugu, 1, Kashmir (modern letters) and 9 Bengali: and Sabhā, in 66 MSS., 42, Nāgarī, 9 Telugu, 1 Gr., 2 Kairali, 3 Dravidi 2 Kashmir, 3 Newari, 1 Maithili and 3 Bengali MSS. It is to be remembered that all these MSS. are in India and that to these have to be added the MSS. existing in the several European Libraries (whose number calculated by books comes to about three hundred.)

The figures quoted above would serve to bring before us one aspect of the Mahābhārata question in its proper immensity and diversity,—I mean the question of the manuscript material to be dealt with. Many of these MSS. may be mere copies and exactly alike and so could safely be left aside, but before we can do this, we must have at least examined them and satisfied ourselves regarding their nature. Under these circumstances and with proper safeguards, a process of selection from each of the recensions may not be at variance with the rigid requirements of a scientific edition. In any case however, this question of the immensity of the manuscript material must be encountered at the very threshold of our labours, and a satisfactory solution of the problem arrived at in the beginning. Advice from authoritative quarters is earnestly to be desired in this matter. While on

this subject of the existing MSS. of the epic, reference may as well be made to another of our difficulties: viz. that of securing the MSS. themselves or copies and collations of MSS. existing in the different libraries of Europe. Surely the learned Librarian of one of the most important of those libraries would be in a position to advise us how best to deal with those in his charge as also those known to exist in the different Continental libraries.

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It may now be naturally asked as to whether the work which we have so far been able to accomplish can form the basis of any sound and reasonable conclusions, tentative or otherwise, or whether it is simply a matter of wearily collating and comparing one MS. after another, without any new light being thrown on the numerous problems arising out of the present text of our ancient epic. The answer to this question is, as I hope to be able to make clear immediately below, full of great promises and encouragement. To begin with, it may be said that one need have no hesitation in categorically asserting that our MS. evidence—and it is no small or insufficient one—discountenances the suspicion that after all there may be no definitive text of the Mbh. as such, and that each MS may contain a variant text of the epic. There *is* a definitive text of the Mbh., though indeed this text has received vast accretions. And this must generally be regarded as true not only as between the MSS. of one recension only, but also as between one recension and another.

In order to realise the full significance of the results issuing from the work we have so far put in, it is necessary to call back to our mind our present position and our mental attitude with regard to the current text of the Mbh. It is in short this:—(1) In the first place we feel that in many places the text has become corrupt; individual readings as they stand at present in our printed text give no good sense and even no sense at all. (2) And then, secondly, we feel that almost in every Adhyāya of the text, there have been interpolated lines and passages, and

in some places, even whole Adhyāyas. (3) Then there are also repetitions and transpositions of passages, the former being sometimes in the same book and sometimes in different books. Our attitude towards the Mbh. text is therefore one of dissatisfaction, suspicion, and protesting submission. This is of course due to the conditions in which our present texts were published. And the prevailing confusion is heightened when one turns to the different realities of the text itself. Fortunately for one aspect of the Mbh. text criticism, the work has a detailed table of contents added on to it in the second Adhyāya of the Ādiparvan, and the first Adhyāya of that book which seems to be older of the two, is also of historically great importance in retracing the earlier history of the text. The statements in this second Adh. tell us what the number of Adhyāyas and the total number of verses are for each of the eighteen books of the epic separately (and in this matter differ from the statement of the sister epic *Rāmāyaṇa*, which enumerates in its Bālakāṇḍa, 4th sarga v 2 ff. the total number of the sargas in all the books together and the total number of verses of the whole poem.) Now confining our attention to the Mbh. only, we find to our bewilderment that the statements of the poem itself as found in our table of contents mostly disagree with the text as printed.[1] We cannot now ignore the fact that these tables of contents also partake of the common distrust regarding the authenticity of the Mbh. text in general. Bearing this disqualification of theirs in mind, it must generally be admitted that this statement is a very valuable critical means, I would even say, a means of the highest importance, and also of great antiquity in settling the external form and the extent of the poem, in as satisfactory a manner as is possible under the circumstances. It is of course well known to the Mahābhārata students that Bühler long ago succeeded in establishing the acquaintance of Kumārila (circa 700 A. D.) with the first and the second Adhyāyas of the

[1] Compare for instance the comparative table printed at the end in Jacobi's *Das Mahābhārata*, or more recently in C. V. Vaidya's Marathi *Upasaṃhāra*, or his *Mahābhārata: a Criticism*.

Ādiparvan (i.e. with the Anukramaṇikādhyāya and the Parvasaṅgrahaparvan, the two tables of contents with which we are immediately concerned. [Bühler, *Contributions to the History of the Mbh.* 1892, p. 9 and p. 20 ff. .]

Now, the next factor in the Mbh. text question is this:—We have printed texts which diverge widely—and sometimes wildly too—from the statements of the Parvasaṅgrahaparvan. To take concrete instances: our present Parvasaṅgrahādhyāya in both the Nāgarī and the Southern recensions says that in the case of the Sabhāparvan, the total no. of Adhyāyas is seventy-eight and the number of vv. 2511. The Nāgarī texts have eighty-one Adhyāyas and 2710 vv. The Kumbhakonum text as representative of the Southern recension has 103 Adhs. and 4367 vv. It ought to be emphasised in passing that this Kumbhakonum edition (= K) has to be regarded as a faithful representation of the Southern recension. In the case of the Sabhā and the Virāṭa parvans, its utility as a very reliable Southern text of the Mbh. can be easily established by comparing that edition with what European scholars[1] had said and written on independent grounds about these two parvans in the Southern recension even before K appeared. To take one more instance only to show our critical position. Our present Parvasaṅgrahādhyāya text in Nāgarī and Southern recensions lays down 67 Adhs. and 2050 vv. for the Virāṭa. As against this, our Nāgarī editions have 71 Adhs. and 2274 verses in G. K. and 2331 verses in C., and the Southern Kumbhakonum edition has 78 Adhs. and 3494 vv. We rightly stand aghast and are justifiably confused in the presence of such a state of things:—In the case of Sabhā, the number of Adhs. and vv. has increased by 3 and 200 on the present evidence of Nāgarī texts, and on that of the south by 25 Adhs. and 1856 vv. In the case of Virāṭa, the increase is of 4 adh. and 224 vv. in the Nāgarī, and 11 Adhs. and 1444 vv. in the southern editions. Can this almost

[1] Winternitz in Verhandlungen of the Thirteenth Oriental Congress, (1902) p. 30, Die Sabhāparvan in Südindischen Rezension; and Lüders in his *Grantha Recension des Mahābhārata* (1901), passim.

painful situation be relieved? On behalf of this Institute and the Mahābhārata Committee, it can be claimed that a very promising yes can be given to this question, and this in the following way:—

The text of the statement in the Parvasaṅgraha regarding the number of the Adhs. and the vv. is collated from independent MSS. and can be after scrutiny fixed as amounting to 67 adhs. and 2050 vv. for the Virāṭa (as in the present Nāgarī and Southern texts of I, 2.) the only variations found being पञ्चशतानि in two of our MSS. instead of पञ्चाशदेव तु. The latter is the reading of what might be regarded as our best MSS.; and so we may regard 67 adhs. and 2050 vv. as the verified and well-attested traditional number. In the case of the Parvasaṅgraha statement regarding the numbers of the Sabhāparvan, our best MSS. warrant us in regarding 72 (instead of seventy-eight) as the certified traditional number of the Adhyāyas, and 2511 as that of the verses. In the case of these two parvans at least the corrected standard should be:—

	Adhyāyas		Verses
Sabhā	72	and	2511
Virāṭa	67		2050
as against the present Parvasaṅgraha statement			
Sabhā	78	and	2511
Virāṭa	67		2050
and as against the Nāgarī printed texts			
Sabhā	81		2710
Virāṭa	71	and	2274 of G. K. or 2331 of C.

Now with regard to the Virāṭaparvan when the collation work was finished, a paper was submitted to the Mbh. Committee containing a statement, summing up the results. The statement showed that excluding, i.e. without taking any account of, accidental omissions and omissions caused by Haplography or other external reasons, as many as 214 verses, belonging to the different Adhs. are found wanting in a group of four independent Nāgarī MSS., and

that the same group of MSS. preserves an arrangement[1] of the Adhyāyas, which by fusion reduces their number and brings it down to the well-attested statement in the matter, *viz.* 67. The Nāgarī G. K. edition has in all 2274 vv. for the Virāṭaparvan: if we deduct the 214 vv. which are absent in these our best and oldest MSS. we arrive at 2060 vv. as remaining, which is just too much by ten over our certified number of vv., and it is certain that these ten vv. could also be omitted in the final rewriting of the text, as single lines have not been included in the two hundred and fourteen verses referred to above, and the numbering of the verses in G. K. is at places uncertain and misleading. In the case of each one of these 214 vv. any one can satisfy himself that they can safely be omitted from the text without breaking the context, and exceptional arguments would be required to prove, after the discovery of this MS. evidence, discrediting their existence in any critical text, that they should still be regarded as an integral part of the original text. An exact approximation to the true traditional number, *viz.* 67 adh. and 2050 vv. may therefore be confidently expected in the case of the Virāṭaparvan.

Equally encouraging has been the result of a similar investigation of the Sabhāparvan. Taking 72 adhys. and 2511 vv. as the true norm, the first problem is to explain the present Nāgarī 81 adhys. and 2710 vv. I submit to-day a statement[2] of the vv. of this parvan, Adh. by Adh. which are found wanting in a group of our MSS. The vv. which thus fall away on manuscriptional evidence are about 200. In no single case, can it be urged that the omission was accidental or due to the usual clerical and external causes. All such cases have been rigourously excluded in this as in the other parvan. And so in the case of the Sabhāparvan too we may claim to have made an exact approximation to the traditional number. It ought to be emphasised that in no case can these results be called a frantic attempt to cut down the text to any

1 Printed at the end of this paper.

2 Printed at the end of this paper.

arbitary standard, or a forceful approximation to a self-imposed limit: the Parvasaṅgraha is no such thing. Subjective standards, even if they are to be tolerated in such matters seem thus to become doubly superfluous in judging of suspected interpolations in our text. It may take too much time to treat of every case of the omissions in the Sabhāparvan. Suffice it to mention that among the omissions are the following: one whole Adh. *viz.* G. K. 46 which treats of the sudden appearance of Vyāsa at Yudhiṣṭhira's court after the Rājasūya is over, when the latter at once asks him after the customary worship the meaning of evil omens and Vyāsa tells him that the omens mean the सर्वक्षत्रविनाश at the end of thirteen years. The Adh. is set in between the narration of the doings of Duryodhana in Yudhiṣṭhira's court. To our delight we also find that the whole of this Adh. is wanting in the Kashmir Śaradā MS. of the Sabhāparvan referred to above, and that other omissions discovered in our present Nāgarī MSS. of this parvan are being supported by corresponding omissions in the Śāradā MS. where it has been consulted. Finally the evidence of this group of MSS. makes the total No. of Adhs. 72 (as against the present 81), the former number being what is warranted by the best MSS. of this parvan. On a former occasion (ABI. Vol I, p. 145 f). I had pointed out the omissions occurring in the text of these MSS. as compared with our current text of this parvan. Most of these omissions are now discovered to occur in the Śāradā MS. of this parvan. This MS. also does not contain the catalogue of Nārada's attributes referred to in the above paper (p. 151). When we now remember that these MSS. are in other respects a safe guide (as in the matter of the total number of adhyāyas and verses) we can certainly hope for a satisfactory settlement of many of the *Mahābhārata* text problems.

Another significant omission is G. K. II. 68.40-45. These vv. contain the implications of Draupadī addressed to Kṛṣṇa to come and relieve her from her distressing situation. They contain such epithets as गोपीजनप्रिय, व्रजनाथ and epithets which identify

Kṛṣṇa with the lord of the universe. The happy conjecture regarding the interpolated nature of this passage made by Farquhar in his quite recently published book *Outlines of the Religious Literature of India*. (p. 100, fn 6) is thus borne out by MS. evidence.

The third parvan with which we have partly busied ourselves in the Ādiparvan. As stated above, we have before us the collation of the first two Adhys. from six independent MSS., and here also there is something interesting and almost new to learn. Of course, it ought to be remembered that we are dealing with the text of the first two Adhyāyas only. One of the greatest surprises to the present writer at least has been that the Gaṇeśa episode in the first Adh. of this parvan (vv. 55-94, inclusive) which Winternitz long ago had proved to be *partially* wanting in a South-Indian MS. and therefore as being probably a later addition to the text, is now discovered to be wanting in its *entirety* in three Nāgarī MSS. also, and in one MS. it comes to be incorporated later (after evidently comparing with some other MS. containing that episode) as the writer distinctly says where the text commences that there is अत्र नवीनं शोधपत्रं and begins on a new page. (For Winternitz on the Gaṇeśa episode, see IA., 1898 p. 72 ff. Winternitz's MS. contains the ब्रह्मा-episode but not the Gaṇeśa; our MSS. omit both the incidents.) Though the history of the Gaṇeśa cult and more especially his being Vyāsa's scribe thus gain in interest and importance, and though Bühler in reply to Winternitz had argued (in vain, as our new evidence now shows) that the Gaṇeśa episode was referred to by Al-beruni in his account of the Mbh. (Sacchau's *Alberuni's India*, Trübner's Oriental Series, English Trans. 1914, p. 134), we may lay the question aside and see what bearing the omission of the story has on our Mbh. question. Well, to begin with, it appears that we have to give the go-by to the hypothesis of an original nucleus of the Mbh. of 8800 vv. as laid down by Macdonell and Weber. If closely examined these 8800 vv. turn out to be the puzzles or difficult verses composed by Vyāsa with the object of giving a breathing time, so to say, to Gaṇeśa (and also to himself), the previous

stipulation between the two being that the elephant-trunked God was to write nothing the meaning of which he did not understand: and so while the deity stopped to grasp the meaning of the puzzles, Vyāsa also found time to compose additional verses. In the second place the non-authenticity of the passage necessitates that no reliance can be placed on, and no sound conclusions can be drawn from the enumeration (and also the non-enumeration) of the different parvans of the epic in v.v. 87 ff. of this Adh., as was formerly done (e.g. by Hopkins in AJP. Vol. XX p. 5). These verses contain the metaphor of the Bhārata-tree, and mention its seed, root, branches, &c., &c. If the hypothesis of a 8800 verses-Mbh. goes away, we are left with a Bhārata and a Mahābhārata of 24,000, and a Śatasāhasrī verses, the two works being what are referred to by Āśvalāyana.

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I have now done one part of my work. I am conscious that in the preceding notes which I have placed before this meeting no reference has been made to other and equally important aspects of our work. Numerous better readings and a purer text where the present readings and passages are found to be corrupt are slowly being discovered: palpable repetitions in the text are vanishing on the evidence of MSS., and in general the whole outlook for a restoration of the Mbh. text seems bright and promising.

There are many other questions of a general nature which it would have been a pleasure to refer to here. For instance, there is the question of the restoration of the archetype of a work which is the ultimate object of all critical labours: then there is the question of different recensions of our poem and the essential conditions which must be satisfied before a recension is postulated. With regard to the former of these two questions, we shall have, as it appears, to distinguish between classical works (such as for instance Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala*) and works like the *Mbh.*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the Purāṇas. In the case of the former, the

work is launched on the world as the finished and written product of a single author. But in the latter case, the works and their contents must be supposed to have continued long in the memory and the mouths of particular persons, and, when the art of writing came into greater vogue, to have been committed to writing, but not by all persons able to recite them coming together and sitting at a round table to make one whole of the different pieces and agreeing to follow one particular line of reading, but by different persons in different parts of the country putting them down as best as they knew. Under these conditions the work starts on its further existence in different forms. Of course this is not a new argument. This process has been recognized as valid in such cases by Jacobi (in his *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 8) with regard to the growth of that epic.

But the treatment of such questions would take us all beyond the time at our disposal, and I shall finish by briefly summarizing certain ideas suggested by the Javanese version of the Virāṭa-parvan. These had formed the subject of a paper read before our Committee about a month ago, and they are here alluded to because it is felt that we have secured a valuable proof regarding the degree of reliability, and the age of the line of the Nāgarī MSS. and of the Kashmir recension, the result of the examination and collation of which has been indicated above.

ON THE JAVANESE VERSION OF THE VIRĀṬAPARVAN.

One of the most valuable pieces of testimonia enabling us to judge and decide about the text of the Mbh. is the Javanese translation of the epic effected about 1000 A.D., and the following observations have been suggested by a comparison and study of the Javanese version of the Virāṭaparvan. As regards the Javanese version of the Virāṭaparvan, it is of course known that the whole of that version has been edited by Dr. H. H. Juynboll in 1912 from nine MSS. (henceforward designated by J.) The peculiarity of this version, and considered from our point of view, a very valuable and almost unique advantage of this version is

that though the story has been preponderatingly given in the old Kavi language, still a large number of original verses or single lines or half lines are quoted very often, and in the prose narration itself, Sanskrit words and phrases recur very frequently. This together with the aid offered by proper nouns, which have remained intact in the translation, enables one, even though unfamiliar with the Kavi dialect, to compare the march of the story itself, and, what is more pertinent to our present purpose, to compare the condition, in which the text of some verses at least was at an exactly ascertained date in that far-off land.

There have been preserved thus in the Javanese recension about 130 (one hundred and thirty) quotations. These consist of whole verses and in a few cases of single lines and of half lines. The learned editor of that work has also added notes pointing out the corresponding passages from the Sanskrit text, the edition he used being the *editio princeps* (Calcutta, 1834-39 = C). In a few cases, the Sanskrit passages in J. do not agree quite verbally, but the resemblance in sense is too plain to be mistaken, which also Dr. Juynboll has pointed out. In about 100 cases the verses have been thus already identified. In about thirty cases however, the Sanskrit verses quoted in J. have not been found in C., and the editor has had in each case to append a foot-note to the effect that the particular verse or line is wanting in the Sanskrit text, i.e. in our C. It is these unidentified verses or lines which have formed the basis of my observations offered below. If these observations are correct, we shall have satisfactorily revealed to us an important, but up to now dark, chapter in the history of the Mahābhārata text, as already said.

The Javanese Virāṭaparvan is a unique work in this respect also that it bears and has preserved the exact year in which it was translated into the old Kavi language (see Dr. Juynboll's Voorrede, p. 3 and foot-note 6 on p. 97 of the text.) The year in which the Sanskrit Virāṭaparvan was translated into the Kavi language is thus on the statements of the translator himself, Śaka 918 = 996 A.D. Other parts of the *Mahābhārata* seem to

have been translated at about the same time (cf. Weber. His. of Sk. Lit., p. 318); other scholars take the event a century later (cf. Labberton, JRAS., 1913, p. 4, in speaking of the Javanese Ādiparvan). All the same this date (1000 A.D.) when the Javanese translation of the Virāṭaparva was executed, can be turned to good purposes in determining the earlier stages in the formation, or more correctly in the corruption, of the text of the *Mahābhārata*.

I now pass to the consideration of some of the verses and lines in J which its editor could not trace or identify in the Nāgarī C. I may at once begin by saying that (*a*) Most of the passages which remain unidentified in J have now been found to exist in the Southern recension as embodied in the Kumbhakonum edition (=K), and also that (*b*) most of the passages in J which were already identified in C (and therefore in G. K. also) are also to be found in K, though in a slightly different form and (*c*) there are a very few cases where the vv. in J cannot be found either in K or N (G. K and C).

To illustrate these statements in order:—

(1) J, p. 21, has the verse.

मातलिरेव देवपतेः।
दशरथनृपते सुमन्त्रो यन्ता ॥
सोह इव जामदग्न्यस्य।
तथा च ते शिक्षयिष्याम्यश्वान् ॥

This verse, the foot-note tells us, is wanting in the Skr. text: yes, but only in the Nāgarī texts. It is found almost verbatim in K. IV. 12. 11 reading in second line सुमन्त्र इव यन्ता, सुमह for सोह in third & एव for च in fourth(=Lüders *Grantha Recension*, 11, 11 reading the third line as सुहोत्र इव जमदग्नेः ॥ and the metre is made regular.)

(2) J. p. 22 one whole verse.

आगतं राजमल्लेन कृत्स्ने भूमुवमण्डले।
सिंहव्याघ्रगजावापि क्रीडन्ति विद्धि भूतले ॥

not in Nāgarī Edns. but is to be had in our K. (IV. 15, 22) with slight variations but regular metre.

(3) J. p 29 one whole verse

केचित्प्राशंसन् तां वधूं केचित् निन्दति कीचकम् ।
केचिस् निन्दन्ति विराटं केचिद् देवीं च ते नराः ॥

a verse not in Nāgarī, but in K. (IV. 21. 31) with variation and regular metre.

(4) J. p. 31

भवे कुण्डन्न हन्यास्त्वं ग्रीवाबद्धा जले स्त्रिये ॥
विषम् आलोड्य पास्यामि प्रवेक्ष्याम्यथवानलम् ॥

is found in K (22. 40). The words भवे कुण्डन् are however meaningless & K has instead कीचकं चेन्न. Perhaps J has drawn on the words from the preceding verse which in K is अग्निकुण्डात् समुद्भूता &c. This statement with slight variations is repeated thrice in K. In N, where it occurs only once, b^1 becomes a^1 with मा कीचक वशं गमम् as a^2, & the second line is श्रेयो हि मरणं मह्यं भीमसेन तवाग्रतः

(5) (J. p. 31) अस्त्रेणाङ्गंच भेत्स्यामि not in N, but is in K. 22. 41 with श for अ.

(6) The line बलं सर्वेषु भग्नंच etc. (J p. 49) = K. 35, 13.

(7) The passage दासोहं ते भविष्यामि पश्यमासानुकम्पयम् not in N but appears in K as ष्यामि पश्य मामनुकम्पया ।

(8) The passage वयंचार्जुन ते दासाः पणं पूर्वं च देवने ।

अनाथान् दुःखितान् etc.
त्यक्तास्त्रान् निराशान् चैव etc. (J. p. 82)
occurs in K, 68, 4 ff.
प्राणानन्तर्मनोयातान् प्रयाचिष्यामहे वयम् ।
वयं चार्जुन ते दासाः त्वमुरक्ष्याः त्वमाथक : ॥
अनाथान् दुःखितान् दीनान् कृशान् वृद्धान् पराजितान् ।
न्यस्तशस्त्रान् निराशान् वनाहंहन्मिकृताञ्जलीन् ॥

(9) J, p. 86 दिष्ट्या च निर्जिताः गावः कुरवश्च पराजिताः etc. = K 70. 21 but nothing to correspond to the scene in Nāgarī.

(10) J. p. 88 पूजनीयो भवेद्यश्च = K 72. 16 not in N however.

(11) J. p. 90 तस्मै दास्यामि etc. = ? K 73. 64.

(12) J. p. 92 चन्द्रकान्तिः etc. = K. 74. 18, 19 (generally)

(13) J. p. 94 अपि वृद्धः etc. = K. 77. 2.

(14) J.,, अतिविश्वासदा =? K. 77. 8.

(15) J. p. 96. पारे वाहम् =K. 78. 27.

Illustrations of *b and c* above

(1) The verse containing Virāṭa's question & Yudhiṣṭhira's reply (J. p. 17) agree more with Nāgarī texts than with K. In this last the sentences have been spread out over a number of vv., showing a further stage of additions.

(2) So also the v. जयतीन्दुं मुखं तस्याः (J. p. 19) has no counterpart in K. It is not to be found in the Nāgarī texts too.

(3) J. p. 27 (तपोयज्ञं साधयन्ती) has only a general resemblance in N. & K., being repeated twice in N. (15. 18. and 16. 6) but occurring only once in K (18. 55).

(3 a) J. p. 32 महाङ्कं सोपशासनम not to be found in K.

(4) J. p. 34 last four lines a little transformed in K (24. 45 ff) but preserved with addition of a line in the J form in Nāgarī.

(5) J. p. 35. The v. does not occur either in K or N at the place indicated but at a different place & in a difierent form.

(6) (J. 45) The two vv. on Daṇḍanīti are not in K either.

(7) J. p. 97 एवं रथोद्भवागारे or not in K either.

It may be added that there is one case found in this parvan, where the verse or line exists in J & Nāgarī printed texts but has been found wanting in K. It is J. p. 19 last line सैरन्ध्री तु भुजिष्यास्मि etc. which remains in tact in N & J but is turned into सैरन्ध्री नाम मे जातिर्वैन्यमूलफलाशना in K. The other case where K has preserved a verse as in J & N. but in a very amplified & diluted form has been referred to above.

It would thus be seen that most, though not indeed all, of the passages which remained unidentified on the basis of the Nāgarī text of the Mbh. can now be identified in the Southern recension of the epic. My object in drawing your attention to this fact is not to-day however merely critical, i.e. to show whether the passages agree in their readings and in their sequence, &c. In

this aspect of theirs, they are extremely valuable, and any future editor of the Virāṭaparvan and indeed of all parvans, where these have been fortunately preserved for us in their Javanese garb,—will have to utilize this invaluable aid to its utmost capacity. But my purpose to-day is something different.—It is this.

We know it now as an indisputable fact that the Virāṭaparvan was translated into Javanese in 1000 A.D. The identification of these striking vv. from J which has been attempted above makes it very probable—nay almost certain—that it was the Southern Recension of the Mbh. that the Javanese translator had before him. Otherwise how are we to account for the fact that the translator has quoted a number of verses which are altogether absent from our Nāgarī printed texts—and as we are now enabled to see in a large number of Nāgarī MSS. too—these particular verses being found preserved intact in the Southern Recension only? This conclusion is therefore inevitable that the Virāṭaparvan that was taken over to Java was the Virāṭa not of the Nāgarī Recension but of the Southern Recension, and also that the epic that went over to Java was of the Southern Recension.

The question has often been raised before as to what recension of the Mbh. was taken over to Java (See JRAS. 1913, p. 22). Labberton whom I have referred to above regarded this as still an open question then, though he did not agree with the view that the Mbh. might have been taken over in its Kashmir or at least North Western recension. This writer had himself offered an examination of the Javanese Śākuntala episode and of the geneological chapters from the Ādiparvan, but it seems to me that his examination did not lead to any definite results, because the Śākuntala episode contains very few verses quoted from the original, these latter being by their very nature more to be relied upon than mere stray words such as **कामशर, क्रोध, सिद्धिमन्त्र** &c.

This question of recensions is also intimately connected with the question as to from what part of India—Northern or

Southern—did the migration to Java take place. I merely refer to this question here and to the question of the date of the migration. These questions do not seem to have advanced nearer solution than where they were in 1887 (see R. G. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS. Vol. 17, A Sk. Inscription from Central Java). It appears that the migration took place from both the parts of India. The peninsula of Cambodia, from where we have an inscription (dated C. 600 A.D.) stating that copies of the *Mbh.* and *Rāmāyaṇa* and of an unnamed Purāṇa were presented to a temple and arrangements made for their daily recitation in perpetuity, was colonised by emigrants from South India, as the inscriptions in that Colony are in South Indian characters (Bühler, *Contributions to the History of the Mbh.* p. 25; Bhandarkar l.c.)

Be this as it may, it follows from the evidence of the Javanese Virāṭaparvan, that it was its South Indian recension that was translated in 1000 A.D. Other important conclusions can now be drawn. (1) The present inflated Southern Recension was already in existence before 1000 A.D. This recension contains passages and presumably adhyāyas unknown in Northern texts and MSS. (2) This southern recension has since then even undergone a few modifications and additions. Thus in the scene concerning Yudhiṣṭhira's appearance at the court. These two stages might provisionally be designated as S^1 and S^2.

What is the relation of our Nāgarī texts and MSS. as between themselves? Here an interesting and important question confronts us. I begin by giving a concrete instance. Take G. K. IV 14, vv. 12 to 31, a group of twenty vv. These occur in G. K., C. and some of our Nāgarī MSS., but are absent from 4 of our MSS. 1, 6, 8, 10. They are a group of verses containing erotic matter, addressed by Kīcaka to Draupadī, and are inserted between verses in a different metre. They also contain such rhetoric as आत्मप्रदानवर्षेण सम्भोगाम्भोधरेणच &c. (vv. 25, 26 ff). These vv. were, apart from the MSS.

evidence now forthcoming, already suspected to be late additions (compare Hopkins, Great Epic p. 206).

It may also be added that at least 2 vv. of this group are now discovered to exist with almost full verbal agreement in the sister epic (*Rāmāyaṇa* of the C Recension III 46.17 to 23 = Mbh. G.K. IV 14.12-20) and that the two passages here indicated have a very general resemblance in their phraseology.

Our position is therefore this:—J, Nāgarī and Southern agree in having a particular passage; however a group of independent MSS. has not this passage. As we cannot presume that this passage must have been omitted purposefully in these MSS., it is evident that the MSS. which have not this passage belong to a line of the text tradition earlier and also purer than J. which bears evidence to the existence of this passage in its body and whose date we know for certain to be 1000 A.D.

The same thing can be expressed in another way. In the Northern recension itself there are two lines of the text transmission: one is the lower one represented by our present printed texts: which I would designate N^2; the other represented by our group of four MSS. whose collation we have before us, $=N^1$. The difference between these two traditions is again mainly one of additional verses: i.e. some MSS. do not have (and these MSS. are some of the oldest we possess) verses which we have first (1) in our printed Nāgarī texts, then (2) in the Southern Recension and (3) in the J recension. It is therefore clear that the process of adding up verses must have begun very much before 1000 A.D., the date of J., since J shows verses common in the Southern Recension, but absent from our Nāgarī texts. The order of the text therefore becomes* N^1, $N^1 + NI$, $= N^2$; $N^2 + SI = S^1$, $S^1 + SI = S^2$. I pass by the question as to where originated the verses in N^2 and S^1 which are to be regarded as additions as compared to N^1, whether in the North or in the South, and then found their way into the other. If now the date of S^1 be 1000A.D., what should be

* N = Northern, S = Southern, I = Interpolations.

the approximate date of N^2 and of N^1? We must remember that S^1 has verses which N^2 has not, but all the same it was completed by about 1000 A.D. Allowing two to three hundred years for S^1 being formed out of the material of N^2, the lowest limit of N^2 comes to about 700 to 800 A.D., and postulating a similar period for N^2 being developed out of N^1, we arrive at about 500 A.D. as the period of the text of the Mbh. as preserved in our present MSS. N^1.

To sum up, all this means that the text as directly preserved in one line of its transmission, i.e. in one group of the Manuscripts themselves goes back to at least 500 A.D. I mean the authenticity of the text of the class of MSS. to which some of those here utilized belong, can be taken back to this period, and that the text preserved in them may be taken as faithful for that period at least, and to have been transmitted without much accretion setting in. Four successive stages can also be postulated in the growth of the text, designated here as N^1, N^2, S^1 and S^2, N^1 being what is preserved in the class of MSS. belonging to the Rajputana and Gujrat side (i.e. pure Northern Recension), N^2 being that added text which our present printed Nāgarī editions give us, S^1 being that highly inflated text which is vouched for by the Mediaeal Javanese Mbh. and S^2 being what our present K give us. I may add that the Nāgarī MSS. which we have collated (about 30 in all) do not till now quite decisively warrant us to absolutely postulate N^3, i.e. a Nāgarī text longer and more inflated than N^2, and also differing from S^1 or S^2. Evidence accumulates to enable us to lay down as the dates of the approximate formation of the successive strata, A.D. 500, 750, 1000, and lastly 1000 +.

I have only one more point to urge in this connection before I finish. If the line of argumentation here followed is sound and such as stands to reason, and, if the MSS. tradition which has been discovered in the case of three parvans at least is the correct one, (and the correctness of the tradition rests on the fact of the number of vv. and the number of Adhys. approaching

almost closely to those mentioned in the Parvasaṁgrahaparvan), and if the tradition reverts on independent grounds, to c. 500 A.D., we approach, in the history of the Mbh. text, a period not far removed from the time, when the existence of the Parvasaṁgrahaparvan itself is also vouchsafed for by other independent testimony, and we are in a position to say that we are thus gradually receding in the history of the Mbh. text to a period when it must have received its last form and come to be recognized in inscriptions as a शतसाहस्री work. This Parvasaṁgrahaparvan is in itself one of the latest parts of the Mbh. (cf. Hopkins, G.E., p. 398). But the word latest need not startle us. Hopkins says it must have been added on between the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.

The Parvasaṁgrahaparvan thus becomes, in the last resort, the final controlling factor, the sheet-anchor, in the restoration of the externals of the Mbh. text. Beyond that it is simply the Bhārata and the Mahābhārata of the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*[1] —of the twenty-four thousand and hundred thousand vv. respectively, as is also referred to in the first adh of the *Mbh.* as the चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्री संहिता and the इदं शतसहस्रं तु श्लोकानां पुण्यकर्मणा.

Be this as it may, to me at least it seems extremely gratifying that it has become possible to know of the existence of a purer line of Mbh. text tradition as evidenced by a small group of our MSS. reaching back to almost the beginning of the Christian era, and all honour to those causes which have set in motion the machinery for shedding this welcome light in the midst of the darkness, at least, the indistinctness that had enshrouded and still indeed largely covers the Mbh. problem.

I have now done—It must not however be supposed that we are unduly elated; least of all is the present writer. The difficulties in front of us and the work to be done are infinitely greater, and it is always better to look to what has still to be

[1] For the mention of the Mbh in this Sūtra, see the summary of the present writer's paper on the subject in the volume of the *Proceedings of the first Oriental Conference*, Poona, 1920.

accomplished than to what has been achieved. There is only one direction in which work has begun, I mean in the direction of the investigation of one recension only, the viz; Northern one. There is the whole field of Bengali MSS. untraversed, as also the still larger stock of MSS. of the Southern Recension, and more MSS. of the Nāgarī recension need be still examined. Then there are the commentaries—and more especially the older of them. There are one or two places in the Vīrāṭaparvan at least, where the proper reading could only be restored on the evidence of an old commentary. And after all this is accomplished, there is every likelihood of an obstinate remainder of corrupt passages or readings being left. Emendation in such cases will have naturally to come into operation and will then have its legitimate share with its proper limit and value.

In order that the lead thus given here by what our Library contained, may carry us nearer the desired end, we must simultaneously begin a systematic collation of the Bengali and other Northern MSS. and the Southern ones too. This is not possible with the limited funds at our disposal, and we earnestly hope that the visit of our distingnished guest may be the signal for still more funds being secured, and that before he leaves India, he may share with us the delight and the satisfaction of work being initiated in the other desired directions too.

A Note on the total number of the Adhyāyas in the Virāṭaparvan.

With regard to the Adhyāyas of this Parvan the Parvasaṅgraḥaparvan says अत्रापि परिसंख्याता अध्यायाः परमर्षिणा ॥ सप्तषष्टि रथो पूर्णाः.... i.e. it recognizes sixty-seven adhyāyas for the Virāṭa. The Nāgarī editions present seventy-two adhyāyas; the Kumbhakonum has swollen to as many as 78 adhs. The Parvasaṅgraha text quoted above is found to be borne out by the evidence of the five MSS. of the Ādiparvan at present being collated by us. We may therefore regard sixty-seven adhys. as a reliable ancient

enumeration: and this division of the Adhys. has been preserved in a number of MSS. as would be seen from the following:—

Our MSS. 1. 6, 10 & a Bengali MS. altogether omit G. K. Adh. 6 (Durgāstotra).

„ „ 1, 6, 8, 9, and 11 make the present G. K. Adhs. 16 and 17 into one Adhyāya.

„ „ 1, 6, 9, 11 similarly make up present G. K. Adhs. 28 and 29 into one Adhyāya.

All our MSS. except 3 make up G. K. adhs. 33 and 34 into one.

„ „ except 3, 4, 7 make up G. K. adhs. 40 and 41 into one.

MS. 1 makes up G. K. adh. 44 and 45 into one: (and from the very close affinity in text and other respects between our MS. 1 and MS. 6, we may presume MS. 6 to have done the same thing; only unfortunately the folio of this MS. at this place is wanting.) So much for combining Adhys. With regard to further splitting, our MSS. 1, 4, 6, 11 split the present G. K. adhyāya 13 into two adhyāyas at v. 13. We have therefore six adhyayas less and one adh. more to the present G. K. text: thus 72—6+1=67 adhyayas, the number enumerated by the Parvasaṁgraha and well certified by the testimony of MSS. Clearly enough, therefore, the line of MSS. tradition which so strikingly corresponds to the Parvasaṁgraha statement must be regarded as ancient, pure and reliable in so far as the externals of the epic are concerned. And, finally, any one can satisfy himself that the combining of two Adhyāyas into one and the splitting of the same into two, which the MSS. show do not offend against the march of events, or the general way of narration.

The Adhyāyas in the Sabhāparvan.

The same phenomena viz. the number of the adhyāyas in some MSS. agreeing with the statement of the Parvasaṁgrahaparvan, and thus warranting us to stamp the current Nāgarī number as inflated and vitiated is presented in an allied group of MSS. of the

Sabhāparvan. The present G. K. Parvasaṅgraha says with regard to the number of Adhys. of this Parvan that they are seventy-eight:

अध्याया: सप्ततिर्ज्ञेया तथा चाष्टौ प्रसङ्ख्यया । Two of our MSS. of the Adiparvan read the latter part of the line as द्वौ चात्र संख्यया. (=72) This latter enumeration is borne out by the evidence of a group of our MSS. of the Sabhāparvan itself, in the following manner:—

Our MSS.	2, 5, 11	make G. K.	Adhs	11 & 12	into one.
„ „	2, 5, 13, 14	„ „	„	18 & 19	„
„ „	1, 2, 3, 5, 14	„ „		25 & 26	„
„ „	1, 2, 14	omit „	Adh.	46 altogether	
„ „	1, 2, 3, 4, 5,	make „	Adhs	56 & 57	into one.
„ „	1, 2, 3, 5, 14	„ „	„	59 & 60	„ „
„ „	1, 4, 14	„ „	„	63 & 64	„ „
„ „	2, 5	„ „	„	69 & 70	„ „
„ „	2, 5	„ „	„	79 & 80	„ „

The total No. of Adh. existing in our present Nāgarī editions of the Sabhāparvan is 81. If however we cut off these nine Adhs., the total number remaining is (81—9=) 72. With a well-established Parvasaṅgraha therefore, and with a patient collation of more manuscriptional evidence—of the right sort, of course—we may certainly hope to get rid of textual and other accretions. It remains only to be added that the Kashmirian recension of the Sābhāparvan fully bears out the omission of the one Adh. referred to and also generally corroborates the other arrangement, i.e. the merging together of the Adhyāyas, as detailed above on the evidence of the Nāgarī MSS.

APPENDIX I.

STATEMENT OF VERSES IN THE VIRĀTAPARVAN FOUND TO BE WANTING IN CERTAIN MSS.

Adhyāya No. as in G. K.	Verses as in G. K. found wanting.		Authority.
I	1	(1)	
	3	(1)	MSS. 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11
		2	
II	26a, 27a	(1)	MSS. 1, 6, 8; and also 8, 9, 10 in the case of the latter.
		1	
III	1	1)	MSS. 8, 9, 10, 11
		1	
IV	6	(1)	MSS.
	9b	(1)	MSS. 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11
	12b		MSS. 1, 6, 8, 10
	20, 21	(2)	MSS. 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11
		4	
V	11	(1)	MSS. 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11
	28	(1)	MSS. 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11
		2	
VI	1 to 35	(35)	MSS. 1, 6
		35	
VII	10a	(1)	MSS. 1, 6
		1	
IX	13	(1)	MSS. 1, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11
	15	(1)	MSS. 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11
	28	(1)	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11
		3	
XI	11b	(1)	All MSS. except 3 and 7
		1	
XII	46, 5a	(1)	MSS. 5 and 11
		1	

Appendix I—*contd.*

STATEMENT OF VERSES, ETC.—*contd.*

Adhyāya No. as in G. K.	Verses as in G. K. found wanting.		Authority.
XIII	25	(1)	MSS. 1, 4, 6, 11
	45	(1)	MSS. 1, 4, 6, 11
		2	
XIV	3b, 4a	(1)	MSS. 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10
	12 to 31	(20)	MSS. 1, 6, 8, 10
	40 to 48	(9)	MSS. 1, 6, 8, 10
	54	(1)	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11
		31	
XVI	6	(1)	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11
	15, 16	(2)	MSS. 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11
	18, 19	(2)	MSS. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11
	38	(1)	MSS. 1, 6, 8, 9, 10
		6	
XVIII	21, 22, 23	(3)	MSS. 1, 6, 8, 10, 11
	30	(1)	MSS. 1, 6, 8, 10, 11
		4	
XIX	3, 4	(2)	MSS. 1, 6, 8, 10 (verse 4)
	34	(1)	MSS. 6, 11
		3	
XXI	15	(1)	MSS. 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11
	28b to 37a	(9)	MSS. 1, 6, 8, 11
	50, 51	(2)	MSS. 6, 8, 10, 11
		12	
XXII	45	(1)	MSS. 6, 8, 11
	85, 86, 87	(3)	MSS. 1, 5, 6, 8, 10
	93	(1)	MSS. all except 7 & 4
		5	
XXIII	19	(1)	MSS. 1, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11
	20,	(2)	MSS. 1, 6, 8, 10, 11
		3	

Appendix I —*contd.*

STATEMENT OF VERSES, ETC.—*contd.*

Adhyāya No. as in G. K.	Verses as in G. K. found wanting.		Authority.
XXVIII	7	(1)	MSS. 1, 6, 8, 10
		1	
XXXIII	22b to 30	(8)	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11
		8	
XXXIV	18b, c	(1)	MSS. 1, 6, 8, 10, 11
		1	
XXXV	20b, 21a	(1)	MSS. 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11
		1	
XXXVI	10 to 13	(4)	Omitted in all MSS.
	20	(1)	Omitted in all MSS.
		5	
XXXVII	1 to 5	(5)	MSS. 1, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11
	33 & 34	(2)	MSS. 1, 8, 9, 10, 11
		7	
XXXVIII	27	(1)	MSS. 1, 8, 10, 11
	42	(1)	MSS. 1, 8, 9, 10, 11
	49	(1)	MSS. 1, 6
		3	
XXXIX	10	(1)	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11
		1	
XLII	17	(1)	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11
		1	
XLVI	5b, 6a	(1)	MSS. 1, 8, 9, 10, 11
	21	(1)	MSS. 1, 10, 11
	23	(1)	MSS. 1, 10, 11
		3	

Appendix I—*contd.*

STATEMENT OF VERSES, ETC.—*contd.*

Adhyāya No. as in G. K.	Verses as in G. K. found wanting.		Authority.
XLVII	24	(1)	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11
		1	
XLVIII	13	(1)	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5
		1	
L	27	(1)	MSS. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
		1	
LI	10	(1)	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6
	14, 15	(2)	MSS. 1, 6
		3	
LIII	8, 9	(2)	MSS. 1, 2, 5, 6
		2	
LIV	21 to 33	(13)	MSS. 1, 6
		13	
LV	2b to 39a	(37)	MSS. 1, 2, 5, 6
		37	
LVI	19	(1)	MS. 1
		1	
LX	7	(1)	MSS. 1, 6
		1	
LXVIII	13 to 16	(4)	MS. 6
		4	
LXXI	11b	(1)	MSS. 1, 6
		1	
LXXII	37	(1)	MSS. 1, 2, 5, 6
		1	

APPENDIX II.

STATEMENT SHOWING VERSES IN SABHĀPARVAN THAT ARE FOUND TO BE WANTING IN CERTAIN MSS.

Adhyāya No. as in G.K.	Verses as in G.K. found to be wanting.	Authority.
I	3 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	10a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	11a ...	MSS. 2, 5
II	10 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	22. 23. 24 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	30—36 ...	MSS. 2, 5
III	19b ...	MSS. 2, 3, 5
	22 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	32b ...	MSS. 2, 5
IV	3 ...	MSS 2, 5
	4b ...	MSS. 2, 5
	19a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	32 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	35b ...	MSS. 2, 5
	37a ...	MSS. 2, 5
V	2—9 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	12b ...	MSS. 2, 5
	15a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	16a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	58a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	101 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	109b ...	MSS. 2, 5
	125 ...	MSS. 2, 5
VIII	6a ...	MSS. 1, 2, 5, 13, 14
	24, 25a ...	MSS. 2, 5
IX	21, 22a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	22b, 23a ...	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5
	28, 29a ...	MSS. 2, 5
X	20b ...	MSS. 2, 5
	25—39 ...	MSS. 2, 5
XI	8, 9 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	15 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	20a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	22—24 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	25a ...	MSS 2, 5
	26, 27 ...	MSS. 2, 5

Appendix II—*contd.*

STATEMENT SHOWING VERSES, ETC.—*contd.*

Adhyāya No. as in G.K.	Verses as in G.K. found to be wanting.	Authority.
XI	36 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	39 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	41—43 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	45—48, 49a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	50, 51, 52a ...	MSS. 2, 5
XII	24 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	26, 27 ...	MSS. 2, 5
XIII	8 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	10—18 (nine verses) ...	MSS. 2, 5
	25b ...	MSS. 2, 5
XIV	8 ...	MSS. 2, 5
XV	7 ...	MSS. 2, 4, 5, 13
	8—10 ...	MSS. 2, 4, 13
XVII	4 ...	MSS. 1, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14
	5 ...	MSS. 1, 2, 5
	31 ...	MSS. 2, 5
XVIII	2—5 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	8 ...	MSS. 2, 5
XIX	8b ...	MSS. 2, 5
	21—25 ...	MSS. 2, 5
XXI	11a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	15b ...	MSS. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 14
	18 ...	MSS. 2, 3, 4, 5, 14
	22 ...	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5, 14
	23b, c ...	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5
	33, 34, 35a ...	MSS. 2, 4, 5, 14
	49a ...	MSS. 2, 5
XXII	5b, 6a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	13 ...	MSS. 2, 5
XXIII	4a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	11—22 ...	MSS. 2, 5 (and 14 for verses 21 22)
XXIV	7 ...	MSS. 1, 2, 5, 14
	42b ...	MSS. 2, 5
	44b ...	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5

Appendix II—*contd.*

STATEMENT SHOWING VERSES, ETC.—*contd.*

Adhyāya No. as in G.K.	Verses as in G.K. found to be wanting.	Authority.
XXV	11b ...	MSS. 2, 5
XXVIII	21 ...	MSS. 2. 5
XXXI	9a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	11b—20 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	28—30a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	31b ...	All MSS.
	33 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	34a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	43—50 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	58b ...	MSS. 2. 5, 14
XXXVII	10 ...	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5
	11 ...	MSS. 2, 4. 5
	12—16 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	23b ...	MSS. 2, 5
XLI	16 ...	MSS. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. 14
	22a ...	MSS. 1, 2, 3, 5. 14
XLIII	14b ...	MSS. 2, 3. 5
XLIV	10, 11 ...	MSS. 2, 3, 5
	15, 16 ...	MSS. 2, 3, 5
	17, 18 ...	MSS. 1. 2, 3, 5
	19, 20. 21 ...	MSS. 2, 3, 5
	22a ...	MSS. 2, 3, 5, 9, 11
XLV	21b—25a ...	MSS. 2, 3, 5, 14
	34a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	55a ...	MSS. 1. 2, 5, 14
XLVI	1—33 (whole Adh.) ...	MSS. 1, 2, 14
XLVII	4c, 5a ...	MSS. 1, 2, 3, 5, 14
	7b ...	MSS. 1, 2, 3, 5, 14
	11b, c, 12 ...	MSS. 2, 5
XLVIII	2a, 3a ...	MSS. 1, 2, 3, 4. 5, 14
XLIX	30 ...	MSS. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 14
	33b ...	MSS. 2, 5
	40 (with part of 39) ...	MSS 2, 5

Appendix II—*contd.*

STATEMENT SHOWING VERSES, ETC.—*contd.*

Adhyāya No. as in G.K.	Verses as in G.K. found to be wanting.	Authority.
L	27b, 28a ...	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5, 14
	35 ...	MSS. 2, 5
LI	18b, 19, 20a ...	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5, 14
	21a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	33a ...	MSS. 2, 5
LV	1 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	10 ...	MSS. 2, 5
LVIII	27b, 28a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	36b ...	MSS. 2, 5
LIX	1, 2, 3 ...	MSS. 1, 2, 5
	15, 16 ...	MSS. 1, 2, 5
LXII	1 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	7b ...	MSS. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 14
LXV	36 ...	MSS. 2, 5
LXVII	16, 17 ...	MSS. 2, 4, 5
	20 ...	MSS. 2, 3, 5
	21 ...	MSS. 2, 4, 5, 14
	22 ...	MSS. 2, 5
LXVIII	41—45 ...	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5, 14
	75 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	82b ...	MSS. 1, 2, 5, 14
LXXI	31a ...	MSS. 2, 5
	33a ...	MSS. 2, 5
LXXIII	7 ...	MSS. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 14
LXXV	4a ...	MSS. 1, 2, 5
	8b ...	MSS. 2, 5
	9 ...	MSS. 2, 5
LXXVI	5 ...	MSS. 1, 2, 5, 14
	13 ...	MSS. 1, 3, 5, 14
	16 ...	MSS. 2, 5, 14
	23a ...	MSS. 2, 5
LXXVIII	7, 8 ...	MSS. 2, 5
	16a ...	MSS. 1, 2, 3, 5, 14

Appendix II—*contd.*

STATEMENT SHOWING VERSES, ETC.—*contd.*

Adhyāya No. as in G.K.	Verses as in G.K. found to be wanting.	Authority.
LXXX	1 ...	MSS. 1, 2, 3, 5, 14
	24b, 25, 26a ...	MSS. 1, 2, 5, 14
	32 ...	MSS. 1, 2, 5, 14
	44 ...	MSS. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 14
	46b ...	MSS. 1, 2, 4, 5, 14
	47b, 48a ...	MSS. 1, 2, 5
LXXXI	18a ...	MSS. 1, 2, 3, 5, 14
	20b, 21a ...	MSS. 1, 2, 3, 5, 14
	38a ...	MSS. 2, 5

Postscript:—With regard to the statements on page 173 f. it is interesting to add that the particular passage referred to is not to be found in one Telugu and one Grantha MS. now being collated by us. (N. B. U.)

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The Colophons of Four Ancient Sanskrit Manuscripts.

By R. C. MAJUMDAR.

From the Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol. XVI, 1920, No. 7.

17. The Colophons of Four Ancient Sanskrit Manuscripts.

By R. C. MAJUMDAR.

In an article in *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, pp. 109 ff. Mr. R. D. Banerji has repeated the statement, originally made in the *Pālas of Bengal*,[1] that Vigrahapāla II ruled for 26 years. The statement rests upon the colophon of a MS. of the Pañcharakṣā, which runs as follows :—

Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Paramasaugata-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrīmad-Vigrahapāladevasya pravardhamāna-vijayarājye (about 15 indistinct akṣaras) *Samvat* 26 *Āṣāḍha dina* 24.

Mr. Bendall who first published this colophon comments on it as follows :—"There were three sovereigns called Vigrahapāla in Bengal between A.D. 910 and 1090. From the great similarity, however, between the writing of this MS. and that of the Cambridge MSS. written during the reigns of the two kings intervening between Vigrahapāla II and III it is safest to assign this manuscript to one of these reigns, which brings the writing of the MS. to either A.D. 1015 or 1100."[2] In a footnote to the above he remarks :—

"Cunningham (A. S. Ind. XV., 154) suggests 30 years as the probable collective duration of the reigns of Nayapāla and Vigrahapāla III. But Nayapāla, as we now know from the Cambridge MS. above cited, reigned at least 14 years; consequently, if, as Cunningham supposes, Mahīpāla died about 1060, the present MS. must be at least as late as 1100 and possibly somewhat later. On the whole, therefore, the date A.D. 1015 (Vigrahapāla II) seems rather more probable."

The argument contained in the above passage may be analysed as follows:—(i) That the colophon by itself does not help us to determine whether the king Vigrahapāla referred to therein was the first, second or third of that name. (ii) That it is only the similarity it bears to other MSS. written during the period between the reign of the second and third kings of the name that makes it likely that it should be assigned to one of them. (iii) That as by assigning it to Vigrahapāla III it has to be brought down to so late a period as 1100 A.D., or even somewhat later, the identification of Vigrahapāla of the colophon with the second king of the same name is more probable.

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[1] Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. V, No. 3, p. 66.

[2] Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum, p. 232.

Now, nobody, I believe, would question the soundness of the first two points above. The third, I am afraid, is untenable, for it rests upon false premises. There is hardly any ground for the assumption either that Mahīpāla lived till 1060 A.D. or that Vigrahapāla ruled in the eleventh century. The reasons which led Cunningham to propound such a view are laid down as follows :—

" Veracharya, a Raja of Orissa, is said to have been tributary to him (Mahipala) ; but there is no such name in the list of kings given by Dr. Hunter, which is :—

A.D. 999	Nritya Kesari.
,, 1013	Narsinh Kesari.
,, 1024	Kurma Kesari.
,, 1034	Matsya Kesari.
,, 1050	Varaha Kesari.

Amongst these the only name at all like Veracharya is that of Varaha Kesari but, as his reign did not begin until A.D. 1050, the identification would show that the reign of Mahipal must have extended to A.D. 1055 or 1060."

These arguments might have been excused in Cunningham's time, but they cannot claim to be seriously considered in the present state of our knowledge. As a matter of fact, as Mr. R. D. Banerji has himself maintained, the probability is that Vigrahapāla II and Mahīpāla I ceased to rule before 980 and 1026 A.D. respectively. It thus follows that the colophon in question should be assigned to either Vigrahapāla II or Vigrahapāla III, and there is no ground to hold that any one of these suppositions is more probable than the other.

So far as regards Mr. Bendall's position. Now let us turn to Mr. R. D. Banerji's statement to the effect that the MS. in question was written in the 26th year of Vigrahapāladeva II. This is not supported even by what Mr. Bendall says. For he at best held it as more probable that the MS. should be referred to the reign of Vigrahapāla II, whereas Mr. Banerji looks upon this as a certain fact But in view of what has been said above it cannot be held to be even probable, and of course far less a certain conclusion.

Again Mr. Banerji has fallen into a similar error with regard to his assumption that the colophon of the copy of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* collected by M.M. Haraprasad Sastri for the Asiatic Society of Bengal[1] refers to the sixth year of Mahīpāla I.[2] For there is nothing in the colophon itself to show that the king Mahīpāla referred to therein is Mahīpāla I and not Mahīpāla II. Indeed this is clearly pointed out by Dr. Theodor Bloch who noticed the colophon.

There is another instance of a similar error on the part of

[1] *Proc. A.S.B*, 1899, p. 69. [2] *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 75.

Mr. Banerji, although it is shared to some extent by Dr. Barnett. The colophon of a MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñā-pāramitā* in the British Museum runs thus:—"*Parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramasaugata-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrīmad-Gopāladeva-pravarddhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājye-tyādi samvat* 15 *Āśvine dine* 4 *Śrīmad-Vikramaśilā-deva-vihāre likhit-eyaṁ bhagavatī.*" Dr. Barnett remarks on this MS:—"Now this volume very closely resembles the MS. Or. 3346, especially in its colophon. The latter was written in the reign of Vigrahapāla, whom Mr. Bendall with great probability identifies with the second king of that name. Accordingly we may conclude that the king mentioned in the MS. Or. 6902 is Vigrahapāla's immediate predecessor, Gopala II."[1] Mr. Banerji proceeds a step further and definitely assigns the MS. in question to the 15th year of Gopāla II.[2] It has been pointed out above that Mr. Bendall's provisional identification of Vigrahapāla referred to in the colophon of MS. Or. 3346 with king Vigrahapāla II rests upon hypotheses which are no longer tenable. This considerably weakens the assumption of Dr. Barnett and altogether upsets the confident assertion of Mr. Banerji.

A fourth instance of similar error is furnished by the ascription to Mahīpāla I of a MS. or Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā in the University Library, Cambridge, referred to by Mr. Bendall in his catalogue, p. 101.[3] Its colophon runs thus:—"*Parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramasaugata-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrīmān-Mahīpāladeva-pravarddhamāna-vijayarājye samvat* 5 *Āśvine kṛṣṇe.*" There is thus nothing to show whether the king Mahīpāla referred to above is the first or the second king of that name. It is true that Mr. Bendall referred it to Mahīpāla I, but he wrote in 1883 when the existence of Mahīpāla II was not known to the learned world, and he was therefore perfectly justified in assigning the work to the only Pāla king of that name known to him. But to-day, when a second Mahīpāla is known to us, an author can hardly be excused if he blindly copies the remarks of Mr. Bendall in 1883.

The above discussion will show that Mr. Banerji's method of deducing historical information from the colophons of MS. is not very scientific, and is calculated to lead some scholars astray. I have come across a paper on Pāla chronology where the elaborate and painstaking calculations of the author have been rendered quite valueless by his tacit acceptance of the data of colophons as interpreted by Mr. Banerji.

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[1] *J.R.A.S.* 1910, pp. 150-151.
[2] *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 65.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

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The Chronology of the Sena Kings.

By R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.

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2. The Chronology of the Sena Kings.

By R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.

The chronology of the Sena kings has formed the subject of a keen and protracted discussion for a long time past. The earlier views on this very important question possess at present but an academic interest and have been summarised by Mr. N. Basu in J.A.S.B. Vol. LXV. part I. pp. 16 ff. The determination of the true epoch of the Laksmanasena era by Dr. Kielhorn[1] has placed the question on an altogether new basis, and the theories that are at present held on the subject may be broadly divided into two classes.

1. That the initial date of the era, 1118–19 A.D, is the date of the accession of Laksmanasena, the grandson of Vijayasena, the founder of the greatness of the dynasty.

2. That Laksmanasena ascended the throne long after the initial date of the era which commemorates either his birth or the accession of one of his predecessors.

The date of Laksmanasena is thus the crucial point, and before we proceed further we must examine the validity of the contention that the epoch of the Laksmanasena era must be the date of his accession.

Mr. R. D. Banerji, the staunchest and the most consistent supporter of this theory, states his case in the following words[2]: "None of the Indian eras, now known, seem to have been started by one king and adopted and renamed by any one of his successors." The evident implication, of course, is that the era which is associated with the name of Laksmanasena must have been started by him.

It is no use discussing the general principle laid down by Mr. Banerji, for the truth of the matter seems to be that the era was not *started by any king at all*. Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena were the last kings of this dynasty, but their inscriptions are dated in their regnal years and no reference is made to any era. As a matter of fact not a single instance of the official use of this era has been discovered as yet and it seems to have been almost unknown in the home provinces of the Senas. These considerations are decidedly against the assumption that the era was ever formally started by any king of the Sena dynasty. It cannot thus be maintained, from general considerations alone, that the initial date of the era is the date of Laksmanasena's accession.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 1 ff. [2] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol, IX, p. 277.

There are, however, two inscriptions of a king Aśoka-calladeva of Gayā which have been relied upon to prove that Lakṣmaṇasena ceased to rule before the year 51 of the era. It is, of course, evident that if this conclusion is true, a very strong case is made in favour of the view that the epoch of the era is synchronous with the initial date of Lakṣmaṇasena.

A brief summary of these inscriptions together with all the relevant points has been given by Mr Banerji in his paper on Lakṣmaṇasena (*op. cit.*). The important points about them are the dates which run as follows[1] :—

(i) *Śrīmal-Lakhvaṇasenasy = ātīta-rājye saṁ* 51.
(ii) *Śrīmal-Lakṣmaṇasena-deva-pādānām-atīta-rājye-saṁ* 74. *Vaiśākha vadi* 12 *Guraw.*

Dr. Kielhorn at first held, on the basis of the word *atīta* prefixed to the word *rājye*, that although the years were still counted from the commencement of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena, that reign itself was a thing of the past.[2] This theory was ultimately abandoned by Dr. Kielhorn,[3] but has been re-stated by Mr. Banerji[4] and upheld by other scholars.[5]

Before we discuss the true significance of the expression *atīta-rājye* we shall point out the hopelessly irreconcilable results that ensue if the above view is accepted. Mr. Banerji says :—"We know from the Bodh-Gayā inscription of the 51st year of the Lakṣmaṇasena era, that Bodh-Gayā and its adjacent parts were in the possession of the Sena kings. This is indicated by the use of the era of Lakṣmaṇasena which could not have been used by a king of a distant country like Aśokacalla of Sapādalakṣa. if Gayā did not happen to be included in the territory of the Senas. The Gayā inscription of V.S. 1232, on the other hand, shows that once the country belonged to Govindapāla, but it had ceased to do so in the 14th year of his reign. So one can immediately infer that Gayā and its adjacent parts were wrested from Govindapāla by one of the Sena kings ..... The Bodh-Gayā inscription of *La-Saṁ* 74 proves that Gayā and the country around it continued in the possession of the Sena kings of Bengal."[6]

It must be remembered in the first place, that the expression denoting dates in the two Bodh-Gayā inscriptions is exactly similar to a series of expressions denoting dates with

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[1] *Ep. Ind.* XII, p. 27 ff. Mr. Banerji's text has 'rājya-saṁ' in both the records and the date as 72 in the last. (*Op. cit.*, p. 272). Evidently these are due to oversight.

[2] *Op. cit*, p, 2, note 3.

[3] *Synchronistic List for Northern India*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII.

[4] *Op. cit.*

[5] Mr. S. Kumar in *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 185 : Dr. Hoernle in a private letter to Mr. Banerji (*Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, p. 304).

[6] *Op. cit*, p. 280.

reference to Govindapāla. This will be quite evident if we arrange below the dated portions of his inscriptions, and the colophons of manuscripts referring to his reign.[1]

(i) *Śrīmad-Govindapāladevānāṁ gata-rājye Caturddaśa-samvatsare.*

(ii) *Śrīmad-Govindapāla-devasy = ātīta saṁvat* 18.

(iii) *Śrīmad-Govindapāla-devānāṁ vinaṣṭa-rājye Aṣṭa-triṁśat-samvatasre.*

No reasonable doubts can be entertained that all these phrases are but different expressions for denoting the same thing. Now the phrase used in No. i, is almost identical with that of the two Bodh-Gayā inscriptions referred to above, and, in any case, it is not permissible to attach different interpretations to them. But this is exactly what Mr. Banerji has done. He infers from the words *atīta rājye saṁvat* in the Bodh-Gayā inscriptions that Lakṣmaṇasena had ceased to reign, although Gayā was still under the Sena kings; but in spite of the expressions *gata-rājye* and *atīta samvat* used with reference to the 14th and the 18th years of Govindapāla, he holds that the latter reigned till the 38th year, although there was a cessation of his rule in those parts of the country in which the expresion *gata-rājye* or *atīta samvat* was used with reference to him! But let us examine the point a little more closely. As the above extract will show, Mr. Banerji holds:—

(i) That Govindapāla ruled over Gayā sometime between 1162 and 1175 A.D.

(ii) That the Bodh-Gayā inscriptions show that in the 51st year of the Lakṣmaṇasena era, Bodh-Gayā and its adjacent parts were in the possession of the Sena kings and that these territories continued in the possession of the Sena kings till the 74th year of that era.

As the years 51 and 74 of the Lakṣmaṇasena era would give us respectively the years 1160 and 1183 A.D., it seems to be somewhat difficult to reconcile the above two points.

Then there is another important question. If, as Mr. Banerji holds, Lakṣmaṇasena died before the year 51 of his era, his sons must have been on the throne between this date and the final conquest of the territory round Gayā by the Musulmans. How is it, then, that not only in the two Bodh-Gayā inscriptions of the years 51 and 74 A.D, but also in a newly discovered inscription[2] of the 83rd year of that era found in the neighbourhood, the name of Lakṣmaṇasena alone is invoked and not that of any of his successors? Again, what force is there in stating that Lakṣmaṇasena had ceased to reign, (assuming the interpretation of Mr. Banerji to be

[1] Quoted in Mr. Banerji's article, *op. cit*, pp. 278–9.

[2] *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1918, p. 273.

correct), about forty years after that was an accomplished fact? On the analogy of other inscriptions dated, say in the Gupta or Kushan era, we should expect the name of the reigning king with the year of the era. We find for example the expressions "Huviṣkasya saṁ 33," [1] and "Śrī-Kumāraguptasya .... saṁvatsare 96." [2] In both these cases the name of the reigning king is mentioned along with the years of the era founded by his predecessor, and this seems to have been the standard practice in ancient India.

These considerations raise grave doubts about the correctness of the deduction that the epoch of the Lakṣmaṇasena era is the year of the accession of that monarch. There are, however, positive evidences which seem to demonstrate the impossibility of this view.

The Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena [3] proves that he was master of Varendra. Now the Manhali grant of Madanapāla [4] shows that he occupied Varendra till at least the eighth year of his reign, for he made some land-grants in the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti in that year. It would thus follow that Vijayasena must have ceased to reign after the eighth year of Madanapāla, a conclusion which has been accepted by Mr. Banerji in his latest writing on the subject.[5] We can arrive at the upper limit of the date of Madanapāla by counting the reign-periods of his predecessors as far as Mahīpala I, one of whose known dates is 1026 A.D. This will be quite intelligible from the following table :—

Mahīpāla I	..	1026 A.D.
Nayapāla	..	15 years
Vigrahapāla III	..	13 ,,
Mahīpāla II	..	a ,,
Śūrapāla II	..	b ,,
Rāmapāla	..	42 years
Kumārapāla	..	4 ,,
Gopāla III	..	c ,,
Madanapāla	..	..

It will be evident from the above table that Madanapāla ascended the throne in 1100 + (a + b + c + d) A.D., these letters representing respectively the unknown reign periods of Mahīpāla II, Sūrapāla II, and Gopāla III, and the excess of the actual reign-periods of the rest over those known at present. The initial date of Madanapāla's reign must therefore fall some years, probably a good many years, after 1100 A.D.

As we have seen above, Vijayasena must have ceased to reign after the eighth year of Madanapāla. His successor

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[1] Lüder's *List*, No. 41.
[2] Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, *No. 10*.
[3] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 305.
[4] *J.A.S.B*, 1900, p. 66.
[5] *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, p. 284.

Ballālasena could not therefore have come to the throne till some years after 1108 A.D. As the Naihati grant[1] of Ballālasena is dated in the 11th year of his reign, he must have ruled for at least 11 years, and his son and successor Lakṣmaṇasena could not therefore begin to reign till some years after 1119 A.D. It is thus obviously impossible that the epoch of the Lakṣmaṇasena era, viz. 1118–1119 A.D. is the year of the accession of that monarch.

So far we have definitely established two important points, viz. :—

1. Neither the epoch of the Lakṣmaṇasena era nor the wordings used in connection with it necessarily place the accession of that monarch in 1118–19 A.D.

2. There are positive evidences which show that Lakṣmaṇasena did not come to the throne till some years, possibly a good many years, after 1118–19 A.D.

Having settled these preliminary points we are now in a position to take into consideration such other evidences as are expected to throw light on the problem.

I. There are still extant two learned works composed by Ballālasena, viz. Dānasāgara and Adbhutasāgara. Some manuscripts of these two works contain verses denoting the time of their composition.[2] Thus we have in some manuscripts of Adbhutasāgara :—

(*a*) *Bhuja-rasu-daśa-1081-mita-śake śrīmad-Ballālasena-rājy-ādau*[3].

(*b*) *Śāke Kha-nava-kh-endv=abde ārebhe Abdhutasāgaram* | *Gauḍendra-Kunjar-ālāna-stambha-vāhur=mahīpatiḥ* ‖.[4]

Again we have in some manuscripts of Dānasāgara :—

(*c*) *Nikhila-cakra-tilaka-śrīmad-Ballālasenena-pūrṇe* | *Śaśi-nava-daśa-mite Śakavarṣe Dānasāgaro racitaḥ*.[5] ‖

The first of these extracts places the accession of king Ballālasena in or shortly before 1159 A.D.[6], while the second and the third refer the composition of two of his works respect-

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 156.

[2] Cf. the description of these works given by Mr. Banerji, *op.cit.*, pp. 274 ff.

[3] This passage is not noticed by Mr. Banerji, although it was pointed out as early as 1906 by Mr. M. Chakravarty. (J.A.S.B. 1906, p. 17, note 1).

[4] Bhandarkar's *Report on the search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* during 1887-88 and 1890-91, p. LXXXV.

[5] *J.A.S.B.* 1896, Part I, p. 23. *Gauḍarājamātā*, p. 61 footnote.

[6] Mr Manomohan Chakravarty op. cit. and following him Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda (*Gauḍa-rāja-mālā*, p. 62) have taken the word *ādau* to mean the 'first year,' and thus placed the accession of Ballālasena in the year 1159 A.D. on the strength of this verse. It appears to me, however, that the word might as well mean the 'first part' and thus the accession of Ballālasena would be placed in or sometime before that date.

ively to 1168 and 1169 A.D. These three verses are therefore perfectly consistent in themselves.[1]

Mr. R. D. Banerji, however, ignores their value mainly on the two following grounds:—

(i) That the extracts (b) and (c) are not to be found in all the available manuscripts of these two works, and that they are therefore to be looked upon as interpolations.

(ii) Even supposing that they are genuine, evidence based on very modern copies of manuscripts can hardly be put forward against the testimony of contemporary epigraphical records.

As regards the first point, it is no doubt true that in the absence of these verses from some of the manuscripts, conclusions based upon them cannot be regarded as final unless corroborated by other evidence, but it is certainly going too far to say that they are to be looked upon as interpolations merely on that account.[2]

As regards the second point, the principle advanced is quite all right, but its application in the particular instance does not seem to be correct; for, as we have seen above, there is nothing in the contemporary epigraphic records that is really in conflict with the verses quoted above.

II. The statement of the Moslem historian Minhāj that Rai Lakhmaniya was defeated by Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyar, within a few years of 1200 A.D. (the dates proposed by Raverty, Cunningham and Blochmann being respectively 1194, 1195, and 1198–9 A.D.) corroborates and is corroborated by the testimony of the verses quoted above; for the identity of Lakhmaniya and Lakṣmaṇasena is evident and has been recognised long ago, and with a date for Ballālasena in about 1160–1170 A.D., the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena naturally falls towards the end of the twelfth century A.D

[1] The doubts raised on this point by Mr. Nagendranath Vasu seem to be due to a misunderstanding. We learn from some verses in *Adbhutasāgara* which follow the extract (*b*), that Ballālasena died before he could complete the book, and that it was finished by his son Lakṣmaṇasena. Mr. Vasu argues that if Ballālasena died in 1090 Śaka without being able to complete *Adbhutsāgara*, how is it possible that he himself composed *Dānasāgara* in 1091 Śaka as testified to by the extract (*c*) above. The fact, however, is that the passage in *Adbhutasāgara* does by no means indicate that Ballālasena died in 1090 Śaka. It simply tells us that the book was begun in that year and was left incomplete when its author died. It may be readily supposed that the royal author commenced his work in 1090 Śaka and was engaged over it for a few years when he died. In the meantime another work, *Dānasāgara*, which was probably begun earlier, was brought to completion in the year 1091 Śaka. The statements made in *Adbhutasāgara* and *Dānasāgara* are not therefore inconsistent with each other.

[2] Mr. Banerji unduly minimises the significance of the fact that three isolated passages in two different works corroborate one an another. The arguments advanced by Mr. Chanda (*Gauḍa-rāja-mālā*, p. 62) to prove the genuineness of these passages are very reasonable and have not, so far as I know, been met by Mr. Banerji.

III. The date of Aśokacalla is also in full accord with the above view if we correctly interpret the data we possess about him. Now one of his inscriptions is dated in the year 1813 of the Nirvāṇa era. The late Dr. Fleet has shown that although different views were current about the date of the Nirvāṇa in Ceylon, all these were superseded, towards the end of the twelfth century A.D. or a little earlier, by the assumption that the event was to be placed at 544–543 B.C.[1] Mr. Taw Sein Ko says that this era was known to the Burmese long before the 12th century A.D.[2] About the particular inscription of Aśokacalladeva and its date in the Nirvāṇa era, Fleet remarked :—"Treating this date as a date in the reckoning of B.C. 544, and taking Kārttika as the Pūrṇimānta month, ending with the full moon, which is what we should expect, I find that the given details are correct for Wednesday, 1 October, A.D. 1270."

With this date of Aśokacalla in view, the meaning of the dated portions of his other two inscriptions becomes self-evident. These are : (i) Lakhvaṇasenasy = ātīta-rājye saṁ 51. (ii) Lakṣmaṇasena-deva-pādānām = atīta-rājye saṁ 74 Vaiśākha vadi 12 Gurau.

Now if there are reasons to believe that Aśokacalla flourished about 1270 A.D., naturally the dates in the above two inscriptions would be taken as counted from the cessation of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena, that event itself being placed towards the end of the twelfth century A.D. Taking Blochman's date for this event, the second inscription, which alone admits of verification, regularly corresponds to 1271 A.D., May 7, Thursday. (With dates proposed by Cunningham and Raverty it would correspond respectively to 1267 A.D., April 21 Thursday, and 1268 A.D., May 10 Thursday[3]).

No reasonable objections can be urged against this view. On the analogy of such expressions as *Vijaya-rājye saṁ* 4 which means '4 years having elapsed (or 4th year being current), counted from the commencement of Vijayarājya,' *atīta-rājye saṁ* 51 may easily be taken to mean that 50 or 51 years had elapsed since the *atītarājya* or the cessation of reign. The sense is made quite clear by the corresponding expressions "*gata-rājye*," "*vinaṣṭa-rājye*, etc., which occur in the place of *atīta samvat* in some of the inscriptions of Govindapāladeva. There can be no reasonable doubt that these expressions easily lend themselves to the interpretation that the reckoning was made from the end of a king's reign or the destruction of a kingdom.

[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 323 ff. Also cf. *J.R.A.S.* 1910, pp. 474 ff, 857 ff; *J.R.A.S.* 1911, p. 216 ff. [2] *J.R.A.S*, 1911, p. 212.

[3] According to the calculations of Swamikannu Pillai with which Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar was kind enough to supply me.

The possibility of such a reckoning is indisputably proved by the inscriptions of Govindapāladeva, notably the two following instances :—

(i) *Govindapāla-devānām vinaṣṭa-rājye Aṣṭa-triṁśat-saṁvatsare.*

(ii) *Govindapāla-devānām saṁ 39.*

Even according to the interpretation of Mr. Banerji, the kingdom of Govindapāla was destroyed in the 38th year. The second instance therefore shows that reckoning was still made with reference to his reign. Mr. Banerji has himself noticed this point and his remarks are worth quoting. "The reference," says he, "in a record to the reign of a king who had ceased to reign over those parts is curious. Probably Buddhists did not want to refer to the reign of a king who, though king *de facto*, was not a Buddhist in faith. When the king had finally ceased to reign, and all Indian kingdoms had been indiscriminately destroyed in Bihar and Bengal, the scribe had only to indicate the date of the dethroned prince with abridged titles and adjectives denoting that his reign was already a thing of the past."[1]

And this is indeed the key to the true explanation. It is probable that when the Pāla kingdom was finally destroyed by the Senas, the Buddhists, unwilling to refer to the reign of a non-Buddhist king, continued to count their dates with reference to the destruction of the last Pāla king, viz. Govindapāladeva. Again, when the Indian kingdoms had been indiscriminately destroyed in Bengal and Bihār by the Islamic invaders, the scribe, unwilling to refer to the *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya* of the Moslem conquerors, counted the dates with reference to the destruction of the last independent native kingdom.

Reference may be made in this connection to the fact that even less than two hundred years ago, there were current in Bengal, eras, known as Balāli San or Parganāti San.[2] The colophon of a manuscript gives the date as 1176 Banglā San, 570 Balāli San and 1692 Śaka. The epoch of this era would thus fall in 1199 A.D. All the documents, which are dated in the Parganāti San along with a known era, show that its initial year corresponds to 1202–3 A.D., there being only one exception according to which the initial year would correspond to 1203–4 A.D.

I do not, of course, go so far as to assert positively that

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 280.

[2] For a detailed account of this era cf. Mr. J. Roy's 'Dhākār Itihāsa' Vol. II, p. 393 ff. and Mr. Bhaṭṭaśāli's paper in *Ind. Ant.* 1912, p. 169 ff. Mr Bhaṭṭaśāli seems to have been wrong in reading the name of the era as '*parganātīt*' rather than '*parganāti*.

the years of the Gaya inscriptions are to be counted with reference to one of these eras; but the fact that their epochs fall so closely to the end of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign, and the names given them, viz. *Ballāli*, evidently a contracted form of Ballāli, i.e. pertaining to Ballāl (Sen), seem to me to lend strength to the conclusion, we have independently arrived at above, that there was a practice, in different parts of the country, of counting dates with reference to the end of the last independent Hindu dynasty.

Thus three independent lines of evidence, viz. the dates given in Dānasāgara and Adbhutasāgara, the account of the Muhammadan historian Minhāj and the dated inscriptions of Aśokacalladeva, all lead to the conclusion that Lakṣmaṇasena flourished towards the end of the twelfth century A.D. This view again is in full agreement with what we know about the relations of the Pāla and the Sena kings. For, as we have seen above, Madanapāla could not possibly have flourished earlier than the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D., and he was in possession of Varendra which was afterwards conquered by Vijayasena.[1]

The date given in Dānasāgara and Adbhutasāgara being thus corroborated by external evidence, we may provisionally accept the statement in Adbhutasāgara that Ballālasena ascended the throne in or shortly before 1159 A.D. As one of the inscriptions of Vijayasena is dated in the 32nd year of his reign [2] he must be held to have enjoyed a long reign. Thus his accession is placed quite close to the year 1119 A.D., the epoch of the so-called Lakṣmaṇasena era. This naturally gives rise to a strong presumption that the era commemorates the accession of that monarch. The fact seems to be that with the destruction of the Hindu monarchy the reckoning was made from the end of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign, and it may be held, on the analogy of the inscriptions of Govindapāladeva, that the expressions used in connection with this reckoning would be either such full titles as *Lakṣmaṇasenasy=ātīta-rājye* or simply *Lakṣmaṇīya saṁ* or even *saṁvat*.[3] It is easy to infer that the second expression came to be contracted as *La Saṁ*. The earlier *La Saṁ* therefore seems to have commemorated the end of Hindu monarchy. Later on, however, the people probably came to the right conclusion, that the best way of commemorating the rule of the Sena kings is not

[1] That the contemporaneity of Vijayasena and Nānyadeva leads to the same conclusion has been shown in the accompanying Paper on Pāla Chronology.

[2] Ep. Ind., Vol XV, p. 278.

[3] For the era associated with Govindapāla is variously known as
(1) Govindapāla-devasy-ātita-samvat,
(2) Govindapāliya-Samvat.
(3) Govindapāla-devānām-saṁ.

to reckon the date from their destruction but from the foundation of their greatness. An artificial era was therefore set in with the date of the accession of Vijayasena, the founder of the greatness of the family, as the initial year. It may be that there was some difference of opinion on this point, some looking upon the date of accession of Hemantasena as the true starting point of the era. This might explain the different mode of counting the era in Mithila, with an initial point in about 1106–7 A.D. It appears that this era was confounded with the true *La Saṁ* and both came to be indifferently called by this name till the earlier one was altogether superseded by the later.

For the present, however, all this is mere conjecture, and it is to be distinctly understood that the main proposition advanced in this paper about the date of Lakṣmaṇasena, rests absolutely independent of this or any other similar hypothesis to explain the origin of the era of 1118–9 A.D., or its association with the name of Lakṣmaṇasena. For the matter of that, other explanations are equally likely, and may be urged with equal cogency. One might, for example, hold that the era commemorates the conquest of Mithilā by Vijayasena and was at first current in that locality, till it was confounded with the other current in Gayā and its neighbourhood and came to be associated with the name of Lakṣmaṇasena. It is useless to speculate on these hypothetical explanations, but they show the possibility of the association of the name of Lakṣmaṇasena with an era which had at first nothing to do with him or his reign.

On the basis of the foregoing considerations the chronology of the Sena kings may be laid down as follows :—

Name of the King	Name of the Queen	Approximate year of accession.
Sāmantasena	..	..
Hemantasena	Yaśodevī	1106 A.D.
Vijayasena	Vilāsadevī	1118–9 A.D.[1]
Ballālasena	Rāmadevī	1159 A.D.
Lakṣmaṇasena	Tāḍādevī	1175 A.D.
Viśvarūpasena	..	1200 A.D.
Keśavasena	..	1225 A.D.

[1] My friend Mr. N. K. Bhattasali suggests that the date of the newly discovered inscription of Vijaysena referred to on p. 9 above is not 32, as read by Mr. Banerji but 61. In that case the accession of Vijaysena has to be placed before 1118–19 A.D. and the theory that the era of 1118–19 A.D. commemorates his accession must be abandoned. It is needless to point out that Mr. Banerji's theory that Lakṣmaṇasena ascended the throne in 1118–19 A.D. is quite incompatible with this new reading of the date.

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The Chronology of the Pāla Kings.

By R. C. MAJUMDAR. M.A., PH.D.

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1. The Chronology of the Pāla Kings.

By R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.

The chronology of the Pāla kings has, for a long time, formed a subject of keen discussion. It will serve no useful purpose to recount the earlier views on the subject, as they were necessarily based upon insufficient materials and erroneous data. The first systematic attempt to reconstruct the main outline of the Pāla chronology on a reliable basis was made by the late Dr. V. A. Smith in 1909.[1] In the following year M.M. Haraprasād Śāstrī made a useful contribution about the initial date of Dharmapāla in his Introduction to Rāmacarita.[2] The subject was next seriously taken up by Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda and Mr. R. D Banerji. Mr. Chanda's Bengali work 'Gauḍa-rāja-mālā' appeared in 1912–3, although the views expressed therein about the Pāla Chronology were somewhat modified four years later.[3] Mr. Banerji's 'Pālas of Bengal'[4] was published in 1915, but his views were re-stated, with substantial modifications, in his Bengali work 'Bānglār Itihāsa' published in the Bengali year 1321 (1914-15 A.D.). The only contribution that has since been made to our knowledge of the Pāla chronology is a paper by Mr. Banerji[5] in which, among other things, a short account is given of an inscription of the 24th year of Rājyapāla.

In discussing the views of Dr. Smith it must be remem-

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, p. 233

[2] *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III.

[3] *Mānasī* (a Bengali Monthly), Vol. VII, part I, pp. 577 ff., 657 ff.

[4] *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, p. 109

bered that some of the most important inscriptions were unknown to him. Thus the Uddaṇḍapura inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla[1] shows that the king ruled for at least 54 years, and this alone is liable to upset the chronological scheme put forward by him. But, even apart from this, his views are liable to serious objections. According to his scheme the first three kings ruled from 735 to 892 A.D., i.e. for a period of more than 150 years and this can hardly be accepted, even as a working hypothesis, unless very strong evidence is forthcoming in support of it. Dr. V. A. Smith rejected the Puranic statement that two generations of Nanda kings ruled for 100 years and assigned fifty years as a more reasonable period. His views about the duration of the reigns of the first three kings of the Pāla dynasty are not, therefore, consistent with his own principle. In the circumstances it is difficult to accept the contention of Dr. Smith, made as late as 1914, that the main outline of the Pāla chronology has been firmly laid by him.

Mr. Chanda's views about the dates of the first eight kings are no longer tenable. According to him, Vigrahapāla I ascended the throne in 900 A.D. and Vigrahapāla II, a few years before 965 A.D. But this is quite incompatible with the known reign-periods of the intervening kings, i.e. 54 years of Nārāyaṇapāla, 24 years of Rājyapāla and a longer[2] period of Gopāla II. This shows that his proposed dates for Dharmapāla and Devapāla require to be considerably pushed back.

As regards Mr. Banerji's theory, it is impossible to reconcile its different parts with one another. Thus he holds that the Pāla king defeated by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛiṣṇa II was Rājyapāla, and as he has himself assumed in his Bāṅglār Itihāsa (pp. 189, 199, 203) that Vigrahapāla I ascended the throne in 865 A.D. and that his son Nārāyaṇapāla ruled for about 55 years, Rājyapāla could not possibly have ascended the throne before 920 A.D. But not only the reign of Kṛiṣṇa II but that of his two successors was over by that date, as Govinda IV, the great-grandson of Kṛiṣṇa II, and the fourth in succession from him, was ruling in 918 A.D. Again, Mr. Banerji looks upon Gopāla II, son of Rājyapāla, as a contemporary of Indra III, the grandson of Kṛiṣṇa II (*ibid.*, p. 204), and this is, of course, for reasons just stated, equally impossible. Further, according to Mr. Banerji, Madanapāla, the seventeenth king, was a contemporary of the Gāharwal king Candradeva (*ibid.*, p. 284) and must therefore have ascended the throne before 1097 A.D., the year in which the latter died. Now this is hopelessly irreconcilable with his view that the eleventh king Vigrahapāla III, who ruled for at least 13

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Evidence in support of this assumption is cited later, p. 4.

years, ascended the throne in 1045 A.D. and that the fourteenth king Rāmapāla ruled for 45 years; for even if we ignore the reign-periods of the 12th, 13th, 15th and 16th kings, the accession of Madanapāla cannot be placed earlier than 1103 A.D. Again, according to Mr. Banerji, Vijayasena conquered Varendra after the 8th regnal year of Madanapāla (*ibid.*, p. 284). As Mr. Banerji places the death of Ballālasena, who ruled for at least 11 years, at 1118 or 1119 A.D., Vijayasena must have ceased to reign before 1108 A.D. The date of Madanapāla's accession would thus fall some years before 1100 A.D., but, as we have just seen, this is irreconcilable with his other statements. Lastly, the dates proposed by Mr. Banerji for Dharmapāla and Devapāla are no longer tenable; for he has assigned 55 years to Nārāyaṇapāla and at least 3, 15, and 26 years respectively to Vigrahapāla I, Gopāla II and Vigrahapāla II. If we add to it the 24 years of Rājyapāla the sum total would be 123 years, which is considerably more than the interval between the dates proposed by him respectively for the death of Devapāla and the accession of Mahīpāla I, i.e., 865 A.D. and 973 A.D.

It is thus quite clear that none of the existing theories about the Pāla chronology is in accordance with all the known facts, and this necessitates a fresh study of the subject with a view to frame a more satisfactory hypothesis in regard to Pāla chronology.

The Sārnāth inscription of Mahīpāla I, dated in the year 1026 A.D.,[1] supplies us with a fixed point in the Pāla chronology. A consideration of the known reign-periods of the successors of Mahīpāla I, as given in the following list, seems to show that the king did not live long after that date, and that for all practical purposes that date may be looked upon as his last.

Nayapāla	.. ..	15 years
Vigrahapāla III	.. ..	13 years
Mahīpāla II	.. ..	a (unknown)
Sūrapāla II	.. ..	b ,,
Rāmapāla	.. ..	42 years
Kumārapāla	.. ..	4 ,, [2]
Gopāla III	.. ..	c (unknown)
Madanapāla	.. ..	19 years

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XIV, p. 140; *J.A.S.B.*, 1906, p. 445.

[2] It is quite clear from the wordings of the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva that Kumārapāla was the reigning king when that document was drawn up. The year 4, the date of the document, might therefore refer to the reign of Kumārapāla or that of Vaidyadeva in Kāmarūpa. In the first case Kumārapāla must have reigned for at least 4 years, in the second case, more than four; for Vaidyadeva was appointed ruler of Kāmarūpa by Kumārapāla sometime after the latter had ascended the throne.

	Name of kings.	Known reign period.	Approximate year of accession.
IV.	Vigrahapāla I or Śūrapāla I	3 years	850 A.D.
V.	Nārāyaṇapāla	54 ,,	860 ,,
VI.	Rājyapāla	24 ,,	915 ,,
VII.	Gopāla II	(longer than 24 years)	940 ,,
VIII.	Vigrahapāla II	....	970 ,,
IX.	Mahīpāla I	48 years	978 ,,
X.	Nayapāla	15 ,,	1026 ,,
XI.	Vigrahapāla III	13 (or 26 ?)[1]	1042 ,,
XII.	Mahīpāla II	....	1070 ,,
XIII.	Śūrapāla II	....	1075 ,,
XIV.	Rāmapāla	42 years	1077 ,,
XV.	Kumārapāla	....	1120 ,,
XVI.	Gopāla III	....	1125 ,,
XVII.	Madanapāla	19 years	1130 ,,
[XVIII.	? Govindapāla [2]	....	1150 ,,]

[1] A manuscript of the *Pañcarakṣā* was copied in the twenty sixth year of Vigrahapāla. It is thus quite clear that one of the three kings bearing that name must have ruled for at least 26 years. I have assigned this period to Vigrahapāla III, for, otherwise the accession of Dharmapāla will have to be pushed still further back, a hypothesis which is by no means favoured by the fact, noted above, that he probably met Govinda III in 808 A.D.

[2] Nothing is definitely known about the successors of Madanapāla. A stone inscription found at Gayā and the colophons of several manuscripts refer to a king Govindapāla. The inscription is dated in the Vikrama Samvat 1232 and "*Śrī Govinda-pāla-deva-gata-rājye caturddaśa-samvatsare.*" Two of the colophons are dated "*Śrīmad-Govindapāla-devasya atīta-samvatsa 18*" and "*Śrīmad-Govindapāla-devānām vinaṣṭa-rājye aṣṭa-triṁśat-samvatsare.*" I have attempted to prove in the accompanying paper on the Sena chronology that such expressions really mean that the years were counted from the cessation of the reign. If we accept this view we must hold, on the authority of the inscription of Govindapāladeva, that his reign was over 14 years before 1232 Vikrama Samvat. In other words, the king ceased to reign in 1162 or 1163 A.D. As I have placed the accession of Madanapāla in the year 1130 A.D., and the king is known to have reigned at least for 19 years, the end of his reign is brought quite close to the accession of Govindapāla: for it seems quite likely that Govindapāla succeeded Madanapāla not long after 1150 A.D., but was defeated, and his kingdom destroyed, by the Sena kings in 1162–3 A.D.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

SATARA RAJA'S

AND THE

PEISHWA'S DIARIES.

BY

THE LATE HON. MR. JUSTICE M. G. RANADE,
M., A. L. L. B., C. I. E.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

TO

SHAHU CHHATRAPATI AND THE PEISHWAS' DIARIES.

During the past two or three years, most of my leisure time has been devoted to the perusal of the Selections from the Peishwa's Diaries, commencing with the accession of Raja Shahu, and ending with the close of the reign of Bajirao II. These Selections have been prepared by Rao Bahadur Wâd from the original Marathi record, and they make up in all about 20,000 folio pages, including the English summary prepared in the Daftar office. The Selections cover a period of over a hundred years (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 they grappled with all 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 Peishwa'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 in value the 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 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 in 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 Peishwas, when, on the death of Shahu, the Maratha capital was removed from Satara to Poona. The deed executed by Raja Shahu empowered the Peishwa 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 Peishwas' 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-Mandal, 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 Peishwa was the Prime Minister and executive head of the Concil. The Pant Amatya had the charge of the revenue and account departments; the Pant Sachiva or Soornis 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 house-hold and there were two purely civil functionaries, the Nyayadhisha, and Nyayashastri or Panditrao, who represented the judicial and ecclesiastical departments. None of these offices were hereditary, and there were frequent transfers from one office to another. The Peishwa'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 the Sachiva and the Mantri, became hereditary after passing through three different families. The office of Commander-in-Chief became hereditary in the Dabhade family after it had been held by seven or eight chiefs, including Palkar, Gujar, Mohite, Ghorpade, Jadhav and other leaders. The same remark holds good of the other minor ministers. In the official order of precedence, the Peishwa was a smaller functionary than the Pant Pratinidhi, whose office was created by Rajaram at Jinji, and Pralhad Niraji was made the vice-gerent of the Raja. The fixed salary of the Pratinidhi was 15000 Hons, while for the Peishwa the salary was fixed at 13,000 Hons. The Mantri, Sachiva, and Senapati had 10,000 each, and the Nyayadhisha had 1000 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 Sarunjams besides, and special establishments. On the permanent establishments of these great departments, there were eight sets of officers, named Diwan, Mujumdar, Fadnis, Subnis, Karkhannis, Chitnis, Jamdar, and Potnis. By extending the principle of this subordination, certain officers, called Darakdar, 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 Karkhannis a Parbhu. It was this constitution which kept up the Maratha power throughout the troubled times which followed Shivaji'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 Shivaji'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 Peishwa 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 meeting, 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 Peishwas, 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 wild the authority exercised in their name by the Peishwas. Though they were honoured as titular heads of the State, their movements were kept under strict control. In fact after the failure of Damaji Gaikwad's attempt to undo the grants of the sanads transferring the power to the Peiswa, as noted above, the Raja was kept a prisoner in the fort of Satara, and an establishment of about Rs. 30,000 a year was attached to his Court. It was not till the elder Madhaorao Peishwa 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 associationg the great Military and Civil Commanders in the Councils of the State, but the Peishwas apparently contented themselves with

ignoring the usefulness of the Raj-Mandal, and substituting in its place the subordinate purely civil officials, Fadnis, Mujumdar, 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 Mujumdar, appear to have been retained by the Brahmin Government at Poona, and the rest, the Dewan, Karkhannis, Potnis and Jamdar, seem to havd been dropped, and the Peishwa's Fadnis superseded his superior the Mujumdar, and became virtually what Pant Pratinidhi was under Shahu's rule. This dimunition of the power of the Raj-Mandal, while it helped to strengthen the ascendency of the Peishwas 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 Peishwa'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 Peishwa, strove to be chief master in his territories, and only helped the common cause on occasions of great emergencies. Even the Peishwa's favourite commanders, Scindia, Holkar, and the Powars, followed the traditions of independence, which the Gaikwads, the Dabhades, and the Bhosles of Nagpur, who claimed to hold their possessions under Shahu's Sanads, had begun to cherish, as the equals of the Peishwas, 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 RajeBahadars, 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, where 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 Shivaji, 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; but he directed all

operations, ordered and recalled Commanders, and he exercised a great controlling power on the chiefs, though he led no armies in the field. It was due to his efforts that Gujarath was divided between the Peishwa and the Dabhades or Gaikwads in equal halves after the battle of Dabhoi. 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 Pratinidhis, Bhosles, 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 Peishwas succeeded in establishing their authority both over Jonoji Bhosale and Damaji Gaikwad, their submission was made reluctantly; and when the Peishwas 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 Bhosles 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 compel 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 Fadnavis 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 Peishwas 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 Peishwa'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 Peishwas 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, and the Nimbalkars, the Attoles, the Bhosles, the Powars, the Angres and the Dabhades distinguished themselves in the war, which led to the accession of Shahu to the throne. These were all Maratha leaders. In Shivaji's own time, the Brahmin leaders, Moropant Pingle, the Hanmantes, Abaji Sonadeo, Datto Annaji, and others played as prominent a part as did the Maratha Sirdars, Gujars, Mohites, Palkars, Kanks, and Malusares ; but in the wars of Indepenence, the Brahmin element chiefly exerted its influence in the Council, and not on the battle-field. In the time of the second Peishwa, the great leaders were Malhararao Holkar, Pilaji Jadhav, Ranoji Shinde, and his three sons. In Balaji Bajirao's time, the preponderance of the Maratha element continued and excepting the members of the Peishwa'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. The Shenvis (Goud Saraswat) rose to eminence in the Scindia's territory ; the Brahmin element in the 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 Purandares, the Panses, the Biniwales, the Patwardhans, the Mehendales, the Gokhles, the Ekbotes, 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, many of the Deshastha leaders took sides with Raghoba Dada, while the Konkanastha Sirdars followed the lead of the Poona ministers. Sakharam Bapu, the RajeBahadars, 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 II. suc-

ceeded to the throne, he had no sympathy with the section which had followed Nana Fadnawis, and the Patwardhans, the Raste, and Nana Fadnawis himself were the objects of bitterest hostility. 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 Shivaji, Rajaram and Shahu. The first half of the century was singularly free from these racial and caste jealousies. In 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 common weal. 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 Shivaji. The Konkanastha Brahmin Karkoons, who had the monopoly of all the Secretariat or Daftar offices, and received respectable salaries, obtained the privilege of having their goods exempted from Custom duties and terry 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 on this class in consideration of their sanctity. The record which relates to the time of Bajirao II. bears ample testimony to the extent of the abuses which followed this indulgence. The Dakshana charity, started with a view to encourage learning, became a grant generally 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 State expense at the great festivals with the costliest viands. All these distinguishing features of purely sacerdotal or caste ascendency 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. Ramdasa's high ideal of the religion 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 done 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 horse and man alike, and each trooper had his own favourite Commander, whose standard he followed. 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 successes 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 place of

entrenching themselves before the enemy and risking a pitched battle with the Afgans. The calamitous result of this over-confindence did not deter the Maratha Commanders from valuing highly the superior advantages of trained battalions disciplined in the European ways of war. Within ten years of the defeat at Panipat the Gardis, strengthened by this time by recruits from Arabs, Siddis or Abyssinians, Sheikhs, and other foreigners, were enlisted in large numbers at rates of pay often nearly equal to what was paid to the shilledar Cavalry for horse and man. The mercenary character of these men exhibited itself in the cruel death of Narayanrao Peishwa at their hands, and there was, for a time, 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 Scindia 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 Peishwas themselves, to engage foreign mercenaries and to rely chiefly on their support. Arabs, Gosawies, Sheikhs, 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 Pendharies, 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 the requisite knowledge of military strategy and the scientific processes necessary to command success in the usef and manufacture of superior arms, the helplessness, which, in the absence o such knowledge, generally 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 and the European officers left them, they were more helpless than ever on 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 Wellesly 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 organize a navy and place it under a Mahomedan Commander, who plundered far to the south on the Malabar coast and fought with the Siddis, it was not till the Angrias rose to power that the Marathas were able to dominate the sea-coast, and hold the Moghul admiral in check. Under the Peishwas, the Subha Armar was a part of the regular establishment, with its headquarters 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 Peishwa Balaji Bajirao co-operated with the English and helped them to crush Angria's 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 Peishwa'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 over-throw of pirates from the Cutch and Gujarath side. Altogether, in assisting the English to put down Angria's power, the Peishwas diminished the importance of their own navy for defensive and offiensive 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 a 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 larger forts for protection. Later on, Portuguese artillery-men were employed, and

guns were mounted on the battlements of the forts 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 Peishwas, 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 criminials of both 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 purposes of defence, and in many places they were neglected and allowed to go into dis-repair. 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 last century.

While in these higher spheres of statesmanship and the art of Government, the lines of departure pursued by the later Peishwas and their ministers indicated 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 gteat 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 more prosperous than 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 into 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 rapresented by this amount will be better understood when it is mentioned that the Peishwa'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 the elder Madhaorao Peishwa's time. That Prince had a heavy load of debt, amounting to some 24,00,000 Rs., which had to be satisfied by the assurance given at his death-bed by the ministers about him that his bonds would be discharged there and then. Under Nana Fadnavis's careful management, the finances appear to have greatly improved. and the accounts do not show that the debts contracted by him

Public debt.

exceeded a few lacs. The last Peishwa 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 Peishwas during this period show that, while anxious not to oppress the rayats, 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 ever realized) of village and Pargana revenues were, of course, seldom collected and were never meant to be realized. These amounts were reduced by the Government, so as to suit the conditions of the population and ensure their general prosperity, in fixing the 'Tankha' or realizable revenue, under the Mahomedan rule; and the Peishwas made large reductions in the 'Tankha' figures, whenever owing to war or famine, enquiries showed that such reductions had become necessary. Wherever the Batai or system of crop division obtained, the Government, after deducting for seeds and other necessary charges paid by the rayats, left $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the crop to the cultivator, and took the rest for the State. In Shivaji's time, the proportions are stated to have been $\frac{2}{5}$ and $\frac{3}{5}$. The Batai system was not much in favor, 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 complaint being made that it was too exhorbitant. When cash payments were required, or were convenient to the rayats, they were fixed at the low amount of 15, 20, or 30 Rs. per Khandy according to season. The Brahmins had to pay lighter rates of 5 maunds or there-abouts in Northern Konkan. In a settlement of the Neral Taluka, the cash rates were from 3 to 5 Rs. per bigha, according to the quality of the soil; and the sugar-cane rate was 5 Rs. per bigha. In the Nasik District, where the cash rates prevailed, Rs. 2 per bigha for good black soil, and Rs. I for middling soil of Jirait land, and 5 to 6 Rs. for Bagait lands were deemed to be reasonable rates. In the Khed Taluka, Poona District, the rate in the time of Bajirao II was 3 Rs. 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.

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 revenue management at 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 sepoys 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 rayats 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. In the time of the second Bajirao, the Kamavishi system gave place to what was 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 Peishwa 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 Peishwa, 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. 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) Gangathadi, 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 and 12) the two Armar Subhas, Vijayadurga and Bassein.

Remissions.

The Kamavishi System.

Ijara or farming system.

Revenue Divisions.

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 rayat had a joint responsibility. The country, on the whole, was prosperous.

Village autonomy.

The rates of wages were from Rs. 3 to 7 for menials and sepoys, and for higher artisans, very much what they now are outside the great towns, from 6 to 10 annas 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 foriegn 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 to other territories for a time. Besides granting remissions, for seeds or improvements the Peishwa's Government encouraged the Kamavisdar to make Tagai grants to the cultivators, as also for rebuilding houses, when destroyed by fire, and supplying cattle. The Government also undertook public works such 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

Wages and Prices.

Tagai advances.

Public Works.

Forced labour or wetha.

paid off. Under the earlier Peishwas, 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 Madhaorao's time, these grievances were partially redressed, and money payments were allowed to be substituted, to the convenience of both the parties. The State in this respect was more liberal than private matters. 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 his respect.

Other taxes.

Besides the land-tax, a number of other cesses were levied, chief among them being the house-tax, and shop-tax, called the 'Mohturfa.' In the Konkan Districts, tobaco imports were taxed at the Revadanda and other ports. The manufacture

Salt.

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. Toddy and Cocoanut trees were

Abkari.

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 Bhandaris 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 form 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

Ferries.

fees, marriage fees, the buffalo tax and the right of catching fish in some places. 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 very late creations, suggested by the greed of petty farmers, and yielded very scanty revenue. When the Ijara system was introduced by the second Bajirao, 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 Sirsubhas corresponding with our Commissioners. There were 5 such officers in the Konkan,

Carnatic, Khandesh, Gujarath and Baglan. On the whole, the Peishwa's Government kept up the reputation of a mild native rule. There was no separate department of Sea Customs, except the revenues assigned to the Subha Armars, under the Peishwas, 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, 3,00,000 Rs. towards the close of the century, and the income of the Poona Subha increased from 35,000 Rs. 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, tobaco, 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.

Customs.

Jakat or Land. Customs.

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 the customs. Judged by this test, it must be said to the credit of the Brahmin Peishwas 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 powers 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. 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 Tokekar, who lived in the reign of Bajirao II. The general arrangement appears to have been that the Kamavisdar, besides his revenue duties, had both civil and criminal powers attached to his office, and the proceeds of civil and criminal fine, upto a certain amount, in petty cases of assault, theft and similar offences, as also the payments

Justice.

Rama Shastri.

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. All accounts of fine 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. 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 15 per cent. on the value of the matter in dispute, the Gunhegari being about twice the figure for the Harki. In our modern sense of word, Small Cause suits for money due from debtors were very rare under the Maratha rule. As the creditors generally enjoyed large powers of enforcing their dues, by detaining debtors &c., the State-help was only required in the case of powerful persons, and in such cases 25 per cent. of the recoveries so made were claimed by the State as a charge for its help. 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 first 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, recourse was had to ordeal, and the decision depended upon the result. Out of some seventy contested cases, the decisions in which are recorded at length 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 Punch, 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.

Civil Cases.

Money Suits.

Vatan Suits.

In regard to criminal justice, it deserves to be noted that under Shahu Raja and the earlier Peishwas, the only punishments judicially administered were penal servitude, imprisonment, in the forts, confiscation of property, fine, and in a few cases, banishment beyond the frontiers. Capital punishment or mutilation appears to have been studiously and religiously avoided, even in cases of murder, treason, or dacoity. Mutilation was inflicted in a few cases in the reign of Madhaorao I; but even in the troublous times in which he lived, capital punishment was never inflicted. In Savai 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 of all castes were exempted from capital punishment. 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 time of Madhaorao I and increased in virulence when Raghoba Dada contested the throne. A comparative statement of figures compiled from the Selections will bring out this point more distinctly than any description in words.

Criminal.

In Shahu's time their were 8 trials for murder, in 5 of which the accused were acquitted, and only in three, the accused were convicted 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 6, confiscation of property was the only punishment awarded. When property was confiscated, steps were taken to make compensation to the heirs of the murdered persons by making a grant to them out of the confiscated property. In the time of Madhaorao I, there were 7 cases, in which persons were tried for murder. Fines were levied in 3, and Vatans were confiscated in 3 other cases, and in one, where the murderer was a Brahmin, confinement in the fort was ordered. In Nana Fadanavis' time, capital punishment was awarded in two cases, involving a number of criminals, and other 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 Selections, in which Brahmins were the offenders, and they were sent to prison. The punishment for petty treason, *i. e.*, for creating a rebellion or joining the enemy, was,

Murder.

Treason.

throughout the whole period, confinment in the forts, or confiscation of property. As regards persons convicted of political treason by way of attempts on the person of the Peishwas, or waging war against the State, the punishment meted out was that the criminal was trampled under the foot of an elephant. In dealing with armed dacoities, Madhaorao I and Nana Fadnavis inflicted more cruel punishments than in the case of private murders. Mutilations of hands and feet, which apparently disfigured the annals of criminal administration up to 1760, were first ordered in Madhaorao's reign, and in Nana Fadnavis' time whole-sale 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 their either hand or foot or ear 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 the members of the criminal tribes were not concerned. 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, *i. e.* State stores, where they were made to grind corn, and in the case of men, imprisonment or fine.

Dacoity.

Robbery.

Adultery.

As regards women convicted of adultery, condemned to penal servitude, or service in the Kothis or Stores, it may be noted that they lost their status and freedom, and were treated as slaves. Their progeny especially was regarded as the children of no father, but were only known by their mother's names. The ranks of these condemned slaves had accession made to them of other persons from the lowest classes who lived by prostitution, and children captured in foreign territory by Banjaris or Lamans, who brought them for sale in Peishwa's territory. Slavery so recruited thus became a recognized institution, and men and wome-slaves were transferrable like the dumb cattle from one owner to another for 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 from charitable considerations. The slaves, on the whole, appear to have been kindly treated, especially those women-slaves who were made to work in the Peishwa's Kothis, or in private houses.

Slaves.

There was one kind of criminal offence not known to our modern code, which seems to have been severely punished under the Peishwas. 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 Peishwas, regular officers with establishments were employed for the discovery and punishments of witches and wizards 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. 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. False coinage, and offences regarding weights and measures were punished with fines and imprisonment. Abduction and seduction, theft and cheating were punished with 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 was sympathetic and mild to a degree unknown before or since. The punishments were adequate to the offence and 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. 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 over-took Raghoba's other friends, chiefly Parbhus, Raghunath Hari, Baburao Hari, and others. Nana Fadnavis' own near relative Moro Baburao was similarly sent to prison, and in Bajirao II'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 Peishwas. 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.

Casting evil spirits.

Perjury.

Cow-killing.

Other offences.

State prisoners.

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 Patil and Kulkarni, and the Jaglias or watchmen, consisting of Mahars and Mangs, secured their internal quiet, and in the large villages or towns,

Police.

each man had to do watch duty at the Chowdi by turns. Besides the Shibandis and the village Police, in large towns 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 towns. 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 householders. The appointments of scavengers were made at Poona, Nagar, Phandharpur, 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 Kamavisdars.

City Kotwals.

Conservancy.

In the Miscellaneous Departments, Mints occupied an important place. I have treated the subject of the Mints under the Maratha rule in a seperate paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society. The Post Office did not occupy any recognized position under the Maratha rule. Special agencies were employed on particular occasions, when the armies went to Hindustan or to the Karnatic. These special agencies consisted of special Jasuds or Kassids *i. e.* runners, who apparently took 18 days to go to Delhi from Thalner, and 13 days from Maheshwar, and they were paid handsomely, 3 Rs. a day, the amount being regulated inversely accordng to the number of days they took for the journey. When the Peishwas had to correspond with Calcutta, they sent their Jasuds to Burhanpur, and thence these runners took on the post to Benares where an English officer, in charge of postal arrangements, dispatched the Peishwa's post to Calcutta. In the wars in the Karnatic, the Peishwas 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 State Postal Service for private or official use appears to have been maintained, and the private work was done by the employees of Sawkars, who made these long journies to carry remittances, at stated intervals, andtook the private post of those who cared to correspond with their distant relations.

Mints.

Post.

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

Medicine.

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 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 at Wai 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 Selections 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 in the case of soldiers who lost their lives on the battle-field. Hundreds of such instances are mentioned in the Selections, 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, or Hindus and Mahomedans. All those, who had received wounds or had died in the service of the State, were generously treated without distinction.

Religous Charities.

The same liberality was shown in the distribution of grants to religions. 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 lacs, which attest to the generosity of the State in this respect.

Honorific titles.

Under Raja Shahu, the function of the State of ganting 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 Peishwas, this function was more sparingly excercised, and the honors 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 Selections show that in Balaji Bajirao's time, the Punna Diamond mines in Bundelkhand were worked to advantage under concessions granted by the Peishws. 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 were shown to the European traders who sought admission for their goods into the country. Liberal concessions were made for enlarging the limits of the more prosperous towns by grant of land, exemptions, and Vatans to those who undertook to bring foreign settlers and induced 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 Peishwa'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. The prosperity of Poona attracted a large

Extension of Poona.

numeber 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 16suburbs or Peiths, all of them established by private citizens under State patronage, and named after the principal Sardars or of the members of the Peishwa family.

Encouragement of learing.

Reference has already been made to the Dakshina grant paid to Shastris, Pundits and Vaidiks. This Dakshina was insituted 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 Rs. 60, 000 in Nana Fadnavis' 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, Mithil or Behar and Benares, as also from the South, the Telangan, Dravid and the Karnatic–flocked to Poona, and were honoured with distinctions and rewards, securing to them 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 or open enclosures, while the learned people who refused to take part in the miscellaneous assembly, were invited to the Peishwa's Palace and were honoured with Shawls, and money gifts according to their tested merits. The amount thus 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 learning, and this credit it continued to enjoy even after the down-fall of the Peishwas, 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 grants 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 had for his patron the Baramatikar Joshis. As regards the lower classes, the national fondness for *Powadas* 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 II'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 the implicit belief in the superstitions of the time. Reference has already been made to the attempted regulations of the practice of exercising 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 sight, 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 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 Yajnas, 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 patronised 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 Selections 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 gods with the Brahmins were Mahadeo who had 40 temples, and Ganpati who 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 ; Dattatraya had only one temple for his worship, and there were 8 places of Mahomedan Dargas held in veneration.

Too great a tress 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 body of men should be condemned for simply following the current of the time. The Peishwa'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 freq ent 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 Balaji 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, surnamed Raste, 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 their admission 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, 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 patel 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 the right 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 Peishwas 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 Peishwa's Government interfered, the betrothal was set aside, and the bride's father was permitted to give his girl to whom-so-ever 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 wife-hood, till the day of her death, which took place in 1783, twenty one 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 mean-while and claimed to be Sadashivrao Bhau himself, and had to be put down after great exertions by the Peishwa'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 again in 1776, and he was sentenced to be trodden under foot by an elephant. Narayanrao Peishwa's widow was similarly allowed to remain without disfigurement for several years during the time she survived her husband's death. Though the Selections 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 Peishwa. But Bhau had to give up his idea under pressure of his own female relations.

As between caste and caste, the Peishwas 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 bride-groom to ride on horse-back was upheld against the carpenters and blacksmiths 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 Narayanrao Peishwa'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 or thread ceremony performed as before. A Konkani Kalal or publican, who had been put out of his caste, because he had given his daughter in marriage to a Gujarathi Kalal, complained to the Peishwa, 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 Peishwas in Shahu's time issued orders 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 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 Peishwa showed considerable skill, in supplementing the more lenient 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 a second gift of girls in-

formally married or engaged by force or fraud, 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 Maratha and Brahmin 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 what 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 Peishwa's Diaries may fitly conclude here.

The Civil, Criminal and Revenue administration of the Peishwas compares favorably with that of the best Hindu or Mahomedan rulers of the time. It was wanting, certainly, in the higher statesman-ship of Akbar or Shivaji, 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 it 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 claims of a higher civilization, and to study the development of 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 our writers and publicists would take that lesson to heart and profit by it.

NOTES ON THE IDENTITY OF KETUMAN AND THE ALLEGED KETUBHADRA OF THE KHARAVELA INSCRIPTION.

BY

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II.—Notes on the Identity of Ketuman and the Alleged Ketubhadra of the Kharavela Inscription.

(I)

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Calcutta University.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal traced the name "Ketubhadra" in line 11 of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, and identified him with the hero Ketumān described in the Mahābhārata. The identification was based upon the following particulars gleaned by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal:—"Ketumān commanded the army of Kalinga in the great war as Commander-in-Chief of the Kalinga forces. He was the eldest son of the King of Kalinga. He fought a great battle against Bhīma and had a heroic end on the battlefield."[1]

In an article in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1919, I expressed doubt about the correctness of the reading *Ketubhadra* and maintained that it was a serious error on the part of Mr. Jayaswal to look upon Ketumān as a Kalinga hero. I quoted and referred to relevant verses from the Mahābhārata, Bhīshma Parvan, Chapter 54 and came to the conclusion that "Ketumān was not only not a king or even a prince of Kalinga but was a *Nishāda* by caste and his forces are clearly distinguished from the Kalinga army".[2]

Mr. B. C. Bhattacharya has challenged the accuracy of my contention in the last number of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society[3] although, strangely enough, he has not dealt with any of the verses which I quoted and referred to in my

[1] J. B. O. R. S., 1917, p. 437.

[2] Ind. Ant. 1919, p. 199.

[3] Vol. VI. part 1, p. 155.

article. On the other hand, he has quoted several verses from the same chapter of the Mahābhārata in support of the original contention of Mr. Jayaswal. So it becomes necessary to re-open the question and I am thankful to Mr. Bhattacharya for having given me an opportunity to discuss, at some length, a point to which a short reference alone appeared at first to have been quite sufficient.

Ketumān is mentioned in Bhīshma Parvan, Chapter 17, which describes the army of Duryodhana, and verse 32 informs us that the lord of all Kalingas went to Duryodhana with Ketumān. Mr. Bhattacharya has quoted it in support of his view, and apparently the way in which the poet mentions these two names together has led him to infer some relationship between the two. The fact, however, that two heroes march together for a common purpose does not necessarily indicate any relationship between them. That this was at least the view of the poet is clearly indicated by verse 20 which states that Śaivya went with other kings to Duryodhana, the expression used in this case, viz. *sahitah sarva-rājabhih yayau* being an exact counterpart of *yayau Ketumatā sahā* in the other case. It is thus obvious that the passage in question indicates no more relationship between the king of Kalinga and Ketumān than what existed between Śaivya and other kings.

We next meet with Ketumān in Chapter 51 of Bhīshma Parvan which describes the arrangement of Duryodhana's army in the battlefield. We learn from verse 18 that Śrutāyu, who, as Chapter 54 informs us, was the king of Kalinga, was placed on the right side of the *vyūha*, while, according to verse 20, the back of the *vyūha* was protected by Ketumān and others. Mr. Bhattacharya has not referred to this passage, but it lends support to the view that Ketumān and the king of Kalinga were leaders of independent armies.

We next come to Chapter 54 of the Bhīshma Parvan which describes the terrific conflict between Bhīma and a wing of Duryodhana's army. It appears from the concluding portion of Chapter 53 that Duryodhana directed the Kalinga army to protect Droṇa against Bhīma. This explains the first two verses

of Chapter 54 wherein Dhṛitarāshṭra asks of Sañjaya the details of the conflict between Kalinga army and Bhīma. In reply, Sañjaya first describes (verses 3—8) the two parties in deadly combat. There was Śrutāyu, king of the Kalinga, along with the Nishāda king Ketumān on the one side, while, on the other, Bhīma was helped by the Chedis, the Matsyas and the Kārushas. Thus we read

" Bhīmasenaḥ Kaliṅgānām=ārchchhad=Bhārata vāhinīm |
Ketumantaṁ cha Naishādim=āyāntaṁ saha Chedibhiḥ ||5
Tataḥ Śrutāyuḥ saṁkruddho rājñā Ketumatā saha |
Asasāda raṇe Bhīmaṁ vyūḍh=ānīkeshu Chedishu || 6
Rathair=aneka-sāhasraiḥ Kaliṅgānāṁ Narādhipa |
Ayutena gajānāṁ cha Nishadāiḥ saha Ketumān || 7 (Kumbakonam Edition).

Now these verses definitely establish :—

(1) That Śrutāyu, the king of Kalinga, himself led the army in the battlefield.

(2) That Ketumān was a Nishāda King. (Cf. *Naishādi* in v. 5 and *rājñā Ketumatā saha* in v. 6.)

(3) That the army of the king of Kalinga was strong in chariots, of which there were thousands.

(4) That the army of Ketumān was strong in elephants of which there were tens of thousands.

It would further follow from the third and the fourth points above, that the Kalinga army was different from that of Ketumān, a conclusion which is further supported by the fact that in other subsequent passages also the Kalinga army and the Nishāda army are mentioned separately (cf. v. 15).

After describing the fight in general terms in verses 9—27, Sañjaya next refers to the encounter between Bhīma and Śakradeva, the son of Śrutāyu, the king of Kalinga (verses 18—24). It was fatal to the Kalinga prince, although he fought long and bravely.

Sañjaya next describes how Śrutāyu, the king of Kalinga,[4]

[4] Cf. v. 25. *Hatam-ātma-sutaṁ dṛishṭvā Kaliṅgānāṁ janādhipaḥ.* This clearly shows that Śrutāyu was the king of Kalinga.

on seeing his son killed, proceeded to fight with Bhīma and was killed by the latter (verses 28—75). We are told that in course of this fight Bhīma killed Bhānumān who is referred to as prince or *rājaputra* (verses 34-40). It is quite clear from the context that Bhānumān was another son of the king of Kalinga and the celebrated commentator Nīlakaṇṭha clearly states this in his commentary.[5]

Next Sañjaya informs us in verses 77 that Bhīma then killed Ketumān. Lastly he describes (verses 78-105) how the Kshatriya warriors of Kalinga continued their fight with Bhīma and were mostly destroyed by the latter. These verses, coming immediately after the one in which the death of Ketumān is described, has led Mr. Bhattacharya to suppose that the Kalingas fought to avenge the death of Ketumān. He evidently ignores the fact that the more important events of the day were the successive fights between Bhīma and the king and princes of Kalinga. The poet describes this episode in more than fifty verses while the fight and death of Ketumān is referred to in a single verse. The Nishāda chief, as already stated before, accompanied the king of Kalinga, and when the latter and his two sons were killed in the fight, he too fought and met with death at the hands of Bhīma. If, then, the Kshatriya warriors of Kalinga continued the fight, it was certainly to avenge the death of their own heroes rather than that of the Nishāda chief. The use of the term Kshatriya with reference to the Kalingas seems to be decisive on the point.

After the battle was over Sātyaki congratulated Bhīmasena in the following words on the happy results of the battle :—

Dishṭyā Kāliṅga-rājaś=cha rājaputraś=cha Ketumān |
Śakradevaś=cha Kālingaḥ Kalingāś=cha mṛidhe hatāḥ || 121.

This passage has been translated as follows by Mr. P. C. Ray :—

"By good luck the king of the Kalingas, and Ketumat, the prince of the Kalingas, and Śakradeva also of that country, and all the Kalingas, have been slain in battle."

[5] *Bhānumatnaṁ Kaliṅgātmajam.*

Mr. Bhattacharya has accepted this translation, but those who have carefully followed the analysis of the whole chapter given above cannot fail to detect its unreliable character. In the first place the term *rājaputra* cannot be applied to Ketumān, because, as we have seen above, he has been expressly called a *rājā* in verse 6. Next, we must remember that four heroes were killed by Bhīma in course of that day's fight, viz., Śrutāyu, his two sons, Bhānumān (called *rājaputra* in verse 40) and Śakradeva, and lastly Ketumān. It is quite clear that in verse 121 where Śatyaki summarizes the results of the battle *he refers to those four persons, and rājaputra must therefore refer to Bhānumān.*

The verse should therefore be properly translated as follows :—

" By good luck, the Kalinga king, the prince (Bhānumān), Ketumān and also Śakradeva, the Kalinga, as well as all the Kālingas have been killed by you in this battle."

To recapitulate. Mr. Bhattacharya's objections against my point of view have been summarized by himself as follows :—

" When the battle begins (Chapter 53, verses 38-41, Chapter 54) Ketumān leads the army, he is 'at its head' (Pratap Chandra Ray) ; he is mentioned with the king in Chapter 17 in the earliest reference. At his death the Kalinga army is enraged ; he is expressly called the 'son of the king' placed just after 'the king.' Yet according to the critic he did not command the Kalinga forces nor was he a Kalinga hero nor a Kalinga prince."

Against this I maintain, that there is *absolutely nothing* in the original texts of the Mahābhārata referred to above, or in P. C. Ray's translation thereof, which might indicate that Ketumān led the army or was 'at its head'; on the other hand, it is Śrutāyu who is said to be " at the head of Kalinga troops " (verses 67, 68 ; P. C. Ray's translation). It is true that Ketumān is mentioned with the king, but it has been demonstrated above that that does not indicate any relationship between the two. If the Kalinga army was enraged after his death,

it is fully explained by the fact that not only their king but both their princes met with death in the course of that day. Lastly, it has been shown above that it is a mistake to suppose that Ketumān is called the son of the king of Kalinga.

On the other hand, as Śrutāyu, the king of Kalinga as well as his two sons actually took part in the fight, and as Ketumān is expressly called a Nishāda king and not even once referred to as Kalinga or Kālinga, the "critic" may after all be right in holding that he did not command the Kalinga forces, nor was he a Kalinga hero nor a Kalinga prince. Mr. Bhattacharya thinks that although Ketumān is called a Nishāda chief it does not necessarily mean that he could not be the king of Kalinga, for, in his opinion, "Kalinga has been always the home of the Nishādas". He evidently forgets, however, that Chapter 54 of the Bhīshma Parvan, the very chapter which forms the main subject of discussion, expressly calls the Kalingas to be Kshatriyas :—

Tataḥ Kalingāḥ sannaddhā Bhīmasenam=amarshaṇam ।
Anīkair=vahu-sāhasraiḥ Kshatriyāḥ samavārayan ॥ 78.

As regards Mr. Jayaswal's contention that Ketumān

(*i*) commanded the army of Kalinga,
(*ii*) was the eldest son of the king of Kalinga,
(*iii*) fought a great battle against Bhīma, and
(*iv*) had a heroic end on the battlefield,

we have seen that there is absolutely no foundation for (*i*) and (*ii*), and the single verse in which the poet refers to his fight and death lends but little support to (*iii*) and (*iv*).

In conclusion a few words may be said regarding the identity of Ketumān. As we have seen he was a Nishāda king. Chapter 132 of the Ādi Parvan introduces us to a line of Nishāda kings in connexion with the episode of Ekalavya. We are told in verse 31 that Ekalavya was the son of the Nishāda king Hiraṇyadhanus. That this line of kings was friendly to Duryodhana is quite clear from Chapter 179 of Droṇa Parvan where Kṛishṇa tells Arjuna that had he not

already killed Jarāsandha, Śiśupāla and Ekalavya, they would have sided with Duryodhana and made his forces unconquerable. The same epithet *Naishādi* which is applied to Ketumān in Bhīshma Parvan, Chapter 54 v. 5 is also applied to Ekalavya in several places in Ādi Parvan, Chapter 132, and Droṇa Parva, Chapter 179. It seems quite likely therefore that the Nishāda king Ketumān who fought on behalf of Duryodhana belonged to this line of kings. This is not of course advanced as a definite assertion, but merely intended to suggest a line of further investigation.

(II)

By Pandeya Jagannatha Prasad, M.A., B.L., University Lecturer in Sanskrit, Patna.

I have read with great interest the controversy which has been raised on the proposed identity of Ketumān and Ketubhadra of the Khāravela Inscription. I do not want to discuss here as to whether Mr. Jayaswal is right on epigraphical grounds in reading what he has read as Ketubhadra. I take it for granted that the reading is correct. The question which, then, must be discussed is whether Mr. Jayaswal is right in identifying Ketubhadra with the Ketumān of the Mahābhārata[1] verse :—

दिष्ट्या कालिङ्गराजश्च राक्षसश्च केतुमान्।
शुक्रदेवश्च कालिङ्गः कलिङ्गश्च मृधे हतः॥
भीष्मपर्व ५४। १२१

I think Mr. Jayaswal is right. Ketubhadra can stand for Ketumān in the same way as Rāmabhadra of the Uttararāmacharita for Rāmachandra and Vāsubhadra of the Saundarānanda for Vāsudeva, brother of Balarāma.

I maintain, as did Mr. Bhattāchārya, that the way in which the poet mentions Kālinga-rāja and Ketumān in the verse quoted above would lead any Sanskritist to infer relationship

[1] The reference throughout this note is to the Kumbakonum edition of the Mahā-bhārata.

between the two. The *cha* (in Samāhāra) as they occur in the *Śloka* indicate this. Mr. P. C. Ray's translation of the passage is therefore right according to Sanskrit usage.

Those who have cared to go through the whole of the Mahā-bhārata will remember that there were more than one Ketumān. The first Ketumān mentioned in the Sabhā Parvan [2], Chapter 4, verses 15 to 38, waited among others (including Śrutāyudha, probably a variant for Śrutāyus, and the second Ketumān) upon Yudhishṭhira and has been called "Kshatriya"—whatever his national denomination might have been.

The next question which needs consideration is whether Ketumān was a Nishāda king. He has nowhere been mentioned as such in the Mahā-bhārata. Are we, then, justified in inferring his Nishāda-hood from the admitted fact of his having led the Kalinga forces which included the Nishāda army after they had been once routed by Bhīma?

Dr. R. C. Majumdar draws attention to the following verses from Chapter 54 of the Bhīshma Parvan :

भीमसेनः कलिङ्गानामाच्छिद्याद्भारत वाहिनीम् ।
केतुमन्तं च नैषादिमायान्तं सह चेदिभिः ॥
ततः श्रुतायुः संक्रुद्धो राज्ञा केतुमता सह ।
आससाद रणे भीमं प्लुठा नीकेषु चेदिषु ॥
रथैरनेकसाहस्रैः कलिङ्गानां नराधिप ।
अयुतेन गजानांच निषादैः सह केतुमान् ॥

Add the following line to complete the sentence : भीमसेनं रणे राजन्समन्तात्पर्यवारयत् ।

From the above verses Dr. Majumdar concludes :

1. That Śrutāyus, the King of Kalinga himself led the army in the battlefield.

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[2] It is reasonable to suppose the first Ketumān who is mentioned along with Vasudāna is the *rājaputra* of the Śloka under controversy. Cf. Sabhā Parvan, Slokas 37 and 38 of Chapter IV.

"एते चान्येच बहवः क्षत्रिया सुखसम्मताः । उपासते सभायां स्म कुन्ति पुत्रं युधिष्ठिरम् ॥"

Dr. Majumdar of course means "The King of Kalinga himself in accompaniment with Rājā Ketumān,[3] who [4]कलिङ्गानामनेक साहस्रै रथै:, गजाना मयुतेन, निषादेश्च सह रणे भीमसेनं समन्ता त्पर्यवारयत् after the Kalinga forces were routed by Bhīma". I venture to think that Mr. Jayaswal means but this.

2. That Ketumān was a Nishāda King (cf. नैषादि in verse 5 and राज्ञा केतुमता सह in verse 6).

I regret to find that he was not. Dr. Majumdar seems to have fallen into an error in interpreting केतुमन्तंच नैषादिमायान्त सह चेदिभि:। It means (भीमसेन:) केतुमन्तं चेदिभि: सहायान्तं नैषादिंच (आच्छिंद्) केतुमान् and नैषादि must be held, for the sake of समन्वय (consistency) with the नैषादि of the 8th Book of the Mahā-bhārata, to be entirely two different persons. Dr. Majumdar evidently forgets that Nāishādi (the actual Nishāda King) lived a fortnight longer than Ketumān. The latter was killed on the second day of the battle, the former on the seventeenth. I would draw the attention of Dr. Majumdar to the following verses of the Mahā-bhārata.

एष नैषादि रभ्ये ति द्विप मुख्येन पाण्डवम्।
विसृजे स्तोमरान्क्रुद्धो दण्डपाणि रिवान्तक:।
तस्य चैव भुजौ छिन्नौ भीमसेनेन गर्जत:।

८।६२।६१-६२।

This clearly establishes that Ketumān was not a Nishāda King on the very authority Dr. Majumdar cites. As regards Ketumān being called a "rājā", I would suggest that he was a Kālinga Yuvarāja, or perhaps a minor *rājā* from a territorial point of view. Readers of the Mahā-bhārata know that there were several *rājās* in Kalinga—Śrutāyus most likely being the Lord paramount. Then the use of "*rājā*" in courtesy is common enough in the Mahā-bhārata, e.g. Bhīshma is so called very often. The practice has, in orthodox circles, continued

[3] "There, the prince of the Nishādas, filled with rage, is coming against the son of Pandu, on his foremost of elephants from desire of slaying him with his lances, even like the Destroyer himself armed with his bludgeon". P. C. Roy.

[4] "Who with several thousands of Kalinga chariots and ten thousand elephants surrounded Bhima on all sides."

down to the present day. A penniless person would be addressed a Mahārāja if otherwise meritorious. That a "*rājaputra*" should be called a "*rāja*" is but in the fitness of things, without Ketumān was a valiant hero.

3. That the army of the King of Kalinga was strong in chariots, of which there were thousands.

Yes. That was so. But the context would tend to make the army stronger: say—"was strong in chariots, of which there were thousands, and in elephants, of which there were ten thousand."

4. That the army of Ketumān was strong in elephants, of which there were tens of thousands.

There is absolutely nothing in the verses quoted above to warrant this conclusion. Dr. Majumdar's argument seems to be "begging the question".

Ketumān had no army of his own other than the Kalinga forces.

Dr. Majumdar further concludes that the Kalinga army was different from that of Ketumān.

There is no basis whatsoever for Dr. Majumdar's conclusion. The Kalinga army was separate from the Nishāda army, but the Nishāda army was not the army of Ketumān. The Mahabhārata simply says that Ketumān led an army which included Nishādas.

The fact that Kalingas have been called Kshatriyas does not improve Dr. Majumdar's position. The Kālingarāja himself even if a Nishāda could, on account of his prowess, be called a Kshatriya. The term "Rājā" strictly meaning a Kshatriya is applied to non-Kshatriya princes in Hindu Polity. Reference has been made above to certain verses of the Sabhā Parvan where even Yavanas, Kirātas and other non-Brahmanic races have been called Kshatriyas—and Kalinga like Vanga was certainly a non-Brahmanic country.

The Nishādas seem to have met Aryan Kshatriyas on terms of equality in those days. Dr. Majumdar, of course, knows how Rāmachandra met Guha, the Nīshāda Chief, and how

Kshṇa's aunt Śrutadevā married the King of the Nishādas.

The question as to whether Ketumān was a hero and fought a great battle against Bhīma and had a heroic end in the battlefield (two of the original contentions of Mr. Jayaswal), I would only refer the reader and Mr. Bhattacharya's "critic" to the Mahā-bhārata where occur sentences such as[5]—"यो ऽ बधीत्केतुमान्वीरो राजपुत्रं दुरासदम् । अपरान्त गिरिद्वारे दीर्णात्रस्तु न्यवारयत् ॥"[2] ७।१०।४४। Just as Bhānumān and Kālingarāja took part in the second day's frightful fight as Kālinga, so did Ketumān, all facts taken into consideration.

In conclusion I would venture to suggest that problems of the Mahā-bhārata require a thorough study, and thus alone the cause of scientific investigation can be furthered.

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[5] "Who resisted the heroic Ketumat for keeping him away from Drona, the brave Ketumat who slew prince Durjaya while the latter had taken shelter in Girivraj."—P. C. Roy on his slightly different text of above śloka.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE ALLEGED SAISUNAGA STATUES.

BY

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III.—Inscriptions on the Alleged S'aiś'unaga Statues.

By R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Calcutta University.

When Mr. Jayaswal announced his discovery of the S'aiś'unāga statues criticism was chiefly directed against three points, viz.—

1. His reading of the inscriptions.
2. His interpretation of the records so read.
3. His estimate of the age of the characters.

Mr. R. D. Banerji originally supported the first two points with slight reservations, although he could not agree to the third.[1] Mr. Rama Prasad Chanda and myself objected to all the three.[2]

Mr. R. D. Banerji has now favoured us with a systematic discussion of our views in course of a lengthy defence of the theory originally propounded by Mr. Jayaswal.[3] In doing so, however, he has considerably narrowed down the issues and seems now to have concerned himself with only the first of the three points noticed above. "Personally," says Mr. Banerji, "I am concerned with the reading of the inscriptions on these two specimens in the Calcutta Museum because I supported Mr. Jayaswal's readings partially in a note published in a previous issue in this Journal."[4] It is quite clear, however, that in the note he has referred to he did concern himself also with the interpretation of the record, and laid down his opinion as follows :— "There may be difference of opinion about the different parts of

[1] J.B.O.R.S., 1919, p. 210.
[2] *Indian Antiquary*, 1919, p. 25ff.
[3] J.B.O.R.S., 1920, p. 40ff.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 40.

Mr. Jayaswal's theory but there cannot be two opinions about the readings *Aco* and *Vata Nandi* and therefore Mr. Jayaswal's identification of these two pieces of sculpture as statues as against images and as statues of two Śais'unāka emperors, Aja-Udayin and Varta-Nandin, rests on very solid grounds".[5] Against this I pointed out that even if we accept the readings *Aco* and *Vaṭa Nandi* it does not necessarily follow that they are to be taken as the names of Śais'unāga kings, and that there were insuperable difficulties in the way of an interpretation of this kind. I expressed a hope at the same time that Mr. Banerji would offer satisfactory explanation of all these difficulties. In reply, Mr. Banerji informs us in a general way, that personally he is concerned with the reading of the inscriptions, and makes no attempt to solve the difficulties to which I had prominently drawn his attention, beyond observing as follows:—" Dr. Majumdar thinks that I committed a grave breach of the critical method when I agreed with Mr. Jayaswal in thinking that the first four syllables are *bhage Aca* or *Aco* and in taking *Aco* to be a proper name. I am perfectly sure that on the analogy of the statue of Nand(i) the word following *bhage* can be taken to be a proper name with a tolerable degree of certainty ".[6]

It appears, however, that Mr. Banerji has attached some weight to my arguments against the unusual formation of the royal name *Vaṭa Nandī*, and HAS TACITLY GIVEN IT UP, accepting simply Nandi instead. This is evident from the fact that he now refers to the statue of *Nandī* and not to that of *Varta Nandī* as he did on the last occasion and no longer writes the word *varta* with a capital *V*. Will Mr. Banerji be so good as to let us know whether I am right in understanding him as I have done?

But the substitution of *Nandī* for *Vaṭa Nandī*, although it removes some of the objections, does not improve the matter much. The difficulty of taking this word, detached from its context, as a personal name, and looking upon this again as that

[5] J.B.O.R.S., 1919, p. 210.
[6] *Ibid*, 1920, p. 45.

of a Śais'unāga emperor, although there is no distinct reference to any royal title or designation, far less to any dynastic appellation, remains as insuperable as before. In these circumstances I leave it to scholars to judge how far Mr. Banerji is justified in taking *Aco* to be a proper name on the analogy of the statue of *Nandī*.

Then, as regards the reading of the inscriptions, it will serve no useful purpose to discuss at length our respective views about each individual letter. I shall therefore confine myself to some of the more important issues involved in the discussion.

Mr. Banerji still contends that the first letter which Mr. Chanda and myself read as *ya* really consists of two letters, viz. *sa* and *ba*. It may be mentioned here that since our papers were published Dr. Barnett and Mr. Allan have given out as their opinion that the letter must unquestionably be read as *ya*. As a matter of fact the vertical straight line of *sa*, to quote Mr. Banerji's own language, "exists in imagination", not on the stone. It is indeed a matter of surprise that he still persists in saying that the vertical line was pointed to Mr. Jayaswal by myself although I fully explained my share in it in my previous article.

Then, again, the letter which Mr. Banerji reads as *ba* is distinctly a square open at the top. Mr. Banerji of course thinks that the top bar of the square *ba* is partly distinct and in part faintly traceable on the stone. But this is to quote his own language "purely imaginary." We have carefully examined the stone and cast but have failed to find any trace of the bar. Mr. Banerji takes exception to my reading of the fifth letter as *ji*. He observes that a *ja* like this is not to be found in an inscription "which can safely be referred to the first three centuries immediately preceding the birth of Christ".[7] I invite Mr. Banerji's attention to the *j* of *rājena* in line 7 of the Besnagar Pillar Inscription of Heliodorus.[8] Mr. Banerji, however, evidently forgets that on palæographic grounds I have referred the inscription to the first or the second century A.D.

[7] J.B.O.R.S., 1920, p. 43.

[8] *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey*, No. I. Pl. II.

and not to "any of the three centuries immediately preceding the birth of Christ." If Mr. Banerji would refer to the *j* figured in Bühler's Table III. Columns XII. and XV. and suppose a thick line like the fold-line of our inscription passing along its central bar, the letter would be very much like the semi-circular *j* of our record. As to the slanting *i* mark, I draw Mr. Banerji's attention to the *ji* in Bühler's Table III. Column IV.

As regards the last letter which I read as 70 Mr. Banerji observes :—"Dr. Majumdar ought to have considered that in the last syllable we have no curved lines but on the other hand three verticle and two horizontal straight lines whereas all symbols for 70 in Bühler's Table IX. of Bühler's *Indian Palæography* consist almost entirely of curves. I say 'almost entirely' because the symbol in column IX. contains a single vertical straight line".[9] The fact, however, is that the figure for 70 in column IV. of Bühler's Table IX. contains at least two vertical and one horizontal straight lines, and that columns V., XI. and XII. at least one vertical straight line; whereas the last letter in our record contains but one vertical straight line with two lines at its two ends which are not a whit less curvilinear than those in corresponding position in Table IX. Column XI.

As regards the second inscription, Mr. Banerji now holds the reading *bhaga* as certain although in his previous article he held it to be "not sure" on the ground that "the right upper vertical which is characteristic of this consonant is missing".[10] As this right upper vertical is still wanting it is difficult to assign any reason for this change of view on the part of Mr. Banerji.

As regards my reading the first letter as *ga* Mr. Banerji observes :—"Can any one show a *ga* with a horizontal line on its top which forms right or obtuse angles with the vertical lines in the first two centuries before or after Christ?"[11] I can

[9] J.B.O.R.S., 1920, p. 43.
[10] *Ibid*, 1920, p. 212.
[11] *Ibid*, 1920, 46.

well retort with regard to the alternative reading *bha* "Can any one show a *bh* consisting of two vertical lines hanging down from the two ends of a horizontal line, but without any upper vertical stroke, not only in the first two centuries before or after Christ, but in the whole system of ancient Indian alphabet?" But my case is not as desperate, for we meet with angular *g* like the one we have here in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription and I have already explained on page 30 of my article why we can expect a similar form in the present record. It is difficult to understand why Mr. Banerji has not referred to my arguments on this point.

With regard to the third letter which I read as *la* Mr. Banerji observes:—"In all cases of this form the hook which forms the left limb of this letter in the Kushana form or in the Eastern Gupta variety, is attached after the suppression of the base, to the lower extremity of the long vertical line on the right..... and in no case do we find that this hook is attached not to the extremity but in the middle or even slightly above the lower end of this verticle straight line".[12] I beg to invite the attention of Mr. Banerji to the Meherauli Pillar Inscription where the hook of *la* is attached not only above the lower end of the verticle straight line but sometimes almost to the middle of it (e.g. *la* in *Vāhlikā jalanidhi* and °*vīryyāni-lāir*° in l. 2.[13] Regarding the upper hook in this letter which I took to be the medial *e* sign on the analogy of some letters in the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela, Mr. Banerji categorically asserts that "in all these cases medial *e* is denoted as in As'oka inscriptions by *a perfectly straight horizontal line running to the proper left*".[14] But the hook is quite distinct in *rājavase* (l. 3) and fairly discernible in *lekharupa* (l. 2) and *cheta* (l. 1) in the impression which was taken by Mr. Banerji himself and published in J.B.O.R.S., 1917, p. 472.

The next two letters which Mr. Chanda and myself read as *chchha* "are not" according to Mr. Banerji, "joined together but

[12] J.B.O.R.S., 1920, p. 46.
[13] Fleet: *Gupta Inscriptions*, Pl. XXIA.
[14] J.B.O.R.S., 1920, p. 47.

have been separately incised".[15] But there is a distinct horizontal stroke connecting *ch* and *chha* and this cannot be taken as a part of the fold-line inasmuch as it occupies a position intermediate between two fold-lines. It may further be noted in this connexion that in the cave inscriptions of Madura and Tinnevelly districts, in archaic characters, we find the components of compound letters placed side by side instead of one beneath the other as, e.g. *dhamama kutumaba* ;[16] and so even if the stroke connecting the *cha* and *chha* were absent there would be no incongruity in taking the two letters as equivalent to *chchha*.

As to the next letter Mr. Banerji asserts that "there is no vertical line ending in a loop, nor is there any loop at the right end of a vertical line,"[17] but the loops are distinct in the photogravures of the reverse side of the estampage published in J.B.O.R.S., 1919, p. 96. On noticing this Mr. Banerji will probably cease to think that its resemblance to the letter in Bühler's Table IV. Column II. page 35 is imaginary.

Regarding the next two letters which I read as numeral figures, Mr. Banerji's somewhat sweeping remarks are based on a misunderstanding. Of the four parallel vertical strokes on the horizontal fold-line above the top level of the writing and between the sixth and seventh letters, I took the first with the sixth letter, the second and third with the seventh, and the fourth with the last letter. Mr. Banerji, however, assumes that I took the first two parallel vertical strokes with the sixth and the last two with the seventh letter, and concludes that I am entirely wrong, etc., etc.

As regards the age of the record it can be discussed at present only on the basis of letters about which there is a fair agreement among us all, viz. *n*, *ch*, *chh* and *k* (although I read this as a numeral figure, the letter *k* is an essential part of it). Judging from the form of these letters alone the record can be declared to belong to the Kushana period.

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[15] J.B.O.R.S., 1920, p. 44.

[16] I owe this information to Mr. Rama Prasad Chanda.

[17] J.B.O.R.S., 1920, p. 47.

Mr. Banerji relies upon the archaic forms of *sa, da* and *va* in placing these records much earlier than Kanishka's time. But the archaic form of *sa*, as we have seen above, is purely imaginary. As regards *va* Mr. Banerji does not seem to be quite correct in assuming that the form "where the loop of the base has developed into a traingle but the vertical line on its apex has not disappeared,"[18] is archaic, for we find similar *va*'s in the inscriptions of the later Sātakarni kings. As regards *da* the reading is, in my opinion, doubtful, but even assuming it to be correct the presence of a single archaic form is easily explained by the observation made by Bühler long ago that "the admixture of older forms observable in the inscriptions of the Kushana period, may be due purely to an imitation of older votive inscriptions."[19]

On the other hand Mr. Banerji will find it difficult to point to a single record, earlier than the time of Kanishka, in which *ka* has a bent cross-bar and the base of *na* is a distinct curve.

[18] J.B.O.R.S, 1920, p. 49.

[19] *Indian Palæography* (Eng. Trans.) p. 41.

VĀLMĪKI AS HE REVEALS HIMSELF IN HIS POEM.

A Psychological Approach.

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There are different ways of judging and appreciating a poem and one which has immensely influenced the civilisation of a great people, and the intrinsic worth of which is beyond dispute. These different ways can be conveniently reduced to a few and distinguished as falling under the following methods:—

1. Scholastic or critical.
2. Pshychological or psychogenetic.
3. Historical.

Let us examine what these methods signify, and ascertain how they, when judiciously combined, can help us to realise that a poem is nothing but a permanent record of the inner life of the poet and a reflection of the age and society in which he lived.

1. *Scholastic or critical approach.*—Under this we have to include two methods, ancient and modern. The ancient method is the method of its commentators which combines within itself an analytic treatment of poetry with philological dissection of words and traditional exegesis. The commentators judge from outside whether or no the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a great poem, whether or no it possesses all the characteristics of an epic poem. They examine the central idea and point out how it animates and justifies the whole narrative, which also they put to the test so as to determine its suitability for the grandeur of an epic (*mahākarya*). They come to a conclusion

from a judgment of the propriety (*aucitya*) of such indispensable elements of a great poem as grandeur of the subject, sweetness of the verses, the music of the rhythm, the melody and majesty of tone, the loathing of the false and the base, combination of all the sentiments heightening the effect, striking situations with dramatic setting and above all the sublimity of the moral. The main task which the commentators set themselves is to explain the text and to reconcile from a traditional and theological standpoint, all the discrepancies that may suggest themselves.

The modern method, on the other hand is partly critical and partly historical. It agrees with the ancient method in so far as it judges things from outside. While the ancient method tends as a rule to reconcile discrepancies, and defects, the critical method of the modern school seeks honestly to judge things as they are, detecting interpolations and determining the original form of the Epic. Weighing the internal and external evidences it attempts to fix the probable date of composition with the further object of determining its importance as a literary composition and historical record.

2. *Psychological approach.*—There is, beside the scholastic or critical, another method which is psychological. Instead of judging a thing from outside, it leads us to place ourselves somehow or another at the point of view of the poet himself, to see things as he would see them. The scenes, incidents, and characters which are all supposed to be real when judged from outside, are all regarded as mere creations of the poet's imagination, when looked at from the standpoint of the poet himself. These, in other words, are considered, as mere devices whereby the poet reveals a history of his inner life and experiences, and portrays the state of society and civilisation under which he lived, moved and had his being. This method which we call psychological, is psychogenetic in so far as it seeks to trace the development of the poet's mind.

3. *Historical approach.*—The psychological or the psychogenetic method, when judiciously applied, can help us just to have a communion with the poet or his inner life, but it is not sufficient in itself to enable us to solve all the problems that are apt to arise in connection with the poet, his age, country and environment. The deeper problems of history still confront the critic—at what stage of Indian civilisation, the *Rāmāyaṇa* with all its grandeur became possible and what effect it had on the culture of the succeeding ages.

In this paper I propose to approach the subject from a psychological standpoint. If instead of judging a poem from outside and judging it piecemeal, we are interested in judging it as a whole, the best and only method will be not to place ourselves outside it, but to place ourselves *in* it, to coincide by intellectual sympathy with what is unique in it, and above all, to have a communion with the poet whose life, education, character and experience are in the background of his work. There is nothing more profitable, I think, than this kind of study.

To proceed with our task, a word is necessary, at the outset, about the original form of the Epic, which is the only record which the inspired saint Vālmīki has left of himself. Modern critics are of opinion that the Epic in its original form consisted of five books, II-VI, the first and the seventh being later additions. "What was obviously a part of the commencement of the original poem, has been separated from its continuation at the opening of Bk. II, and now forms the beginning of the 5th Canto of Bk. I. Some Cantos have also been interpolated in the genuine Books." This is the fruitful result of Professor Jacobi's investigation as summed up by Prof. Macdonell.[1] Prof. Griffith remarks in the Appendix to his beautiful translation[2]:—"The *Rāmāyaṇa* ends,

[1] *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 304.

[2] P. 8.

epically complete, with the triumphant return of Rāma and his rescued queen to Ayodhyā, and his consecration and coronation in the capital of his forefathers". *Even if the story were not complete*, the conclusion of the last canto of the sixth Book, evidently the work of a later hand than Vālmīki's, which speaks of Rāma's glorious and happy reign, and promises blessings to those who read and hear the *Rāmāyana*, would be sufficient to show that, when these verses were added, the poem was considered to be finished. The *Uttarakaṇḍa* or Last Book is merely an appendix or a supplement, and relates only events antecedent and subsequent to those described in the original poem. Prof. Cowell observes[3] to the same end, "both the great Hindu Epics..... end in disappointment and sorrow. In the *Mahābhārata* the five victorious brothers abandon the hardwon throne to die one by one in a forlorn pilgrimage to the Himālaya; and in the same way Rāma only regains his wife, after all his toils, to lose her. It is the same in the later Homeric cycle—the heroes of the Iliad perish by ill-fated deaths.....But in India and Greece alike this is an afterthought of a self-conscious time, which has been subsequently added to cast a gloom on the strong cheerfulness of the heroic age".

It will not be out of place to state the arguments whereby these scholars justify their conclusions.

1. That there are two tables of contents in the First Book, cantos I and III, which do not tally with each other, and the first of which takes no notice of the First and Last Books.

2. That the interpolations are so loosely connected with the main body of the Epic as to make the junctures easily detectable.

3. That at least the *Uttarakāṇḍa* must be left out, as the Epic narrative had probably like its legendary prototype a happy ending.

[3] *Academy*, Vol. 3, No. 43.

I cannot endorse these views without certain reservations. It seems to me that the end of the original epic was tragic and Sītā's disappearance into the bosom of the earth was very likely the culmination. Hence, the *Uttarakāṇḍa* is a prodigious accretion round a nucleus which originally formed an integral part of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. If we think that Vālmīki strictly reproduced in his narrative the outline of a Rāma story as is said to have been narrated to him by Nārada in the first canto of Bk. I, we are sure to labour under a great misconception. In that case, we would identify the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which is an Epic, with the older bardic tales on which it was based.

After all the concessions that can possibly be made to the above arguments, I do not see how two entire books could be put aside as interpolations simply on the ground that there are two tables of contents which differ in certain details from each other, and the first of which does not mention the topics treated of in the First and the Last Books. To do so would be, I am afraid, to identify the narrative of Vālmīki's Epic with an older form of the Rāma story put into the mouth of Nārada. This cannot surely be done except by way of *suggestio falsi*. To leave out the *Uttarakāṇḍa* on the ground that the Epic should have a happy ending like the Rāma story of Nārada would be as if to say that Vālmīki's was a simple and faithful reproduction of the outline of a story which he found ready-made in the country. The *Rāmāyaṇa* must *ex hypothesi* be judged as an Epic with its own moral and purpose, distinguishing it from the legendary basis, which had a different purpose altogether. If it can be rightly supposed that the starting point of an *epopée* is a striking moral which lends colour to, and determines the character of the narrative, composed of legends which are discordant in themselves but concordant as interwoven into a whole, the end suggested by the moral of the *Rāmāyaṇa* must have been tragic. The older Rāma story as found in the introductory canto of the Epic and

in the Buddhist *Jātaka*, has a happy ending as all the folk-tales and the ballads which are still popular usually have. Scanning these two older Rāma stories along with others to be found in the *Mahābhārata* we see that they can all be grouped in either of the following two classes:

1. Those that seek to represent Rāma as an *avatāra*—a national hero and finished example of moral excellence. To this class belong the *Rāma Upākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata*, Bk. I, the *Daśaratha Jātaka* as it occurs in the *Jātaka* commentary and the Rāma story of Nārada incorporated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself.

2. Those of which the purpose is to inculcate, by the example of Rāma, the necessity and wisdom of keeping up one's spirits and strength of purpose even in the midst of sorrow and trials. Such are the Rāma stories of the *Mahābhārata*, Bk. III, cantos 277-291, and of the *Daśaratha Jātaka* as it occurs in the canonical *Jātaka* Book.

In neither of these two classes could be placed the Rāma episode of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, for it stands by itself and conveys throughout one central idea, or a moral, as we say, which suggests a tragic end to the fable conveying it. It is stated in the introductory canto (canto III, Bk. I) that the *śloka* which Vālmīki uttered at a moment of sudden shock of grief, contained the moral, and that he proceeded thereafter to develop an epic out of the current Rāma story in the light of the teaching of the *śloka*. The oft-quoted *śloka* reads:

mā niṣāda pratiṣṭhāṁ tvam āgama śāśvatīḥ samāḥ
yat krauñca-mithunādekam avadhih kāmamohitam

which Griffith neatly renders,

"No fame be thine, for endless time,
Because, base outcast, of thy crime,
Whose cruel hand was fain to slay
One of this gentle pair at play!"

This prophetic utterance of Vālmīki one might take as a later invention, since it occurs in the introductory canto which is regarded as an interpolation. But the fact remains, as we shall see anon, that this is the only tune which the Indian Epic keeps harping on, the one spirit which permeates the whole narrative. Indeed, the Epic narrative is not the bardic Rāma story only but has been admirably done up with this one end in view by a harmonious combination of Nārada's Rāma story and other episodes, all drawn from the great Indian stock of legends and exquisitely interwoven. That the Epic narrative and the bardic Rāma story are not the same is clearly stated in the introductory cantos (Bk. I, cantos II and III). Here at any rate lies the answer why there should be two tables of contents instead of one; one table for Nārada's story (in canto I, Bk. I) and another for Vālmīki's narrative in canto III of the same Book.

In this second table there is mention of certain topics which are handled along with others in the *Bāla* and the *Uttarakāṇḍa* and so far as the *Uttarakāṇḍa* is concerned, it contains only one topic of the table, viz. the banishment of Sītā, and its other details are not indicated in the table. In this table the item "banishment of Sītā" comes just after the item "discharge of the legions." Now, the discharge of the legions marks the close of Book VI which just precedes the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. The *Uttarakāṇḍa*, it is strange to say, does not take up the thread of the narrative, i.e. the banishment of Sītā until after its first 43 cantos, which are digressions devoted to extraneous matters abounding in popular and mystical notions about the cycles of time, the origin of the *Rakṣasas* and so forth. I think here is sufficient reason to believe that there was some basic fact which was wrought into a prodigious structure of fancy and mysticism. To wind up, I take the *Utlarakāṇḍa* as a whole to be an interpolation except certain cantos or portions which relate to the episode of Sītā's banishment and its sequel. Similarly the introductory cantos,

a few mythological legends ascribed to Viśvāmitra and the passages where there is an attempt to prove that Vālmīki was a contemporary of Rāma may be left out of consideration. The question of interpolations can partly be settled by a careful comparison of the existing recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The interpolations wherever they occur, are to be regarded as the work of some unknown Indian Pisistratus. The rhapsodists who mingled their own songs with the Epic, must also be allowed a share in the growth of the original poem to its present dimensions. These later additions have their own value and historical importance. But the final question of interpolation cannot be settled without a close study of Vālmīki himself. Hence the question arises, who was Vālmīki and what was he.

Prof. Wilson has gathered[1] the following information regarding Vālmīki: "Vālmīki was the son of Varuṇa, the regent of the waters, one of whose names is Prachetas. According to the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, the sage, although a Brāhmana by birth, associated with foresters and robbers. Attacking on one occasion the seven Rishis, they expostulated with him successfully, and taught him the *mantra* of *Rāma* reversed, or *Marā*, *Marā*, in the inaudible repetition of which he remained immovable for thousands of years, so that when the sages returned to the same spot, they found him still there converted into a *valmīka* or ant-hill, by the nests of the termites, whence his name of Vālmīki".

The current popular tradition about Vālmīki is very much the same except that it attributes his conversion to the instrumentality of Nārada instead of to that of the seven Rishis. Thus popular tradition and the *Yogavāśiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* representing Vālmīki as a sage turned from a robber seek only to sing the glory and the chastening influence of the name Rāma. They recognise by his quondam name Ratnākara, i.e. Treasure-mine, that spiritual faculties lie dormant even in the

[1] *Specimens of the Hindu Theatre*, I., p. 313.

hardened soul of a criminal and highway robber and that the soul can be awakened to conscience by the proper exhortation of a *sadguru*. They also inculcate that complete transformation of the soul is possible only by the redeeming power of faith, that the Alabaster of sin can only drop off by the sweet name of the Lord—Rāma, Rāma. The fanciful derivation of the name Vālmīki from *valmīka* or ant-hill is intended only to emphasize the rigid austerity of the sage.

An earlier and less exaggerated account of his life can be gleaned from the *Bāla* and *Uttarakāṇḍas*, the Books which we have, with certain reservations, put down as interpolations. In the introductory cantos of Bk. I. and in the cantos of *Uttarakāṇḍa* where the story of Rāma and Sītā is continued, we perceive throughout a deliberate attempt to prove that Vālmīki was a contemporary of Rāma, in that his epic is stated to have been brought to a close a few years after Rāma's return from exile, and this is the one fact which sharply distinguishes the earlier account from the modern Indian tradition especially current in Bengal, that the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed 60 thousand years before Rāma, *Rām nā hote Rāmāyaṇ*, i.e. Rāmāyaṇa when Rāma was not" a proverbial satire on chimerical speculations. Although the accounts in the *Bāla* and *Uttarakāṇḍas* complete each other and partly coincide, a distinction is to be made with regard to the motive in each. The *Ādikāṇḍa* seems more concerned with the genesis of the Epic, and the *Uttarakāṇḍa* is more concerned with its recital throughout the world. I proceed to summarise from these two *Kāṇḍas* all the main facts that can be gathered about Vālmīki.

First, as to the Ādikāṇḍa. Vālmīki is introduced as a gifted saint who lived with Bhāradvāja and other pupils in the solitude of a beautiful hermitage, not far from Ayodhyā, in the sequestered valley of the Tamasā and the Ganges. He received from Nārada the outline of the Rāma story, representing Rāma as an ideal man adorned with all the qualities of head and heart.

After finishing his bath in the Tamasā, he chanced to see in the adjoining forest a pair of *krauñcas* at play with each other. Suddenly a cruel fowler shot an arrow and pierced the male bird. The *krauñcī* was disconsolate and bitterly mourned the tragic separation from her mate. This painful sight moved the heart of Vālmīki and the impious act of the fowler kindled wrath in him, and with a mingled feeling of intense sympathy and disgust, he burst forth quite unconsciously into a poetic utterance, a pronouncement of curse on the fowler. Returning to his cottage he brooded over the pathetic incident and mused on the *śloka* that had expressed his shock of grief. In this psychological moment the poetic vision dawned upon him. The inspiration came from Brahmā himself urging him to convey the truth and pointing out the Rāma story as the proper vehicle. Accordingly he set about to weave the instructive narrative of the *Rāmāyaṇa* out of the Rāma story with which he combined many other legends told by holy sages of old. When he finished his work, he became anxious to see it recited all over the world. In such a moment the twins Kuśa and Lava, who were living under his protection, happened to come to him. In this princely pair of graceful voice, he found the first rhapsodists to whom he entrusted the task to recite his heroic song—

> ".....in tranquil shades where sages throng;
> Where the good resort, in lowly home and royal court."

Kuśīlava carried out the task to the satisfaction of the master by whom they had been trained. This unheard of heroic song appealed to all and was received with favour wherever it was chanted, even in the royal court of Rāma himself.

Next, as to the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. Vālmīki received with a fatherly affection the forsaken Sitā in his hermitage where she had been helplessly banished. There she gave birth to the princely twins Kuśa and Lava, who by a singular fortune, were brought up under the saintly care of Vālmīki. They

were trained to recite the *Rāmāyaṇa* and when Rāma performed the Horse sacrifice, Vālmīki accompanied by the twin rhapsodists visited Ayodhyā where the princely singers drew the tears of the court by singing of the strange fate of which their mother the innocent Sītā had been the victim.

This is all the information we have of Vālmīki from the two *Kāṇḍas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and all that we have known may be summed up in a line,—that Vālmīki was a Brāhmaṇa, an ascetic, a saint, a seer and above all a poet. These are the main facts of Vālmīki's biography, which, however, have no meaning except when studied in connection with the history of his inner life—his mind and thought revealed in his great work.

If we judge of his personal history from his poem and from his poem alone, we may be involved in uncertainty in every detail, but there is one statement which can surely be vouchsafed as certain, viz., that he was a man with all his good qualities and limitations.

The popular belief that Rāma was an *avatāra* seems to have been gaining ground in the time of Vālmīki and it was through the agency of the rhapsodists that this belief was fast assuming a theocratic character. In spite of the unavoidable influence of the existing ballads deifying Rāma, Vālmīki was one of the many sages of popular tradition whose standpoint was pre-eminently human. He was anxious to represent Rāma more as an ideal man than as a god incarnate; at any rate he emphasized mainly the human side of Rāma's personality. Wherever he had to portray Rāma's character, he was careful to safeguard his own position by comparing him and *not identifying* him with all that is known as the most potent among natural forces, nor with the highest in nature. As a matter of fact he always employed in such cases the particle *iva*

which means "like unto." Let us take a few instances. In Book II, canto 1, Rāma and his three brothers are all said to have sprung from king Daśaratha and to have clung around their affectionate father like four arms. This conception underwent a change at the hands of the rhapsodists who pictured the sons of Daśaratha as the four portions of the substance of Viṣṇu, the four-armed god, separately incarnated. In the same canto Rāma is said to have become among men as good as the self-sprung God (*Svayambhuriva bhūtānām babhūva guṇavattaraḥ*). Again Rāma is spoken of as being, in wisdom, like Bṛhaspati, and in strength, like Śacīpati, who shone with virtue as the sun shines gloriously with his rays, and shone, indeed, with all the virtues like unto the Lord of the Universe, and him the world might claim as its lord (*Lokanāthopamam nātham akāmayata medinī*). In the same way and in the same canto Bharata and Śatrughna are likened to the great Indra and Varuṇa (*Mahendra-Varuṇopamau*). It may be noticed that the Benares recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is wanting in that *śloka* of the Bombay edition where the Eternal Viṣṇu is represented as promising to descend into the world of men in response to the prayer of the distressed gods who had appealed to him for the destruction of Rāvaṇa. In fact we meet with a clearer statement from Vālmīki in Book VI, canto 117 (Bombay edition), proving that he considered Rāma to be a man, for in reply to Brahmā, who came to remind him of his divine origin and former position as the Lord of the Universe, Rāma is made to say :—

"I consider myself to be a man, Rāma the son of Daśaratha. Who really I am, and from whom I have been, O Lord, tell me (only) that."

Thus the task of Vālmīki seems to have been to bring out what moral perfection man may reach or what ethical and social ideals man may pursue, by purely human strength

(*parākrama*). Himself a man, Vālmīki naturally viewed things as man, and what is more, as a moral man. To be a moral man and not a man only, what are the principles to follow and what the duties and obligations to fulfil? Vālmīki's reply is, one must be a *whole* man, who should be judged in his relations with his own past tradition, present education, family connection, social environment and public duties and religion. He must not be under the control of time and fate in order to distinguish himself from animals and from man in the lower stage of civilisation, he should conform to a standard of conduct, i.e. he should be *ātmavān*, self-reliant, having powers to control himself. This standard or *Dharma* to which he has to conform must be such as not to conflict with the general dictates of conscience, the established usage of a civilised society and the higher principles of religion. He must act in accordance with this principle, in whatever walks of life he may find himself and stand by and die for that principle. All this Vālmīki seeks to illustrate by his description of the slaughter of the demons, who had menaced the religious life of the hermits. The episode of Surpaṇakhā in the *Araṇyakāṇḍa* serves also to bear out this view-point of Vālmīki. Surpaṇakhā, "the winnow-eared" sister of Rāvaṇa, impelled by her animal instincts and with all the wiles and witchcraft of a savage, had dared to encroach on the rights of Sītā, by virtue of which she could expect that her lord would always be devoted to her, and to impose her barbaric ideal on the Aryan civilisation. Surpaṇakhā sought the favour of Rāma in the presence of his wife, and when asked to court the love of Lakṣmaṇa, his younger brother; she ran to him, who again referred her back to Rāma in utter disregard of all decorum or female modesty. In spite of her being told that he could not oblige her, as he was already married, she persisted by the boast of her wild beauty to prevail upon Rāma. When all her gentle persuasion failed, she had recourse to threats. Nevertheless she was

rejected; and when she fell upon Sītā with her demoniac fury, and *anārya*-like grudge, Rāma was made to utter the following command:

"Ne'er should we jest with creatures rude,
Of savage race and wrathful mood.
Think Lakshman, think how nearly slain,
My dear Videhan breathes again.
Let not the hideous wretch escape,
Without a mark to mar her shape;
Strike, Lord of men, the monstrous fiend
Deformed, and foul, and evil-miened."

Though Vālmīki raised the scale of civilisation by setting up a high standard of morality and duty, and sharply contrasted the civilized man from the brute and the savage, who are in a state of nature, he did not fail to impress the necessity of living in conformity with the simplicity of nature, and this simplicity is the one expression which characterises the life of the poet and can furnish a key to the appreciation of his great poem. Simplicity of conduct, simplicity of manners, simplicity of thought mingled with the simplicity of words, diction, metre and all the rest. That which adds grace to the character of a person, man or woman placed in high position is this one element,—natural simplicity, the simplicity, namely, with which we are all born. In the characters of Rāma and Sītā he has placed side by side the two aspects of life contrasted as stern and simple, the one full of heavy responsibilities of public duty, the other sweet with the tender cares of a wife which has a chastening influence on the husband and on which depends the domestic happiness of man.

And so in his own life we see the rigid austerity of a hermit contrasted and harmonized with the simplicity of nature, as is evident from his vivid description of the hermit life in the *Araṇyakāṇḍa*. The contrast and harmony of rigidity of religious life and the simplicity of nature is apparently contradiction in terms. But how the austere mode of discipline could exist side by side with the tender emotions and the simple beauty of nature can well be illustrated by what Rāma said at the sight of Agastya's *āśrama* :—

"How soft the leaves of every tree,
How tame each bird and beast we see!
Soon the fair home shall we behold
Of that great hermit tranquil-souled.
The deed the good Agastya wrought
High fame throughout the world has bought.
I see, I see his calm retreat
That balms the pain of weary feet.
Where white clouds rise from flames beneath,
Where bark-coats lie with many a wreath,
Where sylvan things, made gentle, throng,
And every bird is loud in song."

This is what appeals naturally to the man who comes from the hot hubbub of town life to the quiet vicinage of a religious home in the forest. Again, when Rāma and Sītā had reached the Pañcavaṭī, attracted by its charm, Sītā, the simple child of nature, true to her instinct, broke forth into the following utterance :—

"See, see this smooth and lovely glade,
Which flowery trees encircling shade :

Do thou, beloved Lakshman, rear
A pleasant cot to lodge us here.
I see beyond that feathery brake
The gleaning of lilied lake,
Where flowers in sun-like glory throw
Fresh odours from the wave below.
Agastya's words now find we true,
He told the charms which here we view

. . . . .

The spot is pure and pleasant: here
Are multitudes of birds and deer.
O Lakshman, with our father's friend,
What happy hours we here shall spend!"

We feel as if Vālmīki himself had spoken through gentle Sītā the very words which he himself would have uttered at the sight of the charming Indian forest. Verily, it is he, in whom there is such simplicity, who can discern the purity of human soul when in tune with the whole of nature. In Book I, canto 2, Vālmīki is represented as expressing to his pupil Bhāradvāja,

"See pupil dear, this lovely sight,
The smooth-floored shallow, pure and bright,
With not a speck or shade to mar,
And clear as good men's bosoms are."

These words put into the mouth of Vālmīki, occurring as they do in introductory canto may not have been actually uttered by him. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that the rhapsodists understood Vālmīki out and out and fittingly

ascribed them to him; for verily his was the good man's heart clear as the transparent water of the Tamasā, truly gifted was he with that boon of nature-simplicity, whereby he could have a clear vision of the Divine.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* does not contain much information regarding the early years of Vālmīki, but it may be surmised from his patriotic and minute account of Kośala, her capital Ayodhyā, her benevolent ruler, her wise ministers, her happy people and abundant riches, that he was an inhabitant of that country, which he was never tired of painting in extravagant colors:—

"On Sarju's bank, of ample size,
The happy realm of Ḳosal lies,
With fertile length of fair champaign
And flocks and herds and wealth of grain.
There, famous in her old renown,
Ayodhya stands, the royal town.
In bygone ages built and planned
By sainted Manu's princely hand
* * * *
King Dasharatha, lofty-souled,
That city guarded and controlled,
* * * *
As royal Indra, throned on high,
Rules his fair city in the sky.
She seems a painted city, fair,
With chess-board line and even square."

(Book I, canto 5.)

At least Kośala seems to have been the country where he had spent the greater portion of his life. He certainly knew of

a few other countries, e.g., Aṅga, Magadha and Kāśī in the east, Sindhu, Sauvīra and Saurāṣṭra in the west and the distant kingdom of Aśvapati Kekaya in the north-west, and such other countries which were linked with Kośala by matrimonial alliances and bonds of friendship. He was probably educated at Taxila, the ancient seat of Brahmanical learning, where he had the good fortune of mastering the Vedas together with all the auxiliary sciences and arts. At any rate he appears to have been familiar with two routes whereby a person could travel from Ayodhyā to Rājagṛha, the capital of Girivraja, perhaps the older name of Takṣaśīlā. Speaking of these two routes, Lassen[5] points out that the one taken by the envoys despatched from Ayodhyā was shorter than the route by which prince Bharata returned from the kingdom of his maternal uncle Aśvapati Kekaya in the Punjab. Although the existing recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* differ to some extent as to the enumeration of the principal stopping places on the roads, such an elaborate description of them as we obtain from Vālmiki's poem cannot be expected from a person who was not intimately acquainted with them. Perhaps he was engaged for a number of years as a councillor in the court of Ayodhyā, faithfully discharging the important function of a judge and jurist. At all events there is no other inference to be drawn from the intimate knowledge which, as the *Rāmāyaṇa* shows, he possessed of the onerous duties of ministers and other functionaries of the state. A further proof to be adduced in support of our surmise is that he represented among the ministers of king Daśaratha those sages and saints, Vasiṣṭha, Vāmadeva, Jayanta, Vijaya, Dhṛṣṭi, Siddhārtha, Arthasādhaka, Dharmapāla, Aśoka, Jābāla and Sumantra whose views should be authoritative in the Indian treatises on morality, law and polity.

[5] *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II, p. 524.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* abounds in descriptions of the duties of kings, which cannot but remind one of the teaching of Bṛhaspati, the views of whose school still survive in a *Sūtra* called after his name and are referred to in Kauṭilya's Science of Polity as well as in the *Mahābhārata*. I am referring here to those passages where Vālmīki enjoined that a king should, defying time and fate, be *ātmavān* and discharge all his duties with the one object of safeguarding the material and spiritual advantages of his people. Even if it be not allowed that he held the post of a minister or a judge, it cannot be denied that at least he was a citizen conversant with the art of government and juristic thought. This is corroborated by the central idea running through the *Rāmayaṇa*, which is nothing but a juristic conception of right, widened in scope and utilised for a spiritual purpose. The *śloka "ma niṣâdâ* etc.", which was the starting point of the Epic teaches, if I rightly understand it, that we have no business to encroach on the rights of others, even of the meanest things, to enjoy happiness in their own share and in their legitimate ways, and that any one who violates this rule, is to be looked down upon as a base outcast and punishable by law. King Daśaratha shot an arrow at the Andhamuni's son who came to draw water for quenching the thirst of his blind parents, mistaking the sound of the pitcher for the trumpet of a thirsty elephant. Although it was not a conscious crime of the king, he was cursed by the sorrowing parents that he must share the same fate. The underlying arguments with which Vālmiki justifies the fateful curse is that Daśaratha interfered with the right of the blind family to live happily and suffered in consequence. Likewise was Surpaṇakhā punished as she endeavoured to encroach on the conjugal right of Sītā in tempting Rāma to marry her. In the same way Rāvaṇa with his family and people went to destruction, because he had madly violated the divine right by which the princely pair in exile had sought to live in the Daṇḍakā forest. That

Vālmīki's standpoint is Brāhmanical and juristic is borne out by the fact that he, inspite of his teaching the *dasakuśalakarma*, *ahiṁsā* and the rest, justified slaughter under unavoidable circumstances, e.g. in the case of Agastya (Book III, canto 8), who devoured the demon Vātāpi and killed his brother, although it was quite inconsistent with the hermit life that viewed every creature with sympathy. Herein Vālmīki differed from the Jainas and the Buddhists, who under no pretext gave sanction to an act of slaughter. Thus Vālmīki explained *hiṁsā* as wrath without provocation (Book III, canto 9, *śloka* 4). The expressions put into the mouth of Sītā in this canto may serve to bring out Vālmīki's position as to the import of *ahiṁsa*. Hearing that Rāma had pledged himself to slay the Rākṣasas, who continually disturbed the peaceful life of the hermits and were a constant source of terror to them, Sītā sought to dissuade her lord in these words:

"Mayst thou, thus armed with shaft and bow,
So dire a longing never know
As, when no hatred prompts the fray,
These giants of the wood to slay:
For he who kills without offence
Shall win but little glory thence.
The bow the warrior joys to bend
Is lent him for a nobler end.

* * * *

The noblest gain from virtue springs
And virtue joy unending brings.
All earthly blessings virtue sends;
On virtue all the work depends."

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we feel throughout a deep religious sense of duty, right and justice, of which the tone is intensely moral, and devoid of all subtleties of *Ānvīkṣaki* or speculative philosophy. A good common sense runs through his poetry. He has nowhere taken notice of the views of speculative philosophy except in the single instance (Book II, canto 109) where Jābāla, pretending to be a Nāstika, tries to persuade Rāma to return to his father's capital with arguments drawn from a philosophy well-known as Cārvāka or demoniac. And in vehemently criticising and reproaching Jābāla, Rāma only voiced the feeling of the poet, who had no patience with the views of speculative philosophy, which were far remote from common sentiments of mankind and which discredited by sophistry and false logic all established social and religious institutions based upon common sense.

Another distinctive feature, which marks Vālmīki out as a Brāhmana jurist liberal in principle, is that he places everywhere the society above the individual. At the same time without disturbing the social order, he was ready to afford every scope for the free growth of the individual mind and character. Let us take two instances. First in the story of the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, (Book I, cantos 9-10), Vālmīki is not sorry that the princess Śāntā tempted the hermit's son Ṛṣyaśṛṅga or that the latter being the son of a Brahmana sage agreed to marry a Kshatriya princess. He was liberal enough to allow the Kshatriya lady to participate in all that concerned her lord, even in the *homa* sacrifice. He did not hesitate to urge the sage Vibhandaka to greet his daughter-in-law, although of the warrior caste. But he compelled Ṛṣyaśṛṅga to undergo a rite of penance, because he had left the hermitage in his father's absence. Similarly in the case of Sīta, Vālmīki had no objection that Sīta, when rescued from Laṅka should go through the ordeal of fire, as a proof to society of her unsullied honour. Rāma was satisfied and returned in

course of time with his lady to Ayodhyā, where they spent a few happy years. And when again she was banished at a most critical period of woman's life, in order that the people might be pleased, Sītā took counsel not to commit suicide thinking that patience was the greatest virtue of a woman and that it would have been rash on her part to kill herself with the future descendants, who would continue the line of Raghu. The poet was aware that there was a limit to patience, and when Sītā, being recalled by the general assembly of the people, was again asked to undergo the same fire-ordeal, the poet took up as it were the cause of Sītā; this time she must not submit, innocent and pure that she was, to the tyranny of the rule of the majority; and if the society did not appreciate goodness and was bent upon crushing a guileless creature, the poet argued that she must bid goodbye to this wicked world rather than submit to its base tyranny; that she must in such a case prove to the world by bravely facing death that soul ever triumphs over the body. She died, the mother earth opened up to receive in her bosom the dear child, the gods from heaven rained down flowers; and it was not till then that the foolish multitude appraised her for all she was worth, as in the parallel and more historical instance of the Prophet of Nazareth and the wise Socrates of Athens.

When Vālmīki turned an ascetic, and under what circumstances, it is difficult to say. It was probably following the usage of the time that he withdrew from the world at the third period to spend his closing years in the practice of penance and meditation. There is reason to believe that he built his hermitage in the vicinity of Kośala where, not far from the coufluence of the Jamna and the Ganges, he conceived, developed and finished his epoch-making *Rāmāyaṇa*. He lived in a time when the different Brahmanical settlements had been scattered over the country between the Ganges and the Godavari, and one need not be surprised that he had

left the memoirs of his personal experiences in the vivid account of the wanderings of Rāma from the hill of Citrakūṭa, in the north, to Janasthāna (modern Nasik), to the south, about seventy-five miles to the north-west of Bombay. He was perhaps not acquainted with that great trade route extending from Kośala to Patitthāna, modern Paithan near the Godavary, nor with the Dakkhināpatha, of which an interesting account, with its main stopping places, is to be found in the prologue to a Buddhist canonical book of poems, the *Parāyaṇavagga*. He had no first-hand knowledge of the countries that lay to the south of the Godavari. He has broadly distinguished them as Kiṣkindhā and Laṅkā inhabited by two different races, the monkeys and the demons, differing in culture, character and religion. As, in the parallel instance of the Buddhist *Valahassa-jataka*, the women of Laṅkā are denounced in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as wanting in morality and female modesty. But as regards Kiṣkindhyā, Vālmīki recognises that her apish inhabitants had a strong political organisation, social order and Aryan faith. On the whole his description of Kiṣkindhā and Laṅkā is to be regarded in the light of the following remarks of Griffith:

"The people against whom Rāma waged war are, as the poem indicates in many places, different in origin, in civilisation, and in worship, from the Sanskrit Indians; but the poet of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in this respect like Homer, who assigns to Troy customs, creeds and worship, similar to those of Greece, places in Ceylon.....names, habits, and worship similar to those of Sanskrit India."

Thus the *Rāmāyaṇa* has sufficient indication that Vālmīki was a Brahmana jurist and ascetic, whose life was spent within the city walls and the far-off hermitage, the two foci of the ellipse in which his whole life moved. His poem, though wanting in the details of the daily life of Indian people at large, preserves a true picture of Indian life at its best. How long he lived none can tell, but he did not live in vain, and

surely lived long enough to enjoy that rightly won fame predicted by Brahmā in these words :—

"As long as in these firm set land
The stream shall flow, the mountains stand,
So long throughout the world, be sure,
The great Rāmāyaṇ shall endure.
While the Rāmāyaṇ's ancient strain
Shall glorious in the earth remain,
To higher spheres shalt thou arise
And dwell with me above the skies."

CONJEEVARAM INSCRIPTION

OF

MAHÊNDRAVARMAN I.

BY

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1919.

CONJEEVARAM INSCRIPTION

OF

MAHÊNDRAVARMAN I.

We know (*see* " Pallava Antiquities " Vol. I) that the cave at Maṇḍagappattu contains an inscription which the Epigraphical Department has found to be so much damaged that nothing can be made out of it. (G. O. No. 518, Public, 18th July 1905. Report on Epigraphy for 1904-1905—Part II, No. 3, page 39.)

I did not, however, completely agree with this assertion. I therefore went to Maṇḍagappattu and took an estampage of this inscription. This effort was crowned with success, for I could read at the end of the 2nd line of the inscription, the name " Vichitrachittēna."

We know Vichitrachitta is a " biruda " of Mahêndravarman I. which I found at Pallāvaram (*vide* Plate XXI, A ; and page 36, line 3 of " Pallava Antiquities " Vol. I.). So, the cave at Maṇḍagappattu, cut in the rock by Vichitrachitta (Vichitrachittēna) must be definitely attributed to Mahêndravarman I.

However, the inscription was not yet completely deciphered and I did not know the meaning of the first two lines. I had then the happy idea of communicating with Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore State, whose indefatigable zeal and learned works are universally known and admired. I therefore sent my estampage to him and requested him to decipher this inscription which was so difficult to read and in which I was able to guess only the name of the king.

Mr. Gopinatha Rao replied:—« I am very glad to mention » to you that I have succeeded in reading the inscription to » my entire satisfaction and find the record of far greater » value than any others of Mahêndravarman I. »

At my suggestion Mr. Gopinatha Rao wrote an article on the inscription and contributed it to the *Epigraphia Indica* and it is hoped that it would appear in the near future in that official journal.

Since I desire to preserve for the article all the merits of the original contribution, I can not give to my readers the facsimile of the inscription.

It is however absolutely necessary that the reader should know the tenor of the inscription to be able to understand what follows, and with the permission of Mr. Gopinatha Rao I give below the text and the translation, but without the facsimile. The inscription as read and translated by Mr. Gopinatha Rao, runs as follows:—

Text.

एतदनिष्टकमद्रुमलो-
हमसुधं विचित्रचित्तेन
निर्म्मापितन्नृपेण ब्रह्मे-
श्वरविष्णुलक्षितायतनम् ॥

Translation.

« This is the temple caused to be constructed by the (King) Vichitrachitta, for (*i. e.* to contain together the images of) Brahmâ, Iśvara and Vishṇu, without (the use of) bricks, without timber, without metals and without mortar. »

Let us now proceed to comment upon this record, which, though short, is very pregnant with meaning. Before doing so let me invite the attention of the reader that on page 29, Volume II, of the "Pallava Antiquities" I have advanced the following hypotheses:—

1. that the habit of cutting temples in the rocks has not always existed in Southern India, but that, all on a sudden, at the beginning of the VII century, there spread in the Tamil country the novel fashion of cutting caves in the rocks;

2. that it was King Mahēndravarman I. who introduced this method into the Tamiḷ country;

3. that Mahêndra reigned in the Telugu country, not far from the Bezwada and Undavalli rock-cut temples, and that he thence had the idea of having similar things executed in the Tamiḷ country.

The Maṇḍagappattu inscription completely confirms these theories. In fact, King Mahēndra says in this inscription: « In my time, they build temples here (the Tamiḷ country) using bricks, wood, metals and mortar; but I, who deserve the name of Vichitrachitta, *i. e.*, "Curious minded", am going to give my people of the Tamiḷ country the idea of building a temple without the help of anything else but a single stone. »

I shall, first of all, make an observation which, in my opinion, is extremely important: the tenor of the inscription clearly indicates that the mode of cutting temples in rocks is due to the *personal influence* of the King.

One could have formerly believed that it was at the *epoch* of Mahēndra that the Tamiḷs had the idea of cutting out temples in the rocks. The Maṇḍagappattu inscription shows that events did not happen that way. It is the Pallava King himself, who, out of his own initiative, gave orders to cut the rock at Maṇḍagappattu; the king claims the right of authorship of it by insisting on the following two points:

1. that the act of digging in a rock was a curious and entirely new idea;

2. that it was he who gave this idea to the workmen of that region, for it is he and not the workmen, who was curious-minded (Vichitrachitta.)

This proves very well the direct influence that the Pallava kings exercised on art; and we are thus led to give the name of *Pallava art* to the Tamiḷ art of this epoch, not simply because that art flourished under the Pallava dynasty but also because it was really inspired by the personality of the Pallava Kings.

Strange to say, two years ago, I wrote in "The Pallavas" published in June 1917), Chapter III, page 28: « ... In the Tamiḷ country, there is not a single antiquity which could with certainty be attributed to the time anterior to that of Mahêndra I have therefore been led to think that it was this

king who, **by his own initiative**, spread in the Tamiḷ country a taste for sculpture in general, and rock-cut temples in particular. »

In fact, the *personal influence* of Mahêndravarman I. has been proved in my book, "The Pallavas" (pages 38, 39, 40). This king was the author of the "Mattavilâsaprahasana"; I discovered the mention of this play in the mutilated inscription of Mâmaṇḍûr: the record gives a panegyric on the literary and musical talents of Mahêndra; and the Mâmaṇḍûr rock-cut cave has certainly been caused to be constructed by the king. To sum up: « Mahêndravarman I. is one of the » greatest figures in the history of Tamilian civilisation. »

A second remark is that the temple at Maṇḍagappattu is assured to be *the most ancient* of the rock-cut temples of Southern India, because the action of cutting caves is spoken of in the inscription as something *new* and *curious*, which would have no meaning were there other temples of this kind already existing in the Tamiḷ country.

The last remark I have to make is that the Maṇḍagappattu inscription clearly says that, at the epoch of Mahēndra, there existed also temples which were not cut in the rocks, but which were built with brick, wood, metal and mortar.

This last inference is important, for some may be inclined to believe that, up to this time, people cut their temples in the rocks, because they did not know yet to construct temples. The Maṇḍagappattu inscription proves the contrary, that the Hindus knew perfectly well how to build temples and that the first cave produced in the minds of the Tamiḷs the same feelings of curiosity and astonishment as are felt by our modern archaeologists, when they stand face to face with these strange monuments. Thus, then, at the epoch of Mahēndra, it is certain that there did exist structural temples built of stone, brick, timber, metal and mortar and that these buildings made of perishable materials have all fallen into ruins and have been destroyed either by time or by men.

So, the existence at the time of Mahēndravarman I. of stone-built temples is clearly indicated by the Maṇḍagappattu inscription which also explains why they are not to be seen now.

The following question now suggests itself: "Is it possible

to discover the remains of some of those structural temples of the time of the king Mahēndra which, on account of the perishable nature of the materials employed in their construction, must have been short-lived and which to-day have been destroyed ?''

I proposed to solve this question which is so very closely connected with the history of Dravidian Architecture.

But where to find the remains of one of those temples that have been in ruins for centuries ?

I argued as follows: the king Mahēndra built temples throughout his kingdom ; since Kāñchîpuram is the capital of it, it is there probably more than elsewhere that he must have built temples. But since Kāñchîpuram is in a plain where there are no rocks at all, it is there, above all, that we can find the temples alluded to indirectly in the Maṇḍagappattu inscription as having been built of stone, brick, wood, metal and mortar.

The Government Epigraphists of the Madras Presidency have no doubt visited Kāñchîpuram, but as Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, says (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLIV, Part DLVII, June 1915) "unfortunately the official archaeologists do not also appear to have paid the amount of attention which this most interesting place deserves."

In order to investigate the antiquity of Conjeevaram in my own line of research, I went over to Conjeevaram to examine every stone in it in order that I may perchance find out the remains of one of these ancient temples whose existence is suggested by the Maṇḍagapattu inscription. Happily, my search was not made in vain. When examining the large temple of Ekāmbaranāthasvāmin, I found a maṇḍapam which was built of stones collected from various places. Many of the pillars of this maṇḍapam were in the Pallava style and had certainly belonged to a very ancient temple before they were utilised in building this maṇḍapam. Greatly interested in these antique remains, I proceeded to examine very attentively these pillars, some of which were ornamented with lotus flowers resembling those at Mahēndravāḍi and Māmaṇḍūr, with a view to find out if they contained any inscription. I was indeed very glad when I actually found one on one of the pillars there.

But before proceeding farther, we shall give the exact position of the maṇḍapam in the temple. The temple priests call this building Paurṇami Maṇḍapam. It is in the second enclosure of the temple and is tacked on to the "thousand-pillars maṇḍapam". It is to the west of the grand gōpuram which serves as the entrance to the thousand-pillars maṇḍapam. This grand gôpuram is called "Paḷḷi gōpuram". In other words, in the second enclosure and to the south of the central sanctuary of the temple of Ekāmbaranāthasvāmin there exists a small newly built shrine. The Paurṇami maṇḍapam is a building now in ruins by the side of this small shrine.

The Paurṇami maṇḍapam has a façade formed of 6 pillars which are all probably of Pallava origin. They are cubical, except in the middle where they are prismatic, and adorned with lotus flowers. Only one of these pillars contains an inscription. This pillar is similar to those found in the caves of Mahēndra but does not contain lotus flower ornament; the upper part is cubical and on each of the four sides there are writings.

The Plate contains the reproduction of the estampage of this inscription which is very well preserved, especially on the western, northern and eastern sides of the pillar.

The inscription consists of a series of birudas of the king who got them engraved, and there is no doubt that this king is Mahēndravarman I.: indeed, on the Southern face of the pillar, we read three names: Abhimukha, Chitrakārapuli, Kūṟṟambu, —all of them the birudas of Mahēndravarman I.

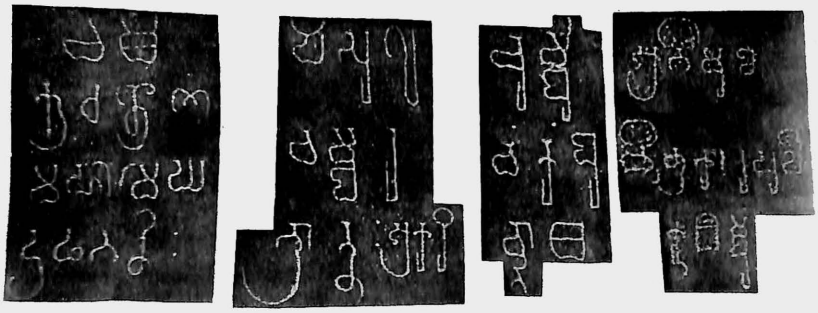
Abhimuka is found on the 3rd pillar, 1st line, 2nd word of the upper cave at Trichinopoly (*vide* "Pallava Antiquities", Volume I, Plate XXIII).

Chitrakārapuli is a name found in the Pallāvaram inscription (*vide* G. O. No. 538 Public, July 1909; Report on Epigraphy for 1908-1909, Part II, No. 14, page 75).

Kūṟṟambu can be seen on the 4th pillar (3rd line, 1st word) in the upper cave at Trichinopoly ("Pallava Antiquities," Vol. I. Plate XXIII).

The name of Vambara, the second on the northern face of the pillar at Conjeevaram, is also seen on the 4th pillar (4th line, 1st word) of the upper cave at Trichinopoly ("Pallava Antiquities," Volume I. Plate XXIII).

Western side. Northern side. Eastern side. Southern side.



Mahêndravarman inscription in the Ekâmbaranátha temple at Conjeevaram.

As at Trichinopoly and Pallāvaram, these birudas of Mahēndravarman I. seem to be of diverse origin, some borrowed from Saṅskṛit, others from Tamiḻ and some others from Telugu.

Mr. Gopinatha Rao has written to me on this subject:—

" By the bye, it may interest you to know that I was the one that first recognised the Telugu nature of the *birudas* of Mahēndravarman I....The word which first appealed to me was *nilvulē-nēyambu*, the unstoppable-friendship; *nēyambu* being a corruption of nêśa. This knowledge was utlised for his report by Mr. Venkayya, and because the suggestion was not his own, he could not explain why he called them Telugu. I shall explain a few more here. *Nayambu*, he who is gentle or gentleness; Kaṟumpu (Kuṟumpu), enimical; Kuṟṟambu (Kûṟṟambu), Yama, death. The stem of these words is Tamiḻ and the terminations are Telugu."

As for the Telugu origin of these *birudas*, I need not repeat here what I have developed at great length in chapter III (Telugu origin of the Mahēndravarman style), pages 27, 28, &c. of my work, *The Pallavas*, and which can be summed up in these few words, namely, that we find Telugu names in the caves of Mahēndra, because Mahēndra reigned over the country lying to the north of the modern town of Nellore (the Pallavas, page 28).

On the other hand: « The sculptures of Uṇḍavalli very » much resemble those of the caves of Mahēndra.»

« (*a*) The plan of the caves is the same.

« (*b*) The pillars have cubical parts, ornamented with lotus » flowers.

« (*c*) The doors and the niches have a kind of framework » which is not different from the 'double-arched tiruvatchi'.

« (*d*) The Dvarapâlas have same pose.» (*The Pallavas* page 32).

Since the caves of Mahēndra, in the Tamiḻ country, are in the same style as those of Uṇḍavalli, I have put forth the hypothesis that it was on the banks of the Kṛishṇa, when admiring the caves of Uṇḍavalli, Bezwāḍa and Mōgulrāzapuram that Mahēndra entertained the idea of spreading in the Tamiḻ country the mode of cutting temples in rocks.

To sum up: the inscription in the temple of Ekāmbara-

nāthasvāmin is specially interesting in one way. Up to this, only seven inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I. were known to us: namely, those at Maṇḍagappattu, Mahēndravāḍi, Vallam, Daḷavaṉūr, Pallāvaram, Sīyamaṅgalam, and Trichinopoly. All these inscriptions are found in caves cut in rocks.

The newly discovered inscription at Conjeevaram constitutes by itself the only one of a second group, belonging to the remains of a structural temple.

We have now substantial proof of the fact that, at the epoch of Mahēndravarman I, there existed structural temples constructed of such perishable materials as brick, stone, timber, mortar and metals, and that the temples cut in the rocks appeared as a new and curious method imported from the Telugu country into the Tamiḻ country by the king who has deserved worthily the name of Vichitrachitta.

PONDICHERRY,
January 1919.

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RAJA-GRIHA IN THE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES.

The road to *Vaisali* from *Raja-griha* led through *Ambalatthika*,(1) *Nalanda*, and *Patali-grama* on the south bank of the Ganges. There was a garden at *Ambalatthika*, with a house in it belonging to the king. One starting in the afternoon from *Raja-griha* would reach it at about the time of sunset. *Ambalatthika* was a sort of half way stage between *Raja-griha* and *Nalanda*, and it was here that the famous *Brahma-jala* Sutra was delivered. The next stage was *Nalanda*, a *Yojana*(2) from Rajgir, and a wealthy and flourishing village in those days. Buddha's usual place of residence at *Nalanda* was in the "*Pavarika Amba-Vana*"(3). No other halting place is mentioned between *Nalanda* and *Patali-grama*. *Nalaka*(4) and Kulita were the birth-places of *Sariputra* and *Maudgallyayana*, respectively, not far from *Raja-griha*, about a yojana from the capital city, as *Fahian* tells us (B. R. W. W., Beal, I. lvii.). There is no mention of New *Raja-griha* or *Kussagara-pura* in the Buddhist scriptures so far as we know. *Fahian* attributes the building of the new fortified town to King *Ajata-satru*. From the Buddhist scriptures all that we can gather about *Ajata-satru's* activity in this direction was that he strengthened the defences of the old city as he expected an invasion by the king of

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(1) Digha-nikya, II. 81, P.T.S.
(2) Sumangala-vilasini, I. 35, P.T.S.
(3) D.N., II. 81.
(4) Commentary, Dhamma-pada, I. 88, P.T.S. Also Sumangala-vilasini, I. 381-84, (Ceylonese edition).

Ujjein. Hieun Tsiang says that the new town was built by *Bimbisara*. But as *Bimbisara*(5) lived and died in the old city, Hiuen Tsiang's story cannot be correct. As for *Fahian's* statement that New *Raja-griha* was built by *Ajata-satru*, we have definite evidence in the *Sramanya-phala-sutra* that he was living in the old city at the time he paid a visit to Buddha in the *Amra-vana-vihara*. The only evidence which we can find about *Ajata-satru's* having built the new town is rather meagre as we know nothing more than his having repaired the old fortifications(6) which does not necessarily mean the building of a new fortified town. It is also significant that the excavations made at the place have not brought to light anything older than the second century B.C. (A.S.R., 1905-6, 102.). If we discriminate between Chinese gossip and Chinese record, it will be difficult to assert that New *Raja-griha* was built either by *Bimbisara* or *Ajata-satru*.

Going back to Buddha's time, the first place of importance, on the north of *Raja-griha* was the Sita-vana with the *Sappa-saundika-pabbhara* (Mahaparinib. Sutta, Bom. Ed., 86) in it. There was a small *vihara* in Sita-vana and both Bhikshus and Bhikshunis used to resort there for practising the thought of the unsubstantiality of the body. This wilderness was also used for the disposing of dead bodies. The *Sappa-saundika-pabbhara*, as the name indicates, was a hillock or high ground and is specially mentioned by Buddha as one of the most delightful places where he used to reside occasionally, presumably in a *vihara*. This is now completely enclosed inside the inner walls of New *Rajagriha*.

(5) Sum. Vil. I. 137, (P.T.S.) (6) S.N.—

The next place of importance on this side of *Rajagriha* was the famous *Venuvana-vihara,* so well-known in Buddhist history. This was the first fixed place of residence for Buddha and his Sangha or brotherhood of monks, and was the gift of king *Bimbisara* (Venaya Pit, Oldenberg, I. 39), on his first entry into the capital of Magadha. Before this the Bhikshus used to live in caves, under trees, in empty houses or in the open. Buddha Ghose thus described the place in his commentary on Sutta-nipata (p. 355, Colombo Ed.) :—

"Veluvana was the name of that garden, and it was full of bamboos and was surrounded by a wall 18 cubits high with gate-ways, towers and doors. It was green and delightful. For this reason, it was called Velu-vana. Kalandakas received their food here, and so it was called *Kalandaka-nivapa.* Kalandakas are called *Kalakas* (black *birds* or Jays?). In the old days a king came to the place for sporting in the garden. Intoxicated with drink he fell asleep during the day, and his people, thinking that he was asleep and, being tempted by flowers and fruits were roaming about here and there. And then drawn by the smell of wine a black serpent came out of a hollow tree and proceeded towards the king. Seeing this the tree-deity being anxious to save the life of the king came in the disguise of a *Kalaka,* cried into his ear and the king woke up. The black serpent crawled away (to its place of hiding). When the raja saw the serpent he thought "this *Kalaka* has given me my life" and so he arranged for feeding the bird at the place and sent out a proclamation protecting it from fear. For that reason the place thenceforth came to be known as *"Kalandaka-nivapa"*. After making allowance for the conventional descriptions

which is a well-known feature of the Pali texts, we may conclude that the Venu-vana *Maha-vihara* was a large establishment, and perhaps had a wall around it, as is said to have been the case with the *Vihara* of *Jivaka's Amra-vana*. The story about the origin of the name *Kalandaka-nivapa* is highly amusing but need not be taken seriously, as I would ask the reader not to accept without careful consideration, the Chinese gossip about the places they visited. In *Civara-khandhaka, Maha-vagga* of Vinaya-pitaka, a *dwara-kotthaka* of the *Vihara* is mentioned, which would support Buddha Ghose's statement about the compound wall of the Venu-vana Monastery. A *dwara-kotthaka* means a room at the gate. I have found no river or *hrada* (natural or artificial hollow full of water) mentioned in connection with the area covered by the Venu-vana. But the river *Tapoda* (Swaraswati) was not far from it and there was an *arama* or garden on the river with the usual appertinance of a *vihara* in it. I have related in my paper on the "Sites in Rajgir" (J.B.O.R.S., IV. 123), the story about king *Bimbisara* having been compelled to come to the *Venu-vana-vihara* as he was detained too long waiting for his bath in the *Tapoda* and found the city gate closed when he was returning after the bath. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the site of the *Vihara* can be identified easily from the Chinese accounts, *viz.*, 300 paces from the north gate of the mountain city and half a mile from the *Smasana*. To Sir John Marshall belongs the credit of definitely identifying the site. But I am afraid, having had to depend on Chinese accounts for the identification, he has included the *Tapodarama* in the area marked out by him in his map (A.S.R., 1905-6, p. 94). By the time the Chinese

pilgrims arrived, the *arama* had been completely forgotten. From what we can glean from the *Pali* texts, it can be safely laid down that the Venu-vana lay to the south of the new town which was built on the site formerly covered by the *"Sappa-saundika-pabbhara"* in Sita-vana, west of the Vipula mountain, north of the old city of *Raja-griha* and north and east of the Swaraswati (*Tapoda*). It was also at a respectable distance from the burial ground. A large *Vihara* like the *Maha-vihara* at Venu-vana would not consist of a single building but more than one, providing shelter for the night and resting places during the day, as well as places of convenience, for considerable bodies of monks, and must have had large grounds attached to it. Devadatta's cave and the stone with marks of blood have been already mentioned in connection with the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims. I would here only refer to the story in Champakhandhaka, *Mahavagga*, of Vinaya-pitaka, about an over-enthusiastice novice of the name of Sona, whose "chankamo" (place where he walked to and from) ran with blood like a *"gavaghatana"* (slaughter house) through walking too much, as he had very soft soles. Hiuen Tsiang's story is perhaps an elaboration, with subsequent additions, of the account given in the Vinaya. Sona's heroic efforts had no immediate result and he became very much depressed and longed again for the easier life of the house-holder. This came to the knowledge of Buddha and he rebuked Sona Bhikshu for his rashness. This was the occasion when the Master used the famous simile of the *Vina* which has been so beautifully rendered by Sir Edwin Arnold.

We shall now pass on to the consideration of the next

place of importance north of the old city, *viz., Pippali-guha.* This cave was used by *Kasyapa,* the president of the first council, for meditation, and we are told that sometimes he would remain in it in the state of ecstatic meditation for a whole week. There was a small *vihara* in front of his cave in which, we are told, he resided with two *saddhi-viharikas* or younger associate bhikshus. One of them was very assiduous in his attention to the elder (thero) but the other always cunningly contrived to take all the credit for the service rendered. Twice he was severely taken to task by the elder for his deceiptful behaviour. He was in a temper and did not follow *Kasyapa* to the city for begging food, but remained at home, and during the absence of the elder, set fire to the *vihara* and ran away (Com. on Dham., II. 19-21). *Pippala-guha* was a small cave used by *Kasyapa* only for meditation, while he lived in a *panna-sala, i.e.,* thatched cottage at hand with two associate bhikshus. The only occasion when Buddha came to the place was when *Kasyapa* was seriously ill. The Chinese story about Buddha's taking rest in the cave daily after the mid-day meal cannot be found anywhere in the *Pali* texts. The wild rugged hills had a sort of fascination for him and he left the woods and groves to other brethren of the Sangha. Starting from a point west of the hot springs and skirting the hill, a cave like this is easily reached near which the ground is strewn with brick debris. I feel sure that *Fahian* saw this cave. But Hiuen Tsiang's stone house with the Asura's palace behind it was undoubtedly the Baithak with the quarry hole at its back, just a few yards up the slope which forms the great toe of the *Vaihara* hill.

Now we come to the famous *Sapta-parni-guha.* In

the *Pali* accounts "Sattapanni" is a cave, named after the tree which stood beside it, as was the case with most of the caves mentioned in the *Pali* scriptures. It was mentioned by Buddha as a most delightful place among other places associated with *Raja-griha*. It was situated on the north slope of the *Vihara* mountain and was used for the residence of bhikshus. The "prathama *maha-samgiti*" or the first great recitation took place on the beautifully wooded level ground below the opening of the cave in "a *mahamandapa*" built by *Ajata-satru* for the purpose. In the *Mahayana* account, as given by the *Maha-vastu* (Vol. I. 70), the bhikshus are represented as coming through the air and descending in the forest by the side of the great mountain (*Vaihara*) and taking their seats there. Stripping the story of its legendary part, the position of the *Maha-mandapa* as given in the *Maha-vastu* agrees with the Chinese records. The bhikshus spent the first month in repairing the monasteries at *Raja-griha* and in the second month (*majjhimam masam*) recited the texts of Dharma and Vinaya. So *Ajata-satru* had to put forth special efforts for getting the pavillion ready. The *Samgiti* was presided over by *Kasyapa*, and *Upali* and *Ananda* recited the scriptures (Vinaya, Cullavagga, XI).

According to Buddhist accounts, *Raja-griha* was surrounded by a wall, with thirty-two large and sixty-four small gates (Sumangala, Colombo Ed. 106). The most important place within the walls was, of course, the "*Raja-nivesana*" or the palace with all its appertinances, such as the apartments for the royal ladies, the treasury, the king's kitchens and stables, the "*Viniccaya-tthana*", (the tribunal), the royal baths, the arsenal, the accounts office, shops for provisions and

other supplies, &c. Outside the palace precincts, there would be rows of houses along the roads inhabited by various classes of people, rich and poor, artisans, traders, dancers, scavengers and others, arranged in accordance with wealth, social position, and profession. In those times a royal city used to have four parts, anto-valanjakam, bahi-valanjakam, anto-nagaram and bahi-nagaram, *i.e.*, the king's inner apartments, the outer apartments, the space included within the town proper and the area outside of it (*Rajovada Jataka*).

The meeting place of *Aswajit* and *Sariputra* was inside the old city. *Sariputra* had finished his round of begging for the morning meal and was on his way back to the garden in which the *paribrajakas* (wandering monks) used to live (Dhammapadatthakatha, Colombo Ed., 41-2), and from a distance saw Aswajit, who had just come into the city for the purpose of begging alms. He was deeply impressed by his appearance and quiet demeanour, and easily recognised him as belonging to the order of bhikshus and as one who had either attained arhatship or was about to attain it. His first impulse was to go and ask him as to who he was and who was his master. But seeing him enter a house, waited outside until Aswajit had finished begging and came out of it. *Sariputra* then approached the Bhikshu and had with him the momentous interview which changed the whole course of his life and brought to Buddha's fold the man who was recognized as the Master's *"Agga-savaka"*, or chief disciple (*Samantapasadika*, Burm. Ed., 119-120).

Nalagiri was let loose from the king's stables in the street through which Buddha was passing with a large following of bhikshus in his usual round for begging alms. The Cullavagga (Oldenberg's Ed.,

194-95) tells us that Devadatta entered the *"hatthi-salam"* (elephant stall) and said to the men in charge of the elephants, *"yada samano Gotamo imam raccham patipanno hoti tada imam Nalagirim hatthim munchivta imam raccham patipadetha 'ti"* (when Samana Gotama comes into this road, release the elephant *Nalagiri* and drive it into the road). Next morning Buddha came into *Raja-griha,* as usual notwithstanding being forewarned and proceeded along that road. As the releasing of the elephant had been proclaimed in the city, the terraces of the buildings and the tops of the thatches were full of people. Some thought that Buddha was sure to be ruthlessly crushed by the drunken elephant. Others thought that he would overcome the animal by his spiritual power. In the simple narration of the Culla-vagga, Buddha vanquished the elephant by the power of love. The mad elephant stopped in its wild career as it was rushing with uplifted trunk towards Buddha, quieted by his gentle voice and stood tamely by his side. This incident, it is clear, took place in the immediate vicinity of the king's palace "outside the north face of the royal precinct" (Beal's Life of Hiuen Tsiang, 113).

The Srigupta incident is related in *Srigupto-vadanam* of the *Avadana-kalpalata. Srigupta* was a rich *grihapati* or house-holder of *Raja-griha.* At the instigation of a Nirgrantho who was his *guru,* he laid a plot for taking Buddha's life, who was at the time living at *Griddhra-kuta.* He dug a deep ditch in his house and filled it with burning coal and prepared poisoned food for Buddha, and invited him to breakfast. *Srigupta's* wife was a follower of *Tathagata* and was locked up in a room in order to prevent her from interfering in

any way with the wicked conspiracy. Buddha was forewarned in this instance also, but he did not refuse the invitation. The *Avadana-kalpalata* relates that as soon as he entered the house of Srigupta and set his right foot over the concealed ditch, it was miraculously converted into a "manju-gunja-bhringa-sarojini", a lotus pool vocal with the sweet music of the black bee. This is a *Mahayana* story with a beautiful legend attached to it, and I think it was from a *Mahayana* source that Hiuen Tsiang learnt it. All this according to this account, took place *within the city*.

The next site which claims our attention is the place where the *Amra-vana* of *Jivaka* stood. *Bimbisara* had placed the court physician *Jivaka* in charge of the royal household as well as of Buddha and his Sangha. But both *Venu-vana* and *Griddhrakuta* were at an inconvenient distance from *Jivaka's* residence who used to live with Prince Abhaya. He was also himself deeply attached to Buddha and got a *vihara* made in his mango grove and made a gift of it to the Master. The *Samannaphala-sutta* tells us that *Ajata-satru* had to go *out of the walled city* on his way to the *Amravana-vihara*. Buddha Ghose adds in his annotation that *"Jivakassa Ambavanam pakarassa Gijjhakutassa ca antara hoti", i.e., Jivaka's* Mango grove *was between the city wall and the Griddhrakuta mountain,* and that the king went out by the *eastern gate*. When at a short distance from the *vihara,* a great fear overtook the king who suspected that a plot had been laid against his life. Buddha Ghose explains that after leaving the city by the eastern gate the king and his party entered *into the shade of the mountain,* the moon having been intercepted by the crest. Shaded by the mountain and the trees

the place was in deep gloom and a great silence filled it as the Sangha was so well-disciplined that they maintained a strict silence in the presence of the Master, so profound was the reverence which they had for him. The commentary on the Dhammapada (Devadatta-Vastu) informs us that after having been wounded by Devadatta, who tried to kill him by throwing at him a gigantic boulder from the top of the *Griddhrakuta* mountain when he was walking in its western shade, Buddha was first taken to the *Madda-kucchi* and thence to the *Amravana* of *Jivaka*. This also proves that the Mango grove was between the mountain and the city and not far from it. The Eastern gate is mentioned by Buddha Ghose in his commentary on the *Sutta-nipata* (Colombo edition of *Pramattha-jotika*, 330) in connection with *Siddhartha's* first visit to *Raja-griha*. The annotator says that he entered the city by the *Eastern gate* and returned to the slope of the *Pandavaparvata* which lay to the east (*"puratthamabhimukha-pabbhareti"*). This helps us to locate the Eastern gate as well as the hill to the east. *Pandavaparvata* is the modern Ratna-giri and the Eastern gate must be the one to the immediate west of it and the one through which *Ajata-satru* left the city on his way to *Jivaka's Amravana*. The south-western bend of the Ratnagiri is close to the Eastern gate, and is between the Griddhra-kuta and the city wall. Beyond this bend there would be no shade as there was nothing to intercept the light of the moon, at that point. *Jivaka's Amravana* was therefore at this site or close to it. Connecting this with the Chinese records, we should interpret the north-eastern curve of the mountain city as the south-western corner of the Ratnagiri, just outside the city wall. If this is

clear, it will be easy to locate the different stupas mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang with tolerable certainty. At the point where the Ratnagiri bends round to the east, I have found stone foundations as well as brick remains which are well worth further exploration. I have not the slightest doubt that both the Chinese travellers approached the *Amravana* from the southern parts of the city where the royal buildings stood. Starting from a point to the north of Mr. Jackson's stone fort (A.S.R., 1913-14, 269) and proceeding towards the Ratnagiri bend, one has to pass a tank and a deep ditch before reaching the *Amravana* site. According to the rules laid down in Kautilya's *Arthasastra* (Shamsastrya's translation, 61) the elephant stable should be placed in the south-east of a fortified town. If *Ajata-satru's* stalls for elephants were similarly placed, it would be an additional reason for holding that the Chinese pilgrims started towards the *Amravana* site from some point in the southern part of *Raja-griha*.

In Kautilya's *Arthasastra,* directions have been given for the construction of the treasury-house, various store-houses, armoury, jail, &c. The treasury was a building constructed over a square dry well with a stone floor as well as stone sides and compartments of strong wood. The ladies' apartment, it appears, used to consist of many rooms, "one within the other", surrounded by a parapet and a ditch, and provided with a door (Shamsastry's translation, 44-45). The king's palace used to be constructed like the treasury with an underground chamber contained in a square well with the sides and the floor paved with stone and provided with secret passages and other contrivances for the safety of the king. Square wells of a similar description, and

specially one with a curious structure, *viz.*, the lower part square and the upper, round, have been found by Mr. Jackson in the southern part of the city (A.S.R., 1913-14, 270). All these point to the fact that the "*Rajanibesana*" or the king's palace was in this locality. This would completely reconcile the Chinese accounts with those contained in Buddhist literature. It is more than probable that Hiuen Tsiang was living in one of the *Sangharamas* which he found at the south-west angle of the "palace precincts" and which were meant for travelling bhikshus. That would explain why he first visited the sites on this side of *Raja-griha*, and in his trips to the places to the north of the old city had always to go out through the north gate to which the distances and directions given by him refer invariably.

Griddhrakuta had a peculiar sanctity in the history of Buddhism. It was a most favourite resort of the great Teacher and some of his important sermons were delivered here. It was here that the Uposatha ceremony was first instituted at the instance of king *Bimbisara* and the bhikshus had their first confessional. The *Mahavastu* (Paris Ed., II. 257) relates that Buddha met here the divine musician Pancasikha and many of the important *Mahayana* sutras are associated with this mountain (*e.g.*, Karuna-pundarika). The *Ashtasahasrika* and the *Satasahaśrika Prajnaparamita* both state in the opening chapters that Buddha was at that time living in the *Griddhrakuta mountain*. From the *Pali* texts it is clear that *Griddhrakuta* was approached from the Eastern gate of the city, the *Amravana* and the Maddakucchi being on the way. It is mentioned that this mountain lay to the south

of the Vipula (Samjutta, II. 185). In the account about Devadatta's attempt to kill Buddha by rolling down a boulder from the top of the mountain while he was taking his customary exercise in the western shade of the mountain, the Cullavagga of Vinayapitaka states that a broken piece from the missile struck his foot and inflicted a severe wound. That part of the mountain where he used to stay was sufficiently spacious for seating large congregations. The *Pali* scriptures, however, mention no caves of which Hiuen Tsiang speaks.

The *Indra-sala-guha* should next claim our attention. This cave has been already referred to above. The Sakka-panha-sutta places it in a mountain north of the Ambasanda Village which lay to the east of *Raja-griha*. The name of the mountain was *Vediyaka* from its having a flat top and a luxuriant growth of vegetation on all sides. The *Sumangala-vilasini* tells us that the cave was situated *between two mountains* and had a *sal* tree at its opening. In the *Sanyutta-nikaya*, I.X., there is mention of a meeting between "Indako Yakkho" and Buddha in the house of "Indako Yakkho" in the *"Indakuto"* mountain at *"Rajagaha"*. *Indrakuta* was perhaps one of the peaks at the eastern extremity of the *Rajgir* range, and it is quite probable that at a later time, the peak having been associated with the tradition about the Yaksha, came to be named Yaksha-giri or "Giri-yak". The position of the cave between two hills to the east of Rajgir entirely coincides with that of the one found by Cunningham and, after him, by Stein. The Ambasanda village was to the south of the cave and between the hills and the *Panchanan* river. The Samyutta mentions another peak, *Patibhamakuta*

with a "fearful" precipice (Vol. V. 449), not far from *Gijjhakuta*. Was this Sailagiri?

No other site to the south-west of *Raja-griha* is mentioned in the *Pali* texts excepting Latthivana (Sanskrit, Yashthivana). In *Sariputta-Moggalana-katha, Maha-khandaka* of the Vinay-pitaka, we are told that after leaving Gaya, Buddha went on to *Raja-griha* and stopped under a banyan tree (Supratittha Cetiya) Latthivana, which, the annotator tells us, was a palm grove and not, as is generally understood, a bamboo forest. "Latthi" meant in those days any small or young tree, *e.g., "amba-latthi"*. The annotator translates it as "taruna *tala* rukkha" or young palm tree. Hiuen Tsiang made the same mistake, and adorned the story with a tale which his guide must have told him. The *Mahavastu* speaks of "Yashthivana" as lying inside the mountains (*"antara-girismin"*).

Ajatasatru's Stupa: We have, on the authority of the *Mahaparinibbana* Sutta, that *Ajatasattu* built a stupa over the body-relics of Buddha and with due ceremony (p. 112, Burmese edition). In the commentary on *Vimana-Vatthu* (p. 170, P.T.S.), we are told that *Sunanda*, who was an *Upasika* used to send garlands and perfumes as votive offerings to the stupa which *Ajata-satru* had erected at *Raja-griha* over his share of the body relics of *Tathagata*. The same commentary tells us that another *Upasika* of *Raja-griha*, after having finished her morning ablutions, gathered a few *Kositaki* flowers for worshipping the stupa, and, entirely absorbed in the thought about the relics, proceeded towards the tower. In a fit of absent-mindedness, she did not notice a cow which had just given birth to a calf and was goaded to death by the infuriated

animal. In all these passages there is not the slightest suggestion of the existence of a New *Raja-griha* as distinguished from old *Raja-griha*. The site of such an important stupa must naturally be to the north of the old city near the important hermitages of the Buddhist monks, perhaps, as Hiuen Tsiang says, to the east of Venu-vana. The commentary on the *Mahaparinibbana* Sutta (p. 429-432, Colombo ed.) mentions a *dhatu-nidhana* (literally, a treasure-house for body-relics) which was built by *Ajata-satru* at the request of *Mahakassapa-thero*. From the accounts given it appears that the *dhatu-nidhana* was meant to be a secret underground store for concealing the precious relics. We are further told by the annotator that Asoka took out the relics from this place of concealment for the eighty thousand stupas —which he erected in *Jambu-dvipa*. The *dhatu-nidhana* was made by cutting away a piece of rock in the south-east of the city (Rajagahassa *pacina-dakkhina disa-bhage*) and making a hole eighty cubits deep in which a strong chamber was constructed for preserving the relics. Strict secrecy was observed for keeping the fact concealed from the public. *Ajata-satru's* stupa was at some distance to the east of Venuvana, otherwise it would not have escaped *Fahian's* observation. It is highly improbable that *Ajata-satru* should build the memorial tower in such an unsavoury locality as the *sitavana*, and not very far from the cremation ground. The existence of New *Raja-griha* during *Ajata-satru's* time is still problematic, the slender ground on which it rests being absolutely inadequate for drawing such a large conclusion as I have already mentioned before. I would, therefore accept Hiuen Tsiang's identification.

Kusagarapura : It was a great puzzle to me why

Hiuen Tsiang calls old *Raja-griha* by the name *Kusha-garapura*. I have not found this name in the Buddhistic literature of the Little or Great Vehicle. *Fahian* used the name old *Raja-griha*. His accounts are however nowhere as full as those of the later traveller. *Fahian* for example does not even mention *Nalanda* and did not apparently visit it. He is also guilty of some bad mistakes such as the identity of the hill of Indra and the persons who took part in the first Council. All this seems to indicate that when *Fahian* came to India the national memory was growing rather dim about things Buddhistic and that like the heaps of debris which covered and concealed many of the famous sites, there was a luxuriant growth of legend and gossip upon which the pilgrim had to depend for his narrative. The great developments at *Nalanda* were subsequent to *Fahian's* visit and mark undoubtedly a fresh renaissance which gave impetus to the *Nalanda* movement, and to the growth of similar other places of Buddhistic culture in India. It is significant that when Hiuen Tsiang visited Rajgir even the name of the place had been forgotten and for the old *Pali* names Sanskrit names had been substituted as in the case of Yashthivana which was known as Latthivana during Buddha's time. Kusagarapura is a Sanskrit name and a transformation of Kusagra-nagara or Kusagra-pura and is mentioned in Jaina literature, this being the birth-place of the Tirthankara Muni Subrata (Outlines of Jainism by Jaini, table facing page 6).

In reading the Chinese accounts we must discriminate between actual record and second hand gossip and remember that the distances and directions mentioned by them are not the result of accurate

measurement but of rough estimate for which the travellers had often to depend upon their guides.

D. N. SEN.

BIHAR NATIONAL COLLEGE,
Patna, the 12th Dec., 1921.

ART PRESS

PRIHISTORIC HOME OF MAN.

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An abstract for Oriental Conference 2nd Sesseon. Ethuology and Folklore Section.

Brohma sprang from the navel region of Narayna. The map of the world indicates, that as if, the land portion is floating on water. *Nar* means water, *Ayana* means bed —i. e. whose bed is on the water, is Narayana himself. On this interpretation, the land portion has been contrived to mean "*Narayana.*"

Brohma was born in the navel of Narayana i.e. in the polar region. It is Adam's Aden ("Ad" meaning prime; "In" means gotten,) i.e. the first gotten place. No other place of this earth can be the centre of this land and, consequently the "White-man" Brohma or Adam was born in this very polar region. Savambhu (Self made) Manu was the first Manu or King of this region. No one before him became Manu or king, So his name has become Svayambhub-Manu i e. self made king.

He divided the polar region into nine divisions. The central division was called Ilabritabarsa and situated in the polar region; To the extreme north is Kurubarsa, (Mexico) and to the exteame south is Bharatbarsa (India).

According the Suryyasiddhanta. "When their sun-rise in Bharatbarsa (India) it is sun-set at Siddhapura in Kurubarsa (Mexico"). No one except the inhabitants of Ilabritabarsa of the polar region can see this. The first sacrificial fire was blazed from here. The Aryans, who were the first, to light it

When the entire polar region was altogether under destruction on account of heavy glacier, at the time of Chakshus, the eighth 8th) king of Svayambhub Manu's descent, he settled his kingdom at the Mount Altai region,—South of Syberia (See my "Prithibir Puratattva" Part 2nd, named Marutattva for reference, in which it has been copiously dealt with). He is most probably the Jim in the Avesta. He called the region—Sumeru, on account of its best situation in comparison with the polar region.

He too, might have divided this Sumeru region into nine divisions like the polar region.

The extreme northern division is called "Uttar Kurubarsa and the extreme southern division is "Bharatbarsa." This

Uttar Kurubarsa situates to the south of north pole. So the sun-rise is visible in the same time both in India and there. He called the hilly rigion of Sumeru mountain Ilabritabarsa, so the name of the Sumeru Mountain originally derived from Ilabrita, from Ilabrita Ilasthai, and at last was transformed into Altai. This region is not the centre of the World. It may be considered as the centre of Asia or Central Asia. The polar rigon was the first place and the Sumeru region stood second.

There was a deluge, when the Sumeru region was ruled by Indra, the 27th descent from Svyambhumanu. Baibaswatmanu and Sabarnimanu, son of Bibaswan, brother of Indra, were floating on arc separately. Baibaswatmanu at last descended on the summit of the Himalayas and his half-brother Sabarnimanu, of the same descent landed the top of Arrarat mountain (Arabh). There is conclusive proof of this saying in the Rig Vedas.

The place where Baibaswatmanu first landed was called Mahameru. It is Trinak or the 3rd place according to the Rig Vedas. With these proofs, we may come to this conclu tion that the polar region was the primitive home of man.*

BINODE BEHARI ROY Puratatta Bisarad.
Author of "Pritheber Puratatt."
Talanda P. O. (Rajshahee.

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* In ordei to cut short this article, other important proofs are not cited here. For further reference, see my Prithibir Puratattva, Part I.

My original research on this subject goes to prove that Uttanapada first observed that all the heavenly bodies are circling, except that one star overhead, which was named after him. His son Dhruba observed that the star Uttanapada has some circling movement but that a little star near it has no movement at all; thus was named after him as Dhruba. The tract traversed by the individual Dhruba (the man) is called the Dhrubaloka, Dhruba, Hiranya, Urnanava, Skandanava, Padmonava are of same meaning. Therefore Dhrubaloka or the Polar region is the father-land of Humanily.

MANMATHA BHATTACHARJEE.

The full lent will appear in the "Sanskrita Varati" an Anglo-Sanskrit maga, izne of Ayurveda Sadhanasram Ltd, 64/1, Bowbazar St. Calcutta.

The MONTHLY GENERAL MEETING of the Asiatic Society of Bengal will be held on *Wednesday, the 2nd August*, 1922, *at* 6-15 *p.m.*

The following gentleman will be balloted for as an Ordinary Member :—

Bhagwan Das Batta, Consulting and Analytical Chemist, Munshian Street, Nabha State, proposed by Dr. S. W. Kemp, seconded by Mr. A H. Harley.

The following papers will be read :—

1. *Discovery of Bengali* (?) *Dramas in Nepal.*—*By* KUMAR GANGANANDA SINHA.

In this paper an attempt has been made to show that the language of three of the dramas contained in the book entitled Nepāle Bānglā Nātaka (*published by the* Bangīya Sāhitya Parishad) *is Maithili and not Bengali.*

2. *Father A. Monserrate, S.J., on Salsete, Charao, Divor and the Molucas* (1529).—*Edited and translated by the* REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

3. *The Mahabharata and the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros.*—*By* HEM CHANDRA RAY-CHAUDHURY.

In this paper an attempt has been made to show that Heliodoros, to whom we owe the famous Garudapillar Inscription at Besnagar, most probably knew and utilized the teaching of the Mahabharata.

4. *Vedic Aryandom.*—*By* HARAN CHANDRA CHAKLADAR.

In early Vedic times, the Vedic Aryans were not only confined to the Punjab on the Midland but had spread in the north up to Kashmir and even beyond the Himalayas, in the west beyond the frontier mountains up to Afghanistan and Bactria, in the south up to Berar and farther south still to Kerala, and in the east up to the Bay of Bengal. This is sought to be proved by evidence mainly derived from the Vedas, supported by later Vedic and secular literature.

5. *A Note on the Diplopterous Wasps in the Collection of the Indian Museum.*—*By* CEDRIC DOVER and H. SRINIVASA RAO. (*Communicated by the Biological Secretary.*)

ASIATIC SOCIETY'S ROOMS,
1, PARK STREET,
Calcutta, 31st July, 1922.

S. W. KEMP,
Offg. Honorary Secretary,
Asiatic Society of Bengal.