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OF

SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR'

VOL.1

COMPRISING MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES, REVIEWS, ADDRESSES & C.

EDITED BY

The late Narayana Bapuji Utgikar, M. A.

Editor, Virataparvan

Sometime, of the Deccan College and the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute.

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P R E F A C E

The present volume of R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, which is the last to be published although it is the first in the series, is being issued on the occasion of the seventh death-anniversary of Dr: Bhandarkar, which falls on the Rsipancami day of the Hindu Calendar and which is observed at the B.O.R. institute as a day of piety when literary tributes are offered to the memory of the revered departed, including special lectures by distinguished scholars.. The Institute itself submits on this day an account of its literary labours during the preceding twelve months as a kind " Vanmaya-sraddha". The Indexes to this Volume are the work of Mr. G. N. Shrigondekar, B. A., of the Publication Department of the Institute. It is unfortunate that this Volume is appearing without a life of the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar of Calcutta, the son of Sir Ramkrishna, was to write the biography, but continued ill health has come in the way of his carrying out the pledge — a circumstance which nobody regrets more than he himself. It is still more unfortunate that the original editor of these Volumes, Mr. N. B. Utgikar, M. A., has not lived to see the edition completed. Sir Ramkrishna had, however, personally supervised the collection and arrangement of the works included in these Volumes. The completion of the edition of the collected writings of a scholar who was remarkable for the wide range of his researches as well as for his originality, for his penetration as well as his catholicity, takes off from the Institute a heavy responsibility which it had undertaken nearly ten years ago and the Publication Department of the Institute has reasons to feel a sense of relief as well as gratification on the present occasion. A memoir of the author and a general index of all his works are still a desideratum and it is to be hoped that a fifth volume containing them may eventually be offered to the public in the fullness of time.

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FLsipancami, Sake	1854}	V. G. PARANJPE
5th Sept. 1932	J	

A PEEP INTO THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA
FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE MAURYA DYNASTY
TO THE DOWNFALL OF THE IMPERIAL
' GUPTA DYNASTY

(B.C. 322—*circa* 500 A.D.)

[FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE **ROYAL**
ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1900, VOL. XX, pp. 356 ff.]

Also printed in a Book form in 1920 by Messrs Taraporewalla, Bombay, with a Preface by H. G. Rawlinson, this reprint bearing the additional note : " This article consists of a lecture read in March last (1910)—[sic. 1900 ?] before a Poona audience, but afterwards considerably amplified." The Poona audience referred to consisted most probably of a meeting held under the auspices of the (now defunct) Friends' Liberal Association.—N. B. U.

INTRODUCTORY.

I think I may take it for granted that an Indian who has received English education and has been introduced to the ancient history of European countries, naturally has a desire to be acquainted with the ancient history of his own country, to know by whom and how that country was governed in ancient times, or how its social and religious institutions have grown up, and what revolutions the country has gone through ; but means for the satisfaction of this desire are wanting. India unfortunately has no written history. There are some chronicles written by Jains and others, referring to kings and princes who lived from about the eighth to the eleventh centuries of the Christian era and ruled over Gujrat and Rajputana. There are also lives of individual kings such as

the Sri-Harsacarita of Bana and the Vikramankadevacarita of Bilhana. The hero of the former ruled over Northern India in the first half of the seventh century, and of the latter, over Southern India in the latter part of the eleventh and the early part of the twelfth century. The Puranas contain genealogies of certain dynasties* With these exceptions, sometime ago we had absolutely no knowledge of the history of the different provinces of India before the foundation of the Mahomedan Empire. But the researches of European and some Native scholars and antiquarians have thrown considerable light over this dark period. The knowledge hitherto gathered cannot be pronounced to be very satisfactory or to be as good as written books would have supplied. Still, it is sufficient to give us a general idea of the political, social and religious movements that took place from remote times to the arrival of the Mahomedans. The materials for these researches I shall here shortly describe.

First—Gold, silver and copper coins of ancient kings are found in all parts of the country, especially in Northern India, when old mounds composed of the ruins of buildings are dug out. These coins bear certain emblems, and also legends in ancient characters containing the names of the princes who issued them, and sometimes of their fathers, with occasionally the date of their issue. From these we derive a knowledge of the kings and dynasties that ruled over the provinces in which the coins are found

Secondly—We find inscriptions engraved on rocks and columns and on the remains of ancient temples wherein occur the names of princes, and sometimes of the provinces ruled over or conquered by them. In the case of temples and other benefactions we have the names of the donors, their profession, the description of the nature of their gift, and sometimes the name of the king in whose reign the gift was made. Again, we find in digging old ruins,, charters of land-grants made by princes, inscribed on plates of copper. The grants therein jrecorded were made to individual Brahmins or to temples or to Buddhistic Viharas. These copper-

plate inscriptions often give a full genealogy of the dynasty to which the grantor belonged, together with the most notable events in the reign pleach of the princes belonging to the dynasty, Often-times, there is a mere vague praise of the different kings which can have no historical value, but one who possesses a little critical power, can without much difficulty distinguish between what is historically true and what is not. A very large number of such grants have been found in our own Maratha country, in consequence of which we have been able to construct a sort of continuous political history from about the beginning of the sixth century to the time of the Mahomedan invasion.

Thirdly—Another important source consists in the writings of foreigners who visited this country or obtained information about it from others. The invasion of Alexander the Great brought the Greeks in communication with India, and after his death his general Seleukos who obtained the province of Syria kept up a regular intercourse with a king who is called Sandrakottos by the Greeks, who reigned at Pataliputra, and at whose court resided an ambassador of Seleukos of the name of Megasthenes. The work of Megasthenes, though not extant, was abridged by other writers, and in this form it has come down to us. Then we have Ptolemy's geography which was written between 151 and 163 A.D., the date of his death. He gives the names of Indian towns and sometimes of the princes who reigned there at the time. Similarly we have got another work called the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* whose author is unknown. He too gives valuable geographical and historical information. After Buddhism had penetrated into China, several Chinese pilgrims visited India from time to time, and have left us an account of what they saw. Such are Fa-Hian, Sung-yun, Hieun Tsiang, and I-tsing. The Mahomedans who visited the country in later times have also left us similar works. Besides, the information given by these writers about the people, their literature, and their kings, what is of the highest value is the help they afford in determining the dates of events in India, For, all these foreigners had good systems of chronology.

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

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

In using all these materials, however, one should exercise a good deal of keen critical power. No one who does not possess this power can make a proper use of them. A good many years ago, I delivered a lecture on the critical and comparative method of study, which has been published¹. To what I have stated there, I shall only add that in dealing with all these materials, one should proceed on such principles of evidence as are followed by a judge. One must in the first place be impartial, with no particular disposition to find in the materials before him something that will tend to the glory of his race and country, nor should he have an opposite prejudice against the country or its people. Nothing but dry truth should be his object; and he should in every case determine the credibility of the witness before him and the probability or otherwise of what is stated by him. He should ascertain whether he was an eye-witness or a contemporary witness, and whether in describing a certain event he himself was not open to the temptation of exaggeration or to the influence of the marvellous. None of the current legends should be considered to be historically true, but an endeavour should be made to find any germ of truth that there may be in them by evidence of another nature.

THE MAURYAS (UPTO THE ACCESSION OF ASOKA.)

I shall now proceed to give a short sketch of the history of India as determined by the critical use of these materials. As I have already observed, the Puranas give lists of kings, who, they say in
 printed in this volume later,

prophetic language, will reign in the future. In consequence of the corruption of manuscripts there are a great many discrepancies in the lists as given in different works of that class. Besides, there is no chronological clue whatever to be found in them. We will, therefore, begin with that dynasty of which we have intimation elsewhere, and with that king whose date can be determined by unimpeachable evidence. Candragupta is mentioned as the founder of the Maurya dynasty. He is said to have uprooted the family of the Nandas who ruled before him and to have been assisted by a Brahmin of the name of Canakya. He is one of those whose memory has been preserved by both Buddhist and Brahmanic writers. We have a dramatic play in which his acquisition of the throne through the help of Canakya is alluded to. Buddhistic works also give similar accounts about him. The grammarian Patanjali alludes to the Mauryas and speaks of a Candragupta-sabha. In an inscription, dated in the year 72, which has been referred to the Saka era and is consequently equivalent to 150 A.D., Candragupta the Maurya is spoken of as having caused a certain tank to be constructed; and we have contemporary evidence also of the existence of the king and of his acquisition of the throne in the writings of Greek authors. They speak of Candragupta as being an ambitious man in his youth, and as having been present in the Panjab at the time of Alexander's invasion. He is said to have freed the country from the Macedonian yoke, to have fought with Seleukos, who had obtained the Syrian province of the Alexandrian empire, and to have finally concluded a treaty with him. Seleukos sent an ambassador to his court of the name of Megasthenes. From this connection of Candragupta with Seleukos, we have been able to determine the date of his accession, which is about 322 B.C.. Candragupta's capital was Pataliputra, which is represented by Greek writers to have been situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Erannoboas, which last corresponds to our Hiranyabaha. Hiranyabaha was another name of the Sona, and Patanjali speaks of Pataliputra as situated on the banks of the Sona¹. His (Candragupta's) successor, according

१ अनुसोण पाटलिपुत्रम् I Mahabhasya, Kielhom's Edn. Vol. 1, p. 380,

to one Purana, was Bindusara, and, according to another, Bhadrāsara. He is mentioned also in Buddhistic works, but the name does not occur in any inscription or foreign writing. His son was called Asoka. This is a very important name in the ancient history of the whole of India, and as the connection of the prince with Buddhism was close, and that religion plays an important part in **the** general history of India, I must here give a short account of it.

RISE OF BUDDHISM—ITS DOCTRINES AND AIMS.

After the Indian Aryas had established the system of sacrificial religion fully, their speculation took its start from the sacrifice. Every thing was identified with some sacrificial operation. The gods are represented in the Purusasukta (Rgveda, X. 90) to have sacrificed the primordial Purusa, from whom thus sacrificed, arose the whole creation. Brahman is a word which in the Rksamhita means a particular mantra or verse addressed to a god, or that sort of power from which one is able to compose such a mantra. Thence it came to signify the true power or virtue in a sacrifice, or its essence; and when the whole universe was regarded as produced from a kind of sacrifice, its essence also came to be named Brahman. There was at the same time religious and philosophical speculation upon an independent basis starting from the self-conscious soul. In the Rgveda Samhita we have several philosophical hymns, and the speculation which they indicate ran on in its course, and the results of it we have in the Upanisads. In the celebrated hymn beginning with NasadasInno sadaslt¹ it is represented that in the . . .

darkness which enveloped the whole world in the beginning, that which was wrapped up in the Unsubstantial, developed through the force of brooding energy, and there arose in it a Desire which is spoken of as the first germ of the mind. This idea that our worldly existence, with its definite modes of thinking is the result of desire, developed in a variety of ways. This appears to be the idea adopted or appropriated by Buddhism, and one sense of the **name** Mara—the Buddhistic Prince of Darkness—is Kama or **desire**. **Of** the four noble truths of Buddhism the first is **misery (Duhkha)**,

and the second, the origin of misery. This is thirst or desire. It therefore, the misery of worldly existence is due to desire, the conclusion follows that, in the words of the Katha Upanisad, by uprooting your desire you are free from misery and attain immortality and eternal bliss¹. This is the third of the noble truths. But immortality or eternal bliss one can speak of, when one regards the soul as something different from and lying beyond the mind or thoughts which have been set in motion by desire. When, however, the existence of such a thing beyond the mind Or thought is denied, the condition of eternal bliss when thought has ceased, means, what some people call annihilation. In one of the sections of the Brhadaranyaka, which Upanisad and the Chandogya, might be regarded as collections of the speculations of various Rishis, there occurs a passage which comes very near to, the denial of the soul as a separate substance. "Yajnavalkya," says Artabhaṅga, the son of Jaratkaru, "when the speech of a man or Purusa who is dead, goes to Agni or fire, his breath to the wind, his sight to the sun, his mind to the moon, his power of hearing to the quarters, the body to the earth, and the self to the Akasa or ether, the hairs of his body to the herbs, and the hairs on the head to the trees, and the blood and seminal fluid are placed in the waters where does the Purusa exist?" Yajnavalkya answers "Artabhaṅga give me your hand. We alone shall know of this and not the people here." So then they went out and conversed with each other, and what they spoke of was Karma (deeds), and what they praised was Karma. He who does meritorious Karma or deeds, becomes holy, and he who does sinful deeds, becomes sinful. With this Artabhaṅga, the son of Jaratkaru, was satisfied and remained silent.⁹ Here it will be seen that the different parts, of which man is composed are represented as being dissolved into the different parts of the Cosmos, and what remains is the Karma. The ideas therefore involved in this dialogue are three;—(i) That the soul is not a substance separate from the component parts of a human being;

¹ यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि स्थिताः । a Up. VI. 14.

अथ यत्किञ्चिदुच्यते भवत्यत्र यदा सर्वमुच्यते ॥ Katha

a Br. Ar. Up. III. a. 13-14.

(2) that what renders transmigration or the production of a **new being** possible is the Karma, and (3) that according to the nature of the previous Karma, is the nature of the new being, holy or sinful. The third idea is common to all Hindu systems of philosophy or religion; but the first two are heterodox, and must have been considered so when the dialogue was composed, since it was to avoid the shock which the exposition of such doctrines would cause, that Yajnavalkya retires from the assembly and speaks to Arta-bhaga alone. Still the ideas had been developed in the time of the Upanisad and were adopted by Buddhism. In the celebrated dialogue between the Greek king Milinda or Menander of Sakala, and Nagasena, a Buddhist Saint, the king asks: "How is your reverence known? What is your name?". Nagasena replies: "I am called Nagasena by my parents, the priests, and others. But Nagasena is not a separate entity." And going on further in this way, Nagasena gives an instance of the chariot in which the king came, and says: "As the various parts of a chariot when united form the chariot, so the five Skandhas¹ when united in one body, form a being or living existence." Here we see that as there is nothing like a chariot independently of its parts, so there is nothing like a man independently of the various elements of which he is composed. Further on in the same book we have:—"The king said, 'What, is it Nagasena that is re-born?' 'Name-and-form is re-born'. 'What, is it this same name-and-form that is re-born?' 'No; but by this name-and-form deeds are done, good and evil, and by these deeds (this Karma) another name-and-form is re-born' "² In the external world also the Buddhist believes in the existence of no substance. To him all knowledge is phenomenal, and this is what appears to be meant by the doctrine that every thing is Ksanika or momentary.

I The five Skandhas are Rupa, physical constituents, Vijnana, self-consciousness* Vedana, feeling of pleasure or pain, Samna,, name, and Sarhskara, lore, hatred, and infatuation. These five constitute the human being.

² **नामरूप** or name-and-form is equivalent to the five Skandhas of which a living being is composed. The expression, therefore, **signifies a living individual**!*

But it was not the metaphysical doctrines of Buddhism that influenced the masses of the people. What proved attractive was its ethical side. The Buddhist preachers discoursed on Dhanna or righteousness to the people. Such discourses on Dhanna without the introduction of any theistic idea have their representatives in the Brahmanic literature. In many of the episodes of the Mahabharata, especially in the Santi and AnuShasanika books, we have simple ethical discourses without any reference to God, of the nature of those we find in Buddhistic works; and sometimes the verses in the Mahabharata, are the same as those occurring in the latter. There appears to be at one time a period in which the thoughts of the Hindus were directed to the delineation of right conduct in itself without any theistic bearing. And Buddhism on its ethical side represents that phase. Right conduct is the last of the four noble truths of Buddhism. The origin of misery alluded to above is destroyed by what is called the Eight-fold Path—viz., right views, right resolve, right speech, right action, right living, right effort, right self-knowledge, right contemplation.¹ Thus the Buddhistic gospel is, that righteous conduct is the means of the destruction of suffering, which may end in positive happiness or not, according as one regards his soul as substantial or phenomenal. It was this phase of Buddhism that, with the strenuous efforts of the missionaries and of the Emperor Asoka, enabled it to achieve success amongst the masses of the people; and what was wanting on the theistic side, was supplied by the perfection and marvellous powers attributed to the founder of the religion. Without this faith in the perfection or, what we should call, the divine nature of Buddha, a mere ethical religion would probably not have succeeded. Buddhism was not a social revolution as has been thought by some writers. It was a religion established and propagated by persons

¹ सम्मगदृष्टिः, सम्मक्कसंकल्पः, सम्मग्गवाक्क, सम्मक्कमान्ताः, सम्मग्गामीनः, सम्मग्ग्यावासः, सम्मक्कसमुत्तिः, सम्मक्कसमाधिश्च । The true sense of (7) has, it appears to me, not yet been correctly given. Smṛti is remembrance of what a man's true condition is; being blinded to it, is Smṛtivibhrama or Smṛtibhramla, Bhag. G. ii. 63. Seeing where one's course of conduct is leading one, and remembering what one ought to do is Smṛti, and that is awakened in one by God; *Ibid.* xv. 15. When infatuation disappears Smṛti returns; *Ibid.* Kviii. 73.

who had renounced the world and professed not to care for it. From times of old there existed in the Indian community such persons, who were called Sramanas and belonged originally to all castes. These gave themselves to contemplation and sometimes propounded doctrines of salvation not in harmony with the prevalent creed. Buddhism was not even a revolt against caste, for though men from all castes were admitted to the monastic order, and though in the discourses of Buddha himself and others, the distinction of caste is pronounced to be entirely worthless, still the object of those who elaborated the system was not to level caste-distinctions. They even left the domestic ceremonies of their followers to be performed according to the Vedic ritual. This is one of the arguments brought against Buddhism by Udayanacarya. "There does not exist" he says, "a sect, the followers of which do not perform the Vedic rites beginning with the GarbhadhSna and ending with the funeral, even though they regard them as having but a relative or tentative truth."¹ Buddhism, however, was a revolt against the sacrificial system, and denied the authority of the Vedas as calculated to point out the path to salvation. And this is at the root of the hostility between Buddhism and Brahmanism.

PROPAGATION OF BUDDHISM—AS'OKA'S EDICTS.

Buddhism was propagated by a number of devoted persons. But I think the efforts of Asoka contributed a good deal to its acceptance by the large mass of the people. Though of course in his Edicts he does not inculcate upon his people faith in Buddha and Samgha, still the Dharma or righteousness that he preaches is in the spirit of Buddhism. The inscriptions of Asoka are engraved on rocks, pillars, and tablets of stone. Those of the first class are found at Girnar in Kathiawad on the west, Shahbazgarhi in Afghanistan, Manshera on the northern frontiers of the Panjab, Khalsi near the sources of the Jumna in the Himalaya, and Dhauli in Katak, and Jaugad in Ganjam on the east. All these contain the

¹ नास्तेष्व तदर्थेन यत्र सांख्यमेतदित्युक्त्यापि गर्भाधानाद्यज्योष्टिपर्यन्तां वैदिकीं क्रियां अनो नाह्यतिष्ठति । Āmatattvaviveka. Calc. Ed. of Sainvat 1906, p. 89. सांख्य is relating to संख्यति, a Buddhist technical term.

same edicts, their number in some cases being fourteen, and less in others. In the last two places there are two separate edicts not found on the other rocks. These inscriptions are in two different characters—those at Girnar, Khalsi, Dhauri and Jaugad being in the character called Brahmi, which is the earliest form of our modern Devanagari, and those at Shahbazgarhi and Mansesahra are in the character called Kharosthi, and are written from right to left in the manner of the ancient Pahlavi and the modern Persian and Arabic documents. Two of the columns bearing inscriptions of the second class are now at Delhi. They were brought there by the Emperor Firozeshah from Siwalik and Meerut. The others exist at Allahabad, Radhia, Mathia, and Rampurva. The edicts are the same on these columns, but the number of these on the Siwalik Delhi pillar is seven, the second Delhi pillar contains five, that at Rampurva four, and the rest six. In the case of both these classes, the inscriptions are well-preserved in some cases and mutilated in others. Smaller edicts on rocks and tablets are found at Rupnath and Sahasram in Bhagelkhand, Bairat on the north-eastern boundary of Rajputana and Siddapur in the Mysore territory. There is also a tablet inscription addressed to the Magadha Samgha, and three small ones in caves at Barabar near Gaya. Two more inscriptions have been found at Paderia and Nigliva in the Nepal Terai.

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

Now, in the first place, from the localities in which we find these inscriptions, it appears that ASoka's dominions extended from Kathaiwad on the west to Katak and Ganjam on the east, and to Afghanistan, Panjab, and the sources of the Jumna in the north. To the south it extended over the centre of the table-land of the Deccan upto Mysore. In the second rock-edict he speaks of "conquered" countries and the "neighbouring or bordering" countries. In the last class he mentions the Codas, the Pandyas, Satiyaputa, Ketalaputa or Keralaputa up to Tambapanni, and the countries of Antiyoko the Yona king and his neighbours. In the thirteenth rock-edict he speaks of his having achieved religious

victory "here" and in the neighbouring or bordering countries up to six hundred Yojanas, where reigns Antiyoko the Yona king, and further away from him where the four kings, Turamaya, Antikina, Maka, and Alikasudara hold sway, and down below where the Coda and the Pandya rule up to Tambapanni, and also in the countries of "Hidaraja," This last expression must be translated by V the kings about here," among whom he enumerates those of the countries of Visa, Vaji, Yona, Kamboja, Nabhata, Nabhapanti, Bhoja, Pitinika, Andhra, and Pulinda¹. Here there is a threefold division, viz., his own empire, spoken of as "here" ; the neighbouring independent countries ruled over by Antiochus and others, and those of the Codas and Pandyas; and the "Hidarajas" or "kings here," i.e., in his empire. On comparing both these passages, it would appear that Antiochus and the other Greek princes as well as the princes of the Codas and Pandyas, were independent; while the kings of the Vajjis, whose country lay near Pataliputra, and of the Bhojas, the Petenikas, and the Andhras and the Pulindas were under his influence, i.e., were probably his feudatories; while the rest of the country was under his immediate sway. Among the feudatory princes must also be included those of the Gandharas, Rastikas, and the Aparantas, who are mentioned in the fifth rock-edict, and to whose dominions he sent overseers of righteousness*. From the mention of Antiyoko and others in the second and thirteenth edicts, the date when they were composed can be accurately determined. Antiyoko was Antiochus of Syria (260—247 B.C.), Turamaya was Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt (285—247 B.C.), Antikini was Antigonus Gonatus of Macedonia (278—242 B.C.)/ Maka was Magas of Cyrene

x Epi. Ind. Vol. I I . pp. 449-450 and 462-465. Hidaraja has been taken to be a proper name by both M. Senart and Dr. Buhler. But *Hida* everywhere in these inscriptions means "here," and the sense the "kings here" fits in very well with the context. Asoka distinguishes between *Hida* and *Antesu* i.e., his own empire and the territories of his neighbours. The third class left must be of those who were kings in the extent of country that could be spoken of as *Hida*, i.e., princes comprised in his empire or dependent princes. Ib. p. 471, and Inscriptions of Piyadari, by Senart, Vol II p. \$4 am p. 92, note 63.

2 Dharmamahamatrah

(died 258 B.C.), and Alikasudara was Alexander of Epirus (died between 262 and 258 B. C). All of these were living between 250 and 258 B.C, wherefore the matter in the inscription was composed between those years, *i.e.*, about 259 B.C., and ASoka was crowned about 271 B.C., as the edict was promulgated in the thirteenth year after the event¹.

AfioKA, A BUDDHIST—BUT TOLERANT AND LIBERAL.

In the edicts at Sahasaram, Bairat, Rupnith, and Siddipur,' ASoka says that he was an (JpSsaka or lay follower of Buddhism for more than two years and a half, but did not exert himself to promote righteousness; but for more than a year afterwards, he did so, and the result was that those men and gods that had been regarded as true in Jambudvpa before, were rendered false. In the eighth rock-edict, he speaks of his having " set out for Sambgdhi," which technically means perfect knowledge, after the end of the tenth year since his coronation. This expression occurs in Buddhistic Pali works, and signifies ' beginning to do such deeds as are calculated to lead in the end to perfection/ From these two state* ments it appears that ASoka was a Buddhistic lay follower, and worked with a view to gain the highest good promised by Buddhism, He visited the Lumbini grove, where §&kyamuni was born, after he had been a crowned king for twenty years, and, having done worship, erected a stone column on the site with a stone enclosure (enclosing wall)³. Paderia in the Nepal Terai, where the inscription, which mentions this, was found engraved on a mutilated pillar, must *5 the site of the birth-place of Buddha. The other Nepal inscription that was found at Nigliva represents his having increased the ittipa raised to KonSkamana, when fourteen years had elapsed ince his coronation, and some years afterwards, probably in the tame year in which he visited the Lumbini grove, he did worship

1 Inscriptions of Hyadasi, by Seaart, Vol. II, p. 86, Eng. Trans.

2 *IadL Ant* Vol. XXII. pp. 302-303; *Senart*, Vol. II. pp. 57-58 and 67; and *Epi. d.* Vol. IV, p. 138.

3 *Epi. Ind*, Vol. V. p. 4. I think **शिवविगलनीषा** must be » eodotareor tiling mad* of stone. **नीषा** is probably connected with bhittl or bhittika 'a wall,"

there.¹ In the Bhabhra inscription addressed to the Magadha Church, Asoka expresses his faith in the Buddhist Triad of Buddha, Dharma (Righteousness) and Samgha (the Assembly) and recommends that certain works which he names should be read and pondered over by the priests as well as by lay followers.* All this shows distinctly enough that ASoka was a Buddhist; but in the edicts, his notions seem to be so liberal and exalted, and his admission that there is truth in the teachings of all sects is so plain, that it must be concluded that he was not actuated by a sectarian spirit, but by a simple respect for truth; and his ethical discourses were such as to be acceptable to everybody, and his moral overseers worked amongst people of all classes and creeds,

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

Asoka's great object in publishing his edicts was to preach and promote righteousness amongst his subjects. Dharma or righteousness consists, as said by him in the second pillar-edict, (1) in doing no ill, (2) doing a great deal of good, (3) in sympathy, (4) beneficence, (5) truth, and (6) purity. In the seventh edict he adds, (7) gentleness, and (8) saintliness³. Besides this, he prohibited the killing of animals for religious sacrifices, and was very particular about it.⁴ In the fifth pillar-edict he does seem to allow the flesh of certain animals to be used, but he carefully enumerates those that should not be killed at all, and the conditions under which others should not be killed. Large feasts or banquets, where hundreds of thousands of animals were killed, he prohibited. He directed his officers to go on tours every five years for the inculcation of Dharma or righteousness and for other matters. He had Mahamatras or Governors of provinces before, but in the fifth

1 Epi. Ind. Vol V, pp. 5-6.

2 Ind. Ant. Vol. V, p. 257.

3 Epi Ind. Vol. II, pp. 249, 269-71, and also Senart, Vol. II. pp. 6, 26-27. The words are: (1) अपासितव, (2) बहुकमान (बहुकमान), (3) दया, (4) दान, (5) दम (दम), (6) क्षीय (क्षीय), (7) मदन (मदन), and (8) क्षय (क्षय).

4 First Rock Edict and also the Fourth.

5 First Bock Edict

rock-edict he speaks of his having created the office of Dharma-mahamatras or overseers of righteousness in the fourteenth year after his coronation, and sent them to different countries—those under his immediate sway and those which were semi-independent. They were to work amongst old and young, rich and poor, householders and recluses, and amongst the followers of the different sects ; and their business was to look to the good of all, to establish and promote righteousness, and to protect all from oppression. They were also to work amongst those who were near to him, in his family, and amongst his relations. In the fourth rock edict he tells us that by his efforts, the destruction of animals, which was enormous before, has almost ceased by his religious orders or instructions, and that a regard for one's relations, for Brahmins and Sramanas or holy recluses, obedience to father and mother and to the old, and general righteousness have increased and will increase, and he hopes that his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, &c, up to the end of the Kalpa will go on promoting it ; and, being righteous themselves, will instruct their subjects in righteousness. For, " this," he says, " is the highest duty one can perform, viz., that of preaching righteousness." In the seventh rock-edict he allows the followers of all sects to live wherever they like, because what they all aim at is self-restraint and purity; and in the twelfth, he says that he shows his regard for the members of all sects, for the recluses and householders, by gifts and in various other ways; but the highest or the best way of showing regard is to seek to increase the importance of all sects. This importance is increased by ceasing to extol one's own sect or revile that of another, and by showing respect for the creed of another. Asoka also speaks of his having planted trees and medicinal herbs, dug wells, and opened establishments for the distribution of water, for the good of men and, animals in different places, even in the countries of his foreign neighbours.¹ The inscriptions in two of the caves at Barabar mention their being dedicated after he had been a crowned monarch for twelve years, to the use of members of the Ajiva sect, which

like that of the Buddhists, was a sect of recluses; that in the third, **does** not give any name,¹

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

BUDDHISTIC ACCOUNTS.

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

SUCCESSORS OF ASOKA.

The names of the successors of ASoka given in the Puranas do not agree. The Visnu Purina gives Dasaratha as the name of his grandson, and there are three inscriptions in three caves in the Nagarjuni hills, near Gaya, in which Dasaratha is represented immediately after his coronation to have dedicated them for the **use**

of the Ajlvaka monks.¹ We have seen that Asoka dedicated similar caves, which are in the Barabar hills, for the use of the Ajivakas. No trace of any other successor of Asoka is **found** anywhere.

THE SINGHAS AND THE KANVAYANAS.

The dynasty of the Mauryas was uprooted, according to the Puranas, by Puspamitra or Pusyamitra, who founded the dynasty of the Singhas. Pusyamitra is several times alluded to by Patanjali in the Mahabhasya, and from the occurrence of his name in a particular passage, I have fixed Patanjali's date to be about 142 B.C.² Pusyamitra is represented by the Buddhists to have been their persecutor. It appears from the Mahabhasya that he was a staunch adherent of Brahmanism and performed sacrifices. His son Agnimitra is the hero of Kalidasa's *Malavikagnimitra*, in which also there is an allusion to the *Aśvamedha* performed by Pusyamitra. It will thus appear that he could by no means have been a patron of Buddhism, and the story of his having persecuted them may therefore be true. An inscription on the Buddhist Stupa at Bharaut, between Jabbalpore and Allahabad, represents the place to have been situated in the dominions of the Singhas. Agnimitra was probably his father's viceroy at Vidisa in eastern Malwa. The Singhas are mentioned as having reigned for 112 years in the Puranas. They were followed by the Kanvayanas, the first of whom was Vasudeva. A duration of forty-five years is assigned to this dynasty.

THE YAVANAS OR BACTRIAN GREEKS.

Long before this time, nowever, the Yavanas and even the Sakas make their appearance in Indian history. The instances given by Patanjali of the use of the Imperfect to indicate an action well-known to people, but not witnessed by the speaker, **and** still possible to have been seen by him, are, as is well **known**, Arunad **Yava-**

1 Cunnigham's Corpus Inscr. Ind., plate XVI.; Ind. Ant. Vol. XX, pp. 364-65.

2 Ind. Ant. Vol. I, pp. 299 ft; Vol. II. pp. 69 fit. This article is printed in this Volume later.

3 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. I]

nah Saketam: Arunad Yavano Madyamikam.¹ This shows that a certain Yavana or Greek prince had besieged Saketa or Ayodhya and another place called Madhyamika when Patanjali wrote this. The late Dr. Goldstücker identified this Yavana prince with Menander. He may, however, be identified with Apollodotos, since the coins of both were found near the Jumna, and, according to the author of the *Periplus*, were current at Barygaza (Broach) in the first century A.D.² But since Strabo represents Menander to have carried his arms as far as the Jumna, his identification with the Yavana prince is more probable. In another place, Patanjali, in the instances to the Sutra, beginning with Sudranam.³ &c, gives Sakayavanam as an instance of an aggregate Dvandva which signifies that they were Sudras and lived beyond the confines of Aryavarta. I have already alluded to a work in Pali consisting of dialogues between Milinda and Nagasena, which is called *Milinda-Panho*. Milinda has been identified with Menander, and is represented as a Yavana king whose capital was Sakala in the Panjab. The Puranas, too, in a passage which is greatly confused, assign the sovereignty of India to Sakas and other foreign tribes. But as the only reliable and definite evidence about these foreign kings is furnished by their coins, we shall now proceed to consider them.

COINS OF BACTRIAN KINGS.

Coins of silver and sometimes of copper have been found in Afghanistan and the Panjab, even as far eastward as Mathura and the Jumna, which bear bilingual legends besides certain emblems characteristic of them. One of these is on the obverse, in Greek characters and language, giving the name of the prince as well as his titles; and the other, which is on the reverse, is in the Kharosthi characters, to which I have already drawn attention, and which are written from the right to the left, and in the P51i or Prakrit language. For example, the coins of one of the earlier of these Bactro-Indian princes, Heliokles, contain on the obverse the legend *Basileus Dikaioy Heliokleoy*s, which means

1 Under Panini, I I I . a, III.

2 *Iad. Ant. Vol. VIII* p. 143.

3 Under Panini, I I . 4, 10.

"of Heliokles, the righteous king," and on the reverse, the legend *Maharajasa Dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa*, which is the northern Prakrit for the Sanskrit "Maharajasya Dharmikasya Heliyakreyasya." Now, this Prakrit legend could have been used only because the coins were intended to be current in provinces inhabited by Hindus. The princes, therefore, whose coins bear such legends must be considered to have held some province in India. The Kharosthi characters, as stated before, are used in the rock inscriptions of Asoka in Afghanistan, and on the northern frontiers of the Panjab. The Kharosthi legend used on the coins, therefore, indicates that in the beginning, the princes who used them, must have governed some parts of Afghanistan or the Panjab ; and their use was continued even after their possessions extended further eastward. The founder of the Greco-Bactrian monarchy was Diodotus. He was followed by Euthydemus who appears to have been totally unconnected with him. Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, succeeded him and even in the life-time of his father carried his arms to India and conquered some territory. Eucratides was his rival and they were at war with each other. But Eucratides in the end succeeded in making himself master of a province in India ; and there appear to have been two dynasties or rather factions ruling contemporaneously. To the line of Demetrius belonged Euthydemus II—probably his son,—Agathocles and Pantaleon. A prince of the name of Antimachus seems also to have been connected with them.¹ The coins of the first two princes have no Prakrit legend; those of the next two have it in the Brahmi or ancient Nagari characters, while those of the last have it in the Kharosthi. Eucratides was succeeded by Heliocles, his son, who probably reigned from 160 B.C. to 150 B. C.² There are bilingual legends on the coins of these. There were other princes who followed these, but whose order has not yet been determined, and the dates, too, have not been settled. Their names are these:—Philoxenus, Lysias, Antialcidas, Theophilus, Amyntas, and Archibius. These and the preceding princes ruled over Bactria and Afgha-

1 Percy Gardner's *Coins of the Greek and Scythic tongs, &c., Introduction** a Laman, Ind. Art. Vol. II. pp. 325-26.

nistan to the south of the Paropamisus, but not over the Panjab. The names of those who held also the Panjab, and in some cases some of the eastern provinces as far as the Jumna, are as follows :—Menander, Apollodotus, Zoilus, Dionysius, Strato, Hippostratus, Diomedes, Nicias, Telephus, Hermaeus.¹ Of these the name of Menander occurs, as already stated, in the Pali work known as *Milinda-Paṭiḥo*. *Milinda* is the Indianized form of Menander; and the prince is represented as being very powerful. His capital was *sakala* in the Panjab.

In the coins of some of these princes the middle word is *apa-dihatasa* corresponding to *Anihêtou* in the Greek legend, as in *Maharajasa Apadihatasa Philasinasa*. In those of others we have *Jayadharasa* corresponding to *Nikêphorou* in the Greek legend, as in *Maharajasa Jayadharsa Antialkiasa*. On the coins of Archebius, we have *Maharajasa Dhramikasa Jayadharasa Arkhebiyasa*, and on those of others, such as Menander, we have *Tradarasa* corresponding to the Greek *Sôtêros*, as in *Maharajasa Tradarasa Menamdrasa*. *Tradarasa* is a corruption of some such word as *tratarasa* for Sanskrit *tratuh*. On some coins we have *Tejamasa Tadarasa*, where *tejama* stands for the Greek *Epiphanous*, and means brilliant. Sometimes we have *Mahatasa Jayaiasa* after *Maharajasa*.

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

THE IMPERIAL SAKAS.

The Saka coinage is an imitation of the Greco-Bactrian or Greco-Indian coinage, though there are some emblems peculiar to the
1 *Lasson. 1. c. Vol. II., Bk II,*

Sakas. There are two legends, as in the case of the former, one on the obverse in Greek letters, and the other on the reverse in Kharosthi character and in the Prakrit language. Here, too, the mutual relation between the princes, their order of succession, as well as their dates, are by no means clear. Still, from the bilingual legends on the coins, we have recently determined the order of the princes, and endeavoured to fix the period when they ruled. The following are the names arranged in the order thus determined ;— (i) Vonones, (ii) Spalirises, (iii) Azes I . , (iv) Azilises, (v) Azes I I . , and (vi) Maues. There are coins of two others, viz., Spalahores and his son Spalgadames, who, however, did not succeed to supreme power.¹ Now, one thing to be remarked with reference to these princes is that in the legends on their coins, unlike the Greco-Indians, they style themselves *Basileus Basileôn*, corresponding to the Prakrit on the reverse *Maharajasa Rajarajasa*. Thus they style themselves " kings of kings," i. e., emperors. They also appropriate the epithet *Mahatasa*, corresponding to the Greek *Megalou*, which we find on the coins of Greek kings, Now, the title " king of kings " cannot in the beginning at least, have been an empty boast. The Sakas must have conquered a very large portion of the country before they found themselves in a position to use this imperial title. And we have evidence of the spread of their power. First of all, the era at present called Salivahana Saka was up to about the thirteenth century, known by the name of ' the era of the saka king of kings ' and ' the era of the coronation of the Saka king.'¹ Now, such an era, bearing the name of the Saka king that has lasted to the present day, cannot have come to be generally used, unless the Saka kings had been very powerful, and their dominions extended over a very large portion of the country and lasted for a long time. And we have positive evidence of the extent of their power. Taxila in the Panjab, and Mathura and the surrounding provinces were ruled over by princes who use the title of Ksatrapa or Mahaksatrapa. So also a very long dynasty of Kstrapas or Mahakstiapas ruled over the part of the country ex-

¹ see the paper written ny Mr. Devadatta R. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS, 1900, Vol XX, pp. 16ff

tending from the coast of Kathiawad to Ujjayani in Malwa. Even the Maratha Country was for some time under the sovereignty of a Ksatrapa, who afterwards became a Mahaksatrapa. Evidence has been found to consider these Ksatrapas as belonging to the Saka race, and the very title Ksatrapa, which is evidently the same as the Persian *Khshathrapa*, (ordinarily Satrap), shows that these princes were originally of a foreign origin. The coins of the early princes of the Western or Kathiawad-Malwa Kstrapas bear on the obverse some Greek characters, and also a few Kharosthi letters, together with a Brahmi legend on the reverse. And this also points to their connection with the North. These princes give dates on their coins and use them in their inscriptions which have now been considered by all antiquarians to refer to the Saka era. It is by no means unreasonable therefore to consider these and the Northern Ksatrapas to have been in the beginning at least Vice-roys of the Saka kings, and the Saka era to have been founded by the most powerful of these kings. If these considerations have any weight, the Saka kings, whose names have been given above, founded their power in the latter part of the first century of the Christian era. This goes against the opinion of all scholars and antiquarians who have hitherto written on the subject and who refer the foundation of the saka power to about the beginning of the first century before Christ.¹

NORTHERN KSATRAPAS.

The names of Northern Ksatrapas found on coins and in inscriptions are Zeionises, Kharamostis; Liaka and Patika who bore the surname Kusulaka and governed North-Western Panjab at Taxila; and Rajub(v)ula and his son Sodasa who held power at Mathura,² The names of Liaka and Patika are found in a copperplate inscrip

1 See D. R. Bhandarkar's paper referred to above for the whole argument. Many circumstances have been brought forward, all of which point to the conclusion **which** we have arrived at, and thus render it highly **probable**. The objection against it, based on the style of the coins, has **also** been **conai-**
dered there.

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

tion in which the foundation of a monastery and the placing of a relic of Sakyamuni are recorded.¹ Inscriptions have been discovered at Mathura and Mora, in Rajputana,* which are dated in the reign of Sodasa. There was also found a Lion Pillar at Mathura on which there is an inscription in which the names of the mother of Sodasa, his father Rajuvula, and other relatives are given, as well as those of the allied Ksatrapas, viz., Patika of Taksasila and Miyika.³ The names of two other Ksatrapas, Hagana and Hagamasa,⁴ have been discovered. The coins of Zeionises and Kharamostis, and some of Rajuvula bear on the obverse a Greek legend and on the reverse one in Kharosthi characters, thus showing their close connection with their Saka masters. Some of Rajuvula and those of Sodasa, Hagana and Hagamasa have a Brahmi legend only. Rajuvula uses high-sounding imperial titles on some of his coins, whence it would appear that he made himself independent of his overlord. The date of his son Sodasa is 72,⁵ equivalent, according to our view, to 150 A.D.. It would thus appear that the Satraps who governed Mathura and the eastern portion of the Saka empire declared themselves independent some time before 150 A.D.; while those who governed north-western Panjab at Taxila, and consequently were nearer to their sovereign lords, acknowledged their authority till 78 Saka or 150 A.D., as is evident from Patika's mention of Moga who has been identified with the Saka Emperor Maues, in the Taxila copperplate inscription referred to before.

KSATRAPAS OF KATHIAWAD-MALWA.

Silver coins of the Ksatrapas of Kathiawad or Surastra and Malwa have been found in large numbers in those provinces. The latest find was in the rock-cells and temples to the south of the Uparkot, a fortress of Junagadh in Kathiawad, which consisted

1 Epi. Ind. Vol. IV., pp. 54ff.

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

3 JRAS, 1894. pp. 533ff

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

5 Epi. Ind. Vol. VII., p. 199, and Vol. IV., p. 55, n. a.

of twelve hundred coins of different kings,¹ On the obverse, there is a bust of the reigning prince, very often with the date, and on the reverse, there is in the centre an emblem which has the appearance of a Stupa with a wavy line below and the sun and the crescent of the moon at the top. Round this central emblem is the legend giving the name of the prince with that of his father and the title Ksatrapa or Mahaksatrapa, in Brahmi or old Devanagari character and in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit. The first prince of this dynasty was Castana son of Ghsamotika. There are Greek letters on the obverse of his coins which have but recently been read and found to contain the name of the prince. The legend on the reverse is *Rajno Mahakshafrapasa Ghsamotikaputrasa Castanasa*. The coins of this prince do not bear dates; but Castana is mentioned by Ptolemy as Tiasenes, a prince reigning at Ozene or Ujjayanl. And from this and other circumstances his date has been determined to be about 132 A.D.. The name Castana and Ghsamotika are evidently foreign and not Indian. Castana had a large number of successors, some of whom are called Ksatrapas only, and others Mahaksatrapas. There are others again who were Ksatrapas in the early part of their career, and Mahaksatrapas in the later. The former was evidently an inferior title and showed that the bearer of it was a dependent prince, while a Mahaksatrapa held supreme power. There are inscriptions also in which the names of some of these princes are mentioned. In one at Junagadh, dated 72, Rudradaman's minister SuviSakha, a Pahlava, son of Kulaipa, is represented to have re-constructed the dam that had broken away of the lake Sudarsana. In it Rudradaman is spoken of as having been at war with Satakarni, the lord of the Deccan, and subjected to his sway a good many provinces to the north of Suristra. There is another inscription bearing the date 103 found at Gunda, in the Jamnagar State, in which Rudrabhuti is represented as having dug a tank and constructed it in the reign of the Ksatrapa Rudrasimha, son of Mahaksatrapa Rudradaman, grandson of Ksatrapa Jayadaman, and great-grandson of Mahaksatrapa

1 JBBRAS, Vol. XX., (1900) p. 201.

Castana,¹ A third found at Jasdan in Klihiawid and dated 127, while Rudrasena was ruling, records the construction of a Sattrā or a feeding-house for travellers, by one whose name appears to be Manasasagara, and who was the son of Pranathaka and grandson of Khara,² The genealogy of Rudrasena, that is given, is, that he was [the son] of Rudrasimha, grandson of Rudradaman, grandson of the son of Jayadaman, and great-grandson of the son of Castana. Another inscription at Junagadh of the grandson of Jayadaman represents some sort of gift in connection with those who had become Kevalis, *i.e.*, perfect individuals, according to Jainas. And the last that I have to notice is that found at Mulwasar in Okhamandala which refers itself to the reign of Rudrasena and bears the date 122.³

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

I. *Mahaksatrapas.*

1. Castana.
2. Rudradaman son of Jayadaman, 72.
3. Damaghsada son of Rudradaman.
4. Rudrasimha pson of Rudradaman, 103, 106, 108, 109, 110, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118.
5. Jlvadaman son of Damaghsada, 119, 120.
- 6; Rudrasena son of Rudrasimha, 122, 125, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144.

II. *Ksatrapas.*

1. Castana
2. Jayadaman son of Castana.
- 3- Damaghsada son of Rudradaman.
4. Rudrasima son of Rudradaman, 102, no, 112.
- 5- Satyadaman son Damaghsada.
6. Rudrasena son of Rudrasimha, 121.

¹ Bhowanagar Collection of Inscriptions, p. 22.

² *Ib.* p. 22 lacs., and JBBRAS, Vol. VUI., p. 234.

³ Bhowanagar Coll. of Inscr., p. 7 and p. 23 ; see also JRAS, 1899, pp. 380ff.

¹ *Mahakstrapas.*I I . *Ksatrapas.*

7. Samghadiman son of Rudrasimha, 144.	7. Prthvisena son of Rudrasena, 144.
8. Damasena son of Rudrasimha, 145,150,151,152, 153. 154, 155. 156, 157. 158.	8. Damajadasrl son of Rudrasena, 154,155.
9. DamajadaSrI son of Rudrasena.	9. YaSodaman son of Damasena, 160.
10. YaSodaman son of Damasena, 161.	10. Vijayasena son of Damasena, 160,161, 162.
11. Vijayasena son of Damasena, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172.	11. Visvasimha son of Rudrasena, 198, 199, 200, 201,
12. Damajadasrl son of Damasena, 172, 174, 175, 176.	12. Bhartrdaman son of Rudrasena 201, 202.
13. Rudrasena son of Viradaman, 17(8?), 180, 183, 185,186, 188,190, 194.	13. ViSvasena son of Bhartrdaman, 216, 217, 218, 219, 222, 223, 224, 225 226.
14. ViSvasimha son of Rudrasena, dates illegible.	14. Rudrasimha son Svami-JI-vadaman, 227, 229, 230, 231, 240.
15. Bhartrdaman 203, 207, 210, 211, 214, 217, 220 ?	15. YaSodaman son of Rudrasimha 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244> 249, 252, 253, 254-
16. Svami-Rudrasena son of Svami-Mahaksatrapa Rudradaman, 270, 271, 272, 273, 288, 290, 292, 293, 294 296, 298, 300.	
17. Svami-Simhasena sister's son of Svami-Rudrasena 304.	
18. Sv5mi-(Rudra?)sena son of Svami-Simhasena.	
19. Svami-Rudrasimha son of Svami-Mahaksatrapa Satyasena, 310.	

Though the Ksatrapas occupied a subordinate position, they issued coins in their name, and from that it would appear that they were put in charge of a separate province. Probably the Mahaksatrapas reigned at the capital, whether it was Ujjayanl as in Castana's time; or any other town, and the Ksatrapas in Kathiawad.

THE RULE OF SUCCESSION AMONG THE KSATRAPAS AND THE
IMPERIAL SAKAS.

It will be seen that Rudradaman, the second in list I, was succeeded by his son Damaghsada, and he by his brother Rudrasihha and not by his son Satyadaman, who was only a Ksatrapa under his uncle. After the two brothers, their sons became Mahaksatrapas successively; and after Rudrasena, the eldest son of Rudrasimha, his two brothers held the supreme power one after another, and two sons of Rudrasena were only Kstrapas under their uncle. Similarly, three sons of Damasena (Nos. 10, 11 and 12) reigned one after another. The position of Ksatrapa under the Mahaksatrapa was occupied by the brother of the latter, as in the case of No. 4 in list I I ; in the absence of the brother, by the elder brother's son, and in his absence, his own son. After the brothers had been in power successively, their sons, beginning with those of the eldest, got possession of the throne, as in the case of Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 in list I. Thus, according to the custom of this dynasty, the rightful heir to the throne was the next brother, and after the brothers, the sons in the order of their father's seniority. Dr. Bühler conjectures the existence of a similar custom among the northern Ksatrapas from the fact of Kharostha's bearing the title of Yuvaraja, while his brother Sodasa was a reigning Ksatrapa.¹ But it can be distinctly traced among the imperial Sakas. For, while the coins of Vonones represent him in Greek characters on the obverse as " King of kings," they show on the reverse in Kharosthl characters that his brother SpalahoreS held power under him, as the brother of a Malwa Mahaksatrapa did under the latter. On other coins we have Spalgadames, the son of

1 JRAS, 1894, p. 532

Sphalahores, associated on the reverse with Vonones on the obverse. This Spalgadames is again connected on the obverse with Spalirises, who is styled "the king's brother." There are other coins on which Spalirises appears in both the Greek and Kharosthi legends as "King of kings." Still others we have, on which he, as supreme sovereign is associated with Azes on the reverse in Kharosthi characters. There is one coin described by Sir A. Cunningham, in which Azes on the reverse is associated with Vonones on the obverse. No coin has been discovered on which Vonones appears on the reverse in Kharosthi characters. All this shows that Vonones was the first supreme sovereign ; that Azes was dependent first on him and afterwards on Spalirises; and consequently that Spalirises succeeded Vonones ; and that the Maharaja, or 'Great King,' whose brother Spalirises is represented to be, must have been Vonones. The latter had another brother named Spalahores; but since he is not represented as an independent sovereign on the obverse in Greek characters on any coin, and instead of him, his son's name is associated with Vonones, he must have died during the life-time of the latter, and Spalirises, another brother, assumed Spalahores' position, and Spalgadames was at one time subordinate to him, and also at another time directly to Vonones. Subsequently Spalirises, being Vonones' brother, obtained supreme power after his death. The phrase Maharajabhrata or "king's brother," is used pointedly to indicate the right of the person to be Crown Prince and subsequently to be successor. The prevalence of this custom among the imperial Sakas shows that the Mahaksatrapas and Ksatrapas of India were intimately connected with them, *i.e.*, derived their authority originally from them and were Sakas.¹

FORTUNES OF THE KSATRAPA FAMILY OF KATHIAWAD-MALWA.

Castana was at first a Ksatrapa and then a Mahaksatrapa, probably because he first acknowledged the supremacy of his Saka overlord and afterwards assumed independence. Jayadaman, his son, was a Ksatrapa only; and the reason appears to have been

¹ I Putty Gardner, *Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings*, pp. 98-102; and *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1890, p. 138.

the same as that given by me in the "Early History of the Deccan" viz., that Gotamiputra and Pulumayi invaded UjjayanI and deprived him of supreme power. Rudradaman, his son, then acquired his lost kingdom and assumed the title of Mahaksatrapa.¹ After Rudradaman the succession is regular up to Bhartrdaman, i.e., till about Saka 226, or 304 A.D.. Then up to 270 Saka, or rather 288, i.e., for about 62 years, we have no Mahaksatrapa. This must have been due to a prince or princes of some other family having established their sway over Malwa; and we have an inscription at Sanchi of Vasuska, Bazdeo, or Vasudeva who belonged to the Kusana family to be mentioned hereafter, bearing the date 78.² If the interpretation of the date of the princes of that family given in the paper referred to above, and explained below, is correct, this corresponds to 278 Saka. Very likely, therefore, Kaniska, the first or most famous prince of the family, whose dates range from 205 to 228 Saka, subjugated Malwa about the year 226 Saka, and he and his successors retained possession of the province till about 288 Saka. The earliest date of the restored Mahaksatrapa is 270, but his coins are continuous only for four years. Then there is a gap of 15 years between 273 and 288, which shows that his power was not firmly established in 270, and that he was driven out again in 273. But a short time after, the Kusanas were humbled by the rising Guptas; and this last circumstance must have been availed of by the Mahaksatrapas to regain their power, which they did in 288 Saka. It was, however, not long before the rising power turned its attention to Malwa also, and the Mahaksatrapa dynasty retained its regained sovereignty for about 22 or 23 years only, and was finally exterminated by the Guptas in 310 or 311 Saka, i.e., 388 or 389 A.D.. There must have been some minor revolution before this, when a prince of the name of ISvaradatta made himself a Mahaksatrapa and issued coins dated in the first and second years of his reign. He does not appear to have belonged to this dynasty.

1 Second Ed., pp. 28-29.

2 Epi. Ind. Vol. II., p. 369.

KSATRAPAS AND SATAVAHANAS IN THE DECCAN.

From an inscription at Junnar and others in the Nasik and Karla caves, we see that the sovereignty of Satraps was established over Maharashtra also. But we find the name of one Mahakshatrapa only, viz., Nahapana, and after him we have no names of Satrapas that may be supposed to have ruled over the country, and find instead that the princes of the Satavahana or Salivahana race were in possession of Maharashtra. An inscription in one of the caves at Nasik speaks of Gotamiputra Satakarni as having beaten the Sakas, the Yavanas and the Pahlavas, and left no remnant of the race of Khakharata. In the inscriptions, Nahapana is also named Ksaharata, which is but another form of Khakharata. Gotamiputra, therefore, must be understood to have destroyed the lineal successor of Nahapana. Again, in the inscription alluded to above, he is also represented to have re-established the power of the Satavahana family. Thus, the Satavahanas were in possession of Maharashtra before the Sakas invaded the country. The principal seat of the family was Dhanakataka, but the younger princes ruled over the Deccan and had Paithana for their capital. The earliest prince of this dynasty whose name is found in the inscriptions was Krsna. The name of one still earlier—Simuka Satavahana—also occurs, but not as a prince reigning at the time. Krsna was followed by Satakarni. Satakarni's successors must have been in possession of the country till the latter part of the first century of the Christian era, when the Sakas established their power. These, however, were driven out of the country by Gotamiputra, and we have the names of Pulumayi, Yajfiasri Satakarni, Catusparna Satakarni and Madhariputra Sakasena, as the successors of Gotamiputra, in the inscriptions in the caves and on the coins found at Bassein and Kolhapur, and not that of any Kshatrapa. So that the Sakas ruled over the Deccan for about one generation only.

The Satavahana dynasty is mentioned in the Puranas under the name of the Andhrabhrtyas, and most of the names given above, **Simuka, the founder, Krsna Satakarni, Gotamiputra Satakarni,**

Pulumayi and Yajnasri Stakarni occur in the genealogy there given. The names of Catusparna and Sakasena, however, do not occur. This dynasty is represented in the Puranas to have succeeded the Kanvayanas. But they do not appear to have held sway in Northern India. Nahapana's dates occurring in the inscriptions of his son-in-law, Usavadata, are 40, 41 and 42, and that occurring in the inscription at Junnar of his minister Ayama, is 46. On the supposition that the era is Saka, these are 118, 119, 120 and 124 A.D.. Pulumayi is represented as ruling at Paithana by Ptolemy, as he has represented Castana to be the king of Ujjayani. They were, therefore, contemporaries. Hence the Sakas or Satraps were driven away from Maharashtra between 124 and 132 A.D.. They, however, as has been shown before, ruled over Surastra and Malwa with some intermissions till 389 A.D.. In the earlier years Nahapana is called a mere Ksatrapa in the inscriptions; but in the Junnar inscription of his minister he is called a Mahaksatrapa, which shows that like Castana he at first acknowledged the sovereign power of his Saka lord in the North, and then assumed independence.

THE INDO-PARTHIANS OR PAHLAVAS.

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

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

An inscription of Gondophares bearing date 103 has been discovered at Takht-i-Bahi, to the north-east of Peshawar. This is represented as the 26th year of his reign, and if the date refits; to

the Saka era, and is equivalent to 181 A.D., Gondophares began to reign in 155 A.D.. His coins are found in Seistan, Khandahar, and even in Western Panjab. He had probably dispossessed the Sakas of their western provinces about the time his reign began, but they continued to hold those to the east as we know from the date 78, equivalent to 156 A.D. of Moga. The date in Takht-i-Bahi inscription has been referred to the Vikrama era and supposed to correspond to 47 A.D., and Gondophares' accession to the throne placed in 21 A.D.. A story that for the first time became current in the fourth century in Christian countries in the west, represents St. Thomas to have visited Gondophares and suffered martyrdom, and if regarded as true, it confirms the date 21 as that of his accession. But if such a prince was remembered in the fourth century, much more reasonable is it to suppose that he was not removed from it by so many as three hundred years, but only by about 150 at the most, and probably less than that. The coins of these kings have Greek legends on the obverse and Kharosthl in the Prakrit dialect, as in the case of the Sakas and the Greeks. But they use high titles like the Sakas. On some of Gondophares coins we have in the Greek legend *Basileus Basikon Megalou Gundopherronou*, and in the Kharosthl *Maharajasa rajarajasa Devatratasa Gudapharasa*, meaning 'of Gudaphara the great king, king of kings, protected by the the gods.' On his coins all the high-sounding epithets, one of which only was used by his predecessors, are found, such as *Apratihata*, *Dhramika* equivalent to *Dharmika*, *Mahata*, and *Tradata* equivalent to *tratush*. Some of his coins have not the Kharosthl legend at all, but only Greek—which probably shows that he added Indian provinces to his dominions after he had reigned for some time. The legends on the coins of his successors are more or less corrupt. This as well as the fact of the use of all the magniloquent epithets noticed above, shows that his dynasty succeeded those I have already noticed. The most important of these Parthian princes was Gondophares, and he held possession of a large extent of country; but he does not seem to have penetrated to the east of the Panjab. The territories ruled over by his successors were **much narrower.**

THE KUANAS,

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

1. Kujula-Kadphises.
2. Wema-Kadphises.
3. Kaniska;
4. Huviska.
5. Vasudeva or Vasuska.

Copper coins of a prince whose imperial titles are given thereon, but whose name does not occur, are found in large numbers in the Panjab, Khandahar, and the Kabul valley, and even in Malawa. There are a few silver coins also. He probably belonged to this family and preceded Wema-Kadphises. The last three princes in the above list are noticed in the Rajatarangini and are represented as belonging to the Turuska race—that is to say, they were Turks. And the dress, especially the cap, and the features of the royal figures on their coins appear Turkish. I have already observed that some of the Greek kings reigned contemporaneously with princes of the later dynasties. Some coins of Kujula-Kadphises, on the obverse of which is the name of the Greek prince Hermaeus, have on the reverse the name of Kujala-Kapsa or Kasa without high-sounding titles. This would show that he was subordinate to Hermaeus, and also that some Greek prince continued to reign somewhere, while the Sakas and the Indo-Parthians had supreme power. There are, however, other coins on which the name of Hermaeus does not occur, which indicates that he afterwards acquired independence. But it was his successor Wema-Kadphises who appears to have conquered a large extent of the country and risen to supreme power, as imperial titles appear on his coins, while they do not, on those of Kujula-Kadphises. The same conclusion is pointed to by the fact that his coins are not merely confined to the Kabul valley and the Panjab as those of Kujula, but are found eastward as far as Gorakhpur and Ghazipur, and along the line of railway from

Allahabad to Jabbalpore. Some of his coins have the Greek legend : *Basikus Basileon Megas Wema Kadphises*, and the Kharosthi legend; *Maharajasa rajadhirajasa Sarvakga-isvarasa Mahisvarasa Hima-Kathpisasa trdata*, i.e., ' Hima-Kadphises, the great king, king of kings, the sovereign lord of all people, devotee of Mahesvara and Saviour.' Several much later kings are called Mahesvaras i.e., devotees of MaheSvara or Siva, or belonging to the sect of zMahesvaras. Wema-Kadphises seems to be so spoken of on his coins; and that he was a worshipper of Siva is shown also by the emblem of Nandin on the reverse of his coins accompanied by a human figure, which because it holds a trident in its right arm, must represent siva. He was the first of all the kings we have noticed, who used gold coinage and was in this respect followed by his successors.

THE LAST THREE KUSANAS.

The three next kings call themselves Kusanas on their coins* The royal figure on them has a dress similar to that on those of Wema-Kadphises. But these three Kusanas seem to have struck an independent path for themselves in respect of their coins, which may perhaps point to their constituting an independent family. The legend is only one in Greek letters. On some coins of Kaniska it is in the Greek language also and reads, *Basileus Basilebn Kanheshkoy* i.e., ' Kaniska, king of kings.' On the majority of his coins, however, and on those of his successors it is in Greek letters, and perhaps in the Turkish language, and reads *Shaonano Shao Kanheski Kushano, Shaonano Shao Havishki Kushano*, i.e., ' the Shah (king) of Shahs, Kanheski Kusana, &c.' The emblems on the reverse are figures of deities from the Greek, Persian and Brahmanic pantheon and of Buddha. By the side of these figures their names also are given in Greek characters. Thus we have Salene, Helios, and Heraklk), Miiro=Mihira, Mazlohano=Mazdaonho; Skando, Maha-Seno, Komaro, Bizago, which last is equivalent to ViSakha, Boddo=Buddho, and Saka Mana Boddo=Sakya Muni Buddha.¹ Thus

¹ Percy Gardner, l.c., PP. 129ff; Cunningham, Num. Chron. 1892,

these Turkish kings paid an equal respect to the gods of all these four religions. But the figures of Buddha in the sitting or meditative and the standing posture, occur on coins of Kaniska *only*. This may be regarded as evidence of the truth of what the Northern Buddhists say as to Kaniska being their patron. In his time and under his patronage a council of priests was held to settle the canon again, and it was at this time that Buddhism, which had gradually been veering towards the Mahayana form, had that character definitely impressed upon it.

THEIR DATES.

There are a great many inscriptions dated in the reigns of these three kings. They are chiefly dedications of Buddhistic and Jaina objects of worship for the use of the people, and occur principally at Mathura. As stated before, there is one inscription bearing the date 78 and referring itself to the reign of Vasudeva at Sanchi. There is not a single Brahmanic inscription. The dates vary from 5 in the reign of Kaniska to 98 in the reign of Vasudeva. Most scholars and antiquarians a few years ago believed Kaniska to be the founder of the Saka era, but the faith of some has been shaken. On this supposition the dates mentioned above run from 83 A.D. to 176 A.D.. But, according to all accounts, the Guptas succeeded the Kusanas; like the latter and unlike the previous rulers, they issued a gold coinage which is a close imitation of that of the latter*. The forms of letters in the inscriptions of the Kusanas appear to belong to a later period. For these reasons I have always believed Kaniska to have flourished later than the first century of the Christian era, and we have recently considered the whole question and come to the conclusion formerly stated that one of the Imperial Saka kings founded the Saka era. Kaniska, between whom and the Saka founder of the Saka era came the other Saka princes—the Indo—Parthians and Wema-Kadphises—reigned much later. The practice of omitting hundreds in dates has long existed in that part of India; and in consideration of the fact that an inscription found at Mathura, which, though the name of the prince is omitted, contains titles used by the Kusani and

bears the date -290 and some units which are not distinct,¹ the conclusion is reasonable that the dates in the inscriptions of these three Kusana princes are abbreviated by the omission of two hundred!. **These** dates must be referred to the Saka era, and will thus run from **105 Saka** to 298 Saka, *i.e.*, 283 A.D., to 376 A.D.. And the period **here** assigned to the Kusana princes agrees with all that is known of them and their relations with other princes. The chronology of the previous dynasties also has been arranged in a manner consistent with it, and there is nothing against it, except numismatic **theories**, which, however, in consideration of the many types available for the princes of these dynasties, and the play of fancy, such as is presented to our view by the coins of the last three Kusana princes, cannot be rigidly adhered to.²

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

Thus from about the beginning of the second century before Christ, to about the end of the fourth century after, princes of foreign races were prominent in the history of India, and ruled sometimes over a large portion of the country upto the limits of Maharastra. The names of no Hindu princes appear in inscriptions or on coins during this period, except in Maharastra, where, as we have seen, the Satavahanas drove the foreigners and governed the country, and in the South to which the foreigners did not **penetrate**. During this period, it is the religion of Buddha alone that has left prominent traces, and was professed by the majority of the people. The vestiges of the time are the Stupas, or hemispherical structures purporting to contain a relic of Buddha or of **saints**, and the monasteries, and temples containing smaller Stupas or Caityas. These Stupas or Caityas were the objects of worship **amongst** the Buddhists. And wherever there is a stupendous Stupa, we find sculpture, representing Buddhistic sacred objects, such as the Bodhi or Pippala and other trees, under which Sakyamuni **and the** previous Buddhas attained perfection, wheels representing metaphorically, the Dharmacakra, or wheel of righteousness, which

1 VOJ. Vol. X, pp. 171-2.

2 See D. R. Bhandarkar's paper reterred to bsfore.

Buddha turned, and so forth. There are sculptures also representing events in the previous births of Buddha, about which **many** stories were current, and which we now find in the so-called Jataka literature. Now, the remains of Viharas, Caitya, and Stupas are found in all parts of the country, including Afghanistan. Some of them contain inscriptions also, recording the gifts of public or private individuals. These gifts are the big structures themselves as well as smaller parts thereof, such as railings, pillars, and sculptures, and sometimes land or deposits of money for the maintenance of the priests. Now, from the inscriptions recording these gifts, we find the position of the persons who made them. **The** remains of two great Stupas exist in Central India,—at Sanchi in **the** Bhopal territory, and Bharaut between Jabbalpore and Allahabad, near Sattan, a Railway Station. From the form of characters, existing in the inscriptions found in them, the ages of the Stupas **can** be approximately determined. That at Bharaut was begun about **the** middle of the third century before Christ, and continued to be added to, till about the end of the second century. The Sanchi Stupa was probably first constructed about the same time; and it continued to be an object of adoration and additional gifts till about the eighth century of the Christian era. The donors, as recorded in these two places, were often-times the Buddhist monks and nuns themselves, but the names of a great many lay-followers also occur. Thus we have gifts from Grhapatis or householders or land-holders; oeithis or Seths, who occupied a prominent position in a town or village; simple traders, who are called Vanija or Vanika; Rajalipikaras or royal scribes; Lekhakas or professional writers; and even Karmikas, or ordinary workmen. **In the cave-**temples in Maharastra, which began to be excavated about the middle of the first century before Christ, and continued **to increase in** number, and to have additional decorations till the end of **the** second century after, and were **the** objects of adoration **and resort upto about** the end **of** the ninth century, we find, **among** the donors, princes and chiefs, **who** called themselves Mahabhojas and **Maharathis, Naigamas or merchants, Suvarnakaras or goldsmiths, Vardhakas or carpenters, Dhanyasrenis or guilds of corn-dealen,**

and Grhapatis, or ordinary householders. There are some Sakas and Yavanas also amongst them. The great cave-temple at Karla was originally excavated by Bhutapala, a Seth of Vaijayanti; the lion-pillar in the court in front was scooped out by a Mahārathi named Agnimitra. One of the cave-temples at Nasik was the gift of Gotami, mother of Gotamiputra Satakarni, and grandmother of Pulumayi. A monastery there was the benefaction of Usavadata, son-in-law of Nahapana, who deposited stuns of money also with the guilds of weavers and another guild at Govardhana near Nasik, out of the interest on which, new garments were to be given to the priests in the rainy season. Such money-benefactions were also made by private individuals, as recorded in the inscriptions at Nasik and Kanheri. The period that we have been speaking of, has left no trace of a building or sculpture devoted to the use of the Brahmanic religion. Of course, Brahmanism existed, and it was probably, during the period, being developed into the form which it assumed in later times. The large but unfortunately mutilated inscription at Nanaghat, which is to be referred to the second half of the first century before Christ, opens with an invocation to Dharma, Indra, Samkarsara and Vasudeva, and seems to speak of the Dakṣina, or fees given by a royal lady for the performance of several Brahmanic sacrifices. Gifts were made even by princes and chiefs to Brahmins. Usavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapana, was a patron of both Brahmins and Buddhists. Some of the Satraps of Surashtra and Māhish were probably adherents of Brahmanism, as is indicated by their adoption of the name of the god Rudra as a component of their own names. Wema-Kadphises was as we have seen, a worshipper of Śiva. In the South, we have inscriptions of Sivaskandavarman, a ruler of Kāśī, of Hāritiputra Satakarri, and of a king of Banavasi which are to be referred to the early part of the third century after Christ, and in which grants of land to Brahmins are recorded.¹ But the religion certainly does not occupy a prominent position, and Buddhism was followed by the large mass of the people from princes down to the humble

¹ Epi Ind. Vol. VI, pp. 84ff, and Vol. I. pp. 2ff; also Ind. Ant., Vol XXV. p. 23i

workman. Another peculiarity of the period was the use of the Pali or the current Prakrit language in inscriptions. Even the Brahmanic inscription at Nanaghat and those in the South just noticed, are composed in this dialect. Sanskrit was the language of learned Brahmins and Prakrit of ordinary people of all castes. The use of the latter, therefore, indicates a greater deference for these people than for Brahmanic learning. The inscriptions in Kathiawid, however, of the reigns of the Satrap kings are in Sanskrit and those of Usavadata are in mixed Sankit and plaklls But in the middle of the fourth century, the whole scene changes, and we now proceed to the consideration of the events which it presents to our view.

CHANGE OF SCENE—THE GUPTAS

I have already observed that the Guptas succeeded the Kusanas. The first prince was named Gupta, and his son was Ghatotkaca, both of whom are styled Maharaja. Ghatotkaca's soon was Candragupta I, who is styled Maharajadhiraja, or "King of kings" in the inscriptions. It was during the time of this King that the power of the Guptas must have begun to rise. Bu'/c his son Samudragupta seems to have been one of the most powerful princes of this dynasty. There is a long inscription describing his exploits, on the same pillar at Allahabad, which contains the inscriptions of ASoka. There he is called Parakramanka whic *jib*. title is also to be found in other inscriptions as well as on his coir is. He is represented to have conquered and re-established in their dominions Mahendra, king of Kosala, Vyaghraraja, king of Mahakan-tara, Mantaraja of Kerala and many other kings of Daksina-patha; to have rooted out kings reigning in Aryavarta of the names of Rudradeva, Matila, Nagadatta, Candravarman, Garapatinaga, Nagasena, Acyutanandin, Balavarman and others, and probably established his supremacy over their provinces; to ' have reduced to submission the chiefs of the forest regions; to have exacted tribute from, and subjected to his power, the kings of So Anatata, Divaka, Kamarupa, Nepala, Kartrpura, and other countries on the borders, and the tribes of Malavas, Arjunayanas, Yar Adheyas, Madrakas, Abhlraa, Prarjunas, Sanakanikas and Kakakh araparikas; to have

re-established certain royal families which had lost their kingdoms; and to have formed alliances with Daivaputra Sahi Sahanusahi, princes of the Saka and Murunda tribes, and with the Saimhalakas, who propitiated him with presents.¹ There is an inscription referring itself to his reign found at Eran in the Sagar district, which bears evidence to the fact that his dominions extended up-
at district.*

was followed by Ccnuragupta II, one of whose in-
in the year 82, is found at Udayagiri, near Bhilasa,

in Eastern Malwa.³ It must here be remarked that the Guptas established an era of their own, as to the initial date of which there were long controversies among antiquarians, though it was given by Alberuni, the Arabic traveller, as corresponding to 242 of the Saka era. But the question is now settled. Alberuni's statement has
31 peep. found to be correct and the first year of the Gupta era falls in A; 8~19 A.D.. Candragupta's date 82, therefore, corresponds to 400 sho D.. Another inscription of the same king occurs at Mathura, vinct wing thatthe Guptas had extended their power to that pro-
more which was subject before to the Kusanas.⁴ There is one ing to at Gadhwā, near Allahabad, dated in the year 88, correspond-
to 411 406 A.D., another at Sanchi, dated 93 corresponding These in A.D., and a third at Udayagiri, which bears no date.⁵
in the til scrptions show that the dominions of the Guptas embraced Provinces one of Candragupta II, the whole of the North-Western giri inscrip and Malwa and the Central Provinces. In the Udaya-
as " wonder tion which bears no date, that monarch is represented was his minis ful¹ sunlike Brilliance " itself, and Saba Vrasena, who the king in hi ter and a native of P\$taliputra, as having accompanied
was to conquai scarrer of conquest (literally, " the king whose object or the region in the whole world") to he Place, i.e., Udayagiri, Candragupta thu which it was situated. The conquest of Malwa by 400 A.D.,, the da is alluded to in this inscription, took place before

te of the first Udayagiri inscription. The latest

1 Fleet, Inscription-

a *Ibid*, No. 2. of Early Gupta Kings, No. 1.

3 *Ibid*, No. 3. 4 *Ibid*, No. 4,

5 *Ibid*. Nos 7, 5,6.

date of the Ujjayini Mahaksatrapas, is as we have seen, 3x0 !
 or 388 A.D.. These were exterminated by him in that year op about
 a year after, a conclusion which follows from the facts that the¹
 Kaatrapas issued new coins nearly every year, and there is no issue
 later than 310 Saka. e six

Candragupta II was followed by Kumaragupta. Their in Eta
 inscriptions of his reign — two at Gadhwa, one at Allahabad
 district, North-Western Provinces, one at Mankuwar in stern Malwa.
 vices, one at Mankuwar

district, one at Mathura, and one at Mandasor in we
 One Gadhwa inscription bears the date 98, correspondin that
 A.D, that at Bilsad, the year 96 ,corresponding to 414 A.D.
 at Mathura, the year 113 i.e. 421 A.D., that at Mandasor, the
 year 493 of the Malwa era corresponding to 437 A.D., and that at
 Mankuwar, the year 129, i.e., 447 A.D.,

The latest known date of candragup II is 411 A. D., and the
 earliest of Kumaragupta 414 wherefore, the latter roust have
 acceded to the throne in the interval between those two years.

Kumaragupta was followed by his son skandagupta, of whom we
 have five inscriptions. one of them that Junagadh in Kathia-
 wad, represents the dyke of the celebrated SudarSana lake to
 have burst in 136, an to have been repaired in 137- These
 years correspond to 454 and 455 A.D.. Another at Kahaum,
 Gorakhpur district, North- western Provinces, bears the year 141.
 corresponding to 459 A.D.,;a third engraved on a copperplate,
 and found in a strean at Indor in the Bulandshahr District, gives
 the year 146, i.e., 464 A.D., There is .another at Bihar, and the last
 or fifth is engraved on a pillar at Bhitari, Ghaapur distirct, North-
 western Provinces.¹ in this inscription, a new foreign race makes
 its appearance for the first time-that of the Hums or Huns.
 Skandagupta is represented to have defeated them and to have
 subjugated a tribe of the name of Pusyamitras.

After Skandagupt a the power of the dynasty began to decline
 There is an inscripti onat Eran in the Sagar distict, which bears the
 name of Budhagupt a, and the date 165. corresponding to 483 A D².

1 Ibid, Nos 12to 1

2

ibid,

19.

a bout-tbetimeof Skandagupta. into two or three branches which ruled over different provinces. The Vayu and visnu

certain provinces, stste that the Guptas will rule alongside of the Ganga and over Prayaga, Saketa and Magadha.

THE HUNAS OR HUNS AND THE AULIKARAS

in the inscription of the reign of Budlagupta mentioned above, a Brahman Maharaja of the name of Matr - Visnu and his brother Dhanya-Visnu record the erection of a hvajastambha or flagstaff

to the god Janardana. In another of the first year of a prince named Toramana, Dhanya-Visnu speaks of his brother Matr-Visjau as having died in the interval, and Visnu.² There is another to the Boar or Varaha incarnation of

inscription at Gwalior, dated in the 15th year of *Mihirakula* who is of represented as Toramana's son, and it records the reection of a temple of the sun by Matr-ceta.' Toramana belonged to the Huna race, so that it would appear that a short time after 174 G. E., or 492 A.D., the latest date of Budhagupta occurring on one of his coins, *i.e.*, about 500 A.D., the Hunas established their power upto the Central Provinces. But since only two princes of this race are mentioned, it appears that they did not retain it for along time. An inscription at Mandasor in Western Malwa represents Yasodhannan to have subjugated Mihirakala⁴ we have an inscription of the same prince, dated 589 of the Malava era corresponding to 533 A.D.⁵ The engraver of both is the same person, and his name was Govinda. From the manner in which the different statements are made in this inscription, it appears that the family of the prince, which was known by the epithet of Auhikara, was brought into importance by Visnuvardhaana, who was a pre-

1 Jour. Bengal As. Society, Veil. LVIII., pp. 88. ff

a Fleet, *i.e.*, No. 36.

4 Ibid, No 33

3 Ibid, No. 37.

5 Ibid ,No 35

decesor of Yasodhaxraan, afld it was he who first assumed the title of " Supreme Lord, King of kings." From this, date of Yaso-, dharman, therefore, it may be safely concluded that the two, Hflga princes, could not have reigned for more than forty years on the (Jis-Satlaj side of India,

VIGOROUS BRAHMANIC REVIVAL ANP RENOVATION--SUPERSESSION
OF THE PRAKRITS BY THE SANSKRIT.

-Now, in Candragupta's inscription at Mathura, and Skandagupta/s Bihar and Bbitari inscriptions, Samudragupta is represented as having performed the Asvamedha, which is pointedly spoken of as having gone out of use for a long time. This is the first instance of the Brahmanic revival under this dynasty. This achievement was considered so important that Samudragupta, struck golden coins or medals, on the obverse of which is the figure of a horse let loose, and the title ASvamedhaparakrama, or "one who performed the achievement of a horse-sacrifice " Tin the reverse.¹ Similar coins, bearing on the reverse the legend Asvamedha-Mahendra have been found. Mahendra was a title assumed by Kumaragupta, as is evident from some of his coins on which his proper name as well as the title occur.² It appears, therefore that he too performed the horse-sacrifice indicative of supreme sovereignty. Candragupta II, Kumaragupta, and Skandagupta are called Parama-Bhagavatas on their coins, which shows that they were worshippers of Bhagavat Vasudeva. One of the two Udayagiri inscriptions dated 82 G.E.=400 A.D., is engraved on a panel over two figures,—one of a four-armed god attended by two female figures, and the other of a twelve-armed goddess. The god jpay be Visnu and the goddess Candl. The other Udayagiri inscription records the dedication of a cave to Sambhu. The Bilsd inscription of Kumaragupta speaks of the building of a Pratoll or gallery in the temple of Svami-Mahasena by Dhruva-Sarman in the year 414 AJD,-'." The BihSr inscription represents the erection of a yflpa or a sacrificial post, arid that on the Bhitari pillar, records the installation of an image of Sarngin and the grant

1 JRAS, 1889, p. 65.

2 Ibid, pp. no, 105, 103,

of a village by Skandagupta. In the Junagadh inscription, a temple of Cakrabhart (Visnu) is spoken of as having been erected in 456 A.D. by Cakrapalita, son of Parnadatta, Skandagupta's governor of Surastra. The Indore inscription of the time of Skandagupta records the endowment of Devavisnu in 464 A.D., for lighting a lamp in a temple of the sun. The Mandasor inscription speaks of the erection of a temple of the sun by a guild of weavers in 437 A.D., and its repair by the same in 473 A.D.. According to Budhagupta's Erşn inscription, Matr-Vismi and his brother Dhanya" Visnu erected, as mentioned above, a Dhvajastambha or flagstaff, to the god Janardana in 483 A.D.. Matr-Visnu is called " a great devotee of Bhagavat," i.e., Visnu.¹ The inscriptions of minor chiefs and private individuals during this period record grants of villages to Brahmans,³ in the years 474, 481, 492, 495, and 509 A.D., to the temples of Kstapurl³ (527 A.D. and 532 A.D.), Bhagavat or Visnu⁴ (495 A.D.), and Aditya or the sun,⁵ (511 A.D.), the erection of a dhvaja of Visnu,⁶ grants of villages for the performance of the five great rites,⁷ (570 A.D.), the erection of a yupa or sacrificial post on the completion of a Pundarikka⁸ sacrifice, the establishment of Sattras or feeding places for Brahmans and others,⁹ &c. &c.

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

1 IWHUHIWQ. 2 Fleet l.c Nos 21,22,26,27,28

3 *Ibid*, Nos. 25 and 31.

4 *Ibid*, No. 27.

5 *Ibid*, No. 28.

6 *Ibid*, No. 32.

7 *Ibid*, No. 38.

8 *Ibid*, No. 59. The date of the Inscription is 428; but the Era is not specified. If it is the Malava Era the date

if 372 A.D; if the Saka, it is 506 A.D.. I incline to the latter supposition.

9 *lb*. No. 64.

the inscriptions published in a collected form by Dr. Fleet. The worship of Siva; Visnu, the Sun, and Mahasena seems to have become popular with all classes from princes and chiefs to ordinary individuals.

But a still more significant change is the universal adoption of the Sanskrit language for the documents inscribed on stone and metal instead of the Pali or Prakrit. It indicates the enhancement of Brahmanic influence. The Vernacular dialects had acquired such an importance that not only were they mostly used, as we have seen, in inscriptions, but a number of literary works presupposed by Hala's *Saptasatī*, and others like the *Brhatkathā*, attributed to Gunadhya, were composed in them in the second or third century of the Christian era. Buddhism had, of course, used one of them for all its religious and literary purposes. But now we find that Sanskrit, or the language of learned Brahmans, rose in general estimation, and acquired such an overwhelming importance that the Vernaculars were driven out of the field; it was more generally studied and a new and more brilliant period in the history of Sanskrit literature dawned about this time.

REVIVAL IN THE SOUTH

The influence of this vigorous Brahmanical revival in the North extended itself to the Deccan. Of the early Calukyas whose dynasty was established about the end of the fifth century, Pulakesi I solemnised the *Asvamedha* sacrifice, and several later princes belonging to the family performed the other great sacrifices, and grants of land were made to Brahmans. A cave temple to Visnu was dedicated by Mahagallisa in Saka 500 or 578 A.D., at Badami. And other temples to the same god, and to Siva or Mahesvara were constructed in several other places. The worship of Siva in the terrific form of *Kapalikeśvara* seems also to have come into existence.

DECLINE OF BUDDHISM—RISE OF MAHAYANA

While Brahmanism thus rose in importance and popular favour the influence of Buddhism declined in a corresponding degree*. The number of records of Buddhist gifts during this period is not

In the Sanchi inscription of Candragupta (411 A.D.) is recorded a grant by a royal military officer for feeding ten Buddhistmendicants and lighting two lamps in the jewel-house.¹ The MSnkuwai inscription of Kumiragupta (447 A.D.) records the installation of an image of Buddha by a Bhiksu of the name of Budhamitra.² Harisvntainl, wife of Sanasiddha, records in 449 A.D., in an inscription at Safcchi, the grant of twelve Dlnaras as a fixed capital, out of the interest on which a mendicant belonging to the Aryasangha was to be fed daily, and of three Dinaras for the jewel-house, out of the interest on which three lamps were to be daily lighted before the Blessed Buddha, and of one DlnSra, for the seats of four Buddhas, out of the interest on which a lamp was to be lighted daily at the seats.³ An image of Buddha was set up at Mathuri. in 453 A.D., another in 548 A.D., and others at Deoriya in the Allahabad District, Kasia in the Gorakpur District, and in Buddhagaya.⁴ The last was set up by Hahanaman who also constructed a temple (Prasada) of Lokasastr in 587 AD.⁵

The language of these inscriptions, unlike that of those of the preceding period, is Sanskrit, and it will be seen that images of Buddha were set up and worshipped, like those of the Brahmanic gods. In both these respects it cannot be denied that Buddhism became subject to the same influences which were in operation in the case of Brahmanism, or rather, appropriated those points in the rival system, which increased its popularity about this time. The principles of faith in personal beings and devotion to them were incorporated into their creed ; and Sanskrit was resorted to, to confer dignity on their religious books and teachers. The use of this learned language shows, at the same time, that, like Brahmanism, Buddhism now assumed a more exclusive character, and ceased to appeal to the people at large in their own language ; and the sphere of its influence became much narrower. Thus it appears that the revival and renovation of Brahmanism went on side by side with corresponding changes in Buddhism, which impressed on it the form and character known by

1Ibid ,No.5. 2.Ibid No .11 3 Ibid,Na 62.

4Ibid ,No 63,70,68,69and 72 5Ibid ,No.72.

the name of Mahayana. The earlier form of Buddhism appealing only to the moral feelings of man, had split up into a number of schools and exhausted itself; and its place was taken up by Brahmanism and Mahayanism. But the charm of the names Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha, the three jewels, was lost; and Mahayanism was unable to regain what had been lost by primitive Buddhism. Compared with revived Brahmanism it was feeble; and from the first, it had to face the severe attacks of its renovated rival.

THE JAINAS.

We have two Jaina inscriptions also in this period, recording the installation of images in the years 424 A.D., and 459 A.D., at Udayagiri and Kanaum respectively.¹ Another inscription of the reign of KumSragupta dated 113 G.E. or 431 A.D., records the setting up of an image at Mathura.² It would thus appear that that religion had not many adherents or patrons about this time. *

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

The vigorous Brahmanical revival we have been considering might have been due, in a large measure, to the natural decay of early Buddhism. It was this Buddhism that had previously supplanted Brahmanism in popular favour,—and for the four or five centuries that it enjoyed the ascendancy it had acquired, Brahmanism and the Sanskrit language and literature were neglected. The Brahmins themselves regarded their decline as due to the triumph of Buddhism. Subandhu in one of his puns in the *Vasavadatta* tells us that the Buddha doctrine had brought about the destruction of the system based on the words of the Veda.³ If so, the Brahmanic revival must be regarded as synchronous with the decline of early Buddhism and the rise of Mahayanaism. According to all accounts it was Nagarjuna, the contemporary of Kaniska, that gave a distinct form to this Buddhism⁴, though the movement may have begun a little earlier. As, according to our view, Kaniaka

1 *Ibid*, Nos. 61 and 15. 2 Ep. Ind., Vol. I I, p, 210.

reigned in the last quarter of the third century, the revival of Brahmanism must have already begun before that period.

But the ascendancy of early Buddhism was not the only cause that had kept down Brahmanism. For about a century before Christ and three centuries and a half after, there was no powerful Brahmanic prince; and this is shown by the Gupta inscriptions already noticed, which state that the horse-sacrifice, indicative of supreme sovereignty, had gone out of use for a long time, and also by the fact, that no inscription or coin reports the existence of such a prince during the period. This circumstance must have been the result of the political condition of the country. It was overrun again and again by foreign invaders each of whom established his power for a short time and had to yield to another. The Sakas of Malwa and Kathiawad only retained their sovereignty for about three hundred years. The argument which has been advanced, that these foreign princes held a comparatively small portion of the country, and could not have influenced its literary and religious condition for the worse, has no weight. The unsettled condition of the country consequent on their frequent invasions rendered the rise of a supreme Brahmanic ruler impossible; and the foreigners themselves could not be expected to favour Brahmanism in a manner to enable it to deprive Buddhism of its ascendancy. Some of them were no doubt Hinduized, but they were not Brahminized. And the Brahmans themselves complained of their being neglected by the Yavanas, Sakas and Pahlavas, as will hereafter be shown in connection with a passage from Manu and the Mahabharata.

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

Wema-Kadphises, however, seems to have become a more thorough Hindu than any other foreign prince, and in his time, the Brahmanic revival may be understood to have truly begun, i.e., in the middle of the third century of the Christian era. We have **seen** that his coins bear a figure of Nandin and Siva on the reverse, and **he** styles himself **a** worahipper of Mahesvara or **a** member of the Mahesvara sect. **The Sakas had figures of Greek dsities on their**

coins, and there are no distinct indications on them, or on those of the Parthians, of any Indian deity. But with Wema-Khadphises What might almost be called a revolution in this respect begins. His Kusana successors continue their respect towards Brahmanic deities, but extend it also to those of the Greeks and Zoroastrians as well as to Buddha. Kadphises, however, could not have been a patron of the old Vedic religion, nor of Brahmans in particular as a sacred caste, nor of the Sanskrit language and literature. An all-sided revival and renovation could proceed only under the patronage of Hindu princes. And such were the Guptas.

THE GUPTAS — SAMUDRAGUPTA AND CANDRAGUPTA II, OR
VIKRAMADITYA SAKARI.

The fact that the inscriptions recording gifts to Brahmanic deities, and for the daily sacrifices, begin about the end of the fourth century, shows unmistakably that the Brahmanic revival derived its force and vigour from the patronage of the Gupta princes. Samudragupta and Kumaragupta performed, as we have seen, the horse-sacrifice, which had gone out of use. The former is represented on his Allahabad inscription to have acquired the title of " Prince of poets " by writing works which served as models for learned men, or pleased them.¹ He patronized poets, and thus put an end to the hostility between good poetry and worldly prosperity.

The tradition about a Vikramaditya, who was Sakari or enemy of the Sakas, and drove them and other foreigners out of the country and patronized learning, is appropriately applicable only to Candragupta II of all the princes who flourished before him and *after* and whose names have come down to us. For he (Conquered Malwa, as we have seen, before 400 A.D.,—and probably in 388 or 389 A.D.—and exterminated the Sakas, *i.e.*, the Satrapa of Malwa, whose latest date is 388 A.D., and drove out the Kusanas, since he is the earliest Gupta prince whose inscription is found at *Mathura*, a town which belonged to the Kusanas.³ He assumed the title of

No. 1, line 27.

3 D. R. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS, Vol. XX. pp. 31-33.

7 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. i.]

Vikramaditya, which we find on his coins.¹ He made Ujjayini his capital. For, certain chieftains of the name of Guttas (Guptas) of Guttal in the Dharwar district, give themselves in their inscriptions the title of Ujjaymlpuravaradhisvara, which, like similar titles, found in other places, signifies that they belonged to a family which once reigned in glory at Ujjayini. They trace their descent through Vikramaditya, specified as king of Ujjayini, and are styled full moons of the ocean of nectar in the shape of the lineage of Candragupta. Ujjayini was thus the capital of the Guptas from whom the Dharwar Guptas derived their descent. The Candragupta and Vikramaditya mentioned in their inscriptions are, it will be observed, one and the same person, and it is but right that he should be mentioned above all; for it was he who drove away the foreigners, and first established himself at Ujjayini. In one place, however, instead of Ujjayini we have Patali in the title, showing that Pataliputra, the original capital, had not been forgotten by the Southern Guptas.² There is no other Vikramaditya whose existence is authenticated by any contemporary document, and who can be construed as the destroyer of Sakas. The supposition of the existence of one in the middle of the sixth century has no ground to stand on.

Now, though Candragupta II was Vikramaditya Sakari, and the patron of learning, it is by no means necessary to suppose that all the celebrated nine gems flourished at his court. Tradition often jumbles together persons and things belonging to different times and places. Varahamihira, who died in 509 Saka, or 587 A.D., and the epoch year of whose Pancasiddhantika is 427 Saka, or 505 A.D., cannot have flourished at the court of Candragupta-Vikramaditya, who died between 411 and 414 A.D.. But that Vikramaditya Sakari was a patron of learning, is stated by **the** Rajatarangini. He is said to have made a poet of the name of Matrgupta king of Kasmir, and Matrgupta had a poet dependent on him of the name of Mentha or Bhartmentha, so that

1 JRAS, 1889, pp. 91, 82, 78, 76.

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

these two were contemporaries of Candragupta-Vikramaditya. The date assigned by Cunningham to Matrgupta is 430 A.D., which is not far removed from that of the Gupta prince as determined from his inscriptions. Mentha has been associated with Vikramaditya by the compilers of anthologies who ascribe a certain verse to their joint authorship.¹

KALIDASA.

And some of the nine gems, perhaps Kalidasa himself, may have lived during the reign of Candragupta-Vikramaditya. Mallinatha, in his comment on verse 14 of the Meghaduta, states that there is in that verse an implied allusion to an opponent of Kalidasa, named Dinnaga. This person is supposed to be the same as the celebrated Buddhist logician of that name, known also to Brahmanic writers; and the supposition is, I think, very probable. He is said to have been a pupil of a Buddhist patriarch of the name of Vasubandhu ; and the date of the latter, and consequently that of his pupil and of Kalidasa, has been determined by Professor Max Müller to be the middle of the sixth century. But the Professor goes, I think, upon the chronological traditions reported by the Chinese, and does not attach due weight to certain facts, which necessitate our placing Vasubandhu earlier. One of Visubandhu's works was translated into Chinese in the year 404 A.D. and another about the year 405 AD.² This shows that Vasubandhu must have flourished before 404 A.D.. At the same time, the Chinese authorities make him a contemporary of King Vikramaditya of Sravasti,³ or of Saketa, since the town was situated in that province. If he was a contemporary of that King, the King may have lived in the last quarter of the fourth century. Saketa, or Ayodhya, over which he ruled, was a province belonging to the Guptas; and the attitude of the King towards the Bauddhas was hostile, as he convoked assemblies of learned Buddhists and Brahmans, for religious disputations, in which the

ः किम्पतीव तमोक्तानि बर्षतीवाख्यानं नमः । which occurs in the Mṛc-chakaṭika.

2 Bunyiu Nanjio, Catalogue, Nos. 1188 and 1218.

3 Wassiljew, Germ. Trans., p. 84.

formar were defeated and lost the King's support.¹ For *these* reasons, the Vikramaditya, whose contemporary Vasubandhu was, must, in all likelihood, have been the Brahmanic Gupta prince Candragupta-Vikramaditya. And if he held his court at Sravasti, and is represented to have ruled over Saketa, the time referred to must be that previous to the conquest of Malwa, which took place about 389 A.D., and after which the King in all probability resided at Ujjayini. Vasubandhu therefore lived in the last quarter of the fourth century; and his pupil Dinnaga, about the end of that century; and if Kalidasa was his contemporary, he too must have lived about that time, and thus, have been one of the gems at Vikramaditya's court.

LITERARY REVIVAL AND RENOVATION.

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

WORKS ON RELIGIOUS LAW.

In the olden times, the works on religious law existed in the form of Sutras or prose aphorisms, and they were identified with parti-

¹ Hiuen Tsang's Travels, Beal's Trans, Vol. I., pp. 106 ff.; Waasiljew, Germ. Trans., p. 240.

cular schools or *Skhas* of Brahmins. We have thus the *Dharma* and the *Grhya-Sutras* of *Apastamba*, of *Baudhayana*, *Katha*, *Asvalayana*, &c. But afterwards books written in *Anustubh Slokas* came to be used. They prescribed the same rules as those given in the (*Dharma*—) and *Grhya Sutras*, and in some cases, a close resemblance has been found to exist between the words and expressions used in the *Sutras* and the metrical Law-books or *Smrtis*. Thus the *Sutras* on the *VinayakaSanti* in the *Katha Sūtra* are reproduced almost word for word in the corresponding portion of the *Yajnavalkya Smṛti*.¹ But in the new books the exposition is plainer than in the *Sutras*, which were primarily meant to be supplemented by oral explanation. Here, therefore, is an attempt to disentangle the Brahmanic religious law from the narrow schools to which it was before attached, and put it in a form intelligible and applicable to all Brahmanic Hindus. Hence is the choice of the *Anustubh Slokas* instead of the old *Sutras*, as it was used ordinarily for all literary purposes. But in the revised Hindu Law, certain customs such as the killing of cows even for sacrificial purposes, and *levirate*—the feeling against which had grown strong—were prohibited; while a compromise was effected in the case of others, which had not become unpopular to that extent. The old precept, for instance, about eating the flesh of five species of animals, was hedged round by a number of restrictions; but in order to satisfy the claims of the old Vedic religion, the slaughter of some of them was freely allowed in religious rites. These metrical *Smrtis*, therefore, it would not be wrong to refer to about the *Kuaana-Gupta* period.

There is a passage in the *Smṛti* of *Manu*, in which it is stated that certain native Indian tribes, such as the *Pundrakas* and *Dravidas*, and the *Yavanas*, *Sakas* and *Pahlavas*, were originally *Ksatriyas*, but they became *Sūdras* by their setting the Brahmins at defiance and gradually ceasing to perform the religious rites.² In a chapter in the *Anusa-*

¹ *vea Bradise on Minava Grhya Sutra, Jour. Germlan. Or, S., Ve. XXXVI, pp. 427ff.*
^a X. 43-44.

sanika Book of the Mahabharata, Bhisma says to Yudhisthira : "The highest duty of a crowned king is to worship learned Brahmins; they should be protected as one protects oneself or one's children; and be respected, bowed to, and revered as if they were one's parents. If Brahmins are contented, the whole country prospers; if they are discontented and angry, everything goes to destruction. They can make a god not a god, and a not-god, a god. One whom they praise prospers; one whom they reproach, becomes miserable. The different Ksatriya tribes, Sakas, Yavanas, and Kambojas became Sudras through not seeing or following Brahmins/¹ In these passages, a Ksatriya origin is supposed in order that the Sudrahood of these tribes, which was consequent on their being beyond the Aryan pale, and which, as stated before, is, plainly asserted by Patanjali in the case of two of them, may appear as the result of their not paying deference to Brahmins. This shows that the neglect of the sacerdotal caste by the Yavanas, Sakas, Pahlavas and other tribes, was uppermost in the minds of those who invented a Ksatriya origin for them ; and the passages and especially the chapter in the Mahabharata, look as if they were written when the foreign domination had come to a close, and the Brahmins had fully triumphed, and were anxious to preserve their newly gained influence. The chapter, therefore, must have been interpolated into the epic in the Gupta period, and the Smṛti of Manu —based on a previous Sūtra work and traditional or floating texts*— composed at about the same time. The Mahabharata, however, already existed in its full form at the period, for it is mentioned by name in copperplate inscriptions of the years 174 G.E. (492-3 A.D.,) and 177 G.E. (495-6 A.D.) and two more, and as a *Satasahasī*, or a work of a hundred thousand verses, in one of the year 214 G.E. (532-3 A.D.).³ But it can hardly admit of a reasonable doubt that it was retouched about this period.

WORKS ON THE SACRIFICIAL RITUAL.

The works on the sacrificial ritual, and specially the Bhāṣyas or great commentaries on the Sūtras of the several Vedas or Sakhas,

1 Chapter 33.

2 See below.

3 Fleet, *Earely Capta Inscr*, NOS. 26, 27, 28, 30 and 31.

must have begun to be written about this time. Since the sacrificial religion was being revived, the necessity of a definite and authoritative ritual was felt; and as the sacrifices had been out of use for a long time, a knowledge of the ritual was rare and vague. The names of the writers of the Bhasyas and other works on the ritual, end in the honorific title Svamin, such as a Devasvamin, the commentator on the Sutra of Asvalayana ; Bhavasvamin, on that of Baudhayana; Dhurtasvamin, on that of Apastamba; Agnisvamin, on that of Latyayana, &c. This title we find used in Central India in the last quarter of the fifth century, and the first of the sixth. In the copperplate charters dated 474-5 A.D., 481-2 A.D., and 509-10 A.D., and issued by the Parivrajaka Maharajas, occur such names as Gopasvamin,¹ Bhavasvamin,² Devasvamin the son of Agnisvamin, Govindasvamin,³ &c, among the grantees. In the Deccan, we find the title affixed to the names of some of the grantees in the copperplates, issued by the princes of the early Calukya dynasty, in the second half of the seventh century and the early part of the eighth; and we have such names as KeSavasvamin Karkasvamin, and Devasvamin, which are the names of writers of commentaries on the sacrificial Sutras, and other works on the ritual. The title Svamin is indicative of the period between the fourth and the tenth centuries; for we do not find it used later.

PURANAS.

The idea of recasting the Puranas into their present form must have originated about this time. They existed long before, since they are alluded to in the Upanisads and Srautasutras, but their contents must have been strictly in accordance with the rule given by Amarasimha in his lexicon;—they embraced an account of the creation and dissolution of the world, of the different families of Rsis and princes, and of the deeds of the most heroic among them, and of the Manvantaras, or different ages of the world. But now the necessity of glorifying the different gods and goddesses, whose worship was rising in favour, and of firmly inculcating other religious duties, had been felt and new

Puranas were composed, having the frame-work of the *-old* but with new matter introduced on every occasion. Thus, if we compare the chapters on Creation in the Vayu, the Linga, and the Markandeya Puranas, we shall find not only a similarity of contents but of language also. The Visnu contains an abridged account of the matter; but of ten-times, the words are the same. Most of the existing Puranas,—perhaps all—were written to promote the worship of particular deities, Visnu, Siva, and Durga in their several forms, or to strengthen the authority of the religious practices that had begun to prevail. The Vayu appears to be one of the oldest of these works, as it is quoted in Sankaracarya's Bhatsya. It mentions the Guptas, as I have already observed, as ruling alongside of the Ganga, over Prayaga, Saketa and Magadha. If this verse has undergone no corruption and was advisedly put in, the Purana, in which we find it, must have been written before Candragupta-Vikramaditya conquered Malwa and Mathura and drove out the foreigners, that is, before the last quarter of the fourth century. The Visnu has the text in a corrupt form. As the Purana editors did not care very much for the matter, which did not immediately concern their purpose, they were not careful to give the original before them correctly, and even misunderstood it. The Visnu is evidently later than the Vayu. The Puranas began to be recast, when the worship of Hindu deities rose in popular estimation—about the time of Wema-Kadphises, *circa* 250 A.D., and the process continued through the Gupta period to a much later date, and new Puranas appeared from time to time; and it has hardly ceased even to this day, since we find Mahatmyas springing up now and then, though not Puranas in a complete shape.

FLOATING LITERATURE.

In considering the question of the recasting of the works on the religious creed of the Brahmans, and those on mythology, it should be borne in mind, that the art of writing was introduced into India at a comparatively late period, and even afterwards was resorted to, very rarely. Hence, literary works and detected verities

taining religious and moral precepts and beautiful poetic sentiments, were, in the olden times, composed and transmitted orally. In the case of the latter, the name of the author was forgotten; and there was thus a floating mass of anonymous verses in the mouths of the learned. When, therefore, systematic writing had to be resorted to, to give fixity and permanence to the creed, and when writing came to be generally used even for purposes of profane literature, these floating verses were appropriated or used by several writers. Hence it is, that we often find the same verses in such works as the Smṛti of Manu, the Mahabharata, and even in Pali Buddhistic works, and sometimes, though very rarely, in dramatic plays and poems also. This source, therefore, was also drawn upon by the writers of Smṛtis and Puranas in the Gupta period, in addition to those already indicated.

ASTRONOMY.

Like the Dharma and legendary lore, the astronomy of the Hindus was also recast on the same principle as that which guided the re-edition of those two branches, namely to put it in a form suited to the condition of the new times. Hence, the old astronomical elements were combined with such ones of a Greek origin, as had found acceptance among the Hindus, and some new elements, discovered or thought out by the writers themselves being added, the works known as the original five Siddhantas arose.¹ As in the case of the new works on the first two subjects, the name of a profane author was not connected with these works; but it was expressly stated or left to be understood that they were composed by old Munis or gods. Dr. Thibaut thinks that two of them—the Romaka and the Paulisa—must have been composed not later than 400 A.D.. Probably all the Siddhantas were written about the middle of the fourth century or even earlier, especially as they were held in reverence by Varahamihira who wrote about them in the middle* of the sixth century. A direct borrowing from any particular Greek work is not contended for by any body. As in

1 Thibaut, Introduction to his Edition of the Pāficasiddhāntika, pp. xlixff.

8 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. 1]

the case of the art of coinage, the knowledge of some elements of Greek astronomy, must have reached the Hindus through the Bactrians, the Sakas, and the other foreign races with whom they came in contact; and this was made use of, in their works, when the Brahmans gained or regained influence in the fourth century. All the celebrated Indian astronomers flourished after this period. Aryabhatta was born in 476 A.D., and Varahamihira died, as already stated, in 527 A.D..

MIMAMSA.

Subandhu in his *Vasavadatta* tells us that the doctrine of Tathagata or Buddha was destroyed or attacked by those who followed the system of Jaimini.¹ The earliest of these followers whose works are extant, is Sabarasvamin, the author of the *Mīmamsa-bhāṣya*. Sabarasvamin establishes the existence of the soul as an independent entity, and not identical with the feelings, which are phenomenal only, against the Bauddhas generally, and the reality of the external world against the followers of the Yogacara School, and refutes the nihilism taught by the Madhyamika School.³ The Yogacara School was founded by Aryasanga, or Asanga, who was the elder brother of Vasubandhu, the preceptor of Dinnagacarya. Aryasanga was thus a contemporary of Vasubandhu,³ and lived in the last quarter of the fourth century. Sabarasvamin, therefore, probably composed his *Bhāṣya* on Jaimini, in the fifth century, and we have seen that the honorific title, Svāmin which he bore, was in use in that century. Kumarila was the writer of a *Vartika* on the *Bhāṣya*, and he was a strong combatant. He flourished about the end of the seventh century. There was another school of the *Mīmamsa*, thoroughly atheistic, founded by Prabhakara. But it appears to have been soon neglected. All these writers laboured also to establish the authoritative-

1 In the pun contained in the expression **केचिज्जैमिनिमतानुसारिण इव लघायतमत्वसिनिः ।**

2 Bibl. Ind. Ed. pp. 19 ff., 8, 9. Kumarila, in his *Slokavartika*, indicates that Sahara refutes in the last two cases the doctrines of the Yogacara and Madhyamika Schools.

3 Wassiljew, Germ. Trans., pp. 146, 226 and 237.

ness of the Vedas and their eternity, against the objections urged by the Buddhists and Jainas.

LOGIC, DIALECTICS, AND SAMKHYA.

Buddhists and Brahmans carried on controversies in the field of logic also. The well-known passage in the beginning of Vacaspati's work, entitled *Vartikatatparyatlka*, gives us valuable information about the matter. "The revered Aksapada, having composed the Sastra, calculated to lead to eternal bliss, and an exposition of it having been given by Paksilasvamin, what is it that remains and requires that a Vartika should be composed? Though the author of the Bhasya has given an exposition of the Sastra, still modern (scholars) Dinnaga and others, having enveloped it in the darkness of fallacious arguments, that exposition is not sufficient for determining the truth; hence the author of the *Uddyota* dispels the darkness by his work—the *Uddyota*, i.e., light (torch)."¹ Vacaspati here calls Dinnaga modern, in comparison with Paksilasvamin or Vatsyayana, the author of the Bhasya. If he had correct information, Vatsyayana must be supposed to have lived about two or more centuries before Dinnaga. But it can hardly be expected that he should have a correct, historical knowledge of the matter. It is, therefore, not unlikely, especially in view of the fact that the title Svamin is given to the author, that he flourished about half a century before Dinnaga, i.e., about the middle of the fourth century. Bharadvaja or the author of the *Uddyota*, is, as is well known, mentioned by Subandhu, who again is praised by Bana in the middle of the seventh century. He may therefore have flourished in the middle of the sixth century, or even earlier.—In later times, the Buddhist doctrines in logic and metaphysics were criticised by the Vedantins Samkaracarya and his pupil SureSvara.

The Samkhya philosophy also was revived by Isvarakrsna, who wrote „the Samkhya-Karikas. The oldest commentary on the work is that by Gaudapadacarya. The Karikas and the commentary were translated into Chinese between the years 557 A. D.,

and 569 A.D.. The KarikSs are in the Arya metre; and this metre is used by Aryabhata and others, and appears to have been a favourite one with the writers of the period. An author quoted by Dr. Hall says that Kalidasa composed the Karikas in the name of ISvarakrsna, or using the name Isvarakrsna.¹ Whether this is true or not, all that we know about Isvarakrsna, is not inconsistent with the supposition that he flourished in the beginning of the fifth century.

ORNATE POETRY.

Sanskrit poetry was cultivated and appreciated more generally in this period, than it could have been in the preceding ages, when the language itself was not generally studied, and the Prakrits were in favour. I have already spoken about Kalidasa and Bhartṛmītha, Though the dates of all the poets, from whose works we have excerpts in our anthologies are not known, my general feeling is that none of the writers of ornate poetry quoted therein is older than the fourth or the end of the third century. Asvaghosa, the author of the Buddhacarita, which has often been compared to Kalidasa's Raghuvamśa, was a contemporary of Kaniska, as is admitted by all, and lived, according to our interpretation of the Kusana dates, at the end of the third, and the beginning of the fourth century.

Professor Max Müller started several years ago the theory of the " Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature." It was powerfully contested by several able scholars, and now it seems almost to have been given up. But there is no question that the inscriptions place clearly before us the facts of the decline of Brahmanism, the ascendancy of early Buddhism, and the neglect of the Sanskrit language and of the cultivation of the Prakrits, from about the first century before Christ to about the middle of the fourth, and a powerful Brahmanic revival about the end of the century. This phenomenon may be called " The Revival and Renovation of Brahmanism and of the Sanskrit Language and Literature." Professor Max Müller placed the Sakari Vikramaditya in the middle of the sixth century, and

¹ Hall, *Stmkhyaaara*, Preface, p. 29. I understand the passage ईश्वरकुम्भनाम्ना कालिदासेन कृताः करिकाः as in the text.

assigned that period to the nine gems, and consequently **later** dates to the whole of the modern Sanskrit literature. **I have** identified him with Candragupta-Vikramaditya of the Gupta dynasty, who reigned about the end of the fourth century, and have referred Kalidasa to that period. Under this supposition, most of the arguments, used by the late Professor Bühler lose their weight; and the only Sanskrit inscription left for him to go upon, is that of Rudrasmanat Girnar of the year 150 A.D.. But, according to my way of understanding the matter, ornate poetry was not undeveloped or unknown in the centuries of Brahmanic depression; but the language chiefly used for its cultivation, was one or other of the Prakrits or Vernaculars, and Sanskrit was resorted to rarely. I attach full weight to the argument based upon the specimens of Sanskrit poetry occurring in the Mahabhasya. But I maintain that, like Brahmanism itself, it had not many votaries, and was not extensively cultivated. With the restoration of Brahmanic influence in the Gupta period, Sanskrit poetry received a fresh start along with the other branches of literature we have passed under review; and just as there **were** earlier works in those branches, so were there earlier poetic **works**. The decline in the previous period was due, not to any positive hostility of the foreign rulers, but to the popularity **of early** Buddhism and of the Prakrit languages; and the only **way** in which the foreigners exercised a baneful influence was, **as has been** already indicated, by not patronizing the Brahmanic **learning in the manner**, in which a Brahmanic universal sovereign **would have done**, and by rendering, by their frequent incursions **and their power, the rise of such a one impossible**.

THE SAMKHYA PHILOSOPHY.

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Of the six systems of philosophy regarded as orthodox that of the Samkhyas is one. The Samkhya doctrines claim a very high antiquity. Perhaps the earliest philosophical speculations of the Indian Aryans ran in this direction, and in that of a kindred system known in later times as the Vedanta. Some of the terms characteristic of the Samkhya School are to be met with in the Upanisads ;¹ and though Samkaracarya in his Vedanta Bhasya has brought forward very elaborate arguments² to prove that the terms have no reference to that system but to his own, an unsectarian reader can have very little difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that the Samkhya doctrines are set forth in those places. There is scarcely a Purana³ that does not give an account of the creation of the universe in accordance with this system, though in a greatly modified form, and in a manner which indicates that the original significance of the Samkhya doctrines, as I conceive it, was not clearly

1. Katha Up., Bib. Ind. page, 114-15 ; Svetasvatara Up., Bib. Ind. page 336-37. and Maitrayanlya Upanisad 6-10.

2. Vedanta Sūtra Bhasya, chap* I, pada 4, adhikarana. I-II.

3. See Bhagavata, sk. III. chap. V ; Matsya, Poona edn. Chap. III. ; Agni ; Bib. Ind. chap. 17, page 41 ; Markandeya, Bib. Ind. chap. 45, page 238.

understood. In the Bhagavadgita¹ allusions are now and then made to the philosophy of this school, and several chapters are devoted to it in the Santi-parva² of the Mahabharata. So that, it appears that the system along with or supplemented by the Vedanta, with which however it is often confounded, has worked itself into the ordinary belief of the Hindus. But in spite of this, the Samkhya philosophy has long been driven away from the curriculum of Sanskrit students on this side of India, and I have not heard of any Sastri in the Maratha or Gujrath country having devoted himself to it, and nearly all know but little about it. But in the North and in the Gauda country a better treatment is accorded to it. It is more generally studied, and a chair for it exists in the Benares Sanskrit College.

But from the mere fact that the doctrines of the Samkhyas are to be met with in very ancient works, it does not necessarily follow that these speculations were systematized at the time when those works were written. No fact is plainer in the history of Sanskrit literature than this—that the body of notions embodied under each Sastra, was not conceived at once by the chief writer on the subject, but that before they were put into that shape, they had gone through a process of growth and development. But the Samkhya philosophy seems to have been very early reduced to a system. The name Samkhya, about the etymology³ of which there is much dispute, could not have been invented before the floating mass of the Samkhya doctrines obtained fixity and stability. And this name

1. Chap. III, 3; 27; 42,

2. Chap. 308, 9; 312, 17.

3. Mahabharata—सांख्यदर्शनमेतत्ते परिसंख्यातमसमम् । एवं हि परिसंख्याय
सांख्याः केवलतां गताः ॥ तत्त्वानि च चतुर्विंशत् परिसंख्याय etc. Matsya- सांख्यं
संख्यात्मकत्वात् 'कपिलादिभिरुच्यते ॥ In these सांख्यम् is derived from संख्या
'number', and the Sastra is so called on account of its enumeration of
the 25 principles. This etymology appears to be correct. The scholiasts
explain the term by सम्यक् ज्ञानं ज्ञानम् true knowledge See Sarnkara and
Sridhara on Gita II, 39; HI, 3.

occurs in one -at least ¹ of the earlier Upanisads, and in the Bhagavadgita.² and other parts of the Mahabharata. The person, to whom an almost unanimous tradition ascribes the authorship of the system, is Kapila. In the Bhagavata, he is represented as an avatara of Visnu ; ³ and his name occurs in the SvetaSvatara Upanisad,⁴ where, the creator of the Universe is spoken of ' as having nourished Kapila the Rsi with knowledge and seen him born." Saihkaracarya, whose great object is to show that the philosophy of the Samkhya has no basis in the hallowed Sruti, considers the Kapila here alluded to, to be that Rsi who burnt the sons of Sagara to ashes by a curse and not the author of the system he is combating.⁵ But the Bhagavata represents the enemy of Sagara's sons to be the founder of the school of the Samkhyas,⁶ and there can be little occasion for the mention of such a person as the former, if he is to be considered as a different individual from the latter, in such a work as the Svetasvatara Upanisad, devoted as it is, to the investigation of the soul of the Universe.

But which of the existing works on the system is to be ascribed to Kapila, or whether any work written by him has come down to us at all, is a question which it is not very easy to answer. A collection of Sutras entitled Samkhya Pravacana is ascribed to him; but the very name of this work is unknown on this side of India. Madhava in his Sarvadarśana Samgraha does not mention it, though in setting forth the doctrines of each school, he in most cases first gives the title of the work of the founder, and in several cases, an analysis of its contents. The only Samkhya Pravacana known to him is the leading treatise of the Yoga School, of which he gives a short abstract; while his observa-

i. Svetasvatara Up., Bib. Ind. page 366,

2. I I I. 3.

3. I. 3; II 7.

4. Bib- Ind, p. 351-2.

5. अन्यस्य च कपिलस्य सगरपुत्राणां प्रतप्तुर्बोमुदेवनाभः स्मरणात् ।

Vedanta Bhasya, Chap. I I , pada I sūtra I . ,

6. IX. 8.

tions on the Samkhya philosophy are based on ISvarakrsna's Karikas. The Samkhya Pravacana, too, attributed to Kapila bears altogether a modern air about it. Next in importance to **the** leading treatise on a particular Sastra is the bhasya on it. Such bhasyas in the case of the other Sastras were written by persons, who, in consequence of their work, enjoy great reputation, and are to be referred to a pretty high antiquity. All subsequent writers never style their elucidatory works bhasyas, but give them the name of vrtti¹ or vartika. Such for instance is the case with the Mimaihsa, Vedanta, Nyaya, and Vyakarana bhasyas, the authors of which, Sahara, Saihkara, Vatsyayana, and Patanjali are widely known and justly held in reverence, and flourished, all of them before the tenth century of the Christan Era. While the only bhasya on the Samkhya Pravacana, is that by Vijnana Bhiksu, who, Dr. Hall thinks, flourished in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and not earlier than Madhava, since he does not appear to have known him. It is hard to believe, on the supposition of the high antiquity of the Sariikhya Pravacana, that it could have remained without a bhasya for so many centuries, considering the importance of the Sastra itself. For these and other reasons, I think that the Saihkya Pravacana is not a work of high antiquity, and could not have been written by Kapila. But there are several works of authority on the subject, and among these, that of ISvarakrsra, the Karikas, enjoys great reputation. Dr. Hall greatly praises Vijnana Bhiksu; but to me he appears to be a very unsafe guide since his great object seems to be to bring the Vedanta and the Saihkya as close as possible.

It is time now that I should enter into the philosophy of Kapila. The world is full of misery. Man's sufferings in it are of three kinds;¹ those originating with his body and his mind (Adhyatmika). He is liable to disease, such as fever, dysentery or cholera, and to mental anguish caused by such an occurrence as the death of a

1 The Vrtti on the Vadanta Sūtra alluded to by **Samkara**, of course, existed before **Samkara**.

9 [R. G. Bhandarkar't Worka, Vol. i.]

child, wife or friend. 2 Then again the creatures around him are often the source of great trouble to him. Mosquitoes, bugs, -snakes, codiles,..sharks, vultures, tigers, wolves, and even his fellow men render his existence intolerable to him (Adhibhautika). 3 And even the gods will not let him alone. They will send down lightning On his head, or blow away his house by a hurricane (Adhidaivika). Nothing that we see, will free us from these evils. Even after death We have another existence in which our fate pursues us, and we are again subjected to these very ills. The Sruti tells us to perform sacrifices or practise some other virtues, and for these deeds, promises us a place in Heaven where we shall be happy. But even here, the happiness allowed us, is just in proportion to our deserts, and after a time, must come to an end. It is not pure, complete, absolute. How then to secure this absolute bliss or this absolute cessation from pain ? This is the problem Kapila has undertaken to solve. " Reflect/' says he, " what your miseries arise from. If they arise from the nature of your soul, there is no help for you. But they do not arise from the nature of your soul; their cause is totally different; separate yourself from that cause, and you will be happy."

. . .

Then the nature of the soul and of the world, which is the source of affliction, are set forth in the shape of twenty-five tattvas or principles, a knowledge of which is necessary for the attainment of etenal beatitude. The first is pralcrti or pradhna, the original principle or cause of all, which consists in the equipoise of the three qualities viz., sattva, light, brightness or goodness; rajas, passion or feeling, and tamas darkness, pain, ignorance. The first is the source of happiness and its function is to render anything manifest and clear; from the second, action originates, and from the third, pain, stolidity or stupour.

From this pradhSna, is produced by a process of development, the principle of mahat or buddhi which is translated intelligence, but which I consider to be equivalent to finite or conditioned intelligence. This buddhi- assumes four forms when the quality of goodness prevails in it over the other two;. viz., dharma .or virtue, jnana or knowledge, vairagya or freedom from earthly

affection, and aisvarya or magical power, such as is ascribed to a yogin, When the quality of darkness prevails, this same buddhi appears in the form of adharma or vice, ajnana or ignorance, avairagya or earthly affection, and anaiSvarya or absence of extraordinary power.

This mahat-tattva or buddhi gives birth to ahamkara, consciousness of individuality or egoism; which in its turn, where sattva or light is predominant, produces the five senses and the five organs of action. The five senses are seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and feeling ; and the five organs of action are the speech, hand, foot, and the organs of excretion and regeneration. Manas which sets in motion both these groups, is an organ of sense as well as action. It is to be translated by the words will and attention. When in the principle of consciousness, the quality of tamas or darkness prevails, it produces the five subtle elements, the rudiments of the objects of the five senses.

And from these subtle elements are produced in a developed or grosser form, akasa or sky, tejas or light, prthivi or earth, vayu or wind, and apas or water, which are the objects of the senses of hearing, seeing, smelling, touch and taste, respectively.

We thus get twenty-four principles, and the last is purusa or soul which is pure, eternal, and absolute. Purusa is incapable of action, but has light and life, while pradhana or prakrti whose products we have noticed, is acetana, i.e., has no life or light, but possesses the power of action. Purusa is like a pahgu or man without legs who has got eyes, and prakrti has got legs but no eyes (andha). Hence left to themselves, the andha and pangu would not be able to move, but if they agree that the pahgu with no legs should sit on the shoulders of the andha, then they both can go over any distance they choose. In the same manner, if purusa and prakrti were disjoined, the world would not exist, and it is their union that sets prakrti in motion, and all things up to the five gross elements are produced. It is in consequence of this union that purusa appears to be active, though not so in reality, and prakrti has the appearance of something living or cetana.

In every sensation or present act of sense, buddhi or intelligence ahamkara or consciousness, manas or will and attention, together **with the** particular organ of sense, are concerned, while in a past or future act of sense, *i.e.* in recalling a past or conceiving a possible sensation, the first three only are employed. These three, therefore, are internal faculties of cognition, and the organs of sense and action are called external faculties. These thirteen faculties together with the five subtle elements form what is called the *sūkṣma sarira* or subtle body. At death, the gross elements of the human body only are destroyed, while this subtle body assumes several gross bodies and appears in the world again. If this subtle body is instinct with virtue, it goes up, if with vice, it goes below; if with *jñāna* or real knowledge *i.e.*, (of course) of the twenty-five principles, it is cast off, and the soul attains *Mokṣa* or its original absoluteness.

This, in brief, is the system of the *Samkhyas*. To one who really attempts to understand it and to reduce it to a modern shape, not a few difficulties present themselves. What is the nature of this *prakṛti* or *pradhāna* which, united with the *puruṣa*, is said to be the origin of all things, and in what sense can it be said to produce intelligence, and through it, *ahamkara* or consciousness, and through this again, the subtle elements and thence the world? The books themselves on the *Saṣṭra*, do not explain this satisfactorily, and *Vijñāna Bhikṣu* says that the order of production of these principles rests on the authority of the *Saṣṭra* alone, and is a thing that cannot be proved.¹ But a *Saṣṭra* which requires things to be taken on trust, is no *Saṣṭra*. The *Purāṇas* too afford us no

१. अत्र प्रकृतेर्महान्महतोद्भूतकार इत्यादिसृष्टिक्रमे शास्त्रमेव प्रमाणम् । अनुमानेन सामान्यतः कार्याणां सकारणकत्वमाश्रयित्वेः । न तु दृष्टो भूतादिक्रमो बान्तःकरण-
दिक्रमो वेत्येकतराद्वारकमनुमानं संभवति । *Samkhya Sāra*. "The only evidence for the production of *Mahat* from *Prakṛti* and of *Ahārikāṣa* from *Mahat* is the *astra* itself; from inference, one can arrive only at the general conclusion that as effect has a cause; but as to production, there can be no inference calculated to show whether the gross elements are first produced and thence the internal organs, or these latter first and from them, the elements,*?"

help. The Matsya¹ tells us that from mahat-tattva is produced the Puranic Trinity. With an excess of sattva, mahat is Visnu, of rajas it is Brahma, and of tamas, it is Rudra. And as a general rule, the Samkhya principles are represented by them as having been first produced or set in motion by the creator, at the time of the creation, and are personified and put into the ranks of gods.² Colebrooke thinks prakrti to be " eternal matter, indiscrete, undistinguishable, as destitute of parts." If so, it is like the eternal paramSnus or atoms of the Vaisesikas, and in this case, the Samkhyas, ought to be consistent and represent, like the Vaisesikas, the production of such things as dvyanuka, trasarenu (small pieces of matter), and ghata (pot) from it and not that of buddhi, jnana, dharma, day5, ahamkara and such other purely mental states. We must also bear in mind, that the union of this prakrti with the soul is considered necessary for the production of the result though the soul is regarded as incapable of action. What is the necessity of this union, if prakrti were matter in the ordinary sense ? Professor Wilson also considers prakrti as the material cause of things.

To me, however, the system of Kapila appears to disclose an idealistic view of nature. The position of Idealism is this. I know directly what passes in my consciousness. I am conscious of certain sensations of which I believe myself not to be the cause. To account for them, I suppose the existence of an external nature. But this is simply an inference necessitated by the constitution of my mind, *i.e.*, the external world for me exists in consequence of a law of my intellect. Beyond my consciousness and my intellect, there is no warranty for the existence of the external world. Whence arises the necessity of the supposition of its existence ? In consciousness, there

१. सविकारात्प्रधानात् महत्तत्त्वं प्रजायते । महानिति यतः स्वयत्तिकर्तृकानां जायते सदा ॥ गुणेश्चः क्षोभ्यमाणेश्चयं देवा विजहिरे । एकमूर्तिजो माता महाविष्णुमहेश्वराः ॥

a. Bhagavata, Sk. III Chap. V. and Mahabhirata, Santip., passdm.

are feelings and representations *i.e.*, I feel myself tied down to a particular state, my freedom is restrained, my free activity is limited. Who has limited me ? Certainly not the external world, for it is my own creation. It is to account for that limitation of my free activity that I posit it. The limitation is prior, the supposition of the external world is subsequent. I feel my activity impaired, and so much, as I feel is taken away from me, I attribute to something else. I simply objectivise my subjective feeling. We must then look for this limitation of the *me* in the state of the intellect, previous to consciousness ; for when the *me* awoke, it awoke with its limitations, with the *not me*. These limitations, therefore, point to the nature of the intellect, just as the little red, green, and blue clouds visible to the eye when it is dazzled, indicate the structure of the organ itself, and do not exist in themselves.

This is the Idealism of Fichte, the German philosopher. Let us compare Kapila's system with it. We must here distinguish between four things. In the state of consciousness when the *me* feels itself limited, the intellect first of all posits or affirms the *me*, and then opposes to itself the *not me*. The *not me* is apprehended as limiting the *me*, putting it into a definite state. The limitation of the *me* implies its previous freedom or unlimiteness. Had it not been absolutely free or unlimited, it would not have felt itself limited. If finiteness were its nature these limitations would not awaken it, *i.e.*, consciousness would be impossible. The four things then are: —the *ego i.e.*, the finite *ego*, the *non-ego*, the limitation or limiting, and the free, unlimited or absolute *ego, i.e.*, the *ego* previous to consciousness. Now, Kapila's *ahamkara* corresponds to the finite *ego*, and the five subtle and gross elements, together with their counterparts, the senses, which without this *ego* would not exist in consciousness, and which consequently, in the language of our philosopher, are produced by the *ego*, correspond to the *non-ego*. The free, unlimited, absolute *ego* is *purusa*, and its limitation by the *non-ego* is the *bandha* or *sanga* which ties us down to this world. But Fichte has told us that the limitation of the *ego* is the result of something that had passed in the intellect previous to consciousness previous to the positing of the *ego*. This according to Kapila,

is the principle of buddhi or mahat, which produces ahamkara or *the ego*.

But here there is a difference between the two philosophers, a difference due to the object with which each started in this inquiry. Kapila had in view the liberation of the soul from its fetters. Fichte wanted to explain the world. That limitation of the free *ego*, then, which Fichte derives from the nature of that *ego* is ascribed by Kapila to a cause which is distinct from it. It is pradhana, a combination of the three qualities and its product, the principle of mahat. But this is not an external object in the ordinary sense, for, buddhi and ahamkara which are its immediate products and the manas are, as we observed before, called by the Samkhyas, abhyantara karanas (internal organs), and virtue, compassion, the faculties of acquiring knowledge &c, which are comprehended under buddhi are, of course, not external things — these latter, as we have seen, are produced only after ahamkara has been affirmed. Again, this remarkable peculiarity shows the logical consistency of Kapila. To state that the *me* believes itself to have been absolutely free and unlimited, and at the same time to deduce its limitations from its essence, involves a contradiction. It is tantamount to saying that the absolutely free and unlimited is not free and unlimited. This is one of the charges brought against Fichte by his critics, from which Kapila escapes by affirming that since the absolute and the infinite cannot be conditioned and finite, the limitations are due to a distinct cause, which in its nature is finite and whose finiteness, from its intimate connection with the infinite *ego*, the *ego* attributes to itself from ignorance. On this account, the system of Kapila is not a perfectly subjective Idealism as Fichte's is.

Now, since all our cognitions and feelings are either good or bad, quiescent or active, true or false, right or wrong, the finite cause of all these must be composed of the three qualities, sattva, rajas, and tamas. The finite *ego* is either a cognizing or a moral subject; it is, therefore prepared for these functions by buddhi which instills those principles into it. **If it did not possess those principles or instincts, it would not be fit for an intellectual**

or moral life, and perception or action would not follow *i.e.*, the finite *ego* would not be bom at all. Hence it is, that it is said to be produced by buddhi. Born with the intellectual and moral instincts, it realizes them and creates objects suited to them, and so the external world and the organs of sense and action come into existence. We thus see that the system of the Samkhyas distinguishes between the finite and the infinite soul, the limited and the free. The unlimited or infinite soul is not capable of our present life, the finite is ; but this finiteness is, according to the system, not its own attribute, but of another principle, which in reality it is, that, in conjunction with the infinite soul, leads this moral and intellectual life which we call ovr's. If we separate ourselves from this principle, our bonds are broken, and we are again free and absolute. This is Moksa.¹

This idea of the absolute or limitless soul and this kind of idealism more or less modified, runs through all the religio-philosophical literature of the country.² Indeed, if this were an isolated instance, grave doubts might reasonably be entertained about the explanation, I have attempted, of the Samkhya system. There are striking resemblances between the metaphysics of Kapila and of the Buddhistic Schools. The Vedanta, also, bears some affinity

i. As this is the central idea of many of the most important Hindu systems, and as it is often, by modern writers on Indian Philosophy, confounded with non-existence or nihil, I quote the following lines from Wordsworth, which would give an idea of what is considered to be the state of the soul after it is freed from the trammels of the world. What is meant is a condition in which "thought is not," in which the soul is free from any definite representation.

His spirit drank
The spectacle: sensation, soul and form.
All melted into him ; they swallowed up
His animal being; in them did he live,
And by them did he live; they were his life.
In such access of mind, in such high hour
Of visitation from the living God
Thought was not; in enjoyment it expired.

This resembles closely the description of the freed soul given by the Vedantins, in particular.

² Bhagavadgita, III. 27 and Santiparvan, fol 210. Bom. edn.

to it. The May5 of that system is often regarded as equivalent to pradhana or prakṛti, and the two expressions are frequently, in unsystematic works, confounded.

The doctrines of the Yogacara school of the Buddhists are, that the only existing thing is the ego, and the external and finite world is a phantom. As, to one whose eyes are affected with the disease called timira, two moons appear instead of one, so does the world appear to exist to the ego affected with the disease called vasana (habit). This vasana assumes various forms, and this it is, that leads the ego to picture to itself the external world, and is the cause of all our feelings and passions.¹ The great object of a human being, therefore, ought to be, by practising the virtues and duties imposed by Buddha on his followers, to free the soul from this vasana, the root of all evil.² This, then, resembles the idealism of Kapila. The external world is reduced to states of consciousness, and along with our finite thoughts and feelings, is derived from a certain power called vasana which is not of the essence of the *me*, and though it resides in it, is separable from it.

Then by a transition not unusual in the history of Philosophy, the Madhyamikas, another sect, deny the existence of both the internal and the external world, and end in nihilism. With them, vasana is 'the cause of both, and when, by the discipline enjoined by their master, this is rooted out, nothing remains and this is their nirvana.'³ Then, again, another school, that of the Sautrantikas, starting from a subjective basis, similarly with these two, admits the existence of external objects, but only as the result of an inference that cannot be avoided. They say that if the vasana producing such a representation, as that of a blue object for instance, exists in the soul, it must always produce that representation, that is, we must always see a blue object. But we see it

1, Sarvadarīanasamgraha; Bib. Ind. pages, 16—17; Samkaracarya's Bhasya, II.2.28.

2. Sarvadarīanasamgraha, p. 17.

3. Ibid. p. 15.

10 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. 1.]

only occasionally ; therefore, the cause of that representation must exist out of the ego.¹ But the forms of external objects are supplied to them by the intellect; they are the creations of our mind.² This external world, and the internal one of finite thoughts and feelings, are capable of destruction or separation from the soul, (nirodha), and the way to this, is the discipline spoken of before (Marga). When they are thus destroyed, pure intelligence alone remains and the soul attains Moksa.³ We thus see how closely these schools are connected. The philosophy of the Sautrantikas may be compared to that of Kant, that of the Yogacaras to Fichte's, while that of the Madhyamikas is nihilism. But all the schools start from a subjective basis and are idealistic, in which respect they resemble the Samkhya system.

Professor Max Müller remarks in the Chips that all authors who write on Buddhism always go on the supposition that the metaphysics of Buddhism were derived from Kapila, but he does not see any grounds for this belief. Such ideas as the transmigration of souls, are common to all Hindu philosophers, wherefore their occurrence in the Samkhya and Buddhistic systems would not afford an indication of the one having borrowed them from the other. This is quite true, but the special coincidences which he denies, I humbly think, do exist. Deriving the external world from states of consciousness; referring these along with the feelings and passions to a finite cause ; and distinguishing this cause from the infinite soul—these are the essential doctrines of both the systems. The only difference is that the finite cause of the Samkhyas is indestructible, while that of the Buddhists is not. But this difference is more apparent than real. The pradhana of the Samkhyas is capable of separation from the soul, and the word nirodha, used by the SautrS-ntikas to denote the disappearance of their finite cause, means

1. Ibid. p. 19.

2. Jagaddhara, in his commentary on Malatl-Madhava, incidentally gives the Sautrafitika doctrine thus :—

लिखिते वेति सौत्रादिकमतोपदर्शनम् ।
तत्र हि ज्ञानेन स्वीयाकारार्पणं विषये क्रियत इति तत्तदाकारस्याभिव्यक्तिः ।

3. Sarvadarlanasamgraha, p. 22.

much the same thing. However, even if we recognise a real difference on this point, it may well be considered as due to a further development of one and the same system.

Again, the denial of God, as the controller of the universe, which is common to both the systems, is not a mere accidental or general coincidence. It is a necessary consequence of the systems and indicates their essential identity. The problem which both undertake to solve is, freeing the soul from misery. Misery arises from the external world and from our feelings. The external world is subjectivised, and referred along with the feelings to a finite cause, the destruction of which sets the soul, infinite and absolute in its nature, at liberty. The problem is solved. And in this way of solving it, there is no room for a controller of the universe. The systems, however, do not deny the existence of gods or super-human beings. They exist but their constitution is similar to that of man. There are prakṛti and puruṣa, even there, but some of the effects of prakṛti do not exist in their case. They have only subtle bodies or only the internal organs, and not the gross substances with which we find ourselves united.

There is another striking resemblance. Some Buddhistic schools give the order in which the world is produced, thus:—First of all there is ignorance from which arise feelings such as those of love and hatred. Then follows consciousness which gives birth to names and forms (the external world), and in this manner, the senses, the contact of the senses with the world, pleasure or pain, desire, virtue and vice, old age, death, lamentation, sorrow and distress, are successively produced, one from the other.¹ This order closely resembles that of the Samkhyas. Ignorance corresponds to pra-dhāna, love and hatred to buddhi, consciousness to ahaṁkāra, and

「 १. अविद्यादीनामितरेतरकारणत्वादुपपद्यते लोकयात्रा । ते चाविद्यादयोऽविद्या
संस्कारो विज्ञानं नामरूपं षडायतनं त्वष्टा वेदना तृष्णोपादानं भवो जातिर्जरा मरणं
शोकः परिषेदना दुःखं दुर्मेनस्तेत्येवञ्जातीयका इतरेतरहेतुकाः ।

Samkaracg.rya's vedānta Bhasya,, Bib. Ind. p. 549, vol I• see also Govindananda on the same.

so on. The principle of both is the same, though there may be differences in the particulars. For these reasons, there is, I think, sufficient ground to believe, that though the Buddhistic systems may not have sprung directly from the Samkhya, they derived their origin from the same current of thought, and are to be referred to the same, or immediately successive ages. And having arrived thus far, the balance of probability is, in my opinion, in favour of the supposition that the Samkhyas preceded the Buddhists.

Again, Professor Max Müller thinks the Buddhistic nirvana to be total annihilation, and refers to the sacred book Abhidharma, said to have been written by Kasyapa, the friend and pupil of Buddha. I have had no access to this book, but with due deference, I must say, that if Madhava has given the doctrines of the several sects rightly, the nirvana of the Madhyamikas only is annihilation, while the summum bonum of the other schools is the separation of the free and unlimited soul from the finite force we observe in it, as the reader may have seen.¹

The coincidences between the Samkhya and the Buddhist systems will derive greater significance if we compare and contrast the Vedanta with them. The absolute soul is the central idea of the Vedanta as well as of the Samkhya. But the problem with the Vedantins was not simply to teach the way to eternal bliss, but also to restore the Indian race to the Sruti, which the Samkhyas had affected to reverence, and the Buddhists openly defied, and to God. Revelation is, therefore, the basis of the system. The second sūtra of Badarayana, the first being simply introductory, brings in at once, the idea of God as the Creator of the world. According to the Vedānta, then, there is first, God and the individual soul. God is the sum total of the individual souls. He first creates the five elements, and from these five, the senses, and thence the two internal

1 Sarvadarsanasamgraha : Madhyamikas : परिनिर्वाणं शून्यरूपं वेत्स्यति।
Yogācāras : निश्चिन्नासतोच्छेदविपरिणताविनिर्घटयत्तत्कारोपपन्नविशुद्धविज्ञानोद्भवो
महोद्भवः । Seutrantikas: तदुभयनिरोधः । तदनन्तरं विमलज्ञानोद्भवो वा शुक्तिः ।
See also ibid, p. 116.

faculties (manas and buddhi). From the elements are also produced the organs of action, and the five winds in the body. The last seventeen constitute the subtle body, which follows us after death ; and the gross one is created by a certain elaborate process of mixture, called pancikarana. The sum total of the subtle bodies with the soul in it, is another body of God called Hiranyagarbha; and all the gross bodies with the souls, constitute a third, distinguished by the name of Vaisvanara.¹ Here, then, is an attempt to seek the Absolute objectively, which the Samkhyas arrive at, subjectively. But equally with these, the Vedantins hold the subject also to be Absolute. To establish identity between these two, and secure moksa, finite thinking and the finite manifestations of the real or external absolute, must be dissolved, buddhi and matter—the creations of God, must be destroyed. If by creation is to be understood a development of the Divine essence, this object cannot be gained. For the development must be as real as the essence itself. Samkaracarya, therefore, rejects this theory,² and attributes creation to a certain power in the Divine essence, which cannot be considered as existing, because its effects would no less exist, nor as non-existing, for the effects are perceptible.³ It is Maya or illusion which generates appearances, such as those of a mirage. And the individual soul which in its essence is the same as the Universal soul, is absolute, is enclosed by a similar veil of illusion, and confounds himself with the creations of God's maya and attributes their finiteness to himself. That the gross and subtle bodies are such creations, is shown by the conditions in which we find ourselves in sleep. In dreamy sleep, the gross body of flesh and blood does not exist for the individual soul, while the subtle

1. Vedanta Sara ; Paficadasi of Bharatitlrtha, Viveka I.

2. Samkaracarya's Vedanta Bhasya II.I. 14, Bib. Ind, p. 447 and 453.vol. I. This theory called parinamavada was afterwards taken up fully and strictly by Vallabha and qualified by Ramanuja, in the hands of both of whom, it became the basis of a religious system more practical than S'amkara's.

3. सत्त्वात्तदाभ्यामनिर्बचनीयम् । Vedanta-Sftra; न कल्पं नापि सत्त्वाद्वाक्यं त्वमिदेष्यताम् । Bharatitlrtha, Pafica-ViveKa I I ,

does, and this latter also ceases to be, in sound sleep. But even in sound sleep, the soul is still enveloped in avidya or ignorance which is maya itself as referring to the individual soul. These avidya and miy5 are got rid of by the concentration of the mind in the manner prescribed by the Yoga philosophers, joined with moral discipline, and as the result of the process, the soul issues forth into its transcendent condition, and is pure intelligence and joy.

CONSIDERATION OF THE DATE OF THE MAHABHARATA

IN CONNECTION WITH THE CORRESPONDENCE
FROM COL. ELLIS

[FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1872, VOL. X, pp. 81 ff.]

This paper was read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 12th September 1872.

In the Ninth volume of the Asiatic Researches, there is a notice by Colebrooke of an inscription on copper-plates purporting to be a grant of land by Janamejaya, the son of Pariksit, of the race of the Pandavas. The characters engraved being very modern, and the language very incorrect, Colebrooke came to the conclusion that it was a forgery. But this decision rests on the supposition that the Mahabharata, which describes the great serpent-sacrifice held by Janamejaya, alluded to also in the grant, is a very ancient work. The antiquity of this work, however, may be denied, in which case there is nothing in the grant itself to show that it is spurious. Colonel Ellis, therefore, in the correspondence placed before us, considers the grant as genuine, and refers the composition of the Mahabharata to a period subsequent to its execution. On the day on which the grant was made, there was a partial eclipse of the sun, which, from calculations made by the Rev. G.B. Gibbons and Prof. Airy, took place at about 11 A.M. on Sunday, the 9th of April 1521. The date of the grant being thus determined beyond any possibility of doubt, Colonel Ellis wishes us to prosecute further inquiries; with a view to find out whether any traces of the events and circumstances mentioned in the grant, or connected with the story of Janamejaya, exist at the present day. For instance, we are asked to ascertain whether the ruins of the palace in which Sarvadamana or Bharata, the

son of Dusyanta and Sakuntala, was crowned, and of the court in which Janamejaya held the ASvamedha 'Jagg,' or Horse-sacrifice, are still visible at Anagundi, with which the Colonel identifies Hastinapura, or whether any burnt remains of the sacrifice are found by digging for them on the spot. But the supposition on which the Colonel goes leads him into a difficulty. Krsna Raya, one of the ablest kings, of the local dynasty, and not Janamejaya of the Pandava race was on the throne of Vijayanagara, or Anagundi, about 1521. Since, then, both could not have been kings at the same time, Colonel Ellis suspects that Krsna Raya's minister, Appaji, was the Janamejaya of the grant, i. e. it is considered not at all unlikely that a king who is represented in the plates as the king of kings and the refuge of the whole universe, and whom Col. Ellis himself speaks of as a renowned conqueror, should have been but an insignificant minister of the king of a minor state. Again, if the grant is genuine, and the Mahabharata was written after 1521 A.D., we should certainly expect to find in it a picture of the state of society in the sixteenth century, when the Mahomedans had been ruling over a large portion of the country for about four hundred years, and when the few remaining Hindu states were struggling for existence, and not such an archaic condition as that which the poem unfolds to our view. The current tradition which ascribes a high antiquity to the Mahabharata, ought also to be explained and not lost sight of. How is it that it has come to be an almost intuitive belief with every intelligent Hindu that the epic is very old, while at the same time, he considers works written long before 1521 A.D., to be but very recent? At the same time it is very difficult to conceive how an epic only three hundred and fifty years old, could have worked itself into the thoughts and feelings of all the Hindu nationalities, from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, so thoroughly as the Mahabharata has done. Reasons such as these ought, I think, to be sufficient to enable one to pronounce the grant to be spurious. But Col. Ellis does not seem to consider them to be weighty, and in the view he has put forth, he but represents, in a somewhat exaggerated form; the tendency of most European scholars and antiqua-

rians to modernize everything Hindu. I will, however, not content myself with this general reasoning, but will give more specific proofs of the antiquity of the Mahabharata.

If Col. Ellis's view is correct, the greater part of our existing Classical Literature must be supposed to have been written after 1521 A. D. ; for there are but few works which, directly or indirectly, do not allude to the Mahabharata or the principal characters in the poem. But such a conclusion is inadmissible, for there are some dates in the history of India and the history of Sanskrit literature which cannot be called in question. I will therefore set forth the principal testimonies to the existence of the Mahabharata, in chronological order.

The earliest literary date is that of Patanjali, the author of the Mahabhasya, or the great commentary on Panini's grammar. Prof. Goldstücker places him in the second century before Christ, and I have recently succeeded in making out that he lived in the reign of Puspamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty, who reigned from B. C. 178 to B. C. 142. Panini must have preceded him, and the interval between them was probably about three centuries, or even much greater. The Srauta and Grhya Sūtras of the three Vedas preceded the work of Panini, or, according to some scholars, some of them were written at about the same time. The Brahmapas or these Vedas must have preceded the Sūtras. Now Janamejaya, the son of Pariksit, and Bharata, the son of Dusyanta, are mentioned in the Aitareya Brahmana, as very powerful kings who conquered the whole earth. I do not mean to assert that the Mahabharata existed before the Aitareya Brahmana, but I bring forward this instance to show how very far into antiquity some of the elements of the story of the Mahabharata run. In Asvalayana Grhya, there is a Sutra containing the names of the gods and Rsis to whom water is to be given, i.e., technically, whose tarpapa is to be made every day by

² Rgvedi Biahmana. In this list the name of the Mahabharata¹ occurs. But it may perhaps be questioned whether the reference here is to the Mahabharata as we have it, or to some other work that existed in the time of Asvalayana. For the Rsi mention² several classes of literary works, such as Gathas, 'Narasamsis & c, which are not now known. This objection amounts to this. A Mahabharata may have existed before Asvalayana, but there is nothing to show that it contained the story of the Kurus. But I do not see why this question should be raised, since a few centuries later we are told by another author that the story of these heroes was popular and current in his time and when, Only a short time after, or about the same time, as Asvalayana, a third mentions the names of the Mahabharata and some of the principal characters. Panini (VI. 2. 38) teaches us the accent of Maha in the word Mahabharata. Another Sutra of his teaches that the termination Aka should be applied to the nouns Vasudeva and Arjuna to form derivatives from them signifying one who is devoted to Vasudeva and Arjuna. In the Mahabharata these two persons are represented as great friends, and their being mentioned together by Panini is very significant. Even Patanjali, commenting on the Sutra, sees no reason why Vasudeva should have been put in here, since there is another and a more general rule under which the noun would come. He explains that the Vasudeva here meant was the god Vasudeva, and not the one that comes under the general rule⁴. This is a subtlety which, however, shows that the characters in the Mahabharata had come to be regarded as demi-gods. But it is

1. Aavalayana Grhya II. 44—**महभारतमहाभारतमर्माचार्यः...**

2 Asvalkyana Grhya III. 3.1.

3 Panini IV. 3.98.

⁴ **वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां तुम् । किमर्थं वासुदेवस्यार्जुनविधीयते । न गोत्रस्यभियास्येभ्यो बाहुलं बुद्धित्वेन सिद्धम् । न एतस्मिन् विशेषो वासुदेवस्यार्जुनो वा । तदेव रूपं स एव स्वरोः ।...अथवा नैवा क्षत्रियास्त्रया । सौत्रीणां तत्त्वमगवतः ।**

not unlikely that Panini was let to put them together because they were always associated together in the minds of the people, as they are in the Mahabharata. In a third *Sutra* we have Yudhisthira¹. The words I have brought forward are not taken from the Ganas or groups which form an appendix of Panini's work nor are they the examples of his rules given by the grammarians, for there is no evidence to determine what portion of these is to be attributed to Panini. But they occur in the Satras themselves Panini's authorship of which is unquestionable.

In Patanjali's work we find in one place the names of Bhiiparsena, Sahadeva and Nakula, who are mentioned as descendants of Kuru.² and of Duryodhana and Duhsasana. The compound Yudhisthirarjunau occurs in several places.⁴ In one of these, Patanjali, in explaining a *Vartika* of Katyayana, tells us that the word *Dvi* becomes *Dvandvam* as applied to a copulative compound of the names of persons or things always mentioned together and well known to all. In the case of the compound Yudhisthirarjunau, though the persons are well known, says he, they are not always or invariably mentioned together; hence *Dvi* does not become *dvandvam*, i. e. we have to say *Dvau* Yudhisthirarjunau, and not *dvandvam* Yudhisthirarjanau.⁵ From this I infer that the story of Yudhisthira and Arjuna was current and popular in Patanjali's time.

1. VIII. 3.95.

2. Patanjali, IV 1,4 Ann, कर्बणोवकाशः । नाकुलः साहदेवः । प्यस्य स स्व । भौमसेनो नाम कुडस्तस्मादभयं प्राप्नोति । ण्यो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । भौमसेनः ।

3. III. 3.1 ann.

4. Under II. 234 भ्रातृश्च ज्यायसः पूर्वनिपातो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ । In this, Yudkisthira is spoken of as Arjuna's elder brother.

5. Under Panlni, VIII. 1.15.—अत्यन्तसहचरिते लोकविज्ञाते इन्द्रमित्युपासंस्थानं कर्तव्यम् । इन्द्रं स्कन्दविशाखौ इन्द्रं नारदपत्नौ । अत्यन्तसहचरित इति किमर्थम् । द्वौ युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ । लोकविज्ञात इति किमर्थम् । द्वौ देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ ॥ Kalyaṇa on this last:—द्वौ युधिष्ठिरार्जुनाविति । लोकविज्ञानादभिव्यक्तावेतौ न त्वन्वयं सहचरितौ

,In another place, Patanjali, in his comments on **Panini III. 2. 122**, gives, as an example of a counter-rule, **III. 2, 118**, *Dharmena sma Kuravo yudhyante*, i. e., the Kurus fought with fairness. Now the war between the sons of Pandu and Dhrtarastra, both of whom belonged to the Kuru race, is known as a *Dharma-yuddha*, i. e., a war in which it was not allowable for the hostile parties to carry their enmity beyond the field of battle, and in which, even in battle, no unfair advantage could be taken by either side. Besides, this is an instance in which the present *Yudhyante*, we are told, has the sense of the perfect, i. e., the action of fighting took place at a remote time and was not witnessed by the speaker. This shows that, when Patanjali wrote, the war was considered as having taken place at a remote time. From these quotations it follows that there was in Patanjali's time a work describing the war of the Kurus, that it was popularly read, that it contained a story concerning the five Pandavas also, and that it was regarded as ancient. This could be no other than the Mahabharata. Perhaps the story in the epic was made the subject of new poems in Patanjali's time, for under **II. 2 24** he quotes, as if from such a work, '*Asidvitiyonusasara Pandavam*,' he followed the Pandava, sword in hand.' This forms a regular line in the *Varmasastha* metre. Of course I do not assert that the poem existed in Patanjali's time in exactly the same form as we have it now. There can be no question that several additions have been subsequently made, and it has undergone a good deal of transformation. The very popularity of our epics has made it almost impossible now to secure a correct or reliable text. But the main story as we now have it, leaving the episodes out of consideration, was current long before Patanjali's time.

My next testimony is from Inscriptions. The Inscriptions in the Nasik caves—at least the earlier ones—appear, from the forms of the characters and the names of kings and other noted persons occurring therein, to date from the first to the third century of the Christian era. In one of these Gptamiputra's

prowess and exploits are compared to those of Kesava, Bhimasena, Arjuna, and Janamejaya,¹ all of whom are Mahabharata characters. The Calukya copper-plate grant translated by Professor Dowson, and one of the Gurjjara ones translated by me last year, contain verses, quoted from the work of Vyasa, one of which is addressed to Yudhisthira.² This clearly is a reference to the Mahabharata. The date of the former is 394, and of the latter 417 which correspond to 472 A. D. and 495 A. D. on the supposition that the era referred to is the Saka. An Inscription³ in a temple at Iwullee, in the Dharwar and Mysore Districts, bears the date 3730 in the era of the war of the Bharata. The Saka date corresponding to it is given as 506, i. e. 584 A. D. It thus appears that in the latter part of the sixth century the war which forms the theme of the Mahabharata was considered to have taken place about four thousand years before.

The date of Kalidasa is not yet thoroughly settled, but he must certainly have flourished long before Bana, for he is mentioned by him in the Harsacarita.⁴ Bana, whose patron was Sri-Harsa, as he himself tells us, lived in the first half of the seventh century, as is determined by a comparison of Hwan Thsang's itinerary with what is known from Sanskrit sources and from the Calukya copperplates.⁵ Kalidasa is also mentioned in the Iwullee Inscription.

1. Jour. Bom. AS. SOC., NO. XXII., p. 52, Insor. No. 26, 1. 8; and Jour. No. XVIII., p. 41.

2. Jour. E. A. 8., vol. I., New Series, pp. 269, 270; and Jour. Bom. A. 8., No. XXVIII.

3. Jour. Bom. A. S., No. XXVII., p. cxviii. Dr. Bhau Daji here reads the Mahabharata date as three thousand eight hundred and fifty-five years, but 3730 as above at p. 315 of the same No. The mistake seems to have arisen from his having taken for in the former place.

4. Dr. Hall's edn. of Vasavadatta, p. 14, notes.

5. Ibid. p. 17, notes. Journal Bom. A. S., Vol. III., p. 203. The Calukya prince who conquered Harsavardhana, the patron of Bana, was Satyairaya Sri Prthivi Vallabha, whose great grandson Vijayaditya was on the throne in Saka 627, i. e. 705 A. D. From the Iwullee Inscription quoted above. It also appears that Satyasraya was on the throne in 506 Saka, or 584 A.D. This agrees pretty well with Hwan Thsang's chronology,

tion, noticed above, as a famous poet. Now, the Yaksha in Kilidtsa's Meghaduta directs his messenger, the cloud, to go by Kuruksetra, in which the Ksatriyas fought a battle, "in the course of which he with the Gandiva bow (i. e. Arjuna) discharged showers of arrows at the faces of the assembled warriors."¹ Bana himself in his Kadambari makes Vilasavati, the queen of Taraplda, one of the characters in the tale, to go to the temple of Mahakala in Ujjayini, where she hears the Mahabharata read,* By the way, this shows that the custom of reading the Mahabharata or Puranas in temples for the edification of the visitors is as old as Banabhatta. In another place we are told that the inhabitants of Ujjayini were fond of the Mahabharata, the Puranas, and the Ramayana.³ Elsewhere the Acchoda lake is compared to the Bharata.⁴ For there were observable there disturbances caused by the Paksas of the race of Pandu Dhrtarastras. There is a double entendre here ; in the case of the Bharata the expression means the adherents of the races of Pandu and of Dhrtarastra, and in the other the wings of white swans. There is also another equivoque on the name of the Bharata.⁵ Bana also alludes in the same work to the death of Pandu caused by the curse of Kimdama Muni, to his wife Prtha having remained a widow all her life, to the death of Abhimanyu, [and to the widowhood of his wife Uttara, to Arjuna's having killed Jayadratha, to Arjuna's having been, restored to life by Ulupi after he had been killed by his own son Babhruvahana, as related in the Asvamedhika Parva, and to Krsna's having restored to life Pariksit, the

1. **अज्ञावर्त्तं जनपदमथश्चायया गाहमानः क्षेत्रे क्षत्रप्रधनपिशुनं कौरवं तद्गजेथाः ।
राजन्वानां सितशरशर्त्तैर्वैद्य गाण्डिवधन्वा धारापातैस्त्वमिव कमलाम्बुभ्याषिच्चम्बुक्षानि ॥**

2. Kadambari, Calc. edn. of 1919 Sam.: **अयं तु चतुर्दशीति भगवन्तं महाकाल-
मर्दिनुमितो गतया महाभारते वाच्यमानं श्रुतमपुत्राणां किल गतिनोऽस्ति ।**

3. Kadambari Calc, edn, of 1919 Sam., p, 57 : **महाभारतपुराणरामायणानुरा-
गिणा बृहन्कथाकुशलेन ।**

4 Ibid., p. 133: **भारतमिव पाण्डुधर्ताराष्ट्रकुलपक्षरुतक्षोभम् ।**

5. Ibid., p. 103: **भारतसमरमिव हतवर्माशिलीमुत्तमसंभारभीषणम् ।**

son of Abhimanyu, still-born in consequence of Asvatbama's charmed arrow.¹ There can, therefore, be no question that the Mahabharata existed in a form complete, so far as the story concerning the principal characters goes, in Bana's time, i. e. in the first half of the seventh century.

In the Harsacaritra, Bana mentions a work called Vasavadatta. It is very probable that the Vasavadatta here meant is a work of that name by Subandhu. But even if it were thought otherwise, Subandhu is mentioned in a Sloka² attributed to Rajasekhara, from whose works again there are quotations³ in the Sarasvatikanthabharana. This last work is attributed to king Bhoja. It contains a Sloka in the first chapter addressed to Munja⁴ the uncle of the celebrated Bhoja of Dhara, from which it appears that the work was written soon after the tenth century. Now Subandhu's Vasavadatta contains many allusions to the Mahabharata and to some of the characters in the story. Bhima's having killed the giant Baka, the skill of the Pandavas in gambling, the Kicakas as officers of king Virata, Duhsasana, Arjuna, and such other persons and events are mentioned. The name of the epic also occurs several times.⁵

The Mrcchakatika is one of the oldest dramas, though its exact date is not yet determined. It is mentioned in the commentary on the Dasarupa⁶ of which more hereafter. In this play, the poet, in order to bring out the meanness, foolishness, and presumption of one of the characters makes him misquote

1. Ibid, pp. 196 and 197, from पृथ्वा च वार्ष्णेयी to जयद्रथेऽर्जुनेन लोकांतर-
मुपनीतेत्यकृतप्राणपरित्यागाम् and from अर्जुनं च to दुर्लेभानसुम्प्रपितवान् ।

2. Sarngdhara, chap, on Visistha Kaviprasamsa" .—माद्यो भारविक्कालि-
कस्ततरलाः स्कन्धः सुचन्द्रोश्च वरः । Dr. Hall's reading of the first name in this is मेघो, which is evidently a mistake. (See his edn. of V5s., p. 20, notes.

3. prof Aufrecht's Oxford Cat., p. 209a.

4. Ibid.

5. Dr. Hall's edn., pp. 15, 21, 27, 33, 70, 106, & 147.

6. Dr. Hall's edn. of Dasarupa, p. 127.

the Mahabharata. Draupadi is, according to him, dragged by the hair by Rama instead of Duhshasana, Subhadri becomes the sister of Viswvasu and not Kṛṣṇa, and she is carried away by Hanuman instead of Arjuna. In other parts of the play also there are several allusions.¹

There is a commentary by Samkaracarya on the Bhagavadgita, which forms an episode of the Mahabharata. In his principal work—the Bhasya on the Vedānta Sūtras—there are many quotations from the Gita and other parts of the Mahabharata.³ A verse from the Savitṛyupakhyana, an episode in the Vana-parva, occurs in his comments on the Sūtra I. 3. 24.3 The age of Samkaracarya has not yet been fixed with certainty, but some scholars are of opinion that he flourished in the ninth century. In the Konga-Desa-Carita, a Tamil chronicle in the Mackenzie Collection, Samkaracarya is mentioned as having converted a king of the Chera country named Tiru Vikrama from Jainism to the Saiva faith. The date of the king given in the MS. is 100 Saka. But Prof. Dowson thinks the MS. is not trustworthy here, and is of opinion that he reigned in the sixth century. He also thinks that, perhaps out of a desire to assign a remote antiquity to the reformer, the compiler of the MS. may have transferred him from the reign of Tiru Vikrama II., another king of the same country, to that of Tiru Vikrama I., and assigns the eighth century to the former.⁴ Mr. Burgess possesses a Copperplate Grant* by Kongani Mahadhiraja, another king of the dynasty, who appears, from a comparison of the plates and the chronicle, to have been the tenth after Tiru Vikrama I., and the third

1. Calc. edn. of the play, Saka 1791, pp. 28, 31, 109, 199.

2. Sūtra Bhasya Bibl. Ind. vol. I. p. 275, 456, &c

3. Ibid. p. 376:—अथ सत्यवतः काश्यायायायहं वरागतम् । अङ्गुष्ठमात्रं - पुण्ड्रं निश्चकर्षं द्रुमो बलान् ॥. In the Bombay edn. of the Mahabharata this Sloka occurs as it is hers, the only difference being the substitution of ३३३ for ३३३*].

4. See the Professor's Essay on the Chert Kingdom, Jour. R. A. S., No. XV., pp. 17, 18.

I. Since published in the Ind. Ant., vol. I., pp. 363*166.

before Tiru Vikrama II. The date of the grant is 388, which supposing the era to be the Saka, as is very likely, since the dates in the MS. are all referred to that era, corresponds to 466 A. D. Now, taking twenty years as the average duration of each reign, Tiru Vikrama I. must have been reigning in 346 A. D., and Tiru Vikrama II. in 526 A. D. And this latter date, curiously enough, agrees with that given in the chronicle, while the former does not. It thus follows that if the king converted to the Saiva faith was Tiru Vikrama I., Samkaracarya must have flourished in the fourth century, and if he was Tiru Vikrama II., in the sixth century. The Mahabharata then must have existed at the latter date.

The drama of the Venisamhara by Bhatfa Narayapa is based on the latter part of the story in the Mahabharata. It dramatizes the incidents in the war between the sons of Pa[^]du and Dhrtara[?]tra. In the prologue, Bhatta Narayana thus speaks of the reputed author of the Mahabharata:—"I adore Krsna Dvaipayana, who was no Krsna, i. e. whose deeds were pure, who had conquered his passions and who composed the nectar of the Mahabharata, drinkable by the ears." The Kiratarjuniya of Bharavi and the Sisupalavadha of Magha are also based on parts of the story in the Mahabharata. The dates of these authors have not been determined, but it appears they must all have flourished before the tenth century. There are quotations¹ from their works in Dhanika's commentary on the Dasarupa by Dhanamjaya, who was patronised by Munja, the uncle of Bhoja, as appears from the last verse in the work, Dhanika seems to have been Dhanamjaya's brother, and from a Copperplate grant mentioned by Dr. Hall,² he appears to have lived in the middle of the tenth century. There are also extracts from these three

1. Dr. Hairs edn. of Dasarupa, pp. 118,142,143, 146, 148. 150, 151, 152 153,&c. &c.

1 Dr. Hall's Dasarupa, p. 3. notes.

12 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Work, Vol. I.]

books in the *Sarasvarikaifhabharana*,¹ a work which I have already noticed.

Hemadri, as he tells us in his works, was a minister of Mahatdeva, a Yadava king of Devagiri, who, according to Sir Walter Elliot ascended the throne in 1182 Saka, corresponding to 1260 A. D.² In the *Danakhapda* of this author, recently printed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, there are many quotations from the *Mahabharata*.³

We will next turn our attention to a Marathi work. The *Jnanesvari* a Marathi commentary on the *Bhagavadgita*, was finished as the author tells us, in the year of Saka 1212 i. e., 1290 A. D.⁴ In the first chapter the *Mahabharata* is spoken of in terms of praise and reverence, and we are told that the *Bhagavadgita* was addressed by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna and occurs in the *Bhishmaparva* of the work, as it does in our existing copies. *Janamejaya* also is mentioned by *Jnanesvara*.*

Sayapa was minister to Bukka, king of Vijayanagara, whom he mentions in all his works. Bukka was on the throne in 1334 A.D.⁶

' Sayana quotes from the *Mahabharata* in his commentary on the *Taittiriya Upanisad*. In the *Sarvadarsana-Samgraha* an

1. Dr. Aufrecht's Oxford Cat., p. 208b, p. 209a. In the Iwullee Inscription noticed above, Dr. Bhau reads the name of Bharavi, and in the copy given in the Bombay Society's Journal the name does seem to occur in the last line, but in the photographic copy the Ra is wanting, and the word looks like Bhavi. I cannot arrive at any definite conclusion on the point in the absence of a better copy of the Inscription.

2. Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 28.

3. Pp. 6, 10, 25, 31, 33, &c.

4. शके वाराधने वारोत्तरे ते । टीका केही ज्ञानेश्वर । सन्निदानंद बाबा आदरे । लेखक

५. ... म्हणऊनि जन्मेजयाचे अवलीळा । दोष हरले ॥ म्हणऊनि महाभारती नाहीं । ते नोहे लोकीं निझ । येणे कारणे ह्मणिवे पाहीं । व्यासोन्मिष्ट जगत्त्रय ॥ मुनि सांग वृषभाधा जन्मेजया ॥...

argument is brought forward by a follower of Jaimini to prove that the Vedas are eternal. An objector is then Introduced"who! says that it would apply equally well to the Mahabharata, In another place also the epic is mentioned in the Sarvadarsana-Saighraha.¹ In the same book quotations from the Kavyapra-kaśa occur.* The Kavyaprakasa itself quotes from the Venisam,j hara³ which I have already mentioned. Sayana quotes from the Mahabharata in his comments on Parasra also.⁴

Sarngadhara, in his Paddhati or anthology, tells us that. he was the grandson of Raghava, who was in the service of Ham-mira, a Cohan priace.⁵ Hammira came to the throne, according to Col. Tod, in 1300 A. D.⁶ Sarftgadhara must have therefore flourished in the latter part of the fourteenth century. In his

1. Sarva-Darsana-Saitgraha, Bibl. Ind., p. 64 and p. 128

वेदस्याध्ययनं सर्वं गुर्वध्ययनपूर्वकम् ।

वेदाध्ययनसामान्यादधुनाध्ययनं यथा ॥

इत्यनुमानं प्रतिसाधनं प्रगल्भत इति चेत्तदपि न प्रमाणकोटिं प्रवेष्टुमीदृ ।

भारताध्ययनं सर्वं गुर्वध्ययनपूर्वकम् ।

भारताध्ययनत्वेन सांप्रताध्ययनं यथा ॥ इति ।

2. Ibid., p. 173.

3. In the Chapters on Rasa and Dosa.

4. Prof. Aufreoh't's Oxford Cat., p. 265a, 266b; Anusasana-parva and Asvamedha-parva are mentioned here.

5. पुरा शाकम्भरीदेशे श्रीमाम्भूमिरुपपत्तिः ।

अहुषाजान्मये जातः स्यातः शौर्ये इषार्जनः ॥

तस्यात्मवत्सम्भजनेषु मुख्यः

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हिजाधर्मी राषवदेवनामा ॥

गोपालवृत्तोदरदेवदाससंज्ञा बभ्रुस्तनयास्तदीयाः ।

तेषां मध्ये यस्तु दामोदरोभूदुत्पाद्य श्रीमात्मजाम्बीतरागः ।

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ज्येष्ठः शार्ङ्गभरस्तेषाम् ।

- 6 Dr. Hall's Vasavadatta, p.48,notes,

Paddhati he quotes from the Veiisaifo-hara, Kiratarjuniya, Sisu palavadha, Bhagavadgita and other parts of the Mahabharata.¹

I have thus briefly sketched the principal testimonies to the existence of the Mahabharata from the time of Panini and Asvalayana, i. e., from about the fifth century before Christ to the time of Sarngadhara, i. e. the 14th century after Christ.

The antiquity of the Mahabharata being thus established, the grant, which according to Prof. Airy's calculations was made in 1521 A. D., must be pronounced to be a forgery. The fact that the villages conveyed by it are still in the possession of the descendents of the pretended donees agrees with the conclusions arrived at from the other data. Most of the queries of Col. Ellis contained in the letter before us, based as they are on the genuineness of the grant, require, I think, no answer. He refers to a passage in Anandagiri's Samkara-Vijaya in which the Matha of Mandana Misra is said to have been situated a few miles from Hastinapura, which, as I have before mentioned, the Colonel identifies with Anagundi. There must have been some mistake here ; for Madhava in his Samkara-vijaya tells us that Mandana Misra lived in Mahismati, on the Narmada.³ Anagundi may have been called Hastinapura in some corner of the country, and there is some ground for it, for the name Anagupdi is derived from one, which in Canerese means, I am told, an elephant, and Gundi a lane. But the classical Hastinapura was certainly far to the north. Patanjali, in his remarks on the Sutra yasya cayamah (Panini II. 1. 16) gives Anugangam Hastinapuram as an example from which it is clear that Hastinapura was situated on the Ganges. Besides, in the grant, Janamejaya is represented as having gone from his capital to the south to subjugate the different parts of the country, and performed the Sarpasatm or

1. Chapters on Visiftakaviprasamsa, Raudrarasa, Bbftyanakarasa, Santaraaa, Vlrarasa, &c.&c.

2 See the Bombay Edition of Madhava's Samkara-rijaya, ohap. viii,

serpent-sacrifice at Harihara, at the junction of the Tungabhadra with the Harida. There is a place of that name on the map and it is situated at the junction of the Tungabhadra with another river, but its bearing from Anaguijdi is South-east by east, so that it appears that even in the grant the Hastinapura that was meant was that one in the north. Some of the Colonel's questions to the identification of the places the names of which occur in the grant can only be answered by one acquainted with the locality.

THE ARYANS IN THE LAND OF THE ASSURS, (Skr. ASURA)

[FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY, VOL, XXV, pp. 76 ff.]

(Communicated)

Since the discovery¹ in Asia Minor of a treaty between the King of the Hittites and the King of Mitani in which the latter invokes Indra, Mitravaruna and the Nasatyas in those forms of the names which are found in the Rk-Samhita, the question before scholars has been where in the course of Vedic culture to place what this Inscription exhibits. No satisfactory conclusion seems to have been arrived at, but one direction may be pointed out for inquiry which will enable us to arrive at a plausible solution of the problem. The enquiry should take its start from the word Asura. In the Brahmanas it signifies a race of beings inimical to the Devas, or gods. In the Rk-Samhita it is mostly used in the sense of "living", "vigorous", "powerful" and applied as an epithet to various gods such as Dyaus, Indra, Varuna, &c. But in three or four cases it denotes beings hostile or inimical to the gods. There are, however, a few passages in which what is said about the Asuras resembles that which is said in connection with the Dasyus, and there the word may be taken to denote enemies of men. In RV. VIII. 96. 9, Indra is called upon to destroy by his wheel the Asuras who are not gods or are godless. In other places the gods are said to have destroyed the hosts belonging to the Asuras Varcin and Pipru. Some gods (Indra, Agni and Sun) are called Asura-han or Asura-slayers.

In the following passages the term Asura denotes the enemies of men more distinctly :—In AV. XIX. 66. 1, the Asuras are spoken of as rivals (Sapatnan) by the worshipper and Agni is

1. See JRAS, for 1909, page 731 ff,

implored to slaughter them. If they were rivals of the worshipper, they must have been men like the Dasyus. Again in AV. IX. 2. 17 and 18, Kama is invoked to dispel the worshipper's rivals as the gods did the Asuras and as Indra hurled the Dasyus into utter darkness. Here Asuras are compared with the Dasyus and may be like the latter the aborigines of a specific country. In AV. X. 3. 11, we have स मे शश्वन् विधातामिन्द्रो वसुनिवासाय । Here the amulet of the Varuna-tree is desired to "destroy the wearer's enemies as Indra did the Dasyus, the Asuras." Here Dasyus and Asuras are put together, the former characterising the latter so as to make the whole signify "the Dasyu Asuras or aboriginal Asuras," or the expression may be taken to mean "Dasyus and Asuras" ; in which case it is possible to understand that if the aborigines of India were called by the first name, the Asuras also must signify the aborigines of some other, country.¹ These quotations point to the Asuras being, the enemies of the Aryan wanderers like the Dasyus and to their having been destroyed by the gods of the emigrants.

There is a passage in Patanjali's Mahabhasya which shows that the name Asura denotes a certain class of Mlecchas or foreigners :—"तेऽसुरा इलयो इलय इति कुर्वन्तः परावसूयुः । तस्माद्ब्राह्मणेन न श्लेष्मिन्तवे नापभाषितवे । श्लेष्मिन् इ वा एषः यद्वपश्शब्दः । श्लेष्मिन्ना इमेत्यभ्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥². These Asuras uttering the words इलयः इलयः were

1. The word Dasyu is by some taken to mean demons or enemies of gods. But the preponderant sense being the dark-Coloured aborigines of India who did not acknowledge the Aryan gods and did not obey the Aryan ordinances and whom the gods enabled the Aryan to vanquish, it must surely have led to the words having come to signify the enemies of gods. The Aitareya Brahmana, which is to be referred to a period not far removed from the later hymns of the Atharva Veda, plainly and distinctly understands by the word the aboriginal races amongst which it includes the Andhras, Pundras, dabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas (VII. 18). In the last two quotations in the text it is perfectly allowable to take the word Dasyu to mean human enemies or Indian aborigines; and the Asuras are contrasted with them in so far as they resembled the Dasyus in being an aboriginal people but differing from them as belonging to a country other than India.

2 Kielhorn's Edition, Vol, I, page 2.

baffled (were defeated), for say the commentators, instead of **हे इ अरवः हे इ अरवः** which is good Sanskrit, they omitted the long (Pluta) vowel, elided the **अ**, and changed to **ह**, and thus showed themselves not to be Aryans but Mlecchas.—Therefore, a Brahmana should not act like a Mleccha and speak incorrectly. An incorrect word, it is said, is a Mleccha (Mleccha-making). We should learn Vyakarana in order that we may not become Mlecchas.' Here it is clear that by the word Asura is meant a foreign, un-Brahmanic race.

This passage occurring in Patanjali's work must have been taken from some Brahmana which has not been traced yet. But there is a similar passage in the Satapatha Brahmana (III.2.1, 18-24). The gods and the Asuras, it is said, sprang, both of them, from Prajapati and entered upon their father's inheritance. The gods came in for the mind and the Asuras for speech. Thereby the gods came to have the sacrifice and the Asuras speech only; the gods came to have the yonder world (the heaven) and the Asuras this (earth). Thereafter the gods contrived to deprive the Asuras of the speech which they had inherited from Prajapati and when this was effected the Asuras uttering **हेलवः हेलवः** were baffled. "Such was the untelligible speech which they then uttered,-and he (who speaks thus), is a Mleccha (barbarian). Hence let no Brahmana speak barbarous language (**न म्लेच्छेद्**), since such is the speech of the Asuras"¹ (**असुर्या इवा वाक्**). Here I lay stress on two statements. The heaven was assigned to the gods and the earth to the Asuras is one of them. It means that the Asuras were the denizens of this earth. The second statement is that the Brahmanas are enjoined not to act like Mlecchas, i. e., not to speak Mleccha language. For it is Asurya speech or the speech of the Asuras. These show that the Asuras were regarded as dwellers of the earth, and as speaking Mleccha language; and consequently were Mlecchas or foreign barbarians. Who then were these Asuras,

1. Eggeling's Translation, Part II, Sacred Books of the East, p. 3*.

who dwelt on the earth, were Mlecchas, were rivals or opponents of the Aryans and are compared with the Dasyus or aborigines of India, who contested the passage of the Aryans throughout India? The answer is supplied by the Inscription under notice.

Now the King of Mitani and the people over whom he ruled inhabited the northern portion of the plain between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Their neighbours were thus the Assyrians or Assyrians, if the Greek vowel which is generally represented by Y, may be translated by U as is often done. Amongst the Assyrians we find such names as Assur-bani-pal, Assur-Nazir-pal Tiglath-pileser, &c. The name Assyria itself is said to have been derived from Assur, the name of the ancient capital of the country and its gods. Assyria corresponds to Asuryah as applied to Lokah in the Isavasyopanishad (verse 3) and may be regarded as meaning the country of the Asuras. Thus then it is not unlikely that just as in India the progress of the Aryans was contested by the Dasyus, so was it contested by the Asuras of Assyria and they were thus compared with the Dasyus in some of the passages quoted above. That the Assyrians were Mlecchas according to the ideas of Hindus is plain enough. In later times especially when Aryans settled in the region of the five rivers, and afterwards when their religious system was developed in Brahmanism, the reminiscences of the human Asuras and the fights of the Aryans with them and their civilisation led to the whole subject having transformed itself into a myth of the determined enmity between the Devas and the Asuras. It is said that the enmity resulted from a schism between the Avestic people and the Vedic people as regards the gods worshipped by them. The Devas worshipped by the Brahmanas were stigmatised as demons by the Iranians, and the Indians repaid the compliment by representing the Ahuras or Asuras as fiends. But the objection to this is that Ahura is in Avesta the name of the Supreme Lord Ahuramazda and the name does not denote a whole race of beings though it may be applied to two

13 [R.G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. I].

or three angels. The explanation, therefore, that our mythical Asuras represent the Asuras of Assyria seems more plausible. Thus the word Asura first signifies (1) a "living spirit", "of wonderful power," and was used as an epithet of the gods, even the most ancient of them Dyaus. Then it came to denote (2) a human being hostile to the wandering Aryans, and the reason why it acquired this sense is that they came in contact with the Asuras of Assyria as is shown by the Inscription under discussion. This led in later times to the sense (3) of a race of mythical beings hostile to gods. Without the implication of hostility the word came to denote (4) a Mleccha or a foreigner of that name. This is shown by the quotation from Patanjali and the Satapatha Brahmana and also by the name of Mayasura to be mentioned below. The word Asura in the first sense appears entirely distinct from that which has the three last senses.

In AV. VI 108.3, we are told of the wisdom which the Asuras possessed. They are credited with the possession of Maya or magical power in AV. VI. 72. 1. The Srauta Sutra of Asvalayana (X. 7. 7) speaks of an Asuri Vidya as the Veda of the Asuras who constitute the subjects ruled over by a king of the name of Asita Dhanva. The Asuri Vidya is unquestionably magical skill and knowledge. Maya-Asura who had located himself in Kharidava forest knew architecture and constructed an Audience Hall or a palace for the Pandavas in return for Arjuna's having saved his life while the forest was burning. Dr. Spooner, Archaeological Superintendent, Bengal Circle, ridiculously enough traced the name Asura-Maya to a reminiscence of the great god Ahura-Mazda, thereby converting him into a craven creature that had taken refuge in the Khandava forest. The Assyrians, we are told, cultivated the art of architecture and were known for their skill in building, and it is more reasonable to trace the name of the architect of the Pandavas to an Assyrian or Asura proficient in architecture.

But the question arises, if the Vedic Aryans were, as the Inscription shows, the neighbours of the Assyrians of the 15th century B. C, about what time did they migrate to India and settle in the land of the five rivers. If they took about 500 years to reach the latter country and began their Vedic culture, i. e., the composition of the hymns and the systematising of the sacrificial worship, after that period, the time that elapsed between this event and the rise of the Buddhism in the 6th century B. C. is too short for the innumerable incidents that marked the progress of the Indians from the Vedic stage to the Buddhistic stage. This objection is certainly of great weight and to meet it we must resort to the theory of Brunnhofer that all hymns were composed not in the Punjab; but Vedic poetry began when the Indian Aryans lived in a more northerly region. It is "the work of poets of North Iran from Caspian Sea to the Punjab." I should, however, correct this North Iran into North Mesopotamia or the region thereabouts. If my derivation of the word Asura from the name of the inhabitants of Assyria is correct, the Aryans must have lived in their neighbourhood for a very long period, since the whole literature from the latest portion of the Samhitas and the subsequent literature is full of Asuras and incidents connected with them, showing that they had made a strong, indelible impression on the mind of the Aryans. The Vedic Rsis cannot be considered to have been in a condition of literary inactivity during their wanderings from their original home, wherever it was, and suddenly thrown into a literary mood after they reached the Punjab. The object of those who collected those hymns into the ten Mandalas of the Rg-Veda and the twenty Kandas of the Atharva-veda was to look for any piece of composition existing in any corner of the Aryan country or in any family; and comparative antiquity of composition was not taken into consideration in arranging them, but other principles such as identity of the deity and the number of verses were resorted to in forming the present collection. The ten Mandalas and the twenty Kandas, therefore, may very well be taken as comprising

all the hymns and stanzas composed since the the time the Aryans lived in their original home, whether in the North of Mesopotamia or elsewhere and went on wandering until they settled in the land of the five rivers. By the middle of the 15th century B. C, the Indian Aryans had progressed so far in the development of their religion as to cenceive of five deities, one single and four arranged in groups of two each. These groups along with the grammatical forms of the names are exactly as they exist in Rg-Veda. A great deal of hymnal literature must have gathered round those names by that time; and its origin may with Brunnhofer be pushed back to about 2500 B. C.

The question remains whether the Indian Aryans settled in the Punjab before the date of the Inscription or afterwards. The Aryans appear in India as divided into a number of tribes. Some tribes may have migrated before the 15th century B. C, but those who lived in the neighbourhood of Assyria must have gone afterwards. But that they did go is unquestionable. For they preserved the memory of their struggles with the Asuras who are compared to the Dasyus of India and of such other points about them as have already been detailed. Their memory, however, of the Asurya-Loka was certainly not agreeable to them. For they speak of it as enveloped in stark darkness to which those who commit suicides are sent¹. The Madhyandina Recension² of the Brhadaranyakopanisad condemns the ignorant to those regions and that of the Kanvas³ forgets that it was the Asurya country and gives its general character only by calling it Anandah or the joyless country.

I have thus simply indicated a new line of research. To work it out fully by comparing all the necessary passages in the

1. See the verse referred to above from the Isavasyopanisad.

2. IV. 4.14, page 45 of Bohtlingk's Edition.

3. IV.4.11,

Vedic literature and also comparing what we find therein with what the Assyriologists have to tell us, is a task that at my age with my eyesight considerably impaired, is beyond my power. It will, of course, be taken up, if found to be a sound and promising line of research, by intelligent and accurate scholars, who, I see, are coming forward and who will maintain our reputation for critical scholarship and will carry on the work of research amongst us in a manner to win the appreciation of the great scholars of the West.¹

1. The above constitutes in a somewhat expanded form the observations I made at a meeting of the Poona Literary and Philosophical Club held on the 15th August 1917, in connection with the paper read by Dr, S.K. Belvalkar on "Devas and Asuras."

PANINI AND THE GEOGRAPHY OF AFGHANISTAN AND THE PANJAB.

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOLUME I, 1872, pp. 21 ff]

The chief native authorities for ancient Indian geography, hitherto made use of by Antiquarians, are the Puranas and the Itihasas. But there is another, and a very important one, which is not frequently referred to. The great Grammarian Panini and his commentators, often give very useful information in cases where the Puranas and the Itihasas afford no hint. We propose in the following remarks to show by examples, what use may be made of in this branch of Sanskrit literature, in illustrating the ancient geography of India.

In teaching the formation of the names of places and of the inhabitants thereof, Panini, as is usual with him, gives general rules where possible ; and where not, he groups together certain names, in which the grammatical peculiarity is the same. These groups are distinguished from each other by the name of the first in the list, with an expression which is equivalent to ' and others ' added to it. In the body of the work, the names of the groups so formed, and the grammatical or etymological changes characteristic of them, are only given, while the words constituting each group are set forth, in what may be considered as an appendix to the work, called Gana-Patha. Instances of the general rules are given by the commentators, but they are not, on that account, to be considered as recent. There is internal evidence to show that most of these must have been handed down from the time of Panini himself. A good many are given by Patanjali, the author of the great commentary on Panini's work. On the other hand, all the words comprised in each group ought not, because the Gana-patha is attributed to Panini, to be regarded as having been laid down by him.

Several of the Ganas, or groups, are what are called Akrtigagas, i, e., such as each subsequent writer has the liberty of adding to ;

and we have no doubt, that even such as are not now considered to be of this nature, must have fared similarly at the hands of the early successors of Panini. For instance, the name of the mediaeval Kathiawad town Valabhi, occurs at the end of the group called Varanadi (Panini IV. 2. 82) and of Ujjayini, in the same group, and also at the end of Dhumadi (Panini IV. 2. 127). No one would, we believe, push his scepticism, as to the age of Panini so far as to urge that this proves him to have flourished after Valabhi came into importance under the dynasty of Bhartarka. And if any one were to do so, it would not be difficult to satisfy him. For, independently of the mass of evidence hitherto brought forward to prove that Panini flourished long before the Christian Era, we may state that in the Copperplate grant¹ of Dharasena IV we find puns on a good many of the technical terms of Panini, and the great grammarian himself is alluded to under the name of Salaturiya, (native of Salatura). This shews that Panini was at that time a person of established reputation, and consequently, was even then an ancient author. The groups or Ganas, therefore, seem to have been tampered with by his successors, but we think we are safe in ascribing the first three names at least, in each, to him.

The number of names of towns, villages, rivers, mountains, and warlike tribes, occurring in the works of Panini and his commentators, is very large. It would be difficult, or even impossible, to identify them all, but the positions and modern names of a good many can be determined with ease. It is not our purpose in this article to notice all such places, but to confine ourselves to such as may seem to throw new light on some doubtful points connected with the Ancient Geography of Afghanistan and the Panjab.

The northernmost kingdom of Afghanistan, in ancient times, was known to some of the Greek and Roman Geographers by the name of Kapisene, and the Chinese traveller Hwan Thsang

1, Translated from the Indian Antiquary, I, p. 14.

calls it Kia-pi-she. Panini mentions Kapisi (IV. 2. 99), from which he derives Kapisayani, the name of a wine, manufactured from grapes, produced in the district. The country about Kabul is still remarkable for its fine grapes. The name of another kingdom was Archosia, which was called Arkhoj or Rokhaj by the Arab geographers, and Tsaukuta, supposed to be equivalent to Raukuta by Hwan Thsang. European antiquarians trace the name, or that of the river Archotis, in the province, to the Zend Haraqaiti, corresponding to the Sanskrit Sarasvati. But we are not aware upon what evidence a river of the name of Sarasvati is fixed in this district. Sarasvati is one of the Sapta Sindhavab, or seven rivers of the Vedas, and if assigned a position here, would certainly be far away from the other six. The river Sarasvati was situated to the east of the Sutlej. Perhaps the name Archosia, Arkhoj, or Rokhoj, is to be derived from that of the mountain Riksoda, mentioned by Panini's commentators, the Brahmans living about which, were called Arksodas. This name is given as one to which Panini's rule (IV. 5. 91) does not apply.

Another province of Afghanistan is called Fa-la-nu by Hwan Thsang, and identified with the modern Vaneh or Wanneh by some, and with Bannu by General Cunningham. The Sanskrit name corresponding to this is not known. Panini, however, mentions a country named Varnu in several places (IV. 2. 103, and IV. 3. 93), which is very likely the same as Hwan Thsang's Fa-la-nu. The country of Gandhara is mentioned in the group Kacchhadi IV. 2. 133 and in IV. 1. 169, and the river Suvastu, the modern Swat, a branch of the Kabul river, in IV. 2. 77. •

The position of the hill-fort of Aornos, in the capture of which, Alexander the Great displayed very great valour, is still a matter of uncertainty. The Sanskrit name corresponding to it is also equally unknown. Professor Wilson¹ traces it to the word Avarana, "enclosure," which, he thinks, forms the latter part of

1. See Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*,

many names of cities. Whether it was actually so used, is more than doubtful, and it would be necessary to suppose that the Greeks in their Aornos dropped the first part of the name, retaining only the latter. General Cunningham derives it from the name of a king, whom he calls Raja-Vara. May it not be the Varana mentioned by Panini in IV. 2. 82 ? It was the name of a city as well as its people. There is a place on the right bank of the Indus; opposite to Attak, still called, we are told, Baranas or Varanas.

The Ortospan of the classical geographers, has been identified with the modern Kabul. The Sanskrit name corresponding to it is not known. Professor Wilson derives it from such an original as Urddhasthana. But we do not meet with such a name, and the etymology is purely aimless and conjectural. To derive it from the name of a tribe would be more reasonable. Hwan-Thsang calls the country about the place Fo-li-shi-sa-tang-na. May not this name be derived from such a compound as Parsu-sthana, the country of the Parsus, a warlike tribe mentioned by Panini in V. 3. 117 ?

Panini and Patanjali call the Panjab, Bahlika (IV. 2. 117 and V. 3. 114). The historians of Alexander tell us, that after having crossed the Hydraotes or Ravi, in the course of his march through the Panjab, he captured and destroyed a town of the name of Sangala. European antiquarians have identified it with the Sanskrit Sakala. But Sakala, from the evidence to be gathered from the Mahabharata, and according to Hwan Thsang, who visited the place, was situated to the west of the Ravi. Professor Wilson, therefore thinks, that after Alexander had destroyed the Sakala to the east of the Ravi, another was founded to the west of the river. This is merely a gratuitous supposition. General Cunningham thinks that Alexander re-crossed the Ravi to conquer the town. Would it not be better to suppose that the two places were distinct ? Alexander destroyed Sangalai while Sakala existed in the time of Hwan Thsang. Sangala belonged to a tribe that had no King, while Sakala was the capital

of the Madras, who were governed by a king, Sangala is very probably to be traced to Sankala, a place mentioned by Panini in IV. 2. 75. Sankala was the name of the person who is said to have founded the city. It stands at the head of the group Sankaladi, the second name in which is Puskala, from whom the city of Puskala, the ancient capital of Gandhara, [and the Peukalas of the ancient European geographers, derived its name. Sankala agrees more, closely with Sangala than Sakala. If this identification is to be trusted, the occurrence of the name of Sangala in Panini may be taken as a proof of his having flourished before Alexander; for the Macedonian conqueror is said to have destroyed the city, on which account it must have ceased to exist after him.

The central province of the Panjab is called Pa-la-fa-to by Hwan Thsang, transcribed Parvata by M. Julien. General Cunningham proposes Sorvata for Parvata. But Parvata is given as the name of a country by Panini, IV. 2. 143 and in the group Taksailadi, under IV. 3.93.

In the central and lower Panjab, Alexander met with two tribes of warriors, named the Malii and the Oxydrakse. The Sanskrit original of the former is unknown ; and Professor Wilson identifies the latter with the Sudrakas of the Puranas. But there is a rule in Panini V. 3.114 which teaches us to form the singular and dual of the names of warlike tribes in the Panjab, by adding the termination -Ya and changing the vowel of the first syllable to its Vrddhi. Of this rule, his commentators give Malavyas (pl. Malavas) and Ksaudrakyas (pl. Ksudrakas) as instances. We thus learn that the Malavas and Ksaudrakas were two tribes of warriors in the Panjab. The name Malavas corresponds with Malii, and Ksudrakas with Oxydrakae. Ksudrakas is nearer to the latter than Professor Wilson's Sudrakas.

At the confluence of the Panjab rivers, Alexander came in contact with a tribe which is called Sambracæ or Sabracæ. General Cunningham traces this name to Samvagri, which he

considers a Sanskrit word. But we are not aware of the existence of such a word; and it has an unsanskrit look about it, meaning as it does, according to the General, ' united warriors. ' The Sabracæ were probably the Saubhreyas, grouped along with the Yaudheyas, in V. 3. 117.

ON THE DATE OF PATANJALI AND THE KING IN WHOSE REIGN HE LIVED

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOLUME I, 1872, PP. 299 ff.]

In Patanjali's Mahabhasya or great commentary on Panini, a rule (Vartika) laid down by Katyayana, is given,¹ teaching that the Imperfect should be used to signify an action not witnessed by the speaker but capable of being witnessed by him and known to people in general. Of this rule Patanjali gives two instances : "The Yavana besieged [Arunat] Saketa ", and " The Yavana besieged [Arunat] the Madhyamikas." The siege of Saketa, therefore, must be considered to have been an event capable of being witnessed by the speaker, i. e., by Patanjali himself: in other words, some Yavana king must have besieged Saketa in Patanjali's time. Saketa is the usual name for Ayodhya. Reasoning in this way, the late Prof. Goldstücker arrived at the conclusion that the Yavana here spoken of must have been Menandros, King of Bactria, who is said to have pushed his conquests in India to the river Yamuna. Menandros, according to Prof. Lassen, became king about 144 B. C. Patanjali therefore must have lived about that time.

But there is another passage in Patanjali not noticed by Prof. Goldstücker, in which the name of the king of Pataliputra, during whose reign he flourished, is given, and which enables us to arrive at the date of the author of the Mahabhasya in another way and from other data. In his remarks on Panini, I I I . 2. 123, Patanjali quotes a Vartika of Katyayana, the meaning of which is : "A rule should be made teaching the use of the present tense [Lat] to denote an action or undertaking which has been begun but not finished.' The examples given by Patanjali are :—" Here we study; " " Here we dwell; " " Here we perform (as priests) the sacrifices (instituted) by Puspamitra." Then Patanjali asks :—" How is it that Panini's rule H I . 2. 123,

1, Vartika 2 on Panini I I I . 2. III (Keilhorn, Vol. II, p. 119). [N. B, U.]

(Vartamane lat), which teaches that the present tense should be used to denote present time, does not extend to these cases ? " The answer is: " The time here involved is not present time." How not ? This question is answered by Kaiyafa, whose gloss upon this runs as follows :—" The , phrase ' here we study' means that study has begun but not ended. When the students, being engaged in dining and doing such other things, do not study, they cannot then properly say ' we study' [according to Panini III. 2. 123, i. e., they cannot use the present tense, for it is not *study* that is then going on, and consequently the time is not present;] hence the rule by Katyayana." ¹ The sense of the whole is, that when an action, such as that of studying or performing the great sacrifices, spreads over many days, the present tense should be used to denote it, if the action has begun but not ended, even though at the time of speaking the speaker may not be actually performing the action. " Here we sacrifice for Puspamitra," is Patanjali's example. Now this cannot be an imaginary instance, for such a one would not bring out the distinctive sense that Patanjali wishes to convey, namely, that the action has begun but not ended. This example, then, expresses a fact; namely that, at the time Patanjali wrote, there lived a person named Puspamitra, and a great sacrifice was being performed for him and under his orders. If he employed priests to perform the great sacrifices for him, he must have been a king, for in the olden days, it was Indian kings that propitiated the gods and patronized the Brahmans in this way. The sacrifices were always expensive, and were treated rather as extraordinary festivals than ordinary religious performances. But in another

1. Pāṇini : वर्तमाने लट् III.2.123 ; Katyāyana : प्रवृत्तस्याविरामे सिष्या स्वल्प-वर्तमानत्वात् ; Patanjali : प्रवृत्तस्याविरामे शासितव्या भवन्ति । इहाधीमहे । इह वसामः । इह पुष्पमित्रं याजयामः । किं पुनः कारणं न सिष्याति । अवर्तमानत्वात् । Kaiyata : प्रवृत्तस्येति । इहाधीमहे इत्यध्ययनं प्रवृत्तं प्रारब्धं न च तद्धितम् । यदा च भोजनान्दिका क्रिया कुर्वन्तो नाधीयन्ते तदाधीमहे इति प्रयोगो न प्राप्नोतीति स्वल्पम् । Patanjali then proceeds to say that the sense is conveyed by Pinini III.2.123 and no new rule is required ; but this has no bearing on the present question,

part of the Mahabhasya, we are actually told who this Puspa-mitra was. Panini in I. 1. 68 tells us that any grammatical change or operation that he may have in his work prescribed in the case of a certain word ought to be made applicable to that word alone and not to what it signifies, or to its synonyms. This, however, does not hold in the case of his own technical terms. Thus, for instance, to form derivatives in a certain sense from the word Agni (fire) the termination Eya should, he says, be applied to Agni. The meaning of this rule should not be stretched so as to make it applicable not only to Agni, but to other words also having the sense of Agni. Vahni for instance also means fire, but does not take that termination. But in the case of the technical terms of grammar, the change or operation should be effected in the case of the things (which of course are words) signified by that term. Thus, for instance, when he tells us to apply a certain termination to Ghu, it is to be applied, not to Ghu itself, but to the roots to which the name Ghu is given by him. Now Patanjali, after a long discussion of this rule, in the course of which he shows that it is not wanted, though out of respect for the great Acarya he does not distinctly say so, tells us that there are some Sutras in which the rules given are applicable :—1, sometimes to the synonyms of the words :—2, sometimes to the individuals comprised under the species denoted by the word :—3, sometimes to the words alone, and, sometimes to any two of these three. In these cases some indicatory letters ought, he says, to be attached to the words to show to which, or to which two, of the three categories the rule is to be applied. Then in such rules as I I. 4. 23, which teaches that a Tatpuruṣa compound ending in the word Sabha (court or assembly) preceded by Rajan (king) becomes neuter, he tells us that J should be attached to Rajan and others, to show that the rule is applicable only to the synonyms of Rajan and others, and not to Rajan or others themselves, or to the individuals comprised under the species denoted by Rajan and others. And the instance he gives to show that it is not applicable to

individual Rajas or kings are Puspamitrasabha (the assembly or court of Puspamitra) and Candragupta-sabha¹ (the assembly or court of Candragupta) in which we see that the compound is not neuter but feminine. We thus come to the conclusion that Puspamitra was the name of a king.

Now, we know that the most powerful kingdom during a few centuries before Christ, the sovereigns of which extended their sway over a large portion of India, was that of Magadha, the capital of which was Pataliputra. And Patanjali so often speaks of this city in his work² that we must infer that he had a great deal to do with Pataliputra, and perhaps lived there for some-time, and that on that account the city and things concerning it were uppermost in his thoughts. The Puspamitra then that he speaks of, in the two cases here pointed out, must have been king of Pataliputra in his time. And the fact of his being mentioned along with Candragupta in one of the two cases strengthens this inference. For Candragupta the Maurya was king of Magadha, and there was no Candragupta till several centuries afterwards when the Gupta dynasty came into power.

Now looking into the Puranas we find that there was only one king of Magadha of the name of Puspamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty, which succeeded the Mauryas.* He was the

1. Patanjali : जित्पर्यायवचनस्यैव राजाद्यर्थम् । जिज्ञिदेशः कर्तव्यः । ततो वक्तव्यं पर्यायवचनस्यैव ग्रहणं भवति । किं प्रयोजनम् । राजाद्यर्थम् । सभा राजामनुष्वयूर्वा । इनसभम् । ईश्वरसभम् । तस्यैव न भवति । राजसभा । तद्विशेषाणां च न भवति । पुष्प-भिन्नसभा । चन्द्रगुप्तसभा ।

2. See amongst others his comments on 1.3-2, I I . 1.16, I I . 3.38, I I I . 3.134, and 136 and V.3.57. In the second of these, one of the examples given is 'Pataliputra' situated on the banks of the Son*/

3. And I may say that the Puranas do not mention another king of the same name of any country whatever. The name Puapamitra does occur elsewhere, but in that case there is no agreement among the Puranas. The Visnu and the Vayu Puranas make it the name of a dynasty, and according to the former it was a Bahlika or foreign dynasty, the Bhagavata only mentions it as the name of an individual, but this

Commander-in-Chief of Brhadratha, the last Maurya king, and Purana, from the manner in which it has corrupted several names and some faeta, is not much to be depended on. See Wilson, Visnu-Purana, 1st edition, p. 478.

This Puspamitra is spoken of in the Malavikagnimitra of Kalidasa. Prof. Wilson calls him a general, and Prof. Lassen the general of his son, who is represented in the drama as the king of Vidisa. Prof. Lassen, Ind. Alterthumsk. (vol. I I . p. 271 and 346) is constrained however by other evidence to admit that he was king; but he thinks he reigned at Vidisa, and that his son was co-regent with him. Prof. Wilson supposes that he usurped the throne for his son rather than for himself. But the first portion of the passage on which they seem to base their conclusions is thus;—Devasya senapateh Puspamitrasya sakasat.....lekhah praptah Professor Lassen understands this to mean " a letter has been received from Puspamitra, the general of the lord (i.e. Agnimitra).' But who ever heard of a father being Commander-in-Chief to his son ? And immediately after, Puspamitra is represented as about to perform an Asvamedha sacrifice, which none but kings who pretended to paramount supremacy could institute. In other authorities also it is Puspamitra that appears as the conqueror or usurper and not his son. Puspamitra therefore could not have been his son's general; nor does Kalidasa say that he was. Agnimitra's commander-in-chief was Virasena, to whom he is more than once represented in the play as issuing orders. The words above quoted are to be thus interpreted :—" A letter has been received from the Lord Senapati (general), Puspamitra" i. e., the genitive Devasya ought to be taken as an epithet of Puspamitra, and not as connected with or governed by Senapati. Indeed the title Deva shows that Puspamitra was king, for it is applied in the dramatic works to kings only, and there is even a rule to this effect (See Dr. Hall's Dasarupa, p. 109; Devah svamiti nrpatih). And Senapati (general) must have become a distinguishing epithet of Puspamitra, for he was the general of Brhadratha, the last Maurya king. And even in the Visnu-Purana, the epithet Senapati seems to have been applied to him somewhat in this way ;—" Tatah Puspamitrah Senapatih Svaminam hatva rajyam karisyati. " The first two kings of the Valabhi dynasty in Surastra were called Senapatis ; ncr does it follow from this passage that Vidisa was the capital of Puspamitra, but rather the Opposite. For, in the letter which he sends to Agnimitra, he invites the latter to come with his wife to be present at the Asvamedha sacrifice. If Vidisa had been his capital, the sacrifice would have been performed at that city, and no such invitation would have been necessary. It follows, therefore, that some other city was Puspamitra's capital, and what other could it have been but Pataliputra, the capital of the Mauryas whom he had supplanted, and which in the Buddhistio account given by M. Burnouf is mentioned as his place of residence ?

usurped the throne after having killed his master.¹ The ten Mauryas are said to have ruled the kingdom for 137 years.² The accession of Candragupta, the first of these ten, has been fixed about 315 B.C. Pusparaitra, therefore, must have raised himself to the throne about 178 B. C. The Matsya Purana assigns him a reign of 36 years, i. e., from 178 B. C. to 142 B. C. It follows then that Patanjali wrote his comments on Panini III. 2. 123 some time between these limits. The limits assigned by Dr. Goldstücker, reasoning from the one example he considers, are 140 and 120 B. C. But there is apparently no reason why he should not take into account the earlier years of Menandros's reign. For, according to Prof. Lassen, Menandros must have become king about 144 B. C.⁴ The passage in the Mahabhasya,

Agnimitra his son may probably have been appointed by him Governor or King of Vidisa, while he himself reigned as supreme monarch at Pataliputra; for the practice of appointing sons to govern remote provinces existed in the time of the Mauryas. May not Patanjali be alluding to this Aivamedha sacrifice in the instance quoted in the text?

1. The Buddhist Asoka-Avadana erroneously makes him the successor of Pusyadharman, and the last of the Mauryas. See Burnouf, *Introd. à la Hist. du Bud.* I. p. 432; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. pp. 271, 272, 345, 346'—This last is a Note by the Editor of the *Indian Antiquary* 1872—[N. B. U.]

3. *Vis. Pur.* VI. 24, or Wilson's translation.

3. Wilson's *Vis. P.* 1st Edn. p. 471. The *Brahmanca Porana* agrees with the *Matsya*. See Dr. Hall's note in his edition.

4. Various dates have been assigned to the accession of Menandros from B.C. 300 to B.C. 136. But the facts here brought forward may be used as a corrective. The manner in which Patanjali (in the passage alluded to in the next para of the text) contrasts the times in which the Mauryas lived with his own shews that when he wrote, the new polity had completely superseded the old. This may have taken twenty years or more. He could not have said "the Mauryas did such and such a thing" but in these days it is not so," if he wrote only five or six years after they were displaced. Patanjali therefore may have written the passage as early as B.C. 158. Now in order that about this time Puspamitra and Menandros should be contemporaries, it is necessary that the date of the accession of the later should not be pushed higher than about 175 B.C. nor lower than 143 B.C., for Menandros reigned for about 20 years according to all the writers; and only the two dates that fall within these limits are those assigned by Gen. Cunningham (B.C. 160) and Prof. Lassen. If we take that of the former, the limits between which the third chapter of the Mahabhasya was written will be about 158 and 143 B.C. But I have adopted Prof. Lassen's date as it agrees sufficiently with all the facts.

15, [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. I.]

on which I base my conclusion, is not far from the one noticed by Dr. Goldstücker. The latter occurs in the comments on III. 2. III, while the former in those on III. 2.123. We thus see that when this portion of the Bhasya was written, a Yavana king (who must have been Menandros) had laid seige to, Siketa or Ayodhya, and Puspamitra was reigning at Pataliputra ; and if we adhere to Lassen's chronology these two things could have happened only between 144 B. C. and 142 B. C.; for there is, I think, no reason to distrust the chronology of the Puranas here, since the date arrived at from the statements contained in them coincide in a remarkable degree with that determined from the evidence of coins. And even supposing that Prof. Lassen's date is not quite accurate, it must be admitted that it cannot be very far wrong.

We thus see that Patanjali lived in the reign of Puspamitra, and that he probably wrote the third chapter of his Bhasya between 144 B. C. and 142 B. C. And this agrees with the conclusion drawn by Prof. Goldstücker from a statement in another part of the work that the author of the Mahabhasya flourished after the Maurya dynasty was extinct. Since all the passages, then, and the different historical events they point to, lead us to about the same period, the date of Patanjali so derived must be regarded as trustworthy, and in the History of Sanskrit Literature, it is of great importance.

A NOTE ON PROFESSOR WEBER'S LETTER

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOLUME II, 1873, PP. 59-61].

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar read in manuscript Professor Weber's remarks on certain points regarding Puspamitra, Patafijali &c. the following is Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's reply to the same. [N. B. U.]

Through the courtesy of the editor of the Indian Antiquary, I have been permitted to see Professor Weber's letter, which contains notices of my article on the Date of Patanjali, and of my paper on the Age of the Mahabharata. This is not the first time the Professor has been so kind to me. One of my humble productions he has deemed worthy of a place in his *Indische Studien*.¹ While, therefore, I am thankful to him for these favours, I feel bound to consider his remarks on my articles, and to reply to them.

Professor Weber thinks it a pity that I should not have been acquainted with his Critique on Dr. Goldstücker's Panini. I hardly share in his regret, because the facts which I have brought forward are new, and my conclusions are not affected by anything he has said in the Review. He certainly brought to notice, in that Critique (as I now learn), the occurrence in Patanjali of the expression " Puspamitra-Sabha. " ² But Professor Weber will see that my argument is not at all based on that passage. I simply quoted it to show that even Patanjali tells us that the Puspamitra he speaks of in another place was a king, and not an ordinary individual or an imaginary person. My reasoning in the article in question is based on the words " Iha Puspamitrarh yajayamab- " This is given by Patanjali as an instance of the Varttika, which teaches that the present tense (Lat) should be

1. The paper is printed in this volume later. [N. B. U.]

2. By the way, I prefer the form 'Paspamitra' to "Posyamitra" as the latter appears to me to be a misleotio for the former, which might easily occur, प- being often by careless scribes written as प-.

used to denote an action which has begun but not ended. Now this passage was noticed neither by Professor Weber nor by Dr.' Goldstücker ; and hence the trouble I gave to the Editor of the Antiquary. The passage enables us, I think, to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to the date of Patanjali, since it shows that the author of the Mahabhasya flourished in the reign of Puspamitra. And the conclusion based on this and on one of the two instances pointed out by Dr. Goldstücker, viz., Arunad Yavanah Saketam, agree so thoroughly with each other, that they can leave but little doubt on the mind of the reader as to the true date of Patanjali.

But I must consider Professor Weber's argument for bringing Patanjali down to about 25 after Christ. The two instances brought forward by Dr. Goldstücker contain the name Yavana; and a king of that generic name is spoken of as having besieged Saketa, commonly understood to be Ayodhya. This name was applied most unquestionably, though not exclusively, to the Greek Kings of Bactria. The Yavanas are spoken of, in a Sanskrit astronomical work noticed by Dr. Kern, as having pushed their conquests up to Saketa; and Bactrian Kings are also mentioned by some classical writers as having done the same. Looked at independently, this passage leads us to the conclusion arrived at Dr. Goldstücker, that is it fixes the date of Patanjali at about 150 B. C. But the other instance contains in addition the name Madhyamikas. The Buddhist school of that name is said to have been founded by Nagarjuna, who, according to the Rajatarangini, flourished in the reigns of Kaniska and Abhimanyu, that is, a few years after Christ. This instance then brings the author of the Mahabhasya to some period after Christ. Here then is a case resembling those which are frequently discussed by our Panditas, in which a Sruti and a Smrti (or a Sruti and an inference) conflict with each other; The Brahmanical rule is that the Sruti must be understood in its natural sense, and the Smrti so interpreted as to agree with it, that is, any sort of violence may be done to the Smrti to bring it into conformity

'with- the Sruti, and- the inference must be somehow explained away. Now, in the present case, Professor Weber's Sruti is rite instance containing, the name of the Madhyamikai. But the word Yavana, occurring in it and in the other instance, cannot be taken to apply to the Greek kings of Bactria, for the dynasty had become extinct a pretty long time before Chrst. Professor Weber therefore thinks that by it is to be understood the Indd-Scythic king Kaniska, who reigned before Abhimanyu. But Kaniska cannot be regarded as having oppressed or persecuted the Madhyamikas, for he was himself a Buddhist. This objection is obviated by the Professor by the supposition that he must have persecuted them before he became one of them.

I must confess this argument appears to me to be very weak. it has many inherent improbabilities. In the first place, I do not see why the passage containing the name Madhyamika and the name itself should be regarded as so much more important than the other passage and the name Yavana. Why may we not rather take our stand on this latter name, and the mention of the conquests of the King so designated upto Saketa, and interpret the word Madhyamika by the light thus thrown upon it ? And the passage I have brought forward is, I think, so decisive, and agrees so well with this statement, that some other explanation must be sought for of the name Madhyamika ; but of this more hereafter. In the next place, we have to suppose that the most important period of Nagarjuna's life was passed in the reign of Kaniska, that he lived so long in that reign as to have founded a school, and that in that reign the sect assumed the name Madhyamika, and grew into such importance that its fame spread so far and wide, and that even Patanjali in the far east knew of it. From the words of Rajatarangini, however, it would appear that Nagarjuna and his disciples or school rose into importance in the reign of Abhimanyu, the successor of Kanika ; for the words are—" About that time (i e., in. the reign of Abhimanyu) the Bauddhas, protected by the wise Nagar-

juna, the Bodhisattva, became predominant.' And in the same reign we are told in the history of Kashmir, that the Bhasya of Patanjali was introduced by Candracarya and others in that contry, In the Vakyapadiya also it is stated that in the, course of time it came to pass that Patanjali's work was possessed only by the inhabitants of the Deccan, and that too only in books, i. e., it was not studied. Afterwards Candracarya brought it into vogue, Now even supposing for a time that the Bhasya was written in the reign of Kanaka, i.e., about 25 A.D., fifteen or twenty years are too small a period for it to have come to be regarded as a work of authority, to have ceased to be studied, to have existed only in books in the South, and to have obtained such wide reputation as to be introduced into Kashmir, a place far distant from Patanjali's native country and from the Deccan. Even Professor Weber is staggered by the shortness of the interval; but instead of being thus led to call in question his theory or the soundness of his argument, he is inclined to doubt the authenticity of the texts brought forward by Dr. Goldstücker. Besides, he gives no evidence to show that the name Yavana was applied to Indo-Scythic kings. I am aware that at different periods of Indian history it was applied to different races'; but this vague knowledge ought not to be sufficient to lead us to believe as a matter of fact that it was applied to these kings. And the generic name by which they were known to the author of the Rajatarangini was Turuska. This name is not unknown to Sanskrit Literature, for it occurs even in such recent work as the Visvagurnadarsa. I cannot, therefore, believe that Patanjali could not have known it, if he really lived so late as in the time of those kings. And that Kaniska persecuted the Buddhists before he himself became convert, is a mere supposition, not supported by any reliable authority. Kaniska is also not mentioned anywhere as having carried his conquests upto Saketa, while, as before observed, the Yavanas are mentioned by Hindu writers, and the Bactrian King by Greek authors, as having done so,

The truth is that the name "Madhyamika" has been misunderstood both by Dr. Goldstücker and Prof. Weber; and hence, in giving Dr. Goldstücker's argument, in my article, I omitted the portion based on that name. The expression Arunad Yavano Madhyamikam makes no sense, if we understand by- the' last Word, the Buddhist school of that name. The root *rudh* means "to besiege" or "blockade"; and the besieging or the blockading of a sect is something I cannot understand. Places are besieged or blockaded, but not sects. I am aware that Professor Weber translates this verb by a word which in English means "to oppress" ; but I am not aware that the root is ever used in that sense. By the word "Madhyamika" is to be understood the people of a certain place, as Dr. Kern has pointed out in his preface to his edition of the Brhat-Samhka, on the authority of the Samhita itself. We are thus saved the necessity of making a string of very improbable suppositions; and in this way Professor Weber's argument, based as it is on the hypothesis that the Madhyamikas alluded to by Patanjali were the Buddhist sect of that name, falls to the ground. The first of Dr. Goldstücker's passages (the word "Yavana" occurring in both of them), and the passage I have for the first time pointed out, taken together, determine the date of Patanjali to be about 144 B. C. And this agrees better with the other passages pointed out by Dr. Goldstücker. For, if Patanjali lived in the reign of the founder of the Sunga dynasty, one can understand why the Mauryas and their founder should have been uppermost in his thoughts; but if he lived in 25 A. D., when the Andhrabhrtya dynasty was in power, one may well ask why he should have gone back for illustrating his rules to the Mauryas and Candragupta, and passed over the intermediate dynasties of the Sungas and the Kanvas.

* * *

As to my paper on the Age of the Mahabharata, I have to observe that it was written with a certain purpose. Colonel Ellis, going upon the authority of the Gowja Agrahara grant,

cranslaned by Colebrook in 1806, and again by Mr. Narasimmitengar to Part II of the Indian Antiquary, had referred the composition of the Mahabharata to a period subsequent to 1521 A.D., and had asked the Asiatic Society of Bombay to make inquiries as to whether the ashes of the Sarpa-Sattra instituted by Janamejaya could be found by digging for them at Anagundi, with *which* the Colonel identified Hastinapura; and whether the remains of the palace, in which Bharata, the son of Dusyanta and Sakuntala, was crowned, were observable at the place. My object, therefore, was to show that the Mahabharata was far more ancient, and that it existed at and before all the well-ascertained dates in Sanskrit Literature. It was not meant to collect all possible evidence, whether certain or doubtful, for the existence of the poem. Had I thought of doing so, it would have taken me much longer time than I could spare; and some of the books to which it would have been necessary to refer were also wanting. I have not even brought together all the passages bearing on the point to be found in Patanjali's work. But I am content for the present to leave the task to the well-known industry and acuteness of Prof. Weber.

MAHABHASYA OF PATANJALI

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOL. II, 1873, p. 69 ff].

(I) PUSPAMITRA.

Since I wrote last on the subject, I have discovered a third passage in the Mahabhasya in which Puspamitra is spoken of. Panini in III. 1. 26, teaches that the termination Aya, technically called Ni, should be applied to a root when the action of causing something to be done is implied. Upon this, the author of the Vartikas observes that a rule should be made to provide for the use of the causal and primitive forms in the uninverted or the usual order in the case of the roots Yaj and others. This Patanjali explains thus :—" Puspamitra sacrifices (Yajate), and the sacrificing priests cause him to sacrifice (i. e., to be the sacrificer by performing the ceremonies for him). This is the usual or uninverted order of using the forms. But' by Panini's rule, the order ought to be ' Puspamitra causes (the priests) to sacrifice, and the priests sacrifice. ' This objection is removed by the author of the Vartikas himself, by saying that the root Yaj signifying several actions, the usual or uninverted order is provided for, and no new rule is necessary. How it is so, Patanjali tells us as follows :—" Yaj denotes several actions. It does not necessarily signify the throwing of the oblations into the fire, but also giving money, or providing the means of the sacrifice. For instance, they say 'O ! how well he sacrifices,' in the case of one who provides the means properly. That providing of the means, or giving money, is done by Puspamitra, and the sacrificing priests cause him so to provide or so to become the sacrificer. In this sense, then, Puspamitra sacrifices (Yajate), and the priests cause him to perform it (Yajayanti). " This is the uninverted or the usual order. In the sense of throwing the oblations into the fire, the other is the correct order.¹

¹ Panini III.1.26 :—Kāṭyaśra : यज्यादिषु आविर्थास्तः । Patanjali : यज्यादिषु आविर्थास्तो वक्तव्यः पुष्पमित्रो यजते याजका याजयन्ति । तच्च वक्तव्यं पुष्प-
16 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. I.]

In this instance we see Patanjali speaks of the sacrifices of Puspamitra as if he were familiar with them; and by itself this passage shows that he could not have lived long after him, certainly not so long as 175 years after, as Prof. Weber makes out. But the other instance pointed out on page 300 Volume I of the Antiquary, in which his sacrifices are spoken of as if going on, shows that he lived *in* Puspamitra's time. The three passages, then, in which his name occurs are perfectly consistent with, and confirm, each other.

(II) PATANJALI'S NATIVE PLACE

Indian tradition makes the author of the Mahabhasya, a native of a country called Gonarda, which is spoken of by the grammarians as an eastern country. The Matsya-Purana also enumerates it amongst the countries in that direction. The position of Patanjali's native place, whether it was Gonarda or some other, can, I think, be pretty definitely fixed by means of certain passages in his work. In his comments on Panini III. 3. 136, the two following passages occur: (1). Yoyam adhva gata a Pataliputrat tasya yadavaram Saketat—' Of the distance or path from Pataliputra which has been traversed [such a thing was done in] that part of it which is on this side of Saketa;' and (2) Yoyam adhva a Pataliputrad gantavyas tasya yat param Saketat—' Of the distance or path up to Pataliputra which is to be traversed [something will be done in] that portion which lies on that side of Saketa. ' In these two instances we see that the limit of the distance is Pataliputra, and that it is divided into two parts, one of which is on this side of Saketa, and the other on that. Saketa, then, must be in the middle, i. e., on the way from the place represented by ' this ' in the expression ' this side, ' to Patali-

मित्रोवाजयते वाजका यजन्तीति । **वृत्त्यादिषु चादिपर्याप्तो नानाक्रियाणां यज्यर्थत्वात् ।** Patanjali : वृत्त्यादिषु चादिपर्याप्तः सिद्धः । कुतः । नानाक्रियाणां यज्यर्थत्वात् । नानाक्रिया यजेरर्थः । नादर्थं यजिर्हविःप्रक्षेपण एव वर्तते । किं तर्हि त्यागेऽपि वर्तते । &c.

1.1 omit the grammatical details of this as not necessary.

putra. This place must be that where Patanjali speaks or writes ; and it must, we see, be in the line connecting Saketa and Pataliputra on the side of it remote from Pataliputra. The bearing of Oudh from Patna is north-west by west; Patanjali's native place, therefore, must have been somewhere to the north-west by west of Oudh. Prof. Weber thinks he lived to the east of Pataliputra; but of this I have spoken elsewhere.

Let us now see whether the information thus gathered can be brought into harmony with the tradition mentioned above. the exact position of Gonarda is not known ; but if it really was Patanjali's country, it must have been situated somewhere to the north or north-west of Oudh. Now, there is a district thereabouts which is known by the name of Gonda, and there is also a town of that name about 20 miles to the north-west of Oudh. According to the usual rules of corruption, Sanskrit *rda* (\$) is in the Prakrits corrupted to *dda* (5), but sometimes • also it is changed to *dda* (J)'. Gonarda, therefore, must in the Prakrit assume the form Gonadda. Hasty pronunciation elides the A, and, in the later stages of the development of the Prakrits, one of the two similar consonants is rejected.² The form is thus reduced to Gonda, which is the way in which it is now pronounced. General Cunningham derives Gonda from Cauda.⁵ But, so far as I am aware, there are no instances of the insertion of a nasal in a Prakrit word, when it does not exist in the corresponding Sanskrit one. It appears, therefore, very probable that the district of Gonda in Oudh was the ancient Gonarda, and had the honour of giving birth to the great author of the Mahabhasya.

(III) THE NATIVE COUNTRY OF KATYAYANA.

Prof. Weber is of opinion that Katyayana was one of the eastern grammarians, and Dr. Goldstücker agrees with him. But it is a question whether the distinction between Northern

1 Vararucts *Prakṛtaprakasa*, III. 26.

2 Compare Weber's letter, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol.11,1873, p.57. [N.B.U

3 *Ancient Geography*, p. 408 ; *Arch. {Jury. Vol. I, p. 337,*

or eastern grammarians, which Panini mentions, really existed in the time of Katyayana. But to whatever school of grammarians he may have belonged, supposing such schools existed in his time, it appears, from a passage in the Mahabhasya, that the author of the Vartikas was a Daksinatya, i. e., a native of the South or the Deccan. In the introduction to the Mahabhasya' occurs a passage, the sense of which is this : — " If a man, who wishes to express his thoughts, does so by using some words or other simply from his acquaintance with the usage of the world, what is the use of grammar ? The object of grammar is to restrict the liberty of speech in such a manner that religious good may arise from it ; just as is done in the affairs of the world and in matters concerning the Vedas. In the world we find people saying ' A domesticated cock should not be eaten.' Things are eaten for the satisfaction of hunger. Hunger, however, can be satisfied even by eating dog's flesh, and such other things. But then though it is so, a restraint is put on us, and we are told such a thing is eatable and such a thing is uneatable. * * * In the same manner, while one is able to express his thoughts equally by correct or incorrect words, what grammar does is to restrict him to the use of correct words, in order that religious good may arise from it."

Now, this is Patanjali's explanation of two Vartikas, the latter of which is : Yatha laukikavaidikeshu, i. e., 'as in the world and in the Veda.' On this Patanjali's remark is : Priya-taddhita Daksinatyah Yatha loke vede ceti prayoktavye yatha laukika-vaidikesviti prayunjate, i. e., the Daksinatyas, i. e. people of the South or the Deccan, are fond of using (words with) Taddhita affixes, that is, instead of saying Yatha loke vede ca they say Yatha laukika-vaidikesu " (i. e., instead of using the words Loka and Veda, they use derivatives from them, formed by affixing the termination Ika.). This clearly means that Katyayana, the author of the Vartika in which the words Laukika and Vaidika occur, was a Daksinatya.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF PATANJALI

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOL. II, 1873, p 94 ff.]

In the extract from Prof. Weber's critique on Dr. Goldstücker, given in the Indian Antiquary vol. II. p. 61, there are several points, besides the main one I took up which require notice. From the passage about the Mauryas quoted by Dr. Goldstücker, Prof. Weber infers that Panini, in making his rule V. 3. 99, had in his eye such images as those that had come down from the Mauryas. How the passage supports such an inference, I am at a loss to see. Panini in that Sfitra tells us that the termination Ka applied to the names of objects, in the sense of images of those objects, is dropped in cases when the images enable one to earn his livelihood, but are not saleable. Upon this Patanjali observes that, because the word—'un-saleable' is used, such forms 'as Sivah, Skandah, and Visakhah (in which the termination Ka is dropped) are not valid. Why not ? Because the Mauryas, desirous of obtaining gold, used, or applied, to their purpose, i.e., sold, objects¹ of worship. Since, then, these (viz., images of Siva, &c.) were sold by them, they were Panya, or 'saleable,' and hence the termination Ka should not be dropped. It may not be dropped in those cases (i.e., the proper forms must be Sivaka, &c.), says Patanjali, but it is dropped in the case of those images which are now used for worship.—This interpretation of the passage is consistent and proper. Prof. Weber understands it to mean, that the only cases in which the rule about the dropping of the termination does not apply, are those of images with which the Mauryas were concerned. But that it is inapplicable to all images that are saleable, is clear from the passage itself, and the two commentaries on it. Kaiyata distinctly says that the rule does not

1 THE reading in the Benares edition Aroyah, and not Aroah.

apply to those that are sold, and gives Sivakan vikrinite as an instance. What Patanjali means to say is that the termination Ka should be applied to the names of the images sold by the Mauryas, according to Panini's rule; but the rule is set aside in this case, and the wrong forms Siva, Skanda, and Visakha are used, Nagojibhatta expressly states :—*Tatra pratyaya-Sravanam istameveti vadan sutras-yodaharanam darsayati:* (i.e., Saying that the use of the termination there is necessary, he points out an instance of the rule). Now, in all this there is not only nothing to show that Panini had the images sold by the Mauryas in view, but that the names of those images violate his rule, Dr. Goldstücker's interpretation of this passage is also not correct.

In the next place, Prof. Weber thinks that the word Acarya in such expressions as *Pasyati tvacaryah*, occurring in the *Mahabhasya*, applies to Patanjali. It appears to me that Prof. Weber has overlooked the context of these passages. In all these cases the Acarya meant is clearly Panini, and not Patanjali, I will here briefly examine two or three of the passages referred to by the Professor, for I have no space for more. In the first of these, the question Patanjali discusses is this :—Which N is it that is used in the term An occurring in the Sutra: *Ur an raparah*,¹ i. e., does An here mean only A, I, and U, or all the vowels, semi-vowels, and H? He answers by saying that the n in this case is clearly the first, and not the second, that is, that which is at the end of the sutra a- i- un, and hence An signifies only the vowels A, I, and U. And why is it to be so understood? The Sutra *Uranraparah* means, when An is substituted for R, it is always followed by R, that is, if, for instance, you are told in a Sutra to substitute A for R, you should substitute not A alone, but Ar. Now, the reason why, in this Sutra, An signifies the first three vowels only, is that there is no other significate of the more comprehensive term An, that is, no other vowel or any semi-vowel or H which is ever substituted for r. "Why not? there is", says the objector. One instance brought forward by

1, Panini.1.31. [N. B. U.]

him is explained away, and an other that he adduces is Matrnam. IN this case, by the Sutra Nami,¹ a long vowel; i. e., r is substituted for the short R. Ris a significateof the more comprehensive an and not of the less comprehensive. Hence, then, the objector would say the an, in the Sutra ur an, &c, is the more comprehensive one. But, says the Siddhanti, this is not a case in which the substitute has an r added on to it. Does it follow from Panini's work itself that no r is to be added? For aught we know, Panini may have meant that r should be added in this case also. Now, the evidence from Panini for this is in the Sutra Rita iddhatoḥ². This is the reason' says, the siddhanti, 'why the word dhatu is put in the sutra,—that in such cases as Matrnam and Pitrnam, which are not dhatus, ir may not be substituted for the long r. If the long vowel substitute in Matrnam had an r following it, it would not be necessary to put the word dhatu in this Sutra, for Matr r would not then be an anga or base³ ending in r and such bases only are intended in the sutra rita iddhatoḥ. The use of the word Dhatu then shows that "the Acarya sees that in Matrnam, &c, the long substitute has not an r following it, and hence he uses the word dhatu in the sutra."* —Now, it is evident from this that the Acarya is Panini, for the Acarya is spoken of as having put the word dhatu in the Sutra for a certain purpose. The author of the Sutras being Panini, the Acarya meant must be he himself. In the same manner, in the passage at 196 (Ballantyne's edition), Panini is intended, for the Acarya is there spoken of as having put t after r in the sutra urrt. Similarly, in page 197,5 the Acarya is represented as having used n twice in the Pratyahara Sutras. The author of

1. Panini, VI. 4.3. [N.B.U.]

2. Ibid, VII, 1.100. [N.B.U.]

3. Antyatyad, the reading in Ballantyne's Mahabhasya, is wrong 0r not good. It ought to be Anantatyad as in the new Benares edition.

4. Pasyati tvaaryo natra raparatvam bhavati tato dhatu-agrahapaih karoti.

5. Panini, VII. 4.7. [N.B.U]

these Sūtras, then, is meant there. And I may say that, so far as I have seen the Bhasya, the word Acārya used in this way, applies either to Pāṇini or Kātyāyana, and Pāṇjali never speaks of himself as Acārya.

Thirdly.—Prof. Weber's interpretation of the Vartika : Parokse ca loka,¹ & c, is different from Dr. Goldstücker's and mine. But he will see that our interpretation is confirmed by Kaiyata and Nagojibhatta. He seems to take Paroksam in the sense of the 'past.'

But Pāṇjali's own explanation is:—Param aksnoh paroksam : (that which is turned away from the eyes, i.e., not seen), and one of his quotations from other writers about the sense of the word is: kudya-katantaritath paroksam² (that which is hidden from one even by a fence), both of which show that the only essential sense of the word is 'a thing not seen by the speaker.' Darsana-viśaya, the Professor interprets by a thing once seen, or that which once fell within the range of the speaker's vision; but if it has been once seen, it can never be called paroksa in the sense which is always attributed to the word.

Fourthly.—Prof. Weber quotes from Pāṇjali the passage Mathurayah Pataliputram purvam, and infers that the author of the Mahabhasya lived to the east of Pataliputra. His interpretation of the passage seems to be 'Pataliputra is first and Mathura afterwards.' But the natural sense is—Pataliputra is to the east of Mathura, as it is, or rather was, as a matter of fact. That Pāṇjali lived, not to the east of Pataliputra, but to the north-west of Saketa, I have shown in a separate article.³

Lastly, Dr. Goldstücker and Prof. Weber understand the word Acāryadesya used by Kaiyata in some places in the sense of "Countryman of the Acārya." It is not unnatural that an antiquarian, looking for historical facts in what he reads; should

1. Vartika 2 on I I I . 1 111.

2. See Mahabhasya, tunder Parokse lit, I I I . 2, 115.

3. In the article, on "Pāṇjali's Mahabhasya," tunder "Pāṇjali's Native Place" printed earlier in this volume, p, 124. [N. B. U.]

interpret his author thus; but it is not natural that a Hindu commentator, caring only for his subject, and not at all for history, should use such an expression to contrast one of the authors he comments on with another. He will look to the scale of estimation in which he holds them. To the Hindu grammarian the greatest Acarya is Panini, next to him is Katya-yana, and next to this latter is Patanjali. If it is necessary in one place to contrast one of them with another, he would naturally use some such expression as Acarya and Acarya the younger. And this appears to me to be the sense of the word, and a Hindu would naturally undersund it thus. It is derived according to Panini V. 3. 67 ; but the sense ought not to be taken as 'an unaccomplished teacher,' as Dr. Goldstücker does, but a teacher who is lower in the scale, or the younger teacher. And that Patanjali was so, is plain. That there is very great reason to believe that Patanjali and Katya-yana did not belong to the same country, I have shown elsewhere.¹

1. Namely, at p. 124. above. (N. B. U]

17 [R. G.]Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. I].

REPLY TO PROFESSOR WEBER.

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOLUME, II 1873, pp. 238-40]•

(Prof. Weber replied to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's observations, and the following is the latter's final raply.—N. B. U.)

Professor Weber does not, so far as I can see, refute my argument for inferring from the passage about Puspamitra I have brought forward, that Patanjali was a contemporary of the monarch, nor does he assign his own reasons for differing from me. In the passage containing the words " Iha Puspamitram yajayamah," Patanjali does not merely speak of Puspamitra's sacrifices as one living after him might do, but he speaks of them in a definite manner. If those words illustrate the rule that the present tense (Lat) denotes actions that have begun but not ended, and if, again, Puspamitra was a historical personage, and not a mere Caius, it certainly does, in my opinion, follow that the action of sacrificing had not ended when the passage was written. If we were in these days required to give an instance of such a rule, an instance containing the name of a historical personage, should we give such a one as " Johnson edits the Rambler" or "Gibbon is writing the History of the Decline and Fall ?" Would not on the contrary, our instances be such as " Drs. Böhlingk and Roth are compiling a Dictionary of Sanskrit ? " I think we should use such as this latter, for in the former the actions of editing and writing have long been over, and consequently they would be of no use to illustrate the rule, which specially- requires that they should not be over. I perfectly agree with what Professor Weber says in the quotation he gives from his essay, and I myself always thought that Dr. Goldstucker's inference from the instance about Kashmir was extremely weak. But I contend that my instance is not one containing merely the " first person," but it is one in the present tense, and given purposely to illustrate, the use of that tense in a certain sense, and that sense, therefore, the present tense in the instance given must have. The passage is

exactly similar to : Arunad Yavanah Saketam, the historical value of which is admitted by Professor Weber. The translation Professor Weber gives of the passage under discussion does not seem to remove the obscurity in which he says mine was shrouded.

With regard to the second point, I must complain of Professor Weber's not believing what I say with regard to myself. The exigencies of the controversy do not, I think, require this. I again distinctly state that the reason why I was silent as regards Dr. Goldstücker's second instance, was that I did not agree with him in his interpretation of it, and my object in the article was not to criticize him, but to throw additional light on the date of Patanjali. I considered his rendering very questionable when I first read the book, about ten years ago, and some time before I wrote an article in the Native Opinion reviewing his theory of Panini's technical terms.¹ My principal reason was the impropriety of speaking of a sect or school as besieged. And I had, and have, a feeling that the names of the Buddhistic Schools generally known to Sanskrit authors could not have originated so early. Dr. Kern's book I saw and glanced over the preface of it, several years ago, but I did not remember his explanation of the word Madhyamika when I wrote my article in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. I. p. 299, though I always thought the word meant some such thing. But soon after the article appeared, and before Professor Weber's criticism on it was received, I read Dr. Kern's Preface again, so that it was not Professor Weber that first directed my attention to it.

Now to come to Professor Weber's remarks on my article¹ [Indian Antiquary Vol. II. p; 69]. The Professor still adheres to his interpretation of the passage : Mathurayah Patali-putrath purvam. And his reason is Patanjali's use of the word Vyavahita in that connection, which he thinks means ' distance.' Now the word Vyavahita, so far as I know,

1. this essay is printed here later. [N. B. U.]

2. Frinsted in this Volume, pp. 106ff. (N. B, U,]

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never means ' distance' but ' covered,' 'concealed,' or 'separated ' 'by something intervening*'; as, for instance, England is Vyavahita from us, by several countries and seas intervening; or in the word Ramesa, r is Vyavahita from n by a,m, and e. The context of the passage in Patanjali is shortly this:— In the Sūtra Acah parasmin pūrvavidhau, the question is with reference to what standard is the word Pūrva or 'preceding' to be understood ? For a time he takes the Nimitta, or condition of a grammatical change, to be the standard, and says that the principal example of this Sūtra, viz. patvya or mridvya is also explained or shown to fit with the rule on this supposition. How does it fit ? The state of the case in Patvya is this .—First we have Patu then i the feminine termination changed to y and after that, a, the termination of the instrumental singular. This last is the Nimitta of the change of the previous i to y. Then what is to be done by applying the Sutra is to regard y as a vowel and change the u of patu to v. But says the objector, the rule in the Sutra does not apply here on the supposition you have made, for the u of Patu is not purva from a, which is the Nimitta, as it is separated from it by y substituted for i. Then, says the original speaker, the word Purva is used not only to signify a thing that immediately precedes another, but also to signify one that precedes but is separated from it by something intervening, as in such expressions as this: " Pataliputra is purvam from Mathura," in which Purvam is used though several places intervene between the two towns.TM Now, it is plain that this is given as a phrase in use and current among the people to serve as an authority for taking Parva in a certain sense, and therefore, if Professor Weber's inference is correct, all people using the expression, i.e., the Sanskrit-speaking population of India, must have lived to the east of Pataliputra.—The only proper meaning therefore is " Pataliputra is to the east of Mathura." And even if we take Professor Weber's explanation, " Pataliputra is before Mathura," it does not follow that the speaker, supposing he was Patanjali—which however is not the case—was to the east of Pataliputra, any more than it does when

say " The horse is before the cart " that I am to that side of the cart, and not this, or to this, and not that. The word Purva nte doubt means primarily ' before,' but when applied to -show the relations between places, the anteriorness of one from another is to be taken with reference to the usual standard in such comparisons, namely—the rising sun. Hence the word comes to "signify the 'east,' and as used in connection with places it has always this sense. I have no doubt therefore that my interpretation of the passage is correct, and that it does not in any way militate against the conclusion I have drawn from another as to the native place of Patanjali. I do not see why a district very "near Oudh may not be said to be situated Pracam dese. - Benares was not the point from which the bearings of different places in India were taken. Prsgdesa, Udagdesa, &c were settled terms; and one living in Pragdesa could call himself Pracya. Amira defines Pragdesa as that lying to the south and east of the Sarasvatl.

Professor Weber gives no reason for thinking that Yatha Jaukikavaidikeṣu is not a Vartika. But this passage is explained by Patanjali and made the subject of a dissertation just as other Vartikas are. The whole argument given by the author of the Mahabhasya, a portion of which was reproduced by me in my article, is contained in these three aphorisms, the last of which is the one under discussion :- 1, Siddhe sabdartha-sambandhe ; 2, Lokathortha-prayukte sabdaprayoge sastreṇa dharma-niyamait; 3, Yatha laukika-vaidikesu. These are all explained and, as texts, descanted upon by our author; he mentions Acarya¹ incidentally as the author in connection with the first of these, which Acarya must be Katyayana here, since these are not Sutras, and Nagoji-bhatta² expressly calls the first two Vartikas. The third also must then be a Vartika, since it is of a piece in every respect with the other two, and completes the argument, which without it would be incomplete. The aphorism cannot be the composition of Patanjali, for he makes it the subject of his criticism

and says that the words contained in it are Decani words, I cannot understand the connection between this passage and the one quoted by Professor Weber about the use of Sarasi in the South. What has that to do with the circumstance of this being a Vartika? If Professor Weber means to show that Patanjali was acquainted with the lingual usages prevailing in the South, I do not deny that he was, and it is just the lingual usages in that part of the country that are noticed even here. But this does not destroy the character of the passage as a Vartika. It must be a Vartika for the above reasons: hence my inference that Katyayana was a southerner. The Professor is inclined to account for allusions to southern usage contained in the Mahabhasya from the fact that it was preserved in books in the South, i. e., probably, he thinks them interpolations. Are we similarly to think that the Mahabhasya was preserved in books and unfairly treated by the people of Surastra, by the Kambojas, and by the Pracyas and Madhyamas, because it contains allusions to their usage also¹?

Inferiority in rank there is in Patanjali in comparison with Katyayana. It does not matter if Patanjali's views are adopted by Kaiyata and others. They are so adopted because he was the last of the three Munis. When the three Munis differ, the rule for one's guidance is: Yathottaram muninam pramanyam: the later the Muni, the greater the authority. But still Panini is always regarded as first in rank, Katyayana second, and Patanjali third.

I need not say anything on the few remaining points. Professor Weber has made one or two admissions, and as to the rest, I leave it to my readers to judge of the merits of the controversy. I reserve one point for discussion on some future occasion, especially as Professor Weber has not given prominence to it now. I do not believe that the Vakyapadhyaya and the Rajatarangini afford evidence of the Mahabhasya having been tampered with by Candracarya and others. They appear to me

1. see page 62, ed. by Bellantine.

to say that these persons promoted the study of grammar, brought the Mahabhasya into use, and wrote several works themselves.

In conclusion, I give Professor Weber my sincere thanks for the many good and encouraging words he has said about me. I am gratified to find that my criticisms have not offended him. Controversies on philological or literary points ought not to embitter the feelings of the disputants against each other, but unfortunately they very often do so. I am therefore particularly glad that our controversy is an exception to the general rule in this respect.

ACARYA, THE FRIEND OF THE STUDENT; AND THE
RELATIONS BETWEEN THE THREE ACARYAS,

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, 1876, VOLUME V, PP. 34s FF.]

When I closed my controversy with Prof. Weber on some points connected with the Mahabhasya, I said I reserved one question for discussion on a future occasion, and stated my belief that the Vakyapadiya and the Rajatarangini did not afford evidence of the Mahabhasya having been tampered with by Candracarya and others.¹ I am very glad so see that Prof. Kielhorn has taken up this question, and discussed it in a very able and thorough manner, in the last number of this Journal. I agree with all that he has said, though I should translate the passage in the Vakyapadiya somewhat differently, but as the differences are unimportant, and have no bearing on the main point, it is not necessary to state them.

There are, however, some points alluded to by Prof. Kielhorn on which I have been thinking for some time. He has shown that the word Acarya occurring in the first 240 pages of the Benares edition of the Mahabhasya, when it is used to denote a specific individual, refers to Panini or Katyayana, but never to Patanjali, except in one instance pointed out by Nagojibhatta. Prof. Kielhorn expresses his doubts as regards the correctness of Nagoji's remark, and I also think Nagojibhatta is wrong. In a case of this kind, the great grammarian, who flourished only about a hundred and fifty years ago, can be no great authority if we can adduce cogent reasons for differing from him. And I believe there are such reasons in the present case. The passage in which the word occurs is this:—

1. Chap. I. p. 10a, Benares lith. ed.:—**तेनैव एवं विप्रतिपक्षद्वयिभ्यो-
ज्येष्ठतमः कुरुक्षेत्राचार्य इहै कालक्रमेणवच्छे । इमानि त्रयोदशान्वयेयं व्याकरणमिति ।**

The expression **तदाचार्यः सुहृन्मूल्यान्वाचष्टे** occurs in several places in the Mahabhasya, in all of which we have to understand Katyayana by the term **आचार्यः**. For instance :—

a. 1, 4, p. 271, Benares lith. ed.:—**तद्वैष्यं विजानीयात्सर्वमेतद्विकल्पत इति । तदाचार्यः सुहृन्मूल्यान्वाचष्टे इत्थी चेदुरस्थानी च प्रवृत्ती च प्राक्च प्रवृत्तेः जीवन्मनादिवाति ।**

3. II. 1. p. 316a :—**तद्वैष्यं &c. as above ... तदाचार्यः सुहृन्मूल्यान्वाचष्टे चासदिभिर्वागे यथाभ्यासमेव भवतीति ।**

4. II. 4. p. 401 :—**तद्वैष्यं विजानीयाद्विदमा कथितमिदमेवाहुकथ्यते इति । तदाचार्यः सुहृन्मूल्यान्वाचष्टेभ्यादेव कथितताहुकथितमात्रमिति ।**

5. III. 3. p. 93 :—**तद्वैष्यं विजानीयाद्विधेययोरिति । तदाचार्यः सुहृन्मूल्यान्वाचष्टे कर्तृकर्मग्रहणं चोपपदसंज्ञार्थमिति ।**

6. III. 3. p. 97a :—**चोताप्योरिति ह्युच्यमाने संदिहः स्यान्मात्रोतापिभ्यां सह- वाति । तदाचार्यः सुहृन्मूल्यान्वाचष्टे विभावा नर्हाप्रभृती प्रयुतापिभ्यामिति ।**

7. IV. 3. p. 76 :—**तद्वैष्यं (as in 2 and 3) ... तदाचार्यः सुहृन्मूल्यान्वाचष्टे विस्मृत्पूर्वदादर्शयथाभ्यासमेव भवतीति ।**

8. IV. 3. p. 86 :—**तद्वैष्यं विजानीयाद्योगयोर्वा प्रत्यययोर्वेति । तदाचार्यः सुहृन्मूल्यान्वाचष्ट एतयोरित्यर्थनिर्देश इति ।**

9. V. 1. p. 12 :—**तद्वैष्यं विजानीयाद्विधेयेत उत्तरं द्विविध्यामिति तदा- चार्यः सुहृन्मूल्यान्वाचष्टे द्विविध्यां द्वेयोग्यमिति ।**

10. V. 1. p. 19 :—**द्वैष्यं विजानीयाद्व्ययमप्युच्यते इति तदाचार्यः सुहृन्मूल्यान्वाचष्टे कथसि ईंशेत्यनन्तरत्वाद्युक्तं इति ।**

11. V. 3. p. 55a :—**द्वैष्यं विजानीयात्सर्वोद्योगयोर्वा प्रत्यययोर्वेति । तदाचार्यः सुहृन्मूल्यान्वाचष्टे तयोरिति प्रातिपदिकनिर्देश इति ।**

Now we see that in all these instances, the sentence indicated by **इति**, which stands in the place of an object to the verb **अन्वाचष्टे**, is a Vartika, for it is explained just before by Patanjali, as all IS [R. G. Bhandarkar's works, Vol. I.)

Vartikas are.¹ Hence the expression ~~आचार्यः इन्द्रप्रसादः~~ refers unquestionably to Katyaayana. Are we then to understand..that in the first only out of these eleven passages it refers to Patanjali?, Surely the evidence afforded by the other ten, occurring as they do in different parts of the Mahabha?ya, is sufficient to warrant us in declaring that in No. 1 also the expression refers to Katya yana. The reason why Nagojibhatta understands Patanjali by the term Acarya here is this :—The author of the Mahabhasya tells us in his comments on the Vartika 'Siddhe Sahdhartha' &c. that the word Siddha has been used at the beginning tor the sake of Mangala, i. e., because it is an auspicious term, and such a . term used at the beginning of a Sastra conduces to the success of that Sastra. The beginning, then, of the Ststra composed by Katya yana, i. e, the first of his Vartikas, is Siddhe Sabdhartha&c. If so, all that precedes this Vartika, including the aphorisms in which the uses of grammar are given, is not the work of Katyaayana."These aphorisms, therefore, are to be ascribed to Patanjali himself, and hence the Acarya who sets forth the uses of grammar is the author of the Mahabhasya. To this it may be replied that these

1. There is a mistake in the Benares Edition in the last passage. The Vartika is not given separately from the Bhasya on it. It is, however, so given in an old MS. in my possession. In passage No. 3 Patanjali gives the substance of the Vrtika and does not quote it. It is not necessary to discuss at length the question how & Variika is to be distinguished; It is sufficient to state that one unfailing criterion is its being paraphrased or explained by Patanjali. Because (1) the very fact that it is so paraphrased shows that it must be the work of another person than the one who paraphrases it; (2) Patanjali himself incidentally mentions Katyaayana as the author of some of these aphorisms, and calls him the Vartikakraa (See 1.101a, I I I . 64a, I I I . 76a, &c.), while he speaks of the author generally as Aearya, in connection with a great many others, without naming him; (3) Panini's Sutras are never so paraphrased, though they may form the subject of a long discussion; and (4) most of the aphorisms so paraphrased by Patanjali are expressly called Vartikas by Kaiyata and other grammarians. Very rarely the diota of other Aearyas are also paraphrased, but they are introduced by such an expression as indicative of the authorship; while no such expression is used in introducing a Vartika. Prof. Goldstucker does not seem to have called this eriteflon in question.

aphorisms are simply introductory, while the regular Sastra begins with Siddhe Sabdartha &c. The provision for Mangala is therefore made in this, and not the preceding ones, just as Panini secures Mangala in the first of his regular Sutas, viz., Vddhira-daica'and not in the Pratyahara-Sutas. There is, therefore, no impropriety in ascribing these introductory aphorisms to.Katya-yana. And the whole manner in which they are stated and explained by Patanjali, and the evidence of the ten passages containing the expression **आचार्यः सङ्ग्रहः**, require that we should so a scribe them to him.

• If, then, Katya-yana is the Acarya alluded to in passage No. 1, this passage and the few lines that precede it enable us to determine the character, nature, and object of Katya-yana's work, Patanjali tells us that in the times preceding his own, after a Brahmana boy's Upanayana ceremony was performed, grammar was the first thing taught to him, and the study of the Veda followed. In his (or rather Katya-yana's) time, however, Veda was first taught, and after that was gone over, they said: "The Vedic words We have learnt from the Vedas, and the words current in popular usage we know from that usage. Grammar, therefore, is useless." For these students," we are told," whose feeling is thus opposed, the Acarya (Katya-yana) expounds the Sastra,¹ (saying) "These,are the uses; grammar should be studied." In the comment on Siddhe sabdartha, &c. we are also told as remarked above, that Katya-yana uses the word Siddha at the beginning, that it may augur well for the " great stream of the Sastra. " We thus see that what Katya-yana proposes to himself is the composition or edition of a Sastra, and to attract students to it he explains its uses, And it appears to me; that the opening, words

1. Nagojibhatta understands by the term S3stra here "the explanation of the uses of grammar.' But there, is no reason to restrict the term thus. Besides, "the explanation of the uses of grammar" can with no propriety be called a Sastra. Before and after, Patanjali uses the term in the sense of the whole science of grammar. : Sastra also properly signifies "a rule" It is, however, Immaterial to the argument in the text in what sense we lake it

of the Mahabhasya: ~~अथ सव्याख्यानसम्पदः~~ are Katyayana's words, and form a Vartika, notwithstanding what Kaiyata says about them. For they are explained by Patanjali, just as all Vartikas are; and to suppose that this alone of similar aphorisms was composed by him, and commented on with all the formality of a scholiast, is, I think, unreasonable. There appears no reason why in this particular case Patanjali should have resorted to this plan. If he wanted to say that he now began the Sabdanusanasasatra, he might have done so more directly than by composing an aphorism and commenting on it.*

From the passages quoted above, it seems that the verb Anvacaste is used by Patanjali as characteristic of the work of Katyayana, as describing specifically what he did. His own work Patanjali calls Vyakhyana, and frequently uses the verb Vyakhyasyamafc.* There is another word that is used in controversial writing, and occurs in the Mahabhasya, also, which is derived from the same root, viz. Pratyakhyana. The differences in the senses of these words must be due to the prepositions or Upasargas that are used in each case. Pratyakhyana is speaking *against* or refuting a thing; Vyakhyana is speaking *about* a thing, or *away, in varied ways, in detail*, of a thing, i. e., writing a commentary on it, and Anvakhyana must mean 'speaking in accordance with, agreeably to, or to the same purpose as a thing'. The word is used with reference to Katyayana in other forms in two other places, where it is contrasted with teaching something new.³ If, then, it properly denotes what Katyayana did mostly, if not altogether, with reference to Panini's Sutras, his work must be *in accordance*,

1. It is only modern authors that say that the Vartikas begin with Siddhe sabdartha, &c,

2. Mahabhasya, I. p. 13a, I. p. 42, I. p. 49, I I I . 67a, and many other places.

8. I . p. 22a & b. ~~प्रबोधनमन्वाक्यमपते । आहोस्वित्संज्ञ उपदेशाभोधनी ।~~ p. 52a,
एवं तर्ह्यन्वाबोधेन उपसर्गं ह्यन्वेष्टं वर्तते इति । नैतद्द्व्यन्वाक्येणमाधिकारा अनुवर्तन्ते इति । एव
एव म्बाबोधेनमाधिकारा अनुवर्तेरिति ।

in keeping, in harmony with, Panini's, i. e. explain, develop, or support the latter. That the word 'Anvakhyaena' is peculiarly applicable to Kayayana's work is also confirmed by the fact that this is called Anutantra in the Vakyapadya.¹ For these reasons it is clear that Katyayana's object in composing his work was to *teach* grammar, first, by developing and explaining Panini, and then supplementing him, and not "to find fault with him," as the late Prof. Goldstücker thought. The Vyakhyaena of the work of this author directly, and that of Panini indirectly, was what Patanjali proposed to himself. He himself explains what the duties of one who undertakes this task are. "Not only," says he, "does the division of a Sutra into the individual words which compose it constitute Vyakhyaena, but example, counter-example, and the words to be understood or supplied, all these taken together make up Vyakhyaena."² To explain the Vartikas thus in detail, to discuss the Sutras, and occasionally to give supplementary rules (Istis) where necessary, was Patanjali's main object, and not to refute Katyayana.

Now, if we look into the Mahabhasya, we shall find this view of the relations of the three Munis amply confirmed. In fact, the instances in which there is no refutation of one by another, but simply an explanation of the words, or the bearing of the words, of the earlier sage by the later one, are so many that it is difficult to see how any other view can be maintained. Not to go very far for the present, none of the eleven passages quoted above contains or is followed by a refutation, while they all give some expla-

1. Prof. Kielhorn's article, Ind. Ant., Vol. V. p. 247, notes.

2. न केवलानि वर्णयदानि व्याख्यानं वृद्धिः आत् ऐजिति । किं तर्हि । उदाहरणं मन्त्रादिकं वाक्यान्वाहार इत्येतत्समुद्दिष्टं व्याख्यानं भवति । I. p. 18a. By the way, this passage justifies those who ascribe the examples contained in the Mahabhasya to Patanjali, and draw historical inferences from them with regard to his age and other matters. For we are here told that it is the business of the author of Vyakhyaena to give examples. There is little reason, then, to suppose that the examples were handed down from the time of Panini to Katyayana.

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nation. No. 1 explain's why Katyayana gives the uses of grammar; in No.2 Katyayana is spoken of as making a rule calculated to restrict the operation of another laid down by himself. In the Vartika In No. 3, Katyayana tells us that another Vartika of his which is likely to supersede Panini VIII 1. 24, ought not' to do so; in the one in'No. 4 he explains the word Anvadesa used in panini II. 4. 32; in that in No. 5 he tells us in what relation the words Kartr and Karman occuring in Panini III. 3, 127 are to be taken; in the one in No. 6 he. explains Panini III. 3. 141; and clears' a doubt that naturally arises; in that in No. 7 he says that a Vartika of his should not supersede Panini IV. 3. 6; in the one in No. 8 he explains the word Etayoh occuring in Panini IV. 3. 143; in that in No. 9 he tells us that the words Dvi and Tri occuring iii Panini V. 1. 30 arc to be taken on to the next Sctra only, i. e., they apply to these two Sutras alone; in that in No. 10, that"the termination given in the last Sutra is to be brought on to this, and not the one in the previous Sutra; and in No. 11 the Vartika explains to what the pronoun Etayoh occurriqg in, V. 3. 20 refers.

But let us examine the Bhasya more closely In the Vartikas on I 2. r; Katyayana explains that what Panini means by saying that certain terminations are **किद्** and **किद्** is, that before those terminations, those rules are to be applied to the preceding roots that are laid down with reference to such terminations as have actually got an indicatory **orद्** in them,- i. e. Panini attributes the properties **किस्** or **किस्** to those terminations, though they have not got **or** in them. Before coming to this conclusion, however, the author of the Vartikas refutes three other ways of taking this-and the; following Sutras that may be suggested. Katyayana then gives reasons why **किस्** is attributed to some terminations, and **किस्** others, and why one same property **किस्** or **किस्** is not, mentioned with regard to all. In all this Patanjali confines himself to a, detailed explanation of the Vartikas, and there is no refutation of any one of them.

On 1. 4. 14,there is inly one Vartika in' Which K a t y a n a explains why the word Ants is used in the Sutra, and infers that in

other Sūtras in which technical terms are defined; these terms signify only the terminations that may have been mentioned, and not the words ending with those terminations, -i. e., for instance, Gha signifies only the terminations Tara and Tama, and not Gauritara or Gauritama. Patanjali does not make any adverse remark, but explains the Vartika. On III. 11. 134, Katyayana remarks that the last termination Ac must be stated generally as applicable to all roots; because there are such forms as Bhava and Sava. Why, then; does Panini lay down the Gāga, Pac and others, and teach the addition of the termination to those roots? Katyayana himself tells us, it is because in this way he may be able to add some indicatory letter or Anubandhas to some of the roots, and to prevent the application of special rules to others. On the next Sūtra the author of the Vartikas remarks that the termination Ka should be taught as applicable to the roots indicated in the Sūtra, only when they have a preposition prefixed; for when without a preposition, the roots have forms made up by the addition of another, which necessitates the change of the vowel to its Guna. Then he himself answers this by saying, "No, it should not be so taught, because we have such forms as Budha and others," i. e., forms made up by the addition of Ka. On III. 2, 123, the first two Vartikas require that the use of the present tense (Bhavanti) should be taught in cases which the Sūtra is supposed not to include; in the last three, we are told that the Sūtra does extend to these cases also, and reasons are given to show how it does. Patanjali has no adverse remark.

. In all these instances, Katyayana simply gives an Anvakhyaṇa or explanation of the Sūtras, and Patanjali agrees with him; and such instances may be multiplied to any extent. Of course, it is not to be denied that often there are adverse criticisms on Panini, and that Patanjali defends him and refutes Kātyāyana, i. e., makes Pratyakhyāṇa as well as Vyakhyaṇa of the Vartikas. But Patanjali not; seldom refutes Panini also, i. e. makes Pratyakhyāṇa of the Sūtras, the expression **अथ योः सप्तोऽवकु** occurring pretty often. On the other hand, he often says with regard to the Vartikas, **तस्मादनुवर्तते**, &c To show the nature of the Great

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Commentary generally as regards this subject, I will here give a short analysis of a portion of the Bhasya on the Adgadhikara in the order in which the Sutas occur there, not here selecting my instances.

1.. अङ्गना 4. 1. Katyayana settles the meaning of the gen. अङ्गना; Patanjali does not refute. Katyayana gives the objects of the Angadhikara, and says that that they may be attained otherwise than by having such an Adhikara. Patanjali agrees while Kaiyata re-establishes that Adhikara.

2. In इहः VI. 4. 2, Katyayana raises an objection and answers it. Patanjali accepts this explanation, but proposes also another.

3. In नाभि I 4. 3, Katyayana justifies the use of नाभि for नाभि; Patanjali does not refute.

4. इहइह &c. VI. 4. 12. Katyayana in the Vartikas explains this Suta in a manner to avoid the lengthening of the penultimate vowel of इहइह necessitated by the Suta अहुनाह &c. VI. 4. 15.

5. अहह &c. VI. 4. 14. Katyayana finds fault; Patanjali agrees.

6. अहह &c. VI. 4. 16. Katyayana finds fault, not explicitly but tacitly. Patanjali avoids the objection by re-arranging the Suta. A Vartika on another point is refuted by Patanjali.

7. अहह &c. VI. 4. 19. Katyayana shows that i किह comes down to this Suta, ह must be inserted in the Suta अहह &c, VIII. 2. 36, and it must have इह, i.e. ह, prefixed to it. This is done in that Suta. The Vartikas therefore explain that किह does come down. Patanjali does not refute.

8. अहह &c. VI. 4. 22. Katyayana refers to his explanation of the objects of considering a grammatical operation to be अहह given under VI 1.86, explains the sense of अहह, and gives the objects of the आभाधिकार. These last, Patanjali shows, may be attained in other ways, and thus makes अहह of them. Then objections to this Adhikara are raised by Katyayana, and answered by Patanjali

explaining **अथ** as equivalent to **समानाश्रयत्वं**. Then follows a Vartika stating cases in which, when we take this Adhikara to extend to the beginning of Bhadbikara, we arrive at incorrect forms; and another giving other cases when the same result ensues, if we take it to extend to the end or that Adhikara. Patanjali refutes these Vartikas by showing that the correct forms are arrived at, whether we take the one or the other as the limit of the Adhikara.

9. **शास्त्र** &c. VI. 4. 23. No Vartikas.

10. **अनिर्दिष्टा** &c. VI. 4. 24. There are five supplementary of corrective Vartikas, two of which are refuted by Patanjali.

11. **ह्रास इद्** &c. VI. 4. 34. The Vartika is refuted by re-cast* tag the Sutra.

12. **अनुदातो** &c. VI. 4. 37. VI. 4. 38, as it is, would lead to wrong forms. Katyayana therefore proposes to re-cast these two; Patanjali does not object.

13. **यनः क्री**, &c. VI. 4. 40. Two supplementary Vartikas; neither refuted by Patanjali.

14. **अवसन** &c. VI. 4. 42. Patanjali discusses the connection of **ह्राद्**, and in the end divides the Sutra into two, so as to render the use of 95 unnecessary. Then follows an explanatory Vartika, which is discussed and defended by Patanjali at great length,

15. **समन्विष्टि**, VI. 4. 45. Patanjali says the word **अन्यद्वरस्य** might well have been omitted in this Sutra, as unnecessary, "Another" says that even the word **ह्राद्** might be-omitted. There is no Vartika.

16. **आर्षाद्युक्ते** VI. 4. 46. A Karika, very likely by Patanjali himself, gives the purposes of this Adhikara; and they are discussed in detail afterwards. No Vartikas.

17. **अशोरोप** VI. 4. 47. Some explanation by Patanjali. Then follow three Vartikas on a certain point, which are refuted by Patanjali.

18. **अतो ह्रीक** VI. 4. 48. Vartika "refuted by taking **ह्र** as equivalent to **ह्रद्**.

19. (R. G. Bhandarkar works, Vol. I.)

19. **यस्य इहः** VI. 4. 49. Katyayana gives undesimble elects of taking as two letters Y and A, and of taking it as Y only. Patanjali says one may take it either way; and the faults pointed out by Katyayana are explained away.

20. **वेरनिदि** VI. 4. 51. Patanjali decides that the word **अनिदि** in this Sutra is unnecessary, and explains the next Sutra in a manner to avoid the objections that may arise. He also recasts VI. 4. 55. There is no Vartika.

21. **विद्यायां सेदि** VI. 4. 52. Katyayana discusses, and explains the reason of using the word **सेदि** here. Patanjali says this word, and even the whole Sutra, might be omitted, and recasts VII. 2. 26, in a manner to include the sense of this. A Vartika follows, which is refuted.

22. **अयामन्ता** &c. VI. 4. 55. There are three Vartikas showing what rules should be laid down if we should have **कु** as an Unadi termination, and what if **इत्**. These last are actually laid down by Panini, says Patanjali.

23. **त्यपि लङ्** &c. VI. 4. 56. Katyayana brings objections to the reading **लङ्पूर्वस्य**, and settles that it should be **लङ्पूर्वसि**; n j a l i does not object.

24. **विभाषाः** VI. 4. 57. **आप्** should have its indicatory sign **स्** here, observes Katyayana, to prevent the application of this rule to **अभाषि**. Patanjali applies the **Paribhāṣā** **लङ्गणप्रतिषेधक** &c. and refutes the Vartika.

25. **त्यसिन्** &c. VI. 4. 62. Patanjali discusses at great length the relations of the words **भावकर्मणोः**, **इद्**, and **विज्वाद्**. Then, in a Karika which must be attributed to him, are set forth the purposes of attributing **विज्वाद्** to these terminations after these roots. This is followed by Vartikas, in the first of which the reason for the use of the word **उपदेश** is given, and in the second we are told that **विज्वाद्** prevails over the Sutra which lays down **वद्** as a substitute for **इद्**, in the precativ. The next two provide that the substitutes for **इद्**, **इ** to go, and **इ** to study which are used before **विज्** in the arois, should not be used here. This, we are

told, follows from the context of this Sutra, No adverse remarks from Patanjali,

We thus see (1) that Katyayana explains and supports the Sūtras, sometimes by raising questions about them and answering them, sometimes without resorting to this procedure; (2) that he amends them, and thus must be understood to criticize them, or find fault with them; and (3) that he supplements them.. Patanjali (1) comments on the Vartikas in accordance with his own definition of Vyākhyāna; (a) agrees with Katyayana; (3) refutes him ; (4) recasts Panini's Sūtras; (5) affirms that they, or a word, or words in them, are not wanted, even in cases when Katyayana justifies them or defends Panini; (6) discusses and explains Sūtras or words in them, notwithstanding that there is no Vartika; and (7) gives supplementary rules called *Istis*, which, however, occur very rarely, very little being left for him to do in this respect, by predecessors. It will thus appear that in writing the Vartikas, Katyayana *did* "mean to justify and to defend the rules of Panini" also, and that a Vartika is often "a commentary which explains;" and that the Mahabhasya contains such varied matter, arguments of such length, so consistent, so well connected, and so subtle, that it by no means deserves the title of "a skilful compilation of the views of Panini's critics and of their refutation by Patanjali;" or of a "mere refutation of Katyayana;" or of "a synopsis of arguments for and against the details of Panini's system, or a controversial manual." The only tenable theory is that Katyayana's work is an edition of Panini with notes, explanatory, critical, and supplementary; and that Patanjali's is a commentary on this edition, explaining in detail the notes of Katyayana, but discussing at length all points connected with the system of Panini and with grammar generally, whether Katyayana notices them or not, in a manner favourable or otherwise to his author. The object of both was the same, viz., to teach grammar by following and explaining the system of Panini, endeavouring to perfect it, even though this sometimes required remodelling of his Sūtras or their entire refutation, and to complete it by supplying the omissions and bringing up the knowledge of Sanskrit grammar conveyed therein to their own times.

THE MAURYA-PASSAGE IN THE MAHABHASYA

[FROM THE INDIAN AKTIQUARY , 1887, p. 156 ff,]

In the first number of the new Vienna Oriental Journal, just received, there is an article by my honoured friend, Dr. Kielhorn' in which he brings forward some objections against the interpretation of the Maurya-passage in the Mahabhasya given by other scholars. As I am one of these last, and as Dr. Kielhorn invites criticism on his observations by saying he would ' be glad to be corrected by others," and that his reason for writing on the subject is " to give others an opportunity of removing hit difficulties," I will here endeavour, to the best of my ability, to answer the difficulties raised by him.

The first expression, to the translation of which my friend objects, is Yas tv Etah. His objections in this, as well as in the other cases, are based on the supposition that the translations already given are opposed to the sense that the several expressions have in other parts of the Mahabhasya ; and it will be my duty to show that my translation, at least, is not so opposed. Dr. Kielhorn says that (excepting, so far as his observation goes, a single passage) the pronoun Etad in such expressions as Ya esah, Yad etad, Ya ete, &c, does not refer to something stated before; but expresses a thing well-known, a thing to be met with generally in ordinary life. That it has the sense mentioned by him in the instances he quotes, is unquestionable. But this sense it derives from the fact that primarily, it means ' this; ' i. e. it denotes ' proximity.' Now, the world in which a man moves and with which he is intimately acquainted, is from that point of view regarded by him as being' near;' i. e. having proximity. Hence, everybody in that world is spoken of. as 'this';(1) but this is not the only way in which things come to have nearness or proximity. They may become near because hey are actually before one; or, in the case of a writer, (2)

because he has just mentioned them, or (3) is going to mention them. Dr. Kielhorn has given instances (*torn* the Mahabhasya, in which Etad with Yad has the first sense. I will give others in which it has the two other senses. Two of my instances have Idam for Tad; which, however, makes no difference whatever.

a. Vol. I. p. 10, 1. 1 : Ye capy ete bhavato prayukta abhimatah sabda &c. The words alluded to here have been given by Patanjali before, at the beginning of the argument.

b. Vol. I. p. 31, last line. Ya esa bhavata varnanam arthavattayarth hetur upadiô 'rthavanto varna, &c. This Hetu has been given before and is here repeated.

c. Vol. II. p. 86, 1. 3. Ya ete samjnayam vidhiyante tesu &c. These have been mentioned just before.

d. Vol. II. p. 19, 1. 19. Yad etat trntracor grahanam &c. The Sutra in which the affixes here spoken of occur, has been quoted just before.

e. Vol. II. p. 326, 1. 19. Na vaisa yukto vipratishedho yo'yam ano mayatas ca. The Vipratishedha has been given in the last but one Varttika.

f. Vol. III. p. 238, 1. 9. Yat tv idam Varttikakarah pathati &c. What is referred to by Idam has been mentioned before, and is here repeated.

Vol. II. p. 139, 1. 19. Vepi hy ete'ta uttanum pratyayah sisyaanta &c. Ete refers to the terminations that follow.

Here there are five instances in which Etad with Yad, and two in which Idam with Yad, denote 'proximity' to the passage in which they occur. In six of these cases, the pronoun refers to things mentioned before; and in one, to things mentioned afterwards. And I dare say a good many more instances will be found, if a diligent search is made for them. I do not see why Patanjali should not, in the nature of things, use Etad to denote this sort of proximity, and restrict himself to that conceived to exist in things well-known to us. And the expression, or its

several senses, are by no means peculiar to Patanjali, but are to be found in the language itself. The following instances occur to me at the present moment; and doubtless a long list can be made out if necessary :—

Yeyam prete vicikitsa manusye,—Katha-Upanisad (3 or 1)

Ya esa suptesu jagarti &c.—Ibid (1)

Yoyam yogas tvaya proktah,—Bhagavadgita, Ch. 6, v. 33. (a)

Yad etad anumarajaiha nama tad atinispahalam,—Kadambari (1)

. YOyam baddho yudhi parikaras tena vo &c—Uttajra-Ramacarita—Act. V. (2)

Yenanena jagatsu Khandaparasur, &c.—Vlrcarita Act II. (2).

Yah punar ayam ante'paro vikalpa&c. Samkara-Bhasya, Vol. I, (Bibl. Ind.) p. 434, 1. 2. (2)

So that it does not appear to me that there is anything peculiar to Patanjali in this respect. He has used the expression under notice in those senses in which it is used elsewhere. Thus : Yas tv etah : in the Maurya passage, may, if the context require it, be taken to refer to some of the images already mentioned.

Now as to the word Samprati. Purakalpa means 'ancient time,' a time so remote that nobody has a definite conception of it, and Adyatve, as opposed to it, signifies 'modern times.' But this is not the sense we require in the present passage, according to my translation. For the Maurya family became extinct only: about thirty-five years before Patanjali wrote, according to Prof. Goldstucker's 'view and mine ; and consequently the time when it reigned cannot be spoken of as Purakalpa. The word Samprati denotes 'now*, as opposed to a past time which is definite and not very remote; and this is exactly the sense required in the passage under discussion. Dr. Kielhorn, however, is led to think, from some of the instances quoted by him, that the past time, implied by the present which the word Samprati denotes, must refer to the same thing as that

the present condition of which is expressed by that word. But this is by no means necessary. For Nivasa (Vol. II. p. 314, 1. 7) is spoken of by Patanjali as the place where one lives now; while Abhijana is the place where his ancestors lived. Here the past time implied by the word Samprati or 'now,' is not the past of the man whose present Nivasa is spoken of; but refers to his ancestors. And even the sense attached to the word by Dr. Kielhorn does not go entirely against my interpretation of the passage. We shall only have to suppose that the images now under worship were the same as those sold by the Mauryas, and not like them, or belonging to the same class with them. But this view I have rejected, after considerable deliberation.

The third expression the sense of which Dr. Kielhorn discusses, is Prakalpitafr. He thinks that Prakalpayati means 'to fashion or make one thing out of another,' 'to produce a thing which did not exist before out of something else;' and that it is equivalent to Nirvartayati. I feel no hesitation in saying that this sense does not appear to me to be at all appropriate, whether in the Mahabhasya or elsewhere. In the expressions in which the genitive is spoken of as Prakalpita, is the genitive really produced? In grammar we speak of the Utpatti or production of a termination, when it is applied to a base which did not possess it before, as the accusative is Utpanna after the noun Kata and the termination kta after the root kr (Vol. I. p. 441, 11. 3, 4). Is the genitive so produced here and, if it is, why should Patanjali never use in the innumerable places where the phrase occurs, the word Utpadayati, as he does in these cases, or Nirvartayati, instead of Prakalpayati? And how are we to translate the phrase :• Anusvarab sthani yaNam anunasikarh prakalpayati (Vol. I. p. 16)? that an original Anusvara produces a Yap to be Anunasika? How can we produce a thing such as a pot to be red? The word produce or Utpatti is out of place here; we can only say that an additional quality Anunasikatva is given to an existing thing Yan. Again, when Patanjali says that the general rule operates after having Prakalpita the scope of the special rule (Vol.

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l. p. 463, 1. 2 ; Vol. 'II. p. 127, L 5), does he mean "after having produced the scope of the special rule ? " Is not "after having devised, arranged, or assigned scope to the special rule," the proper translation ? And, using the root in its primitive or non-causal from, when Patanjali says : Vyapadeso na prakalpate Vol. I. p. &, 1. 21), does he mean "the appellation or description is not produced" ? Is not " the description does not fit," the proper sense here ?" When he says : Samanyavisesau na prakalpete : if what is general may become particular, and what is particular, general, he does not mean that Samanya and ViSesa are not 'produced,' but that they do not " fit each other " the relation 'does not hold,' 'is not intelligible,' 'not proper'; (Vol. I. p. 172,1. 3). Avakasah praklptah (Vol. II. p. 297,1. 14) means the scope of the rules alluded to has been ' devised , 'arranged' or 'determined,' not 'produced,' So also when Nigrahaijam is said to be Sesapraklptyartham (Vol. III. p. 159,1. I), the sense cannot be that Ni is used in VI.3.43 for producing sesa; for Sesa is not to be produced or transformed. The word occurs in the very next Sutra; and being a relative term equivalent to, remainder' or 'residue,' it can have no sense if Ni, with reference to which it is the residue, is not admitted in VI. 3. 43. So then Sesapraklptyartham means 'for making Sesa fit in with, answer to, of correspond with something else,' for giving an intelligible sense to the word. Again, if Patanjali meant by Prakalpayati the same thing as Nirvartayati, why does he, fond as he is of the former word, not use it when he has occasion to speak of the production of a Ghata or a Kata, or of Odana, but use Nirvartayati or Karoti only ? Thus he speaks of the Nirvrtti of things which are made, not Praklpti; makes a man say to a potter Kuru ghatatn, not Prakalpaya ghatam (Vol. I. p. 7,11. 2 and 3 from bottom), uses the expressions Odanath nirvartayati, not Odanm pmkalpayati (Vol. 1. p.332,1. 18). and Katarh karoti, Katam kuru, Ghatam kuru several times (Vol I. pp. 440 and 441; Vol III. p. 56, I. 8) and not Katam prakalpayati, &c, &c.

The central idea expressed by the root *Klp* is that of a plan, system, arrangement, device, mutual fitness or consistency. The genitive is *Prakalpita* by the ablative in the place of the nominative in virtue of Panini's rule: *Tasmad ity uttarasya* : i.e., it is devised, arranged for, led to by a logical necessity or conditions of propriety, and has thus to be understood. The original *Anusvaro yanam anunasikam prakalpayati*, i.e., 'devises or arranges that the *Yap* which takes its place should be nasal.' The *Anusvara* is a reason why the substituted *Yan* should be nasalized. The general rule devises, arranges or plans out the scope of the special rule from the whole available region, and then operates (in the part that remains). Similarly in all the other instances given above, it will be seen that fitness, propriety, devising or planning is the sense involved. It will also be observed that that which is spoken of as the *Prakalpaka* is, or involves, a reason or a principle which justifies, explains, or determines something else, and makes the *Prakalpaka* fit in with or answer to the *Prakalpita*; while that which is *Nirvartaka* produces a thing that did not exist before, and possesses voluntary agency only. Thus then, in the passage under discussion, the images were devised, fitted, or made to answer by the *Mauryas* who wanted gold, i.e., to answer or fit in with their desire for gold, just as *Sesa* answers to or fits in with *Ni* in VI. 3. 43, or *Viseṣa* with *Samanya*, or the *Vyapadega* (description or appellation) with the nature of the thing alluded to; the genitive with the previous ablative or the following locative, the *Anunasikatva* with the *Anusvara* and the province of the general rule with that of the special rule. In other words, they were used as means fit for the end, the attainment of gold.

A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON THE MAURYA-PASSAGE IN THE MAHABHASYA.

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOLUME XVI, 1887, p. 172 f.]

In connection with my previous note on the Maurya-Passage in the Mahabhasya, at page 156ff. above,¹ I find that I have three more passages to quote, of the use of Etad or Idam with Yad; and it also appears to me desirable to put on record the full original passage,² which is the subject of discussion, in order that the readers of this Journal may have it for easy reference in understanding the point that is at issue.

The original passage, which is Patanjali's comment on Panini V. 3. 99, runs:—

Apanya ity ucyate tatredam na sidhyati Sivah Skando Visakha
iti I Kim karanam I Mauryair hiranyarthibhir archah prakalpita
Bhavet tasu na syad Yas tv etah samprati pajarthas tasu
bhavisyati 1

And the following are my additional instances in which Etad or Idam, with Yad, refers to things occurring before or to be mentioned afterwards:—

Vol.11, p. III, 1. 18, Ye'py eta ita uttaram pratyayah
sisanta &c.

Vol. III. p. 277, I. 7. Ayukto'yam vipratishedho yo'yam
sunasyettvottvayos ca.

Vol. III. p. 385, 1. 2. Yeyam sapadasaptadhyayyanukran-
taityam ayam &c.

I have stated in my previous note "that I have rejected, after considerable deliberation, the view that the images spoken of in

1. That is the Indian Antiquary Volume XVI, 1887. N. B. U.

2. Equal to this Volume, p. 143ff above].—N. B. U,

the passage as under worship now, were the same as those sold by the Mauryas. As, however, the revered Dr. Bôhtlingk seceans, if I understand him right, to favour that view in his *Ein Versuch ZUR Beilegung,* & c, I must give my reasons. They are 'these;- If the images, Siva, Skanda and Visakha, were the same as those sold or "introduced" by the Mauryas, Patanjali would have indicated the same by some expression in the sentence *Mautryair hiranyarthibhir,* &c. The pronoun *Tasu* in the next sentence, and *Etah* in the one that follows it, will both have to be taken as referring to the same images. The same images cannot be spoken of as 'those' and 'these'; and to remove this inconsistency, we shall have to understand *Tasu* as equivalent to *Tadanim* so as to bring out the sense, that the rule about the dropping of *Ka* was not applicable to these images at the time when they were sold or introduced by the Mauryas. But the demonstrative *Tad* cannot by itself be so understood. According to Dr. Bôhtlingk's way of looking at the matter, the passage has no grammatical point at all, the object of Patanjali being simply to cast a reflection on the Mauryas. This is not proper. Patanjali always makes out a grammatical point; and the point made out according to the view under discussion, as it appeared to me when I rejected it, is, that, in framing the names of idols under worship, we have not to look to the fact that they were sold before they were used for worship. But this point is almost evident, and is more appropriately made out, if necessary, by speaking of ordinary manufacturers as selling images which are afterwards used for worship. The point according to the view which I have accepted, is this;—*Panya* has two senses, "something that has the possibility of being sold" and "something that is exposed for sale." The idols, Siva & c, which are under worship now possess the possibility of being sold, because idols under worship were sold by the Mauryas. But, though they possess the possibility of being sold, they are not actually exposed for sale. Panini's rule applies to idols of the latter description, and not of the former. The distinction between the two senses of

the word Panya, and its gramaaticl effect, cannot be illustrated except by taking instances of the sale of idols under actual .worship; and since ordinary manufacturers do not do that, Patanjali, knowing that the Mauryas had done it, .makes use of the fact for the purposes of his grammatical exposition. The word Etah is not superfluous in my translation as Dr. Böhtlingk thinks; for, it is used for pointing out the idols under discussion, Siva, Skanda, Visakha, as contrasted with the idols sold by the Mauryas. All this I have explained at length in my Second Reply to Dr. Peterson on the Date of Patanjali;' and especially in my Sanskrit comment on the passage. It will be seen that, even according to my view, the , passage shows that Patanjali flourished but a short time after the Mauryas. For he remembers rather an unimportant incident with regard to the princes of that dynasty; and the word Samprati, as I have already observed, indicates 'present time' as contrasted, not with a remote past time—Adyatve is the word which has that sense—but with a past time fairly near to the person who uses the word.

THE DATE OF PATANJALI, No, I; BEING THE FIRST
REPLY TO PROFESSOR PETERSON,

[FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY, VOLUME XVI, 1885, P. 199 FF]•

The Paper was read before the Society on May 1st, 1885,

THE late Professor Goldstücker,¹ from the examination of a passage occurring in Patanjali's Mahabhasya, or the great commentary on Katyayana's Virtikas, i. e. short critical dicta on Panini's Grammatical Sutras, arrived at the conclusion that the author of the great commentary lived in the middle of the second century before Christ. From another passage, the evidence afforded by which is totally of a different kind, I arrived, more than twelve years ago, at precisely the same conclusion. Two other passages in the work and everything else of a historical nature occurring in it harmonize with our conclusion ; and it has now been accepted by a good many scholars. Professor Peterson¹ of Elphinstone College has recently called it in question, and is inclined to refer Patanjali to the time of Skandagupta of the Gupta Dynasty who was reigning in 146 of the Gupta Era². This date corresponds, according to what I consider to be unimpeachable evidence as regards the initial date of the Gupta Era, to 465 A. D., but according to others it corresponds to 336 A. D. and 313 A. D. Professor Peterson asserts that "recent speculation" has been "slowly but surely" referring Patanjali to this date. One of the references he gives in support of this assertion is to the following statement of I-tsing, the Chinese pilgrim, given by Professor Max Müller in his Note on the Renaissance³: "There is

1. In the article on " The Aucityalamkara of Ksemendra, with a note on the Date of Patanjali " read by Prof. Peterson before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 6th of March 1885, and published in the Journal of that Society, Volume XVI, 1885, pp. 167ff. The note on the Date of Patanjali appears at pp. 181 ff.-(N. B. U.)

2. General Cunningham's Arch. Report, Vol. XII. p. 38.

3. The Note on the Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature was omitted from the subsequent editions of that work, as also from the Collected Edition of Max Müller's Works. [N. B. U.]

a commentary on it (the Vrtti Sutra, i. e. the *Kasika Vrtti*), entitled Curni, containing 24,000 Slokas; it is a work of the learned Patanjali." To speak of Patanjali's Mahabhasya as a commentary on the Kasika is to speak something that is absurd, The author of the Kasika himself tells us that his work is based, among other works, on the Bhasya, which can be no other than the Mahabhasya of Patanjali, and there is internal evidence at every step to show that it is based on that work. And there can be no question whatever that the Mahabhasya is not a commentary on the Kasika. The absurdity of the statement is also patent from what I-tsing himself states with regard to the dates of the several grammarians. Jayaditya, the author of the Vrtti Sutra, i.e., the Kasika, according to Professor Max Müller, died thirty years before I-tsing wrote, or about 660 A. D., while Bhartrhari, the author of a commentary on the Mahabhasya, died forty years before, or about 650 A. D., so that the author of the Kasika died ten years after the author of a commentary on a commentary on his own work; that is, he was so fortunate as to have these two large and very learned works, written in elucidation of his own during his own lifetime by men who died before him. And yet this is the evidence that, according to Professor Peterson is "slowly but surely" referring Patanjali to a date much later than that assigned to him by Professor Goldstücker and myself. When I-tsing speaks of Patanjali's work as a commentary on the Vrtti Sutra and of Jayaditya as the author of the Vrtti Sutra, he is confounding the Vartika Sutras of Katyayana with the Kasika or some work of Jayaditya, or has been mis-understood and mis-translated.

Professor Peterson's other reference is to the verses quoted as from Panini in the several anthologies noticed by him in his Reports on the Search for Manuscripts during the last two years. These verses are precisely similar in character to those to which **data's** between 600 and 1,000 A. D. have been assigned ; and herefore he says, " it is impossible to admit a gap of a **thousand** years between them." He therefore brings Panini down to **about**

that period. He does not deny the possibility of there being two Paninis. But he thinks " there is no evidence for such a supposition." If the similarity between the verses attributed to Panini and others is a sufficient reason for referring both to the same period, ought not the utter dissimilarity between them and the language of the Sutas, as well as the great difference between the Sanskrit the rules of which the Sutas give and the Sanskrit of the verses, to be considered a reason sufficiently urgent for assigning to the Sutas a period separated by a long interval from that in which the verses were written ? If the argument based on the similarity is valid, that based on the dissimilarity is equally so; and as I proceed, I shall show that the latter is so powerful, and there are so many circumstances which harmonize only with the conclusion deducible from it, that the only option left to us is to suppose that the Panini of the verses was altogether a different man from the Great Grammarian. It does not advance the cause of research to forget the points clearly made out by Goldstücker more than twenty years ago. A substance of his arguments and my expansion of them I have given in my Early History of the Deccan, and since the matter is of importance in the present discussion I quote it here:—¹

" Professor Goldstücker has shown from an examination of the Vartikas, that certain grammatical forms are not noticed by Panini but are taught by Katyayana, and concludes that they did not exist in the language in Panini's time. I have followed up the argument in my lectures² "On the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages, " and given from the Vartikas several ordinary instances of such forms. From these one of two conclusions only is possible, viz., either that Panini was a very careless and ignorant grammarian, or that the forms did not exist in the language in his time. The first is of course inadmissible, where-

1. sr rR,G. Bhandarkar's Collected Works, Volume III, p. 141 [N.B.U.]

1 Wilson Philological Lectures on sanakrit are, Edition of 1914, p.23f [N,B,U.]

fore the Second must be accepted. I have also shown from a passage in the introduction to Patanjali's Mahabhasya, that verbal forms such as those of the Perfect which are taught by Panini as found in the Bhasa or current language, not the Chandasa or obsolete language, had gone out of use in the time of Katyayana and Patanjali, and participles had come to be used instead. Profesor Goldstücker has also given a list of words used by Panini in his Sūtras in a sense which became obsolete in the time of Katyayana and has shown what portion of Sanskrit literature did not probably exist in Panini's time but was known to Katyayana, and in one case comes to the not unjustifiable conclusion that the time that had elapsed between Panini and Katyayana was so great that certain literary works which either did not exist in Panini's time or were not old to him came to be considered by Katyayana to be as old as those which were old to Panini."

To this I may now add, what I showed in the Preface to my Second Book of Sanskrit¹ seventeen years ago, that according to Panini's rules the Aorist expresses (1) past time generally, or the simple completion of an action, (2) the past, time of this day and not previous to this day and (3) recent past time : and thus resembles in every respect the English Present Perfect. But in the later language the distinction between that tense and the other two past tenses is set aside and the Aorist is used exactly like these. Now, the language of the verses ascribed to Panini and generally the language of what Professor Max Müller calls the Renaissance period is grammatically the same as that of Katyayana and Patanjali, and is the language of participles instead of verbs; and even from theirs it differs in making extensive use of compounds and neglecting the distinction between the Aorist and the other past tenses. The Sanskrit of Patanjali's time is more archaic than that of Katyayana's time, and Panini's rules are nowhere more scrupulously observed than in

1. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Collected Works, Volume II, page 416f.

such an ancient work as the Aitareya Brahmana.¹ The many forms and expressions which he teaches, and which must have existed in the language, are nowhere found in the later literature; while specimens of them are to be seen in that Brahmana and like works. Between therefore the archaic language of the Sutras and the language which Panini calls Bhasa and of which he teaches the grammar, on the one hand, and the language of the Renaissance period on the other, there is such a wide difference that no one will ever think of attributing a work written in the style and language of this period to the Great Grammarian. I have in my first lecture² assigned Yaska and Panini to the same period of Sanskrit Literature ; and therefore, in my opinion, the style and manner of a work written by Panini, the grammarian must resemble those of the Nirukta ; but in the few verses attributed to Panini there is no such resemblance whatever. Should the entire work be discovered and found as a whole to be written in an archaic style, there will be time enough to consider its claim to be the work of Panini; but at present we must reject that advanced on behalf of these artificial verses.

I will here briefly state the other arguments I have elsewhere used to prove Panini's great antiquity. In the Early History of the Deccan³ I have mentioned that while in the Sūtras of Panini there are a great many names of places in Afghanistan, Panjab, and Northern India, there is none of any situated in Southern India. But Katyayana inserts such names in his

1. I have shewn this, so far as the Aorist is concerned, in the preface to my Second Book of Sanskrit, and I learn from Dr. Kieihorn that one of his German pupils has recently done the same as regards the eases, in his dissertation for his Ph. D.

2., See the Wilson Philological Lecturea for 1877, printed separately, Bombay 1914 p. 30. These Wilson Philological Series 1877, are also now printed in sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Collected Works in Volume I T. [N.B.U].

3. That is Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Collected Works, Volume H I, page 14f. [N.B.U.]

22 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. I. J

emendations of the Sutras, and from this circumstance I have concluded, as Goldstücker has done in other cases, that Southern India was unknown to the Aryas of the North in the time of Panini, while it was known in the time of Katyayana. The Atoka Inscriptions contain a good many names of places in the South, which shows that the Aryas were familiar with that part of the country in his time, i. e. in the middle of the third century before Christ. Panini therefore must have flourished before the third century at least. In a paper published in the first number of the *Indian Antiquary*¹ I have given reasons for identifying a town of the name of Sangala, destroyed by Alexander the Great, with Sankala mentioned by Panini under IV, 2. 75- Sankaia therefore existed in Panini's time, which it could not have done if he lived after Alexander the Great. Panini must therefore have flourished before him. In a review, of this paper² Professor Weber states that certain Greek geographers speak of the existence of a town of that name even after the time of Alexander. But I believe it is a town of the name of Sakala that, they mention, and Sakala, we know, was a flourishing town in Panjab up to a very late period, and was different from Sangala which was situated to the east of the Ravi, while Sakala was situated to the west. Ptolemy mentions Sagala which must be Sakala and not Sankala, as it wants the nasal. Sakala is mentioned in the Mahabharata as the capital of the Madras, by Patanjali under Panini IV. 2. 104, and in the form of Sagala in Pali Buddhistic books such as the Milindapanho. It appears to have been the capital of the Indo-Bactrian princes, since Milinda or Menander is spoken of as reigning' at that place. But Sankala is not mentioned in any Indian work, or Sangala by any Greek writer, in a manner to show that it existed after the time of Alexander. Sakala was an old city, and appears to have been re-built by an Indo-Bactrian king and called Euthydemia. Ptolemy gives this as another name of Sagala,

1. Printed in this volume pages 102-107. [N.B. U.]

2. See above. [N. B, U.]

Dynasty, dated 326, a translation of which was published by me in that same number,¹ and a Nagari Transcript in the tenth Volume of the Journal of this Society, puns on the technical terms of Panini are used in describing a king, who is represented as thoroughly versed in the Tantra or art of the Salaturiya, as well as in that of government. By the Salaturiya is, of course, meant Panini, he being a native of the town of Salatura. Such a use of the name of Panini and of his technical terms argues a great deal of everyday familiarity with his work on the part of the writer, and of those for whom he wrote, which would not have been possible unless he had for a very long time been in undisputed possession of the place he has occupied in Sanskrit Literature. Now the date 326 refers to the Gupta-Valabhi Era and corresponds according to my view to 645 A. D., and according to the views of others to 493 and 516 A. D. Thus then in the first half of the seventh century or about the end of the fifth, Panini was an author of established repute, with whom everybody was familiar, and consequently, even then, of great antiquity. Hiuen Tsiang mentions Panini, the author of the grammar, as having been born at Salatura. Five hundred years after the Nirvapa of Buddha, he tells us, an Arhat converted a boy at Salatura whom he saw undergoing chastisement at the hands of his teacher for not learning his lessons in Panini's grammar. In connection with the Arhat's observation that the Rsi Panini had compiled the Sabdavidya, the teacher said that the children of the town revered his eminent qualities, and that a statue erected to his memory still existed at Salatura. The Arhat thereupon told the teacher that the boy whom he had been chastising was Panini himself, who had come into the world again to study the holy doctrine of the Tathagata. As Panini he had wasted a vigorous intellect in studying worldly literature

1. Sir R, G, Bhandarkar's Collected Works, Volume III p,214ff. [N.B.U]

and composing heretical treatises, and therefore had, since that time, run through cycles of continued births- This boy therefore had no capacity for the study of grammar. From this it is clear that, according to the Buddhistic tradition prevalent in Hiuen Tsiang's time, i.e., in the first half of the seventh century, the length of time that elapsed between Panini and the end of the fifth century after the Nirvana, was computable by cycles of continued births. And the " recent speculation " also that Professor Peterson speaks of, instead of modernizing Panini, tends in the same direction. For, we now know that Bhartrhari lived before 650 A. D., and from the account that he gives of the fate of the Mahabhasya, it appears, as I shall mention further on more particularly, that that work was written several centuries before him. And Panini, of course, must have lived a long time before Patanjali, the author of the Mahabhasya. A very large variety of arguments such as these dearly prove Panini's high antiquity. The modern verses, therefore, attributed to him must be regarded as written by another author of that time.

In his Second Report, Professor Peterson quotes a verse ascribed to Rajasekhara in which Panini, the author of the grammar, is represented to be the author of a poem entitled Jambuvatijaya. He also speaks of Professor Aufrecht's having seen it stated in an anonymous verse that the poet Panini was the son of Dakṣ. In themselves both these statements prove nothing as to the age of Panini. The great Grammarian may have been a poet, and may have written a work called Jambuvatijaya. But if the verses brought to light are from that work and consequently the work is of the nature of those belonging to the period of the Renaissance then at once the tradition which represents the author of that work to be the same as the author of the Astadhyayi must be rejected as conflicting with the clearest evidence, internal as well as external. It is a tradition of the same nature as that which represents the author of the Nalodaya to be the same as the author of Sakuntala, or which refers Kalidasa to the

first century before the Christian era, or which makes Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti contemporaries, or which identifies Hala with Kuntala, and both with Salivahana.

This, then, is what comes of the " recent speculation " which is " slowly but surely " referring Patanjali to the fifth century of the Christian era. And if I can show that the evidence on which the author of the Mahabhasya is referred to the middle of the second century before Christ not only remains totally un-shaken by anything that Professor Peterson has directly urged against it, but is corroborated by facts, recently brought to light, the Professor's " recent speculation " will be utterly powerless by itself to modernize Panini and his commentators. Professor Peterson himself sees this, and hence he makes only a passing allusion to it, and does not bring it forward prominently.

The first thing against which Professor Peterson directs his attack is the statement of Kalhana,¹ the chronicler of Kasmir, that Candracarya and others introduced the study of the Mahabhasya into that country in the reign of Abhimanyu. His statement is considered as deserving of no credit, on the general ground that the part of the Rajataratiggi where it occurs is, according to the Professor, full of improbabilities. In regard to such a professedly historical work as the Rajtarangini the correct principle to go upon is, in my opinion, to accept such statements as are not improbable in themselves, and do not go against stronger and more reliable evidence. If we adopt the principle laid down by Professor Peterson, we shall have to reject everything that is said in this part of the work, even his statement that Kasmir was ruled over a little before this time by three princes of Turaska extraction, Huska, Juska, and Kaniska. But Inscriptions and coins prove this statement of Kalhapa to be true, and confirmation of this nature shows that he is entitled to our credit, except, I repeat, in those cases where stronger evidence proves him to be wrong. And in the present case not only is here nothing that goes against his statement, but the passage in

Bhartrhari's Vakyapadiya confirms it, since, there also, we are told that Candracarya revived the study of the Mahabhasya. Of course, Bhartrhari does not say that Candracarya did that in the reign of Abhimanyu; but since the main portion of the statement is confirmed, it is in every way reasonable that we should believe in the remaining part. Professor Peterson says that Kalhana's authority is the statement in the Vakyapadiya, but this is a mere assumption, and the fact that Bhartrhari does not mention the name of Abhimanyu would rather show that it was not the Vakyapadiya that Kalhapa followed. In another place the Rajatarangini states¹ that a subsequent king, Jayapida, who is said to have reigned from 755 A. D. to 786 A. D., re-introduced the study of the Mahabhasya which had ceased to be studied in his realm. The word ~~निवृत्ति~~ which occurs in the verse and signifies " cut off," " interrupted," and which, consequently, I have translated by " ceased to be studied, " shows that the Mahabhasya continued to be studied in Kasmir for some time after Candracarya had revived its study, but had fallen into disuse in that country. Hence it was that Jayapida brought Panditas from other parts of India, and re-introduced the study of the book. For this statement, also, Professor Peterson thinks the passage in the Vakyapadiya to be Kalhana's authority, and believes that the author of the Kasmir chronicle divided the passage into two parts, and assigned Candracarya to the reign of Abhimanyu for "greater glory " of that monarch. But why he should be so partial to that monarch, removed as *hi* was from his time by centuries, it is difficult to conceive. The Professor thinks this latter statement of Kalhana about Jayapida's revival of the study of the Mahabhasya " to be far more deserving of credit, " and understands by ~~निवृत्ति~~ that cessation of the study of the work in the whole of India and not in Kasmir alone, from which, according to the Vakyapadiya, Candracarya " had (recently ?) rescued " it. For these several assumptions, however, the Professor gives no grounds, and to me this looks like

a process of manufacturing history to order, and not interpreting history. But in this way Professor Peterson falls unawares into a trap which he has prepared for himself. He evidently seems to think that the revival of the study of the Mahabhasya by Candracarya, mentioned by Bhartrhari, took place in about 755 A.D., in the reign of Jayapida ; but Bhartrhari, who mentions the fact, died, according to I-tsing, the Chinese traveller, about the year 650 A. D. ; so that according to the Professor's reading of history Bhartrhari makes mention of a fact that took place about 105 years after his death! Thus then Kalhana did not assign one part of what took place in the time of Jayapida to Abhimanyu's reign " for the greater glory " of that monarch, and not only is there nothing that conflicts with that author's placing Candracarya in the reign of Abhimanyu, but all that we know is in perfect harmony with it. Hence the statement of Kalhana must be accepted. Now, when Abhimanyu reigned it is somewhat difficult to determine, since the Kasmir chronology of this early period is not clear. Abhimanyu, according to Kalhana, got possession of the Kasmir throne after the three Turuska or Indo-Scythian princes. Kaniska, the first of these, is referred to the first century, and is by some considered to be the founder of the Saka era which begins in 78 A. D. On this supposition the last of these princess reigned up to about 178 A. D. But I am inclined, for reasons elsewhere given,¹ to place Kaniska about a century later, so as to bring the last Indo-Scythian prince about the end of the third century.² Thus the study of the Mahabhasya was revived by Candracarya about the end of the third century at the latest.

Professor Peterson next discusses the sense of the passage in the Mahabhasya in which the name Maurya occurs. This has been understood to be the name of the dynasty that ruled over Pataliputra and the whole of Northern India at the end of the

1. Early History of the Deccan, p. 20.=sir R-G. Bbandarkar's Collected Works Volume III, p, Sen. [N. B. U.]

2. "A Peep into the Early History of India", this Volume, p. 35. [N.B.U.]

fourth and in the third century before Christ. Professor Peterson criticises Professor Goldstücker's translation, says that no contrast between the Mauryas and common people, which he thinks led Goldstücker to understand the dynasty by that name, is here meant, and takes the word Maurya to mean a guild or caste of idol-makers, which is the interpretation put upon the word by Nagojibhatta.

That Goldstücker misunderstood the grammatical import of the passage and that Professor Peterson gives it correctly is true. I myself published¹ a translation of it in 1873, in accordance with the native commentators, and stated that Goldstücker's translation was wrong. But in other respects Professor Peterson's translation is incorrect, and the grounds for taking "Maurya" as the name of a dynasty that was extinct in Patanjali's time still remain. The contrast between a royal dynasty and common people is not that ground; but there is another contrast which Professor Peterson has lost sight of and which consequently has been neglected in his translation. That translation² is :—

"In that case [if अव्यये is to be part of the rule] the following expression is not obtained [i. e., must be declared to be bad grammar, while as a matter of fact, it is in common use, and so it is the correctness of the Sutra that is in peril]. स्कन्दो विशालः "A Skanda in act to shoot." "Why?" "It is for gain that the Mauryas make images." तावु न स्यात् "Let it be admitted that so far to them the rule कनो लुप् should not apply, but that the affix K a should be used." वास्तवेताः स्मितां पूज्यथाः t whatever images among these even, are from the beginning intended for worship and not for sale, तावु अभिष्यसि to them that rule will apply, and the affix Ka will be barred." The Italics are mine with the exception of those in the first expression.

1. This Volume, p. 154. [N.B.U.]

2. Mahabhasya on Panini, V. 3 99. अव्यय इत्यव्यये तत्रेदं न सिध्यति ।
 त्रिषु स्कन्दो विशाल इति । किं कारणम् । मैत्रीहिरण्यमभिष्यसिर्वाः प्रकल्पिताः । नवेस्तावु
 न स्यात् । वास्तवेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तावु अभिष्यसि ।

Professor Peterson rejects the reading **विशालः** before **स्कन्दः**; why, I do not understand, unless the reason be that it goes against the translation which he was worked himself into believing to be correct, **विशालः** he translates by "in act to shoot" and his authority is a certain explanation of the word with a second-hand quotation in support from a commentary on the Amarakosa, contained in the St. Petersburg Lexicon, and copied from that as a matter of course by Monier Williams. But Böhtlingk and Roth have not found a single instance of the use of the word in that sense in the whole extent of the literature which they have examined. Still Professor Peterson thinks Patanjali has used it in that sense. But after all what Böhtlingk and Roth and Monier Williams say is that **विशालः** expresses "*an attitude in shooting*"; and not "*one in that attitude*"; so that if the sense is to be admitted here at all, **स्कन्दो विशालः** would mean "*Skanda who is an attitude in shooting*," which of course will not do. Patanjali, however, uses the word as expressive of a certain god who is always mentioned together with Skanda. Under Panini VIII. L. 15, he gives **इन्द्रं स्कन्दविशालो** along with **इन्द्रं वरुणमारुहो** as an instance of a copulative compound of the names of things or persons always mentioned together, which admits of the use of the word Dvandva or "pair" instead of Dvau, or "two." It is clear from this that Patanjali himself means to speak of them as two individuals always associated together, and forming a pair, and the dual also expresses that they were two.

Now Professor Peterson's translation 'of **मौर्वेहिरण्यादिभिरर्थाः प्रकल्पिताः** is "It is for gain that the Mauryas *make* images." "*Make*" is *present* tense while the **प्रकल्पिताः** is *past* tense, that being the past passive participle of the causal of **कृ**. Again **प्रकल्पिताः** means "*devised*," "*planned*," "*used as means*," and not simply "*made*." A closer translation of **हिरण्यादिभिः** than that we have in the expression "*for gain*" ought to be given; for an important point is involved in that. Patanjali applies several times the expression **जडिनाम हिरण्येन वचन्ति** "*seek for gold*" to kings; and

22 [R.G. Bhandarkar works, Vol. I]

the presumption it gives rise to is that here too these to whom he applies it must be kings. In the last sentence Professor Peterson's translation of the nominative **एताः** by " among these " is wrong. It is only the genitive **एतासां** or the locative **एताह** that can be so translated. Similarly **संप्रति** cannot mean "from the beginning" as the Professor takes it to mean ; it can only signify " now " in these days," &c.

The sense of the passage is this :—Panini lays down a rule that the termination Ka which is appended to the name of an object to signify something resembling that object (**इवे**), provided that something is an image (**प्रतिकृति**), is dropped (**कनो ह्रस्व**), when the image is used for deriving a livelihood (**जीविकार्थे**) and is not vendible (**न अपण्ये**). Now, Patanjali raises this question. The addition of the condition that the image should not be vendible renders such forms as Sivah, Skandah, Visakhah, grammatically not justifiable (**तत्रेदं - विशाल इति**). He must here be taken to mean that these forms are current, and that the description " not vendible " is not applicable to them. " Why not " (**किं कारणम्**), he asks. "Because the Mauryas, seeking for gold or money, used images of gods as means" (**मौर्यै—प्रकल्पिताः**). Here the author must be understood to say that the description " not vendible " is not applicable to the images now called Sivah, Skandah, and Visakhah because such images were sold by the Mauryas. They are therefore vendible objects, though as a matter of fact they are not for sale, and though the selling of such images of gods is discreditable. It is the act of the Mauryas that has rendered them vendible objects. Hence the termination cannot be dropped in accordance with the rule, and they should be called Sivakah, Skandakah and Visakhakah, but they are called Sivah, Skandah, and Visakhah. " It may be (**अवेत्**) that the rule about the dropping of Ka is not applicable (**न एवाह**) to them, 1. e; to those (**साह**) images of gods which were sold by the Mauryas. But as to these (**एताः**) [viz, those ailed by the names Sivah, Skandah, and Visakhah, the correctness of which is in question] which (**एताः**) are at the present day used for worship (**संप्रति पूजार्थः**) the

rule is applicable to them (तादृक्प्रविण्यति).” That IS *the* termination Ka should be dropped in their case and the forms whose correctness was questioned are correct,

The forms are correct, because they signify images of gods which are now worshipped and are not vendible. They were thought to come under the class of vendible objects because such images were used by the Mauryas for raising money ; but the vendibility of some does not make those that are worshipped vendible, and consequently, the names of those images do come under Plnini's rule and drop Ka. In understanding the passage thus I have set aside Nagojibhatta's comment which I think can be shown to be wrong. He appears to me to say that the words, Sivah, Skandah and Visakhah, express images sold by the Mauryas, and as such they are vendible objects and consequently should have the termination Ka, i. e. the forms should be Sivakah, &c, and not Sivah, &c, as given in the Mahabhasya which are incorrect, while those, which, in conformity with Panini's Sutra drop Ka, are such as express images, intended for that sort of worship which immediately after their manufacture brings in gains and enables a man to earn his livelihood. Now this makes no difference as to the province or operation of Panini's rule; but that the passage itself has been misunderstood by Nagojibhatta appears to me clear. He interprets संयति पूजार्थः as " bringing in gains immediately after manufacture," which interpretation is far-fetched, as are those of all commentators when they do not understand the point and still wish to explain a passage somehow. He also neglects the word वृत्ताः. But the great mistake he makes is his forgetting that when Patanjali supposes an opponent and makes him raise an objection by the expression न सिध्यति, " this is not justifiable by that rule," he very generally makes him object to the rule by bringing forward correct forms which that rule does not explain. Eventually, he interprets the rule in such a manner that those forms also are explained by it, In accordance with my interpretation this -is exactly what is done

here by Patanjali If the passage were put in the form of, a dialogue between the Doctor (Siddhantin) and his opponent (Purvapaksin), it would stand thus :—

Op. Panini inserts the condition that the image should not be vendible. Then, the forms Sivah, Skandah, Visakhah, are not correct according to his rule. [These forms express images of those gods, and should have the suffix Ka].

Doc. Why?

Op, Because the Mauryas, desirous of raising money, used as means the images of gods, [i. e. they bartered them; and these are such images, and consequently belong to the class of vendible objects].

Doc. Those images may not come under the rule, [because they bartered them, and consequently they may not drop Ka], But these, [viz., those in question] which at the present day are used for worship, come under the operation of the rule [and consequently the Ka is dropped J.

Does this passage contain history ? The past tense in the third speech itself shows that whoever the Mauryas were, they existed at a time which preceded the present time expressed in the last sentence of the fourth speech. And the present time must clearly be the time when Patanjali wrote. The Mauryas could not have been idol-makers, for, if they were, there was no necessity for referring them to past time. Nagojibhatta, no doubt, says they were idol-makers. But Nagojibhatta was a Sastri or Pandita, who lived about a hundred and fifty years ago, and though a man of very great learning and acuteness, did not care at all for history or had no conception of it, and as I have already observed, like other commentators, he often cuts the gordian knot of a difficulty instead of untying it. And what authority is there in the whole range of Sanskrit literature for taking the word in that sense? It is used in the Markandeya Purana to express a certain class of demons. But these demons can have nothing to do here. The word therefore must understood in the only other known

sense, and that is, that it was the name of a royal dynasty founded by Candragupta about 320 B. C. And Patanjali's expression *Hiranyarthibhih* does certainly not discountenance the hypothesis, as I have already observed ; for he has used the same expression in an uncompounded condition in speaking of kings generally. What is this fact that the author of the *Mahabhasya* mentions regarding the Mauryas? It may be, as Professor Weber has stated, that the Mauryas coined money by stamping the images of gods on the pieces; or it may be anything else.

Professor Peterson next proceeds to consider the historical value of the passages pointed out by Professor Goldstücker and myself, the events mentioned in which we regard as contemporaneous with Patanjali. In Goldstücker's passage, Patanjali gives *sWHUH-' ^IRFkw*, "The Yavana besieged Saketa," as an instance of Katyayana's rule that the Imperfect should be used to express an event, (1) known generally to people, and (2) not witnessed by the speaker, but (3) capable of being witnessed by him. The event mentioned in the instance must be understood as having these three attributes. The Yavana's siege of Saketa was known to all, and could be actually witnessed by the speaker if he wished, but was not, as a matter of fact; that is to say, the event took place during the life--time of the speaker. But who is the speaker ? Is he necessarily to be supposed to be contemporaneous with Patanjali or Patanjali himself; or is his time an irrelevant matter ? Professor Peterson thinks it is irrelevant, and the speaker may be supposed to have lived any number of years before Patanjali. Then how is it to be made out by Patanjali's pupil, for whose edification he gives the example, that the verb *Arunad* here expresses an action that could be witnessed by the speaker ? What Professor Peterson says amounts to this, that the pupil should know, as we now know it, that the verb expresses such an action, from the fact that this is an example of the rule that the Imperfect is used to denote an action that could be witnessed by the speaker. Then what was the necessity of a historical example ? Patanjali might have

given such an instance as this : **देवदत्तो मथुरामगच्छत्**, "Devadatta went to Mathura." That this was a fact well known, not witnessed by the speaker, but capable of being witnessed by him, his pupils should have gathered from the fact that it was an example of the rule. And what is the point of the counter examples that he gives? He puts the question, "Why does the Vartikakara say, 'the event must not be witnessed by the speaker' [**बरोह इति किमर्थम्**]?" The answer is, "In such instances as 'The sun has risen' [**उदनादादित्यः**], the Imperfect is not to be used but the Aorist", for this fact is known to people generally and is capable of being witnessed by the speaker; but it is not such as is *not* witnessed by the speaker. Again, "Why does he say the event must be known to people generally [**लोकविज्ञात इति किमर्थम्**]?" "Because, in such instances as 'Devadatta made a mat' (**चकार कटं देवदत्तः**), the Perfect must be used and not the Imperfect"; for this event is not witnessed by the speaker and is capable of being witnessed by him, but it is not a thing that is known to people generally. And lastly, "Why does he say it must be capable of being witnessed by the speaker [**प्रयोक्तृदर्शनविषय इति किमर्थम्**]?" "Because, in such instances as 'Vasudeva killed Karnsa' (**जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः**), the Perfect should be used, and not the Imperfect"; for the event is generally known to people, and is *not* witnessed by the speaker; *but it is not capable of being witnessed by the speaker, as it took place a long time ago*. It will thus be seen that these counter-examples are such that their possessing two of the three conditions, and not possessing one, is a fact that is known to the persons whom Patanjali is addressing, and is not to be made out by them simply because he says so. Similarly, the fact that the example, "the Yavana besieged Saketa", possesses the three necessary conditions, must be known to the pupils independently of the rule, and then only can they see that the Imperfect is properly used. If the existence of the three conditions in the example were a thing to be made out from the wording of the rule only, **जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः** would also serve as

an example of the rule instead of ~~अहमवचनः साकेतः~~ for we might suppose the speaker to be contemporaneous with Visudeva, since the rule requires it to be so. The counter-examples would be pointless if there were no way of knowing, independently of the rule, that one of the conditions was absent. And we shall see, if we compare these examples, that the means of judging whether the conditions of a rule are realized in an example are supplied by the pupil's acquaintance with the world, and with history and mythology. When the conditions are verbal, it is the eye and the ear that discover whether they are fulfilled. This is what Patanjali supposes, and not a previous acquaintance with the language, as Professor Peterson thinks. Even in the English example he has given, " In six days God made heaven and earth", we know that this use of the past tense is proper, because we know from the Book of Genesis and not from the rule about that tense, that God did create heaven and earth in six days, i. e. it is a past action.

I will here endeavour to state clearly the relation between the rules and examples given by a grammarian. Every rule lays down a certain condition, and prescribes what should be done when the condition is satisfied. An example intended to illustrate such a rule can serve its purpose only then when the pupil or reader sees, independently of the rule, from his knowledge of the world, including that of history, that the condition mentioned in the rule is satisfied and what is prescribed is done. In those examples in which the names of possible individuals such as John, and Caius, and Devadatta are used, the condition can only be satisfied by the possible and not actual existence of its requirements. " John is writing a book " is an appropriate example of the use of the Present Progressive, because the condition that the action of writing should be of a nature to be *progressive* and *present* is satisfied in so far as it is possible for the action to have both characteristics in this case. But this possibility is independent of the rule, and is to be made out by the

reader pupil through his knowledge of the world. For if, instead of this example, we have " John is loving Jane and hating Tom", we see it is not appropriate, though the rule is the same. The reason is that the condition is not satisfied, as the actions of *loving* and *hating* are not of a nature to admit of jprogressiveness, and this we know independently of the rule. In the same way the example, " Gibbon is writing the history of the Decline and Fall " would be inappropriate as given by grammarians of the present day, because the condition that the action should be *present* cannot be satisfied, for Gibbon is not living now. But as given by a grammarian living while Gibbon was writing his work, it would be appropriate ; for that condition would then be satisfied. A grammarian of the present day can use the fact only for illustrating the use of the Past tense and say, " Gibbon wrote the History of the Decline and Fall." It will, therefore, be seen, that when examples containing the names of *actual* or historical and not *possible* individuals are used, the condition of the rule can only be satisfied by its requirements having an *actual* or historical, and not *possible*, existence.

Thus, then, in the case before us, in which we have a historical example, the requirements of the condition must have an actual or historical existence, and Patanjali's pupils must see from their acquaintance with the world, and not from the rule of Kityi-yana, that the siege by the Yavana was known to people generally, that it was not witnessed by the speaker, but that it was capable of being witnessed by him. Now if the speaker was an indefinite person who lived nobody knew when, it was not possible that the pupils should be able to find out whether the condition that the siege should be capable of being witnessed by him was satisfied in the example, and therefore he must be supposed to be contemporaneous with them and with Patanjali, or Patanjali himself. Professor Peterson thinks Nagojibhatta supports his view. But Nagojibhatta puts himself in the position of a modern reader, and not in the position of Patanjali's pupils; and infers from the Vartika and the example that the speaker

belongs to the same time as that when the siege took place. We know nothing of this siege and when it was undertaken : and have consequently to infer from the passage the chronological relation between it and the speaker. But Nagojibhatta does not say that the contemporaneity of the siege and the speaker is the only inference that is valid, and that the " user " is not necessarily Patanjali or contemporaneous with him. On the other hand, he remarks:— "The killing of Kamsa is not even capable of being witnessed by a speaker living in these days (**इदानींतनप्रयोक्तुः**), while in the example Arunad etc.,¹ the speaker is contemporaneous with the action. " The word **इदानींतन** ' living in these days ' which he has used in connection with the speaker in the *counter-example*, " Vasudeva killed Kamsa, " is to be understood as applicable to the **प्रवक्ता** or speaker in the *example* also ; so that Nagojibhatta must be taken to mean that the speaker of *these days* is contemporaneous with the action. " These days " are of course the days when Patanjali wrote.

Again, even if the contemporaneity of the siege of Saketa by the Yavana and of Patanjali be admitted, it proves nothing, according to Professor Peterson, as regards the age of Patanjali. " There is nothing to show that the Yavanas besieged Saketa in the time of Menander, or that they did not besiege that city more than once in the centuries that followed. " But the question has certainly advanced a stage and it were very much to be wished that the Professor had taken it up there. Of the Indo-Bactrian princes Demetrius and Menander have been represented by the Greek historians to have made the largest conquests. The former is said to have reigned between 205 and 165 B. C.² According to Strabo, as Goldstücker has stated, Menander pushed his conquests up to the Jumna (Yamuna) river. The Indo-Bactrian dynasty became extinct in B. C. 85, according to Lassen.

1. भाष्ये ज्ञानेति । कंसवधो हि । मेदानींतनप्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनयोग्योऽस्त्यर्थः । अद्वयदि-
त्वाद्वयज्ञे तु मुख्यकालः प्रवक्तोति धोष्यम् । From a MS. in my possession.

2. Kern's Edition. of Varahamihira, Preface.

23 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. I.]

to the Girgi Sarhhita, the Yavanas are mentioned as having conquered Saketa, Pancala, and Mathura, and penetrated even to Kusumapura or Pataliputra. Of the Indo-Bactrian kings, Menander was the one who seems to have come in close contact with the Indians. There is a work in Pali entitled Milindapanho which gives an account of a religious conversation between a Yona king of the name of Milinda and a Buddhist sage of the name of Nagasena. Milinda has been identified with Menander. There is, therefore, every probability that it was Menander that laid the siege to Saketa alluded to by Patanjali. But if Professor Peterson is not satisfied, no Greek invasion of India could have taken place after 85 B. C; so that the "centuries that followed" during which the Yavanas could, according to him, have besieged the city are reduced to about 60 years. That the Indians called the Greeks only Yavanas during the three centuries preceding the Christian era and about as many after, is a fact. Asoka calls Antiochus, king of Syria, a Yona-*raja*. Milinda or Menander is so styled in the Milindapanho, and in the Gargi Samhita the Yavanas are spoken of as good astronomers;; wherefore the Greeks must have been meant. Kaniska and his successors are called Turuskas in the Rajatarangini, and the Indo-Scythians, who overran a large part of the country, were called Sakas. Persians or Parthians are spoken of as Palhavas; and the Huns, who poured into the country later, are styled Hunas. So that during this early period, each of these foreign races was called by a distinctive name and there was no confusion. By the name Yavana, Patanjali therefore could not have meant a prince of any other than the Greek race. Hence the siege of Saketa by a Yavana could by no possibility have taken place after 85 B. C.; and for the reasons above stated and also because the Indo-Bactrian kings could not have invaded the country during the years of their decline, it was Menander in all likelihood that is spoken of as the Yavana by our great Grammarian.

As with the example pointed out by Goldstücker, so with mine. Katyayana's Vartika is: "the Bhavanti or forms of the Present

Tense should be prescribed for use to express an action which has begun but not ceased, " for, though at a particular time during the interval that action may not be going on, still if it has not ceased, it should be expressed even at that time, by means of the Present tense. " Here we sacrifices for Puspamitra " (इह पुष्पमित्रं यजयामः) is one of the three instances by which Patanjali illustrates the rule. It is a historical instance, and consequently on the principles laid down before, the requirement of the condition mentioned in the rule must have an actual or historical existence. If Puspamitra had flourished long before Patanjali, it would not have done for him to illustrate an action that had begun but not ended by speaking of his sacrifice, in the same manner as it would not do for us in these days, to illustrate such an action by " God is making heaven and earth " or " Gibbon is writing the History of the Decline and Fall. " And as we must have recourse in these days to an event that is going on at present, if we wish to give a historical illustration, and say such a thing as " Kielhorn is editing the Mahabhasya, " so when Patanjali wanted to give a historical illustration of the rule, and said, " Here we sacrifice for Puspamitra, " it must have been an occurrence actually then going on that he had recourse to. In other words, Patanjali's pupils must be able to see that in this example, the condition laid down in the rule that " an action must have "begun but not ended " is fulfilled. This would, of course, be impossible for them to find out if Puspamitra flourished long before them. If instead of this historical fact, Patanjali had instanced a possible fact and said, " Here we sacrifice for Devadatta " (इह देवदत्तं यजयामः), all that would have been necessary is that the action of sacrificing (यजयामः) should be of a nature to have a *possible* present existence and to extend over many days and admit of intervals during which it is not actually going on ; and then his example would have resembled such a modern example as " John is writing a book." But Puspamitra, being a historical personage, the action affirmed with reference to him must have an *actual* present existence at the time. When, therefore Patanjali wrote this, the sacrifice of Puspamitra had begun, but not ended.

Professor Peterson, however, considers It " more probable than not " from the whole context of the passage, and not from the illustration, that " Patanjali lived at the time, and perhaps at the court, of Puspamitra. " The historical import of the illustration I have explained, and nothing more remains to be said on this point, except that instead of saying the " whole context of the passage, " if the Professor had said " from this passage, and another in which Puspamitra's sacrifice is spoken of and he is represented as giving the money required, and from a third in which he is meant to be spoken of as a particular king (राजविश्वः) and as holding his courts ", it would have answered his purpose better. But though Professor Peterson admits that Patanjali very probably lived in the time of Puspamitra, still he thinks that there is no ground for believing that he was the Puspamitra who reigned in the second century before Christ; and has got Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji to unearth for him another Puspamitra, who lived about the time of Skandagupta. But this process has certainly not succeeded. For, in the first place, General Cunningham, writing in 1861-62, says with regard to the Bhitari Lat and the Inscription on it: " Unfortunately, this face is much weather-worn, and the stone has also peeled off in several places, so that the Inscription is now in even a worse condition than when I first saw it in January 1836."¹ Then, the line read सप्तदितदलकोषमुपमित्रं गृहीत्वा by Dr. Bhau Daji, and सप्तदितदलकोषमुपमित्रं च जित्वा by Dr. Bhagvanlal (both reading from the same transcript), reads in General Cunningham's copy² सप्तदयमकोशं वाक्यमित्रं गृहीत्वा, where we see Pusyamitra is transformed into Vakyamitra. This shows unmistakably in what condition the Inscription is. In the impression or facsimile given by Dr. Bhau Daji, I can read सप्तदितदलकोष ... मित्रं गृहीत्वा. The लि of Bhagvanlal's जित्वा does not at all appear there, and the word looks certainly far more like गृहीत्वा than च जित्वा, and General Cunningham's गृहीत्वा agrees better with the former than with the

1. Arch. Report, Volume I. p. 98.

2. Ibid, piste XXX.

latter. The two letters between कोष and मित्रं are illegible, and the second certainly looks much more like General Cunningham's प्य than व्य and may be ह्य, and it was on this account that Bhau Daji himself must have enclosed " Pusya " within brackets in his translation. It cannot be a printer's error, as Professor Peterson supposes; and the reason why पुष्य is not bracketed in the Nagari Transcript must have been that Bhau Daji himself did not read a proof of it, but left it to his Sastri. There is then no authority for reading the word as "Pusyamitra" in the published copies of the Inscription. So that until Professor Peterson gets Dr. Bhagvanlal to publish a more legible facsimile, I must refuse to believe in his Pusyamitra's having been a man of flesh and bones and in his having been conquered by Skandagupta.¹

But supposing that there was a prince of that name in Skandagupta's time, is it possible he could have been Patanjali's Puspamitra ? Decidedly not. Let us determine the environments of Patanjali's Puspamitra as they are to be gathered from the Maha-

1. After the above was written I saw Mr. Fleet in Poona. As Epigraphical Surveyor to the Government of India he has taken fresh impressions of the Gupta Inscriptions. He was good enough to show that of the Inscription on the Bhitari Lat to me. He agrees with General Cunningham in stating that the inscription is much worn and illegible, and says it is the worst of the Gupta inscriptions. He reads पुष्यमित्रं but instead of च जिज्ञा there is in his copy गृहीत्वा distinctly. But he says the whole line is quite capable of being read समुदितबलकोषान्पुष्यमित्रान्गृहीत्वा and this, I believe, is a much better reading than Bhagvanlal's समुदितबलकोषान्पुष्यमित्रं. For, the ablative कोषान् as taken to express the means by which Skandagupta is represented to have conquered Pusyamitra is unquestionably ungrammatical. The accusative, therefore, is correct, and thus पुष्यमित्रान् for पुष्यमित्रं is correct. If then this is the true reading, पुष्यामित्र becomes the name, not of an individual, but of a tribe, and a tribe of that name is mentioned in the Puranas as having held power over some part of the country during the period of confusion that followed the overthrow of the Andhrabhrtyas.

bhasya, and then examine whether they are to be found in the first prince of the Sunga dynasty who reigned in the second century before Christ, or in Skandagupta's supposed Puspamitra 1. Patanjali's Puspamitra performed, as we have seen, a sacrifice which must have been the Asvamedha sacrifice performed by paramount sovereigns. 2. He must have lived at a time when the country was exposed to the inroads of Yavanas. For, though Professor Peterson has denied the contemporaneity of Patanjali and the sieges of Saketa and Madhyamika he cannot deny that such events must have taken place at a time sufficiently near to that of Patanjali in order that he might know of them, think of them, and speak of them. 3. Patanjali's Puspamitra lived at a time when the memory of another great king of the name of Candragupta had not died away. For under Panini I. 1. 68 Patanjali gives as instance of compounds of the names of particular kings with the word sabha, Candragupta-sabha¹ and Puspamitra-sabha. Now these environments are found in the case of the Puspamitra who reigned in the second century before Christ. For Kalidasa tells us in his *Malavikagnimitra* that Senapati Puspamitra, the father of Agnimitra and the grandfather of Vasumitra, and consequently the founder of the Sunga dynasty, performed an Asvamedha sacrifice. He also tells us that the horse which had been let loose previous to the sacrifice and was under the protection of Vasumitra was captured by the cavalry of the Yavanas on the southern bank of the Sindhu. Greek writers also inform us, as we have seen, that the Indo- Bactrian kings several times invaded India in the second century. Now, these two circumstances cannot be true in the case -of the supposed Puspamitra of the fourth or fifth century. For he was a minor

1. Dr. Kielhorn omits this in his Edition, bat it occurs in four of his MSS. and also in the Kasika. Besides it will be seen that two instances of compounds of the synonyms of are given, wherefore one might expect two of Rijavisesas or particular kings. The reading चन्द्रगुप्तसभा, therefore, must be correct. [Kielhorn's Second edition of the *Mahatbhafya* (1892) restores the reading चन्द्रगुप्तसभा, p.177, lines 10-11. - N.B.U.]

prince, and not lord paramount, since he was conquered by Skandagupta and since paramount sovereignty was enjoyed, as we know, by the Gupta princes. He could not, therefore, have performed an Asvamedha sacrifice. And in the Inscription on the Bhitari Lat we are told that the Asvamedha sacrifice had long fallen into disuse, no doubt, because for the first three centuries of the Christian era the country was in the hands of foreigners of the Saka, Palhava, and other tribes, and Buddhism rather than Brahmoism was in favour with these foreigners. It was Samudragupta, the greatest of the Gupta princes and great-grandfather of Skandagupta that revived the rite. Again, it was not the Yavanas that harassed the country in the time of Skandagupta, but the Hunas or Huns, as we know from the last part of this same Inscription and from foreign writers. Their inroads continued till the sixth century, as we learn from the Harsacarita of which Professor Peterson has given such an excellent abstract in the Preface to his edition of Kadambari. As to the third circumstance, it is applicable to Puspamitra the Sunga; for Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, flourished only a little more than a hundred years before, and being one of the greatest princess of the family, perhaps the greatest, was of course not forgotten. In the case of the supposed Puspamitra, his being associated with Candragupta is no doubt explicable; for there were two Candraguptas in the Gupta family. But neither of these two was the greatest prince of his family, and there is no reason why either should be mentioned in preference to Samudragupta. Since, however, this is the only circumstance out of those found alluded to in the Mahabhasya, which might be considered applicable to the latter Puspamitra, little weight can be attached to it as against the earlier Puspamitra, while the existing evidence in favour of the latter being Patanjali's Puspamitra is greatly strengthened and corroborated by that circumstance being applicable in his case.

And if there was such a Puspamitra in the time of Skandagupta and Patanjali lived in his reign, between Patanjali and Bhartrhari a period of only about 150 years intervened according

to the true date of Skandagupta, but of about 275 or 300 years, according to those assumed by certain archaeologists.¹ Is this period enough to account for the manner in which Bhartrhari speaks of the Mahabhasya in that celebrated passage which has been so often quoted and translated, and for the eventful history of the work which he there gives ? Bhartrhari calls Patanjali a Tirthadarsin, i. e., " the seer of the saving truth," and the Mahabhasya an Arsagrantha, or a work composed by one who had such a keen perceptive faculty as the Rsis of old possessed, and consequently as authoritative as those composed by the Rsis. Can such a thing be said by one of a work written only 150 years before him or even 300 years ? A book can become Arsa, as a custom can become law, or in the language of Indian writers, Vedamulaka, i. e. based on the Vedas, only when its origin is forgotten. Then, Bhartrhari tells us " Baiji, Saubhava, and Haryaksa set at nought the work of Patanjali, following their own conjectures and guesses." " And the tradition of grammar which had fallen away from the pupils of Patanjali was in the course of time preserved only in books among the people of the South. Then Candracarya and others obtained the tradition from Parvata, and following the principles laid down in the Bhasya made it branch off into many schools". And it was after all this had taken place that Bhartrhari's master flourished. I do not think a period of 150 or 300 years can account for all this; and consequently the Puspamitra conquered by Skandagupta, even if he really existed, cannot be Patanjali's Puspamitra; while, if we take the passages about the Mauryas and the Yavanas in the manner in which they must be understood, and place reliance on Kalhana's statement about Abhimanyu, he has no chance whatever. I will now pass under review the whole evidence as regards the date of Patanjali :—

- a. The passage about Yavana shows that Patanjali lived about the time when a Yavana besieged Saketa and Madhyamika.

1. Mr. Fleet has recently found a date of one of the Guptas which confirms my Interpretation of the dates of the dynasty.

This leads us to about the middle of the second century before Christ.

- b. The passage in which the name of Puspamitra occurs shows that Patanjali lived during the reign of Puspamitra. Two other passages in which the name of that monarch is mentioned corroborate this view and leave no reasonable doubt about the matter. This also leads us to about the middle of the second century before Christ.

The date so arrived at is consistent—

- c. With the mention of the name of Candragupta in the Mahabhasya.
- d. With the mention of the Mauryas as having flourished before Patanjali's time.

And c. and d. together show that he lived at a time sufficiently close to the Mauryas in order that they might become the subject of his thought.

- e. With Kalhana's statement about the revival of the study of the Mahabhasya in the reign of Abhimanyu.
- f. With the eventful account given by Bhartrhari who lived in the first half of the seventh century, and with the reverent manner in which he speaks of Patanjali's work.

No later date can be assumed without doing violence to one or more of these passages and statements; that is, without saying that a passage does not mean what it naturally means, or that the statement is unfounded, incredible, or false. And all of them harmonize so thoroughly with my hypothesis and, taken collectively, form such a conclusive body of evidence, that I feel myself fully justified in concluding this rather long reply to Professor Peterson with those words of mine with which he began his attack, "Patanjali's date, B. C. 150, may now be relied on."

DATE OF PATANJALI No. II : BEING A SECOND REPLY
TO PROFESSOR PETERSON.

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Dr. Peterson drew me into a controversy by publishing a Note on the Date of Patanjali, in which he discussed Professor Goldstücker's views and mine, and asking me how, in my opinion, the matter stood in the light of what he had written. I had no option but to take up the challenge. I also thought this was a good opportunity to discuss fully the historical significance of the important passages pointed out by Goldstücker and myself, and to bring together all the available evidence for the date of Patanjali and also of Panini. I therefore wrote a long and, as Dr. Peterson himself styles one part of it,—whatever may be the sense intended by him— an "elaborate" reply. After waiting for about three months, Dr. Peterson has now published a reply to me.¹ In this, however, he discusses the sense of the least important of the passages, in his translation of which I pointed out some faults; and unceremoniously dismisses the main question and disposes of all I have said on it with the remark, "I think the whole argument a most unsafe one," without giving himself the trouble of entering at all into the merits of that argument. This is indeed a very easy way of disposing of great literary questions; but it is not one to which the scholar, born to a hard and a plodding lot, can afford to resort. The controversy has thus assumed a shape in which no good can be expected to come out

1. This reply is contained in the " Prefatory " Remarks to the separate reprint of Prof. Peterson's Papers on the Aucityalamkara of Keemendra, the Date of Patanjali, and An Inscription from Kotah, printed at Bombay, 1885. Prof. Peterson's " Preface in Reply to Professor Bhandarkar " in this booklet is dated 25th August 1885, and extends to eighteen pages. [N. B. U.]

of it; and I should have said nothing with reference to Peterson's reply, had he not in his desire to take 'sweet revenge' yielded to the temptation of discovering "a capital error" in one of my former publications on the subject, and of accusing me of having mis-apprehended Nagojibhatta's meaning. As it is unquestionable that this discovery and this accusation are the result of Peterson's own palpable mis-apprehension of Nagojibhatta's meaning and his failure, as I now see it, to catch the main point of the passage in Patanjali, the sense of which he has been discussing with me, I must once more argue the matter with him. I wilt begin by putting before the reader for reference the passage from Patanjali and the comments on it:

Panini—जीविकार्थे चापण्ये ।

Patanjali—अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेवं न सिध्यति शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति । किं कारणम् । मौर्यैर्हि रण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत्तासु न स्यात् । यास्वेताः संग्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति ।

Kaiyata—यास्वेता इति । याः परिवृष्टा गृहाद्ग्रहमदन्ति तास्वित्यर्थः । यास्तु विक्रीयन्ते तासु न भवति । शिवकान्चिक्रीणीत इति ।

Nagojibhatta—मौर्या विक्रेतुं प्रतिमाशिल्पवन्तः । तैरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः । विक्रेतुमिति शेषः । अतस्तासां ण्यत्वात्तत्र प्रत्ययभ्रमणप्रसङ्ग इति भावः । तत्र प्रत्ययभ्रमणमिष्टमेवेति ब्रह्मस्योदाहरणं दर्शयति भवेदित्यादि यास्वेता इति च । संग्रति पूजार्थाः संग्रति स्वनिर्माणसमकालमेव फलजनिका या पूजा जीविकाप्रदत्वेन तदर्थी इत्यर्थः । तदाह याः परिवृष्टेति ।

The first thing to be discussed is Dr. Peterson's translation of स्कन्दो विशाखः. Dr. Peterson's words in his Note or first paper are :— " But a reference to any dictionary will show that such a meaning is one of the best authenticated senses of the word विशाखः स्कन्दो विशाखः means 'A Skanda in act to shoot.'" I looked into the St. Petersburg Lexicon and Monier Williams' Dictionary for the word विशाखः as directed, and found what I have stated. It certainly is no fault of mine, if I find in the Dictionaries " a certain explanation of the word with a second-hand quotation," &c.

Böhtlingk and Roth, as well as Monier Williams, give " a certain attitude in shooting " as the sense of the word विशाल ; and I told Peterson that विशाल with this sense could not be taken as an adjective to स्कन्द, as certainly it cannot. He however now directs me to look out the word वैशाल ; and under that word I do find the two passages mentioned by him, as well as the explanation that वैशाल also means " a certain attitude in shooting;" and the passages show nothing more than that. But does this serve as a warrant to take विशाल as an adjective meaning " one in that particular attitude ?" वैशाल is a derivative from विशाल and means " belonging to or relating to \Visakha," that is, the word means that particular attitude in shooting which was attributed to the god Visakha. The word वैशाल occurs in Hemacandra's Abhidhana-Gntamajii, and this is the derivation given by him in his explanation of that word in his commentary on the work—विशालस्य स्कन्दस्येदं वैशालम्. Hemacandra, of course, identifies the god स्कन्द with विशाल, the two having in later times come to be considered as the names of the same god.—Hemacandra's Thesaurus is referred to by Böhtlingk and Roth, though not the Commentary. Thus, though वैशाल means " an attitude in shooting," there is no possibility of विशाल meaning "one in that attitude," i. e. of being used as an adjective in view of the explanation of विशाल contained in the Commentary on Amara referred to in the St. Petersburg Lexicon, and of the derivation of वैशाल given by Hemacandra.

Then Dr. Peterson goes on :—" On another small point too here Bhandarkar does me some wrong. He does not understand why I reject the reading विशः before स्कन्दः ' unless the reason be that it goes against the translation which' I have ' worked myself into believing to be correct.' It would be a legitimate retort to say that Bhandarkar reads Candragupta-sabha against Kielhorn, in the note on Panini I. i. 68, because the omission of that word might be fatal to the edifice Bhandarkar has raked on it." The retort is by no means legitimate, though of course I do not grudge Dr. Peterson the pleasure he evidently

feels in making it. There is very little or no resemblance between the two cases. Dr. Peterson's evidence for the omission **ॐ शिवः** when he first wrote, was, according to his statement, one Manuscript out of the eight collated by Dr. Kielhorn and the India Office Photozincograph of Kaiyata. But Peterson made a mistake when he considered these as two different Manuscripts ; for they are really one. He did not see that that manuscript collated by Dr. Kielhorn, which does not contain **शिवः**, is called by him ' g. ' And from the Preface to the First Volume of his edition we see that ' g ' is the India Office Photozincograph of Kaiyata. Thus then Peterson had only one Manuscript against seven to support his reading, while my reading **चन्द्रसुतसभा** was supported by four MSS. out of six collated by Dr. Kielhorn ; and the evidence of the Kasika and the fact of Patanjali's giving two instances of a correlative case were decidedly in its favour. Peterson also conjectured Kaiyata did not read **शिवः**, but he gave no reason whatever. On the other hand, it would appear that his example **शिवकान्धिक्रीणीति** was framed with the particular object of distinguishing that form from the **शिवः** occurring in Patanjali. As to the two new Manuscripts Peterson speaks of, I have got against them two which read **शिवः**, viz. one from Benares belonging to Rao Saheb Narayan Vishnu Bapat and generously presented by him to me. It contains the Bhasya, Pradipa, and Pradi-poddyota. The other, which also contains the three works, is Numbers 330-332 of Collection A of 1881-82, deposited in the Deccan College.

In all this defence of the " shooting Skanda, " Dr. Peterson quietly leaves out of sight the phrase **स्कन्दविहासौ** pointed out by me as occurring in the Bhasya on VIII. 1.15, from which it is unquestionable that Patanjali himself understood by the word **विहास** ' a god of that name. ' If another passage is wanted in which also Patanjali renders it plain that the word is the name of a god, it will be found under Panini, VI. 3. 26. Here too we have **स्कन्दविहासौ** which is a Dvandva compound meaning ' the two gods Skanda and Viskha. ' To persist in interpreting a word in Patanjali as meaning something totally different from

what Patanjali himself says it means is a feat requiring courage and boldness, which Peterson has shown himself to possess.

Before proceeding further, I must state that I did not fully understand Dr. Peterson's translation of the passage under discussion on the last occasion. Though, of course, there were some mistakes, still I thought he had understood the argument generally according to Nagojibhatta's view of it. But I now see that this is not the case. Though I do not agree with Nagojibhatta on one point, still, a great grammarian as he was and familiar with his subject, it is impossible that he should not see the main point of Patanjali's argument. But Peterson has totally misapprehended it. His view is so much out of the way that without more explanation than was contained in his first paper, it was not possible for me to understand it. And even on the present occasion it has cost me a good deal of trouble to ascertain it clearly. Dr. Peterson does understand 'Skandah' to be an image brought forward to show that Panini's rule is violated in that instance. But it is violated according to him because the image " may or may not be for sale. " From what follows and precedes, Peterson seems to mean by this expression that images have in them the possibility of being sold. The phrase **विश्वः स्कन्दो विश्वाः** contains, according to him, not according to me, as he supposes, " instances or an instance, of a form which, as denoting an image, is prima facie incorrect under the rule. " "It is notorious that images are vendible things. " Thus Peterson means, what he afterwards says in express words, that " all idols are in their nature vendible " ; and, therefore, we at once see that Sivah, Skandah and Visakhah violate Panini's rule. This is the germ of the whole mistake. Then, says he, " such names of idols then as Siva, Skanda, Visakha are for the matter in hand colourless. They do not of themselves tell us whether the objects of which they are the names—that is idols in general—are Panya or Apanya, vendible or not vendible. What then is it that raises the presumption, which it is necessary to notice, that all idols are in their nature vendible ? The answer to this query lies in the

phrase **नोद्वेष्टिण्यार्थिनि**: &c." So that, according to Peterson, Patanjali's query is "To what is it due, why is it that 'idols in general, 'i. e., 'all idols are in their nature vendible'?" And the answer is, "because it is for gain that the Mauryas make images." And herein lies Peterson's radical error. In the next sentence Patanjali means to say, according to Peterson, that "vendible images made by the Mauryas are as a class "excluded from the operation of the "general rule which enjoins the omission or affix Ka"; that is, their names must all have the termination Ka. But such of the vendible images as "are from the beginning intended for worship and not for sale "come under the rule and have not the affix. This is the sense of the last sentence.

(1) Now, if images are notoriously vendible things, if "they may or may not be for sale, "if Sivah, Skandah and Visakhah are prima facie incorrect under Panini's rule, why is it that Patanjali asks **किं कारणं** sc. **न सिध्यति**, i. e. "why are the forms Sivah, Skandah, Visakhah, incorrect under the rule?" But Peterson thinks that the meaning of this query is, "why is it that all idols are in their nature vendible?" What have you got to do with *all idols*? Whence do you get them? How does any question arise about them? Do Patanjali's words, which are perfectly plain, mean that? The question is only about *three* idols and not *all*. And what is the necessity of accounting for the fact that all idols are in their nature vendible? The question does not hang at all on the reason of the fact, but on the fact itself. We have nothing whatever to do with the reason. The whole point is, the use of the word **अपण्य** in the Sutra makes the forms **शिबः स्कन्दो विशाखः** incorrect. How they became incorrect under the rule in consequence of the use of that word is what is required to be shown, i. e. it should be shown that while the operation prescribed in the sutra, viz. the dropping of Ka, is done here, one of the conditions of the operation, viz. **अपण्यत्व** or invendibility, is absent; i. e. ;hat the images expressed by those forms are Panya or vendible. And it is also necessary to decide whether the forms are really incorrect. This is the meaning of the word

and no other meaning is possible. Now Peterson would object, saying, 'What is the necessity of showing the images to be vendible and the forms to be incorrect ? It is notorious that images are vendible things and the forms are therefore, of course, incorrect. ' My first emphatic reply is, I am under no obligation to tell you why it is necessary to show this; but there can be no doubt that Patanjali himself does admit the necessity and asks why they are incorrect. His words mean that, and can mean nothing else. My next reply is, you mis-understand the word Panya when you say that the vendibility of images is such a notorious and plain matter that it does not require to be shown. When you say, " idols have been sold from the beginning and are sold now : and the supply will doubtless continue so long as the demand shall last," all you mean is that images possess the possibility of being sold. Panya does not mean a thing which possesses the possibility of being sold. If that is what you mean by Panya and the English word Vendible,' the very clothes that you or I have now on our bodies are Panya; for clothes have been sold from the beginning and are sold now, &c. But I should consider it an insult if anybody so characterized my clothes. The sense of the word Panya, therefore, is *a thing that is intended to be sold, that is for sale*. The definition in the Kasika is : **विप्रीयते यत्तत्पण्यम्**. The clothes I wear were Panya before I got them from a shop, are not panya now, and would be Panya again if I were reduced to destitution, which God forbid, and should be obliged to sell them. Just then, as you cannot say, when a shirt is spoken of, that it is panya or vendible in this sense, i.e. 'exposed for sale,' so when certain images are named, it does not necessarily follow that they are panya. Hence the necessity of showing that they are so ; and hence the question **किं कारणम्**. The answer is and must be contained in the next clause **नैवेदिरभ्यार्थिकर्त्ताः प्रकल्पिताः**. That answer, according to Nagojibhatta, is that they are Panya because these are images exposed by the Mauryas for sale; and according to my independent translation, they are Panya because **images like them** were sold or exposed for sale by the Mauryas

who wanted to raise money. " It is for gain that the Mauryas make images," which is Peterson's translation, cannot possibly be the answer to the query.

The difference between Nagojibhatta and myself here is that according to himself the Siddhantin who asks the question किं कार-
णम् and the Purvapaksin who answers it by saying मोर्धेर्दि० & c, both understand the word Panya in its correct, or proper sense, viz., 'something exposed for sale' (विक्रीयते वस्तुव्ययम्); while according to my view, the Siddhantin takes it in its correct sense, and the Purvapaksin resorts to the incorrect sense which Peterson seeks to attach to it, viz., ' the possibility of being sold,' which a thing comes to have on account of other things of the class being 'exposed for sale,' and thus wrongly brings Panyatva or vendibility on the three images. The Purvapaksin is in the remainder of the passage told by the Siddhantin that because certain things are 'sold' or ' exposed for sale,' that is, are Panya, it does not follow that those of the class that are under actual worship are Panya, i. e. panya does not mean ' the possibility of being sold.' You (the Purvapaksin) attach that sense to the word and say that Sivab, Skandah, Visakhah are Panya because the Mauryas sold such images, and consequently the forms should have the affix Ka. The images sold by the Mauryas being Panya in the correct sense, their names may have the affix (अवेत्ताड् न स्याद्); but that does not make these Siva, Skanda, and Visakha, which are under actual worship, Panya; i. e. again, Panya does not mean ' the possibility of being sold,' and consequently Panini's rule must apply, and no affix is wanted for these forms, and they are correct (वास्तवेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तान् अविष्यति). It will be seen from this why it is that the Purvapaksin resorts to the Maurya kings to bring Panyata in the sense of ' possibility of being sold,' on Siva, Skanda, and Viskha, and to any ordinary image-seller. Siva, Skanda, and Visakha were images under actual worship, and no ordinary image-seller sells them. The Maurya kings must have sold images under actual worship, and hence they are Spoken of. This independent interpretation of mine I have put Into
25 [R.G.Bhandarkar's works, Vol.I.]

Sanskrit in the shape of a commentary on the passage in Patanjali under discussion, and I give it at the end [as an Appendix].'

Nagojibhatta, on the other hand, regarding the Purvapaksin's and Siddhantin's sense of the word Panya to be the same, viz., the correct sense 'exposed for sale,' makes the Purvapaksin say that those particular images are Panya because they are images exposed for sale by the Mauryas, who were certain images-makers (मौर्या.....दोषः). This the Siddhantin admits, and therefore agrees with the Purvapaksin that Siva, Skanda, and Visakha should have the affix Ka (आत्तात्ता.....मिहमेव). And the Siddhantin goes on to say that the images dedicated for such worship immediately after manufacture as brings in grains are the examples of the rule; i. e. their names drop the termination Ka.

(2) The true sense of the word Panya being that given above the query, 'Why is it "that all idols are in their nature vendible"?' which Peterson puts into the mouth of Patanjali is absurd. All idols are not vendible, i. e. 'exposed for sale.'

(3) If according to Peterson's translation of अवेत्ताह न स्वाह, Panini's rule does not apply to vendible images as a class, i. e. to all images, and consequently their names should take the termination Ka, upon what authority is it that such of these images as are intended for worship from the beginning are brought under the rule, as Peterson does by his translation of वास्तेताः &c.? Peterson does admit that these images form a part of the class of vendible images. The possibility of being sold attaches to them also. Peterson's argument, "Idols have been sold from the beginning, and are sold now," &c, applies to them equally with the images शिवः स्कन्दो विज्ञातः. And if it does not, why should it apply to शिवः स्कन्दो विज्ञातः? If these are Panya or vendible prima facie, they also must be in accordance with Peterson's sense of the word. Panini's Sutra about dropping of Ka cannot therefore apply to them. The word अवन्त in the Sutra must prevent its application to them. We have no Vartika or Isti here, adding to or amending Panini's rule and directing us to drop the

affix, though the images intended for worship are vendible. We have simply-a Vyakhytaa of Panini's Sutra. And thus the result according to Peterson's interpretation will be that Panini's .Sutra has no instance and is vain. According to Nagojibhatta's and my way of taking it, the images being under worship are not Panya or 'for sale' and hence Panini's Sutra applies and the Ka is dropped.

(4) Again, if images are notoriously vendible and consequently it is not necessary to show that they are vendible, is it not equally notorious that the manufacturers of idols make the idols with a view to gain, and not from disinterested motives ? What then is the necessity of telling us, according to Peterson's way of taking it, that "all images are vendible, because it is for gain that the Mauryas make images " ?

(5) The whole point of the passage in Patanjali, according to Dr. Peterson, must be this. Images being in their nature vendible, such forms as Sivah, Skandah, & c, are incorrect, i. e. they should have the suffix ka. But though all images are vendible, such of them as are from the beginning intended for worship, should be brought under Pinini's rule, and Ka should not be added to their names. Now, the sense of the first of these two sentences is according to Peterson brought out by the clause अवश्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति । शिवः स्कन्दो विज्ञात इति and of the second by यास्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तद्व न विध्यति. What then is the necessity for the matter in hand of the intervening clauses ? The first of these means, according to him," It is for gain that the Mauryas make images." What has this got to do with the matter ? The second (अवेताद्व न स्वाद्) means, Panini's rule does not apply to images which are, all of them, in their nature vendible, and thus they should take Ka. Do we not know this already, according to Peterson, and has he not assumed this in interpreting the first clause? Why then are we told this again ?

(6) Peterson admits that we have first a doubt thrown on the correctness of the शिवः स्कन्दो विज्ञातः. This doubt must be

cleared and it should be decided whether the forms are correct or incorrect. If that is not done the result will be that the question is about one thing and the decision about quite another, i. e. the **उपक्रम** and **उपसंहार** will be inconsistent. In Peterson's translation this decision of the original question nowhere appears, one thing is said first, and quite another afterwards. It will thus be seen that Peterson's interpretation of the query, the answer, and what follows, i. e. of the whole passage, is entirely wrong. He does not understand the argument.

I have already given the general sense of Nagojibhatta's comment, but since, according to Peterson, in giving its substance in 1873 I committed "a capital error," and since, from a "misapprehension" of its sense I have not, according to the same authority, "yet shaken myself free," it is necessary that I should discuss it more particularly. The reader will kindly look at the passage given before. Dr. Peterson's explanation is:—"We must, says Nagojibhatta, understand the word **विश्रुत** after: **प्रकल्पिताः**." Good. But you should understand that here ends Nagojibhatta's explanation of **मूर्तिभिः....प्रकल्पिताः** that his explanation of the passage is that these images, Siva, Skanda, and Visakha, were exposed for sale by the Mauryas and not that "images are made by the Mauryas for gain," as you take it. "The images referred to are therefore vendible, and the occasion for the suffix Ka presents itself." This is a translation of **अस्तस्यार्थां पश्यत्वास्तत्र प्रत्यक्ष-प्रवचनप्रसङ्ग इति वाच्यः** :: The translation is correct so far as the words go, except that 'vendible' means 'for sale,' of which, however, Peterson has no conception. But what are "the images referred to" which is your translation of **साक्षात्**? Are they "the images in general" made by the Mauryas for gain which you have supposed or **शिवः स्कन्दो विष्णुस्तः**? They cannot be images in general, for there is no question here, as I have already explained about "images in general" or "all images." And images in general or all images cannot be vendible or 'exposed for sale,' while those referred to by Nagojibhatta are spoken of by him as

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Panya. The question is about the correctness of the forms **क्षिप्रः सङ्गो विज्ञातः**: and it is their **व्यत्यय** that is required to be shown in order to make good the position that they are incorrect. By **व्यत्ययस्य व्यत्ययाद्**, therefore, Nagojibhatta means to say that (**अतः**) for this reason, viz. that given in Patanjali's statement **लोपेर्हिरण्य-विभिर्योः प्रकल्पिताः** explained by Nagoji., (**साक्षात्**) their, i.e. of **क्षिप्रः, सङ्गः, विज्ञातः, (व्यत्ययाद्)** Panyatva is established. Now **अतः** referring to the whole statement **लोपेर्हिरण्यः** and that statement containing the Hetu or reason, the **हे** of **साक्षात्** whose panyatva is established by that reason cannot be referred to anything contained in that statement which is the hetu or reason*. Hence also **साक्षात्** must refer to **क्षिप्रः सङ्गो विज्ञातः**. It will be seen that Nagojibhatta speaks here of vendibility being established or proved, while according to Peterson it does not require to be proved. Peterson therefore sets Nagoji at defiance.

Peterson then goes on with the explanation of Nbgojibhatta. "In the two clauses that follow, beginning respectively with **अवेह** and **वास्तवेताः** Patanjali (**अवेह । तादृ न स्याद्**) accepts the preposition that the occasion for the suffix has presented itself, and, secondly, (**वास्तवेताः संयमि पूजार्थः तादृ भविष्यति**) shows how nevertheless his rule is of none effect." This is a translation or explanation of **तत्र प्रत्ययप्रवचनमिदमेवेति वदन्तुःप्रत्ययप्रवचनं दर्शयति अवेदित्यादि वास्तवेताः इति क.** Now this translation is open to the same objection as Peterson's translation of Patanjali's original, viz. if there is an occasion for the suffix, there is nothing that can prevent it, and the rule is of none effect. There is also a special objection. In the last sentence Peterson has translated **प्रत्ययप्रवचनमिदमेवेति** by "the occasion for the suffix Ka has presented itself"; and in this sentence **प्रत्ययप्रवचनमिदमेव** also he translates in just the same words. Is there no difference between **प्रत्ययः** and **इदमेव**? There is very great difference. **प्रत्ययः** shows 'the occasion for a thing,' and **इदमेव** the 'things becoming an actual fact.' The proper translation is, "Patanjali says (in **अवेतादृ न स्याद्**) that the termination is of course wanted or should be used *there* and (in **वास्तवेताः**) he points out the examples of panini's rule" The termination is, of course, wanted

sentence he speaks of an occasion for it, consequent on Panyatva or vendibility. Whose panyatva? ~~सत्त्वत्~~, that is of the images; What images ? Siva, Skandah, Visakah, which are the subject of the discussion and the panyatva of which is established in the last-sentence. The actual use of the termination cannot be spoken of as!-~~सत्त्वत्~~ or " of course wanted" in the case of the merely hypothetical images or images in general understood by Peterson;; and that we have nothing to do with images in general I have said several times; .The termination is therefore of course wanted, or should be used in these cases; that is, the correct forms are ~~सिवः, स्कन्दः, विष्णुः~~; and therefore ~~सिवः स्कन्दो विष्णुः~~ which were brought forward as in use, and which were the names of images exposed for sale by the Mauryas, as stated before, are incorrect, i. e. Panini's rule is set aside in their case. Thus is the original question decided; and this is plainly what Nagojibhatta makes patanjali say;"there can be no question whatever about it, and this is exactly what I stated in 1873. Yet Dr. Peterson says:-" In 1873 Bhandarkar took Patanjali to mean that panini's rule is arbitrarily set aside in the case of images sold by the Mauryas, so that forms not valid are nevertheless in use. 'What Patanjali means to say is that the termination Ka should be applied to the names of the images sold by the Mauryas, according to Panini's rule; but the rule is set aside in this case, and the wrong forms Siva, Skanda and Visakha are used'.¹ This is a capital error, as Bhandarkar now sees. That it is in accordance with the native commentators is a view of it due, I believe----- to a misapprehension of Nagojibhatta's meaning, from which Bhandarkar has not yet shaken himself free." Is it not perfectly clear that Peterson himself, when he says this, has no conception whatever of the matter ? He has totally misunderstood the point in Patanjali's passage, and interprets Kaiyata and Nagojibhatta in accordance with that misconception; and thus

1.This is a Question from sir R.G. Bhandarkar's paper of 1873.

confidently pronounces my former translation of Nagojibhatta, which is unquestionably corret, to be " a capital error." And yet with a charming simplicity and an unsuspecting belief in his own powers, Peterson takes credit to himself for having given me hints in my indepenent translation of the: passage., For says he:—" In other respects, however, Bhandarkar's version of 1873 is very defective, a fact which in fairness should not be lost sight of when comparing my version with that with which Bhandarkar has now followed it." Dr. Peterson evidently means that his version has suggested imprpveroents to me in in former version., I repudiate the insinuation entirely. It was impossible to derive any hints from a version in which I pointed out, several mistakes and which, on the last occasion, I took as agreeing as regards the main point with, Nagojibhatta, because the connection between the different sentences was not distinctly given, and which, now that Dr. Peterson has given more explanation, I see to be entirely away from the point and wrong from top to bottom. My readers will have seen and will see if they have the patience to go to the end of this paper, how little ground there is for Peterson's taking credit to himself for having corrected Goldstücker, and given me hints. I must not omit to add that Dr. Peterson need not have searched the volumes of the Indian Antiquary for my explanation of Nagojibhatta's view. That explanation is given in my last Reply to him and it occurs even in the passage which he has quoted in his Paper under review,

I will now notice Peterson's defence of the remaining grammatical and other errors pointed out by me in his translation on the last occasion. Wheal called attention in my last article to Peterson's having translated the past passive participle ~~अवस्थितः~~ by the present tence "make," I, of course, did not mean he committed a schoolboy error; but that the past tense of ~~अवस्थितः~~ was an important point in the argument and consequently should be prominently noticed., But let us hear the defence, " There is no restriction to time Present, past or future in my

English sentence, any: more than there is in, the Sanskrit so-called past passive participle, 'प्रकल्पिताः'." I admit there is no restriction to time present, past or future in the English sentence "The Mauryas make images;" but that is because it contains a general truth; and general truths are always represented by the present tense, and never by the past. You must always say "Elephants *have* trunks," but never "*had* trunks." The Sanskrit प्रकल्पिताः is a past passive participle, and as indicating past time it can never be used to express a general truth, and can apply only to a particular time and that particular time a past time. Therefore what is only true at a particular time cannot be a general truth. This is the difference between the present and past time in his English "Mauryas make images" and the Sanskrit प्रकल्पिताः. Peterson tries to get rid of the distinction by the contention that "for gain" is the predicate in his sentence "It is for gain that the Mauryas make images" and "make images" forms part of the clause which is used as the subject. But the subject clause "the Mauryas make images" is nevertheless a general proposition, and the distinction cannot be got rid of. But, says he, there is no restriction to a particular time in the Sanskrit "so-called past passive participle प्रकल्पिताः." Why? Is it not a past participle and does it not express past time? If it does not, I must say Peterson follows a Sanskrit grammar and literature unknown to me and, I have no hesitation in saying, to all Sanskrit Scholars. But, says Dr. Peterson, he would "prefer now to translate 'images are made by the Mauryas for gain,' and is 'confident that the so-called past passive participle in Sanskrit is the proper translation of 'made' here," Again he says his first translation "Mauryas make images for gain" is only a more idiomatic rendering of the same thing as 'image are made by the Mauryas for gain' " What is all this? 'now are made of earth.' The Sanskrit past passive participle is the proper translation of 'made' here. Therefore कृतिवत्तः is the proper translation of that sentence. But that sentence is the same as 'They make pots of earth; therefore

that is the Sanskrit translation of this sentence. Similarly the proper translation of 'Horned animals ruminate' is **शृङ्गिणी रोम-
न्धावित्** or **रोमन्धः कृतः**; of 'man sees colour by the eye', **मनुष्येन
चक्षुषा स्वं दृष्टम्** and of 'water removes thirst', '**उदकेन दृढपनीता**. That is to say, Peterson is confident that we should teach our pupils that general truths might be translated into Sanskrit by the past passive participle which implies "no restriction to time past, present or future" !

And notwithstanding all this Peterson immediately afterwards states that '**प्रकल्पिताः** denotes no more than that the action of making is to be conceived as completed." Is the action of making to be conceived as completed in the English phrase "the Mauryas make images?" Certainly not. If so, your translation of **अर्वाः प्रकल्पिताः** by "make images" must be wrong. Now if the action is represented as completed in the phrase **दीर्घे प्रकल्पिताः**, was it not completed before Patanjali wrote or spoke those words? It must be. Then was it not *past* with reference to the time when he wrote, and *may* it not have been *past* with reference to that time by any number of years, say two or three centuries? The answer must be "yes." If so, this is all that I contended for; **and** your "traversing directly my contention" means nothing. Contrasted with the word **संभति** as it is, **प्रकल्पिताः** must show a past action that took place a long time before Patanjali. And having been represented as completed with reference to the time when Patanjali wrote, has the action not been referred to a particular time? If so, what is the meaning of your first statement that the Sanskrit so-called "past passive participle **प्रकल्पिताः** involves "no restriction to time present, past, or future"? One who endeavours to defend the indefensible must fall into such contradictions.

To my contention that . in **यास्तेषाः** cannot mean "which-ever of these;" for it is either the genitive or locative that has that sense and not the nominative, Peterson's reply is, he will "substitute for **एषाः** its antecedent **अर्वाः** "and then the meaning
26[R. G. Bhandarkar's work. Vol. I.]

will be " whichever images. " But this is simply grammatical jugglery, and will deceive nobody who is not a simpleton. Why do you substitute it ? Patanjali's word is **एताः** and you must interpret that and nothing else. And do you really think you have given us all we had before, when you give us only the antecedent **अर्चाः** ? Does not **एताः** mean ' these, ' i. e., such as **are** ' nearer to the speaker than others.' Do you give us that sense when you substitute **अर्चाः** ? You surely cannot say you do. And what is it that you get after all this operation ? The Mauryas make images for gain. To those the rule does not apply and Ka must be appended. But *whichever images* are intended for worship come under the rule, ' &c. If this is the construction, one would naturally take ' whichever images * in the last sentence to be different images from those made by the Mauryas, as Nagojibhatta and I take them; especially because the assertion with reference to the images in the last sentence is directly the opposite of that in this. But this would cut off the ground from below Peterson's feet. For his idea is that these last images are to be included among those made by the Mauryas. This sense you have no chance of securing unless you allow the demonstrative to stand and at the same time mistranslate it as " of these." Thus this grammatical jugglery, like other species of it, recoils on the person practising it.

I will ask my reader to be good enough to consider this point. Patanjali uses the word **तद्** and in the same breath the word **एताः** (**अवेत्तासु न स्याद् । वास्वेताः** &c.). **तद्** is the remote demonstrative and means ' that, ' while **एतद्** is the near demonstrative and means ' this. ' Is it possible that by these two inconsistent pronouns he should demonstrate or point out the same preceding thing, especially when the assertions, as I have stated, **are** contradictory of each other ? " Mauryas make images. To *those* the rule does not apply. But of *these* whichever are intended &c, to them the rule does apply." Can *those* and *these* here both refer to " images" in the first sentence ? For this reason, and also because without the genitive or locative you cannot **have the sense**

Peterson requires, the **एताः** cannot refer to the images made by the Mauryas. Dr. Peterson says :—"He is fully supported by Kaiyata and Nagojibhatta " in his construction of **एताः**, but in the note immediately below, this expression is softened into " I believe that Kaiyata construes **वास्तवेताः** as I do. " Connecting **एताः** with the images sold by the Mauryas would have the effect, as I have already explained, of making the images used for worship ' vendible images ' at the same time, and of rendering Panini's Sutra inapplicable to them, and consequently vain and useless. This is a mistake that no native grammarian will make, much less men like Kaiyata and Nagojibhatta. And the reason for Peterson's belief is his own utterly groundless conjecture that **मौर्याः** is meant as the nominative to **अदन्ति** by Kaiyata. But No ! Peterson *does* give evidence. " I can only note here that in the India Office MS. Nagojibhatta seems actually to read **ते** (i. e. the Mauryas) after **याः परियुह्य** in Kaiyata. " Excellent! What we have got in the India Office MS., the photozincograph of which I have referred to, is **तदाह याः परियुह्येते**. Commentators put at the beginning of their comment on a passage of the original the opening words of that passage with **इति** after them. This is called a Pratika. Now the Pratika from Kaiyata given by Nagojibhatta in the present case is **याः परियुह्येति**. This the copyist of* the Manuscript through stupidity or mistake has written as **याः परियुह्येते**, and this evident mistake of the man Peterson relies on and uses as evidence to prove that Kaiyata meant **मौर्याः** to be the nominative of **अदन्ति**. If **याः परियुह्य ते** had been meant by Nagojibhatta as Kaiyata's reading, **इति** would have been put after **ते**, and we should have had **याः परियुह्य त इति**. But we have *not* got it. The Pratika does occur in the form of **याः परियुह्येति** in the manuscript consulted by Goldstücker and in the two mentioned by me before. This speaks for itself.

Kaiyata's note on the passage beginning with **वास्तवेताः**, on the contrary, is that " **एताः** signifies the images which are taken from door to door " ; and they are thus distinguished from those with which the Mauryas are connected in the preceding sentence.

Nagojibhatta too disposes of the merchandise of the Mauryas by saying **तत्र प्रत्ययव्यवहारादिभिरिति चक्षुः** and speaks of other distinct images by **सूत्रस्योदाहरणं दृष्टव्यम्**. Peterson's misapprehension of the main point in Patanjali's passage vitiates his interpretation of Nagojibhatta throughout. Then again, I am told that neither of the two takes **एताः** as I do. No one can be sure of this as regards Kaiyata ; for he does not say that the images taken from door to door for worship were not the Sivah, Skandah, and Visakhah with which the argument began. Kaiyata not only may have meant them to be the same, but his counter-example **शिवकान्ति-प्रीति** affords strong evidence that the instance of an image under worship meant by him was the **शिवः** occurring above. And as to Nagojibhatta, Peterson tells me nothing new, for I have said in giving my independent translation that I disagree with Nagojibhatta, and that he has assigned no definite sense to the word **एताः** i. e. refers it to nothing, neither to the images of the Mauryas, nor to Sivah, Skandah and Visakhah. Nagojibhatta and I agree as to the main point, viz. that Sivah, Skandah and Visakhah are in the beginning spoken of as incorrect according to Panini's rule, in consequence of a certain action of the Mauryas which made the images Panya. We also agree that the question about the correctness of these forms has to be decided somehow. Nagojibhatta thinks the Panyata attaches to the images and cannot be removed ; therefore the forms ought to have Ka. I say that the Panyata is conferred on them only in an incorrect sense, and is removed by the Siddhantin. The other points of difference I have given before. This difference between Nagojibhatta and me arises from my assigning to **तादृ** and **एताः** the sense that they have, viz. ' those ' or remote from the speaker, and ' these ' or near to the speaker. Nagojibhatta has not attached to **एताः** this its definite sense. I also take **संप्रति** in its usual sense of ' now,' in these days,' and contrast it with the past **प्रकल्पिताः** ; while Nagojibhatta explains it as ' immediately after their manufacture,' which sense the word cannot bear, and does not see the contrast. The other reason that I have

given in my last Paper is that when Patanjali raises any question about a rule, he does so by bringing forward correct forms which apparently go against the rule. When in rare cases incorrect forms are brought forward, he tells us at the end of the discussion that they are incorrect by using such an expression as अनभिधानाद्.

Dr. Peterson again says : " I feel sure that it (एताः) would have been made to stand before, and not after the adversative particle तु if it had the meaning Bhandarkar now ascribes to it. " Why he feels sure he does not tell us. But या एतास्तु, which I suppose he would have, is unidiomatic. The Sanskrit idiom requires तु and such particles to be put immediately after the forms of एद्. Innumerable instances might be given, but I will here quote a few from the Mahabhasya itself. एस्तु प्रमुहे कृतलो विशेषे Mahabhasya, Edition of Kielhorn, Vol. I, p, 2; एस्तु सत्वेयमतो Ibid, p . 20 ; एस्तु विधेर्निमित्तक्षेप Ibid. Vol. II. p. 332.

In criticizing my translation of 1873 Peterson say:—"I should be more than human if I refrained from adding that in 1873 Bhandarkar gave to the phrase तास्तु न स्याद् precisely that reference which he now seeks to give to the admittedly converse phrase यास्वेताः. " Now that I have explained the correct sense of. Nagojibhatta, Peterson will see that this is in accordance with his comment. Again, " एताः he naturally then took in the sense he refuses to admit for it now. " I did not attach to एताः its definite sense of *these*, following Nagojibhatta ; but certainly I did not give to it Peterson's meaning ' of these ' and refer it to the images made by the Mauryas, if that is what he means by the word " naturally. "

As to the main question of Patanjali's date, I have already stated that Peterson attaches no value to what I have set forth in my last papers and re-asserts most emphatically his own view, and makes other vague and general statements. I am therefore not called upon to say anything about them. I must however pot omit to notice one point, Peterson Says that as for Pusya

mitra and Candragupta, " he has pointed out that the existence of two princes of these names, reigning at about the same time, is better guaranteed for the fourth century after Christ than for the third before Christ. * So then, according to this authority, the Bhitari Lat Inscription, which is in such a dilapidated condition that no perfectly satisfactory copy has yet been or can be published, possesses a far higher historical value than the works of the Greek historians of Alexander the great and his successors, who speak of Sandracottus or Candragupta as having established a powerful monarchy at Pataliputra about 320 B. C, and the Inscription in which his name occurs, as well as all the Buddhistic, Jaina, and Brahmanic books which mention both him and Puspamitra the founder of the Sunga dynasty that succeeded the Mauryas. Perhaps Dr. Peterson considers all this literature and the Inscription to be fabricated, or assigns them to the period between 600 and 1000 A. D., or it is quite possible he never heard about them. Peterson's last paper did not show any appreciation of the value of the name of Candragupta for the determination of the question under discussion. It was Puspamitra alone he spoke of and the name Candragupta simply occurred in the translation of a passage from that priceless Inscription, that on the Bhitari Lat along with Kumaragupta, Samudragupta, and others. His coupling the two names together in the present paper is therefore an afterthought, and the statement that it has been done in the first paper is not accurate.

How many of this long list of errors of all sorts are " capital errors" or *very serious* errors I leave it to my readers to judge.

Lastly, I am much obliged to my friend Peterson for his promise to make over the Patalavijaya to me if it falls into his hands " in view of the effect the Prasasti, " which he is sure it will contain, " may have upon me." But I would advise my friend to give up the " [*con-*] quest of the Dark Regions " that he has been prosecuting so vigorously of late, and assure him that any number of such books dealing with " the Dark

Regions " are but trash in comparison with that " Arsa-grantha" or " Book of Light," the Mahabhasya. I shall, therefore, have undoubtedly a stronger claim to Peterson's gratitude than he will have to mine, if I ask my friend Kielhorn to send him a copy of his edition of the Mahabhasya with the following note on the title-page in capital letters—

" THIS IS NOT AN ANTHOLOGY,

APPENDIX.

जीविकायेति । वसितुं विक्रेतुं शक्यं पण्यमिति जन्वा शङ्कते तत्रेदमिति । तादृश-
पण्यत्वं साधयितुमाह मूर्खैरिति । मूर्खाः पुरातनराजविशेषाः पुराणेषु शिलालेखेषु
बौद्धादिग्रन्थेषु च प्रतिज्ञाः । तैश्च हिरण्येनार्थैर्मिरर्चाः प्रतिमाः प्रकल्पिताः स्वस-
मीक्षितसंवादाद्य निबोधिताः । विक्रीता इत्यर्थः । ततश्च तत्तज्जातीयत्वादासामपि
विशेषं शक्यत्वमिति भावः । न केवलं विक्रेतुं शक्यं पण्यमपि तु विक्रीयते यस्तस्य-
प्यमिति तारिफं वक्ष्यमाश्रित्य समाधत्ते यथेदित्यादि । मूर्खैर्विक्रीतानां पण्यत्वासा-
नु प्रत्यक्षप्रवचनमस्तत्रोक्तं यस्तु नाम । आसां त्विदानीतिनीनां शिक्कस्कन्दविशासप्रतिमानां
जीविकाशब्देन कलजनिता वा पूजा तदर्थानामविक्रीयमानानां तारिफकपण्यत्वाभावा-
दुक्तमवति ॥ ननु सत्यपि प्रतिमाविक्रेतृषु प्राकृतेषु शिल्पिषु किमर्थं पण्यतां साधयितुं
पुरातनराजविशेषकसम्बन्धमनुधापनं पूर्वपक्षिजः । उच्यते । अत्र तावत्पूजार्थप्रतिमानां विक्रेतुं
क्षम्यत्वस्य सिद्धत्वा शङ्कानर्हत्वात्सिद्धान्तिना च कण्ठरवेणोक्तत्वाच्छिक्कस्कन्दविशासप्रति-
मानां पूजार्थत्वमवगम्यते । तादृशप्रतिमानां विक्रेयत्वं प्राकृतेषु शिल्पिषु न संभवतीति
पूजार्थप्रतिमाप्रकल्पकत्वेन बुद्धाद्यनेकदुर्बलराजकार्यसिद्धयर्थं कोशवृद्धिं विक्रीतृणां मूर्खा-
णामाश्रयजित्पक्षेयम् ।

AILLUSIONS TO KRSNA IN PATANJALI'S MAHABHASYA.

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOL. III, 1874, pp. 14 ff.].

A Vartika Panini, III. 1.26 teaches that the termination Aya, technically called Nic, should be appended to a verbal noun expressive of an event, in the sense of narrating the event. The derivative suffix is to be dropped, and the noun reduced to the form of the original root from which it was derived, and it is to this root that the termination Aya is to be applied. If there is any other noun depending on the verbal noun, it should be put in the accusative or other appropriate case, and governed by the verb in Aya. The example given by Patanjali to illustrate this is: Kamsavadhamacaste—Kaihsam ghatayati; i. e., the expression Kamsam ghatayati means "He narrates the story of Kamsa's being killed."—Now Ghatayati in this instance is, according to the theory of the author of the Vartika, got by dropping the suffix of Vadha, reducing it to its original form of Han (to kill), appending the termination Aya and making the changes necessary in the case of Han. Another instance given in the Bhasya is : Bali-bandhamacaste—Balim bandhayati—Now Patanjali asks if this rule is applicable only to the settled names of stories, or to all nouns expressive of an event. His answer is to the latter effect, and, thus, one may use the expression Rajanam agamayati in the sense of " he announces the coming of the king."— This shows that Kamsavadha and Balibandha were the settled names of certain current stories. Now in this Vartika, Katyayana notices a usage in Sanskrit common to it with several other languages, in virtue of which the causal form of a root may be used to denote the narration or announcement of an event expressed by the root. The expressions " He causes Kamsa to be killed, Bali to be put under restraint, and the king to come," mean "He narrates Kamsa's being killed"and " Bali's being put under restraint," and " announces the coming of the king.' But though the form,

27[R.G.Bhandarkar's Works, Vol.I.]

Ghatayati, Bandhayati, and Agamayati, are causals of the roots Han, Bandh and Gam with A, the author of the Vartika does not here call them so, and hence the necessity of the new rule he has made. But Patanjali, and perhaps Katyayana also eventually, looks upon them as causal forms, and decides that the rule is not required, and that the forms can be arrived at by Panini's general Sutra about the causals: Hetumati ca III. 1. 26. But there is some difficulty as to the Present Tense, In such instances as " Having started from Ujjayini, he makes the sun rise (Suryam udgamayati) at Mahismati (i. e., reaches Mahismati at sunrise)," the Present Tense is appropriate, since at the time he is in Mahismati, the sun actually does rise. But its propriety is not so clear in such expressions as "He causes Kamsa to be killed," and " He causes Bali to be put under restraint," for it is a long time since Kamsa was killed, or Bali restrained. Even here, says Patanjali, the Present Tense is appropriate. For the narration or annoucement of a story or an event may be made in one of three ways :— 1st, by representing the story on the stage; 2ndly, by representing it by means of pictures; and 3rdly, by narrating it by word of mouth :—In the first case, the leader or manager of a dramatic corps does actually cause a person who calls himself Kamsa to be killed, and a person who calls himself Bali to be put under restraint. Hence the Present Tense is appropriate. In the second case, the blows of Kamsa and Krsna are actually seen at the time in the pictures as aimed or received by the two combatants* In the third case the narrators give expression to what they know about them (Kamsa and Krsna) from their birth to their death, and thus externally manifest what at the time exists internally. And that the things do exist internally or in the mind is shown in this way. They (the narrators) are of various kinds, some are adherents or devotees of Kamsa and some of Vasudeva. Their countenances assume different colours; the faces of some (whose favourite hero is defeated) become dark, the faces of others, red. And in such cases all the three tenses are used by people. For example, they say " Go, Kamsa is being killed;" " Go, Kamsa is to be killed;" " What is the use of going ? Kamsa is killed-"

This remarkable passage then shows :—

1st—That the stories of the death of Kamsa and the subjugation of Bali were popular and current in Patanjali's time,

2nd—That *Krana* or *Vasudeva* was mentioned in the story as having killed Kamsa.

3rd—That such stories formed the subjects of dramatic representations, as Puranic stories are still popularly represented on the Hindu stage.

4th—That the event of Kamsa's death at the hands of Krsna was in Patanjali's time believed to have occurred at a very remote time.

1. **Key.** आख्यानात्कृतस्तदाचरे रुक्मकृष्णप्रतिप्रत्यापासिः प्रकृतिवत् कारकम् । **Pat.** आख्यानात्कृतान्ताणिजम्बवस्तदाचरे इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे । रुक्मकृष्णप्रतिप्रत्यापासिः प्रकृतिवत् कारकं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । कंसवधनाचरे कंसं घातयति बलिबन्धनाचरे बलिं बन्धयति.....किं पुनर्बान्धयतां संज्ञानूतान्पाख्यानानि तेभ्य उत्तरत्वा भवितव्यमाद्येस्विक्रियाख्यानामात्राद् । किं चातः । यदि संज्ञाभूतेभ्य इह न प्राप्नोति राजानमनमाचरे राजानमागमयतीति । अथ क्रियाख्यानामात्रं न दोषो भवति । यथा न दोषस्तथास्तु ।

तत्तर्हिदं वक्तव्यम् । न वा सामान्यकृतत्वाद्देतुतो एविसिद्धम् । न वा वक्तव्यम् । किं कारणम् । सामान्यकृतत्वात् । सामान्येनैवात्र जिउभविष्यति हेतुमतीति । किं कारणम् । हेतुतो एविसिद्धम् । हेतुतो एविसिद्धमेतद्भवति ।

येदिह वर्तमानकालतः युका स्वातुज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिषमर्त्या सूर्योद्गमनं संभावयते सूर्यमुद्गमयतीति । तत्रस्थस्य हि तत्त्वादित्य उदेति । इह तु कथं वर्तमानकालतः कंसं घातयति बलिं बन्धयतीति चिरहते च कसे चिरबद्धे च बलौ । अत्रापि युका । कथम् । वे तावदत्र औमिका नामैते प्रत्यहं कंसं घातयन्ति प्रत्यहं च बलिं बन्धयन्तीति । चित्रेषु कथम् । चित्रेष्वयुधूर्जां विषतिताम् मयरा दृश्यन्ते कंसस्य च रुक्मस्य च । बन्धिकेषु कथं यत्र शब्दप्रथममात्रं लक्ष्यते । तेषां हि तेषामुत्पत्तिप्रभृत्वा विनाशाद्बुद्धी-
व्यापसनाः सतो बुद्धिविषयान्प्रकाशयन्ति । आत्मन सतः । ध्यामिन्ना दृश्यन्ते । केचित्कंसमका भवन्ति केचिद्वासुदेवमकाः । वर्जान्वात्वं कल्पवि पुष्यन्ति । केचित्कालमुखा भवन्ति केचिद्भक्तमुखाः । प्रैकत्रयं कल्पवि लोके लक्ष्यते । गच्छ इत्यने कंसः भक्त चान्तिव्यने कंसः । किं नर्तेन इतः कंस इति ।

I now proceed to other passages One of the pratyudaharanas or counter-examples of the rule in Dr. Goldstücker's passage (Bhasya on Panini I I . 2. III) is : Jaghana Kamsam kila Vasudevah : " Vasudeva verily killed Kamsa." From the context it is clear that this is given as an example, the occurrence mentioned in which is popularly known, but which was not, and could not have been, witnessed by the speaker, i. e., the story was ancient and popular.

Again, we are told by the author of the Mahabhasya, under a Vartika on Panini I I . 3. 36, that Krsna was not well disposed or friendly to his uncle : Asadhur matule Krsnah. In the dissertation on Bahuvrihi compounds, Panini I I . 2. 23, the following occurs in the Mahabhasya : Samkarsanadvitiyasya balam Krsnasya vardhatam, "May the power of Krsna, assisted by Samkarsana, increase.", from this, we gather that Samkarsana was his constant companion and assistant, as might have been expected from their relationship. In the Vartikas that follow Panini, IV. 2. 104, Patanjali gives as instances of IV, 3. 64, Akruravargyah, Akruravarginah, (i. e. a follower of Akrura), Vasudevavargyah, Vasudevavarginah (a follower of Vasudeva). Akrura plays a conspicuous part in the story of Krsna. Under VI. 3. 6 Patanjali quotes Janardanas tvatmacaturtha eva (" Janardana with himself as the fourth,' i. e., with three companions) as an apparent, exception to the rule. Janardana is another name of Krsna. This and the second passage from the Mahabhasya form regular lines in the Upendravatta metre, while the third and fourth form one-quarter and one-half respectively, of an Anustubh stanza, from which it would appear that these are lines quoted from an existing poem on Krsna.

Not only was the story of Krsna and Kamsa current and popular in Patanjali's time, but it appears clearly that the former was worshiped as a god. Panini, in IV. 3. 98, teaches us to append the termination Vun, i. e., Aka, to Vasudeva and Arjuna to form nouns expressive of the adorer, adherent, or worshipper of

those persons. There is another more general rule (IV. 3. 99) which teaches us to form such derivatives from names of Ksatriyas. Vasudeva, being the name of a Ksatriya, comes under that rule, and the form, made up according to it, is the same as that made up in conformity with this rule. " Why, then," Patanjali asks, "are we told in this Sutra to apply Vun or Aka to Vasudeva ?" One reason may be, he says, that the word is put in here in order to indicate that in speaking of Vasudeva and Arjuna together the name of Vasudeva should always be used first. Or, he goes on, this word Visudeva is the name of the Divine Being* and not of a Ksatriya; i.e., Vasudeva is to be taken here, in his capacity as a god, and not in his capacity as a mere Ksatriya ; for in this latter capacity, the name comes under the other rule.¹

I have thus brought together seven passages, from a work written in the middle of the second century before Christ, which show that the stories about Kr?na and his worship as a god are not so recent as European scholars would make them. And to these I ask the attention of those who find in Christ a prototype of Krsna, and in the Bible, the original of the Bhagvadgita, and who believe our Puranic literature to be merely a later growth. If the stories of Krsna and Bali, and others which I shall notice hereafter, were current and popular in the second century before Christ, some such works as the Harivamsa and the Puranas must have existed then.



1. वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां पुन । किमर्थं वासुदेवशब्दाद्भुविधीयते । न यत्तच्चैवमिच्छन्त्येवो
बहुलं भुमित्येव सिद्धम् । न ह्यस्ति विशेषो वासुदेवशब्दाद्भुजो वा पुनो वा ।..... इदं तर्हि
प्रयोगं वासुदेवशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातं वक्ष्यामीति । अथवा नैवाऽभिविद्यायां संज्ञिका तत्र-
नियतः ।

VASUDEVA OF PANINI IV.111.98.

: (From the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1910, pp. 163ff].

In Part IV of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, for 1909 (p. 1122) Dr. Grierson, referring to a previous note of Professor Kielhorn (Part II of JRAS. for 1908, pp. 502 ff), states the Professor's view to be "that Patanjali therefore implies that here the word 'Vasudeva' is merely an ordinary, proper name, and is not the name of a god " This does not appear to me to be, quite what Professor Kielhorn says. For his words are " the word indeed conveys an honorific sense, but would be equally applicable to a human being. " Professor Kielhorn, here, does not deny its applicability to a divine being ; but it must be confessed that the trend of his argument is towards making out Vasudeva to be an ordinary individual. For he says:—(Vasudeva) " is the proper name of an individual called Vasudeva... In either case the word, ' Tatrabhavatah,, ' by which ' Samjnaisa ' is followed, does not in ' the least suggest that the personage denoted by the proper name is a divine being. " Neither does it, I assert, suggest that he was not a divine being ; and this is plain from Dr. Kielhorn's own statement that the word is equally applicable to a human being. "Equally" with whom? It must be "equally" with divine beings. And certainly the word " Tatrabhavat' means " respected, " " revered, " " worshipful," and may be applied to men as well as gods. And in the very passage in Patanjali, with which Professor Kielhorn compares the Vasudeva passage, "Tatrabhavatah" is used of Prajapati, who is called "Sarva", i. e., "all. " Prajapati can be " all * only in the sense that he is the material cause (उपादान) of all that exists. This sense is assigned to Patanjali's words "उपादानं प्रजापतिः" Kaiyaja. Prajapati therefore is the creator, and to him is applied the epithet " Tatrabhavatah." Why not, then, may the same expression be understood to imply that Vasudeva was a god or a divine being?

I do agree with Professor Kielhom in thinking that the correct reading is "Tatrabhavatafc," and not "Tatrabhagavatah", which I accepted on a former occasion on the evidence of the Benares edition. But "Tatrabhavat" is applicable equally to gods and men, Patanjali himself having used it in the case of the god Prajapati.

In all the passages, containing forms of the word 'tatrabhavat' referred to by Professor Kielhorn, except three, the grammatical connexion gives the substantives which are qualified by the epithet "tatrabhavat". In two of these three, the wording of both of which is **संज्ञेया तत्रभवतः**, the grammatical connexion does not bring out the substantive qualified by the epithet, and the sense is : "This is the name of the worshipful." Thus stated, the word "worshipful" indicates one who is pre-eminently worshipful, i. e., a god. In the passage under P. IV. II. 25, Prajapati is mentioned as equivalent to Ka ; but in connexion with another argument, and not with that which ends with **"संज्ञेया तत्रभवतः"**. And this mention enables us to determine in the manner indicated above who it is that is meant by the epithet "worshipful" not followed by any substantive. If the general epithet "worshipful" thus indicates a god in this passage, there is every reason for understanding that that expression indicates a god in the Visudeva passage (IV. III. 98).

Vasudeva is here associated with Arjuna, and in the whole literature in which they are so associated, Vasudeva is the name of a divine being. And the traditional interpretation of Patanjali's passage is that by "Tatrabhavatah" is meant such a being. The instance from the Kasika, which I found out for myself when Professor Kielhorn's Note first appeared, has already been given by Dr. Grierson. Kaiyata's explanation is : **"विश्वः परमात्मनोऽवतारः । तत्र भवतः ।"** * i e., the sense is, Visudeva is to be understood as certain eternal deity which is the supreme soul.

Professor Kielhom as used in an ironical sense. But even "here,

since it is used without a substantive, " Tatrabhayatah " is understood by Nagojibhatta in his explanation of Kaiyatas comment on Patanjali's text as equivalent to Isvara or god. Isvara is supposed to have taken upon himself the role of an opponent of the Vedas to delude the Daityas, and to have uttered the verse quoted by Patanjali.¹ Thus in all the three passages in which " Tatrabhavatah " is not followed by a substantive, i. e., is itself used substantively, the sense is " of God, or a God ", on the evidence of Patanjali himself, Kaiyata and Nagojibhatta-

Patanjali, for these reasons, and on his evidence Panini also,, may be safely taken to speak of Vasudeva as a divine being. I understood them in this sense in an article I wrote formerly : and propose so to understand them in writing a work for the Grundriss, which I intend doing if my eyesight is restored.

BHAVABHUTI'S QUOTATION FROM THE RAMAYANA.

I FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY VOLUME II, 1873; p. 123]

Prof. Weber's Essay on " The Ramayana" was translated by Rav. Boyd and published serially in the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, 1872, pp. 120 ff, 172 ff , 239ff.. This translation was also published separately, and the verses under reference are quoted and discussed on pp. 88 ff, of this separate translation = p. 246 b, f., of the Indian Antiquary.—[N. B. U.]

In his Essay on the Ramayana, Prof. Weber gives the verses quoted by Bhavabhuti in his Uttara-Rama-Carita from the last chapter of the Balakanda of the Ramayana, and points out corresponding verses in Schlegel's and the Bombay and Serampore Editions, which resemble Bhavabhuti's only in substance. In Gorresio, he says, there is nothing corresponding to them. But about the end of the chapter, immediately previous to the one, to which Prof. Weber refers us, there are these same verses in Gorresio, identical in all respects with those quoted by Bhavabhuti, except apparently in two small words, which are Eva (in the last line of the first verse) and Tu (in the last line of the second verse) in Bhavabhuti and Adhi and Hi in Gorresio. But the difference in the case of the first word at least is rather a difference between Gorresio and the Calcutta Edition of the Uttara-Rama-Carita, and not between Gorresio and Bhavabhuti ; for in an old MS of the play existing in the Elphinstone College Library I find Adhi instead of Eva.

But while Gorresio's Edition agrees almost throughout with Bhavabhuti in this point, there is a material difference in another. Bhavabhuti quotes the verses from the last chapter of the Balakanda, in Gorresio they occur in the last but two, while in Schlegel and the Bombay Edition the corresponding verses, though considerably differing in language, occur in the last. On comparing the several editions, one finds that Bharata's departure to the country of his maternal uncle, which is despatched
28[R.G.Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. I].

ched in five verses in the other Editions, in Gorresio is expanded into almost a chapter of which it forms the first 44 verses. The remaining four verses of this chapter occur in the other Editions after the five verses about Bharata.—The last chapter, again, in Gorresio, which describes Bharata's doings in the country of his uncle, and his sending a message to his father, is wanting in Schlegel and the Bombay Editions. And since these additional chapters contain no new incident except the sending of the messenger (which has very little to do with the story)> they are probably interpolations.

A NOTE ON MEANING OF GHATA

(I)

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOLUME 11872, p. 128].

The following Note on Ghata was written in response to **the request** of an officer of the Dinajapur District, who wanted historical information about that District, and in connection therewith had quoted Babu Rajendralai Mitra's translation of a verse in an Inscription containing the word Ghata this word being translated by Rajendralal as " three-fold" or "plaral" (Indian Antiquary, Volume 1,1872 p. 127)-[N.B.U.]

Babu Rajendralal gives no authority for taking Ghata as equivalent to three-fold; and supposing that were its meaning,- " threefold eight" would be 24. But the instrumental Varsena is a serious objection, I think, to his Interpretation of Kunjara-Ghata*var\$eija,- for if the last word of the compound meant the " year " and the other two 888, Varsa ought to be in the locative case. When a noun denoting time is in the instrumental case it indicates the period occupied in doing a thing (Panini II. 3. 6), and thus the sense of the above expression, if it referred to time,, would be 'the temple was *constructed in 888 years*,' or at least that it took the 888th year to be *in*-structed. But the construction is awkward, and if it represented a date the compound would be difficult to, separate grammatically. I think the expression means" he who pours forth an array of elephants *, - or, if the Va is to be taken as Dha-, which is not unlikely,-' the defier of the ranks of elephants.' Varsa-mapodoes not agree with the metre and is consequently inadmissible ; besides the compound would be ungrammatical. The word has two forms Varsma and Varsman ; if the former be taken, the final word of the nominative singular of the compound would be Varsmo, if the latter, Varsma, but in neither case Varsmano; but even were it not so the meaning would be " a temple in which there are *bodies* or *carcasses* of many elephants." The idiom of the language does not admit of such a word as" carved " being understood, except when a double **sense** is intended.

To this Note Balm Rajendralal replied at Indian Antiquary, Volume I, 1872, pp. 195f. The following (Second) note is a rejoinder to Rajendrala's observations contained there. Both letters are by Sir R.G. Bhandarkar himself.-[N. B. U.]

(II)

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOLUME, 1, 1872, p. 127].

In reply to Babu Rajendralal I must point out that he has given no authority for taking *ghata* to mean three ;or if he did so, for taking the expression *three eights* to represent 888, and not $8 + 8 + 8$ or even $8 \times 8 \times 8$. He says he thinks his interpretation is 'not forced'; but is the word *Ghata*, which is very indefinite, ever used to signify figures in this way? If the writer meant to express *three*, could he not have used one of the many symbolical expressions for it, instead of a word which simply means 'a collection'? And according to the usual way of expressing numbers in this symbolic way, and to the rule: *Ankanam vamato gatih* if *Ghata* meant three, would not the expression *Kunjara-Ghata* mean 38? And what is the necessity, of restricting the 'collection' to three? It may mean any number, even, in which case, though a row of nine nines, according to Babu Rajendrala's way of taking it, may not refer to any era, still the expression may mean 98. Altogether the supposition that the expression represents the date appears to be extremely improbable. The grammatical difficulty the Babu thinks I have myself solved, when I admit the alternative interpretation that "the temple took the 888th year to be constructed." But what one would naturally expect to find in an Inscription is that such and such a building was constructed in such and such a year, and not that it took such and such a year to be constructed. And the phrase that temple took the twentieth or any such year to be constructed is not Sanskrit as it is not English. I admitted the interpretation only so far as the grammar was concerned. The writer has not sinned against 'grammar in using *Bhusana* as masculine, for abstract verbal nouns ending in *Ana* only are necessarily neuter but others, signifying the instrument or place of an action, generally take

the gender of the noun qualified This is clear from the Linga-
 nasana (Siddhanta -Kaumudi, Calcutta Edition, Volume I I , last
 page). This appears to be more especially the case when the verbal
 noun has what may be called an Upapada or another noun
 depending on it. In the Siddhanta-Kaumudi, under Panini I I I .
 3-113 and 117 the instances given are राजवीर्यनाः शास्त्रव्यः । इक्ष्वा-
 क्यजनः कुटारः । वेदोद्गती स्वाती । in which nouns in Ana take the
 gender of the nouns they qualify. Bhusana as an abstract noun
 is neuter, but in the sense of Bhuyate Anena it may take any
 gender. Many verbal nouns in Ana are used by Sanskrit
 Authors in this way. In the present case Bhubhusana qualifies
 Prasada, and hence it is masculine.

Babu Rajendralal supposes a *double entendre* on the ex-
 pression in question, but such a *double entendre* appears to be
 purposeless. For the syntactical connection of a word on which
 such a play is intended is generally the same in both senses,
 but here in the one sense the compound becomes an epithet of
 Gaudapatina, and in the other, it stands independently.

. Babu Rajendralal calls the compound awkward when inter-
 preted in the way I have done, but he takes it to be a Bahuvrihi,
 Which it is not. It is what maybe called an Upapada compound;
 and is to be dissolved thus :- Kunjaranam Ghata = Kunjara-
 Ghata; Kunjara-Ghatam Varsatiti,=Kunjara-Ghatavarsah: Panini,
 I I I . 2. 1. Neither is it farther from the noun qualified than
 such epithets are even in such a simple Kavya as Raghu.

WHITE AND BLACK YAJUR-VEDAS.

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQARY, VOLUME 1,1872, p. 163]

It is worth noticing that the followers of the Black Yajur-veda are almost confined to Southern India, while the predominant or only Veda among the Gaudas of the North is the White Yajur. The Gujarat people have got a trace of one Sakha only of the former—the Maitrayaniya. Among the Marathas, the Cipavana Brahmans are nearly equally divided between the Rgveda and the Black Yajur-veda; while the Desasthas are Vijasaneyins (followers of the White) and Rgvedins. Whether this is to be accounted for by a revolution or some such event, enabling the followers of the White Veda to drive their rivals to the South, or by the supposition of that part of India being the country of the origin of the Black Yajur-veda is not determined. But there is a prophecy in the Agni Purana which represents the White Yajur-veda as a conquering or triumphant Veda, saying that the only Veda that will prevail in the latter part of the Kaliyuga will be the Vajasenayaka¹; all others being lost, and the Purohita or priest of Kalki the king that will overthrow the Mlechchhas, who will have overspread the earth, will be Yajnavalkya². This latter part of the prophecy occurs in other Puranas also. Yajnavalkya is the founder or first teacher of the White Yajur-veda.

Why should not a Census be taken of the several Vedas and Sakhas, and of the most important sects of Theosophy or religious philosophy ?

—————

1. Dasyavah allahiasca vedo Vajasenayakah I

2. Kalki Visnuyasah-putro Yajnavalkya-purohitah I

THE VEDA IN INDIA.

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOLUME III, 1874, pp132 FF.]

Every Brahmanic family is devoted to the study of a particular Veda, or a particular Sakha of a Veda; and the domestic rites of the family are performed according to the ritual prescribed in the Sutra connected with that Veda. The study consists in getting by heart the books forming the particular Veda. In Northern India, where the predominant Veda¹ is the White Yajur, and the Sakha Madhyandina, this study has almost died out, except at Banares, where Brahmanic families from all parts of India are settled. It prevails to some extent in Gujarat, but to a much greater extent in the Maratha Country, and in Tailangana there is a large number of Brahmans who still devote their life to this study. Numbers of these go about to all parts of the country in search of Daksina, and all well-to-do natives patronize them according to their means, by getting them to repeat portions of their Veda, which is mostly the Black Yajur, with Apastamba for their Sutra. Hardly a week passes here in Bombay in which no Tailanga Brahman comes to me to ask for Daksina. On each occasion I get the men to repeat what they have learnt, and compare it with the printed texts in my possession. With reference to their occupation, Brahmans of each Veda are generally divided into two classes, Grhasthas and Bhiksukas. The former devote themselves to a wordly avocation, while the latter spend their time in the study of their sacred books and the practice of their religious rites. Both these classes have to repeat the Samdhya-Vandana or twilight prayers, the forms of which are somewhat different for the different Vedas. But the repetition of the 'Gayatri-mantra Tat-Savitur varenyam', &c, five, ten, twenty-eight, or a hundred and eight times, which forms the principal portion of the ceremony, is

1. Compare the Note on the White and Black Yajurvedas on the last page to this Volume.- [N.B. U.]

common to all. The Samdhya-Vandana is performed early in the morning and at sunset by a few pious Brahmans, but the rest do it a little before the morning and evening meals, i. e., from 10 A. M. to 12 noon, and at about 8 P. M. Besides this, a great many perform daily what is called Brahmajayna, which is incumbent on all on certain occasions. This for the Rgvedis, consists of the first hymn of the first Mandala, and the opening sentences of the Aitareya Brahmana, the five parts of the Aitareya Aranyayaka, the Yajus-Samhita, the Sama-Samhita, the Atharva-Samhita. Asvalayana Kalpa-Sutra, Nirukta, Chandas, Nighantu, Jyotis, Siksa, Panini's Grammar, Yajnavalkya Smṛti, Mahabharata, and the Sutras of Kanada, Jaimini, and Badarayana.

I. Asvalayana enjoins the Brahmajayna in the following Sutra ;—
 अथ स्वाध्यायमधीवीतर्षो यजुषि सामान्यवर्षाक्षिरसो ब्राह्मणानि कथाम्नाथा नारायसीरि-
 तिभक्तपुराणमीति । Upon this is based the following, as repeated by the
 Rgvedī Brahmans in these days :—1. अक्षिमीळे पुरोहितं & c. up to सचस्वा नः
 स्विस्ते । 1.1); 2. अग्निर्वे देवानामयमो विष्णुः परमः I (Ait. Brah. 1.1); 3.
 अथ महाभक्तम् । (Ait. 1st Aran); 4 एव पन्था एतत्कर्म । (Ait. 2nd Aran.); 5.
 अथोक्तः शक्तिमात्रोऽपानयत् । (Ait. 4th Aran.); 6. विद्येममयविविदा ।
 7. महाभक्तस्य पञ्चविंशति सामिधेय्यः , (Ait. 5th Aran.); 8 इये त्वोर्जे त्वा । Yajur-
 veda Sarhhita); 9 अथ आयाहि वीतये । (Samaveda Samh.); 10. शं नो देवी-
 रयीष्टये । (Athar. Samh.); 11: अथेतस्य सप्तम्यायस्य (Asv. Kalp. 8.12); सप्त-
 म्यायः सप्तम्यातः । (Nirukta); 12 मयस्तजमनलगत्तमितम् । (Chandas); 14.
 नोः न्मा । (Nighantu); पञ्चतन्त्रस्यमयम् । (Jyotis); 16 अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि ।
 (Sikes); 17. वृद्धिरादेष्टु । (Panini) 18. योगीश्वरं याज्ञवल्क्यम् । (Yajn, Smṛti)
 19. नारायणं नमस्कृत्य । (Mahabharata); 20 अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः ।
 (Kanada Sutra अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा) (Jaimini Mīmāṃsā); 22. अथातो
 ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा । (Badarayana-Vedānta-Sutra); तच्छब्दोरावृणीमहे गातुं यज्ञाय गातुं
 यज्ञपतये देवी स्तुतिस्तु नः स्वस्तिमानुवेन्मः । ऊर्ध्वं जिगातु मेव न शं नो अस्तु द्विपदे
 शं चतुष्पदे । ३० मन्वे ब्राह्मणे नमो अस्तु वसवे नमः पृथिव्यै नम ओषधियः । नमो वाये
 नमो वायस्वत्यै नमो विष्णवे महतो करोमि । It would be hazardous to affirm
 that our Brahma-yajna, as recited in these days, was settled in Asva
 (kyana's time, but it is evidently based upon his Sutra quoted above. No. 1

Such Bhiksukas as have studied the whole Veda, repeat more of the first hymn, and a Khanda or more of the Brahmana, thus following the precept of Asvalayana : Sa yavan manyeta tavada-dhitya, " having recited so much as he wishes. " The Brahmayajna of the followers of the other Vedas consists of the first sections of their Samhitas and Brahmanas, and the opening sentences or verses of the other Vedas. The Vedangas and the other works are dispensed with.

The Vedic learning of the Grhasthas extends generally thus far only, but that of the Bhiksukas goes further. Some of these latter are what are called Yajnikas. They follow a priestly occupation, and are skilled in the performance of the sacred rites. They study the manuals of domestic rites based on the several Grihya Sutras. The manual used by and for the Rgvedi followers of Asvalayana is one composed by Narayanabhatta and known by the name of Narayanabhatti. The Hiranyakesi Yajurvedis use the Mahesvara-bhatti, composed by Mahesvarabhatta, and the manual followed by the Apastambas is the work of one Candracu4a, while a book of the name of Prayoga-Darpana is used by the Madhyandinas. There are a few other works of this nature which are occasionally referred to, but the usual practice of the rites is based on these. But a more important class of Bhiksukas are Vaidikas, some of whom are Yajnikas as well. Learning the Vedas by heart and repeating them in a manner never to make a single mistake, even in the accents, is the occupation of their life. The best Rgvedi Vaidika knows by heart the Samhita, Pada, Krama, Jata, and Ghana of the hymns or Mantra

corresponds, to his ऋचः, Nos. 2-7 to ब्राह्मणानि, No. 8 to his यजुर्वेदि, No. 9 to सामानि. No. 10 to अथर्ववेदि, No. 11, and perhaps the Vedangas from '12 to 17, to कल्पवृक्ष, and the rest to गाथा नारायणसंस्मृतिस्तनुराजानि. Of these latter the quotation from the Mahabharata No. 19 corresponds remarkably to Asvalayana's इतिहास, and there is no reason to think this did not form part of the Brahmayajna repeated in his time

portion of the Veda, and the Aitareya Brahmana and Aranyaka, the Kalpa and Grhya Sutra of Asvalayana, the Nighagtu, Nirukta, Chandas, Jyotis and Siksa, and Panini's Astadhyayi on Grammar. A Vaidika is thus a living Vedic Library. The Samhita and Pada our readers will understand; Krama, Jata and Ghana are different arrangements of the words in the Mantras. All these I show below by an example :—

Samhita

इ॒दं विष्णुर्वि॒चक्रमे॒ श्रे॒धा नि॒ दधे॒ प॒दम् । समू॒ळम॒स्य पा॒सुरे ॥

Padas

१ इ॒दम् । २ वि॒ष्णुः । ३ वि॒ । ४ च॒क्रमे॒ । ५ श्रे॒धा । ६ नि॒ । ७ द॒धे । ८ प॒दम् । ९ समू॒ळम् । १० अ॒स्य । ११ पा॒सुरे ॥

Krama

१ इ॒दं वि॒ष्णुः । २ वि॒ष्णुर्वि॒ । ३ वि॒ च॒क्रमे॒ । ४ च॒क्रमे॒ श्रे॒धा । ५ श्रे॒धा नि॒ । ६ नि॒ द॒धे । ७ द॒धे प॒दम् । ८ प॒द॒मि॒ति॑ प॒दम् ॥ ९ समू॒ळम॒स्य । १० समू॒ळमि॒ति॑ स॒म् ऽऊ॒ळम् । ११ अ॒स्य पा॒सुरे । १२ पा॒सुर॒ इति॑ पा॒सुरे ॥

Jatā

१ इ॒दं वि॒ष्णुर्वि॒ष्णुरि॒दमि॒दं वि॒ष्णुः । २ वि॒ष्णुर्वि॒ वि॒ वि॒ष्णुर्वि॒ष्णुर्वि॒ । ३ च॒क्रमे॒ च॒क्रमे॒ वि॒ वि॒ च॒क्रमे॒ । ४ च॒क्रमे॒ श्रे॒धा श्रे॒धा च॒क्रमे॒ च॒क्रमे॒ श्रे॒धा । ५ श्रे॒धा नि॒ नि॒ श्रे॒धा श्रे॒धा नि॒ । ६ नि॒ द॒धे द॒धे नि॒ नि॒ द॒धे । ७ द॒धे प॒दं प॒दं द॒धे द॒धे प॒दम् । ८ प॒दमि॒ति॑ प॒दम् । ९ समू॒ळम॒स्यास्य॑ समू॒ळं समू॒ळम॒स्य । १० समू॒ळमि॒ति॑ स॒म् ऽऊ॒ळम् । ११ अ॒स्य पा॒सुरे पा॒सुरे॒स्यास्य॑ पा॒सुरे । १२ पा॒सुर॒ इति॑ पा॒सुरे ॥

Ghana

१ इ॒दं वि॒ष्णुर्वि॒ष्णुरि॒दमि॒दं वि॒ष्णुर्वि॒ वि॒ वि॒ष्णुरि॒दमि॒दं वि॒ष्णुर्वि॒ । २ वि॒ष्णुर्वि॒ वि॒ वि॒ष्णुर्वि॒ष्णुर्वि॒ च॒क्रमे॒ च॒क्रमे॒ वि॒ वि॒ष्णुर्वि॒ष्णुर्वि॒ च॒क्रमे॒ । ३ च॒क्रमे॒ च॒क्रमे॒ वि॒ वि॒ च॒क्रमे॒ श्रे॒धा श्रे॒धा च॒क्रमे॒

³ ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁴ ⁵ ⁵ ⁴ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁶ ⁵ ⁴ ⁴
 दि दि चक्रमे ओषा । चक्रमे ओषा ओषा चक्रमे चक्रमे ओषा नि नि ओषा चक्रमे चक्रमे
⁵ ⁶ ⁵ ⁶ ⁶ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁷ ⁶ ⁶ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁷ ⁶
 ओषा नि । ओषा नि नि ओषा ओषा नि दधे दधे नि ओषा ओषा नि दधे । नि दधे दधे नि
⁶ ⁷ ⁶ ⁸ ⁷ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁷ ⁸ ⁷ ⁸ ⁷ ⁸ ⁷ ⁸
 नि दधे पदं पदं दधे नि नि दधे पदम् । दधे पदं पदं दधे दधे पदम् । पदमिति पदम् ।
⁹ ¹⁰ ¹⁰ ⁹ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹¹ ¹⁰ ⁹ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ⁹
 समूळमस्यास्य समूळं समूळमस्य पांसुरे पांसुरेस्य समूळं समूळमस्य पांसुरे । समूळ-
¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹¹ ¹⁰ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹¹
 मिति समूळम् । अस्य पांसुरे पांसुरेस्यास्य पांसुरे । पांसुर इति पांसुरे ॥

Padas are the different words of a Mantra repeated separately. Samhita consists in putting them together according to the Samdhi rules and using the Samdhi accents. In Krama the first word is repeated along with the second, the second with the third, the third with the fourth, and so on, as shown in the above scheme. The last word of a Mantra or a half of a Rik-verse, is simply repeated with the word Iti placed between. This repetition is called Vestana. In the Jata arrangement, the first word and the second, the second and the first, and the first and the second again, are repeated together, joined by the Samdhi rules and having Samdhi accents. In the same manner, the second and the third, the third and the second, and the second and the third are put together, and thus it goes on, each word in succession beginning a new Jata arrangement, up to the end of a half-Rik or of a mantra, when the last word is simply repeated, as in the Krama. In the Ghana there is first a Jata arrangement of two successive words, and then the third is added on, then the three are put together in the reverse order, and again in the converse. A Ghana is thus composed of the first and the second; the second and the first; the first and the second again, then the third ; the third, the second, and the first; and the first, the second, and the third. The second word begins the next Ghana, and we have the second, third; third, second; second, third, fourth; fourth, third, second • second, third, and fourth put together. In this manner it goes on to the last word, which cannot begin a new Ghana, and is therefore simply

repeated, as in the other cases. Whenever there is a compound, there is in addition what is called an Avagraha, i. e., a dissolution of it into its parts, in all these schemes, as in the case of Samulham in the above. It ought by no means to be supposed that to one who has got up the Padas these other arrangements are easy, since the Samdhi changes and accents are different in each scheme ; and in reciting, the horizontal and vertical (Anudatta and svarita) accents, as also the one compounded of these two, are distinctly shown by certain modulations of the voice. The Rgvedis do this in a way different from that followed by the Taittiriya, or followers of the Black Yaju, while the Madhyandinas indicate the accents by means of certain movements of the right hand. The Kanvas, however, differ from these latter, and follow the Rgvedis, as do the Atharvavedis also.

In this manner the Vaidikas learn to recite the Mantra portions of their Veda. The Brahmanas and other works are learnt and repeated simply as we find them in Manuscripts, i. e., in the Sarhita way. The quantity that the Rgvedis have to get up is so large that a person who has carried his studies up to Ghana is very rarely to be met with, and generally the Vaidikas of that Veda get up only the Sarhita, Pada, and Krama of the Mantra portion, in addition to the Brahmana and the other works enumerated above. Amongst the Taittiriya, however, a great many Vaidikas go up to the Ghana of the Mantra portion of their Veda, since they have to get up only their Brahmana and Arariyaka in addition. Some learn the Taittiriya Pratisakhya also ; but the Vedangas, including the Kalpa and Grhya Sutras, are not attended to by that class, nor indeed by any except the Rgvedis. The Madhyandinas get up the Samhita, Pada, Krama, Jata and Ghana of their Mantra portion.; but their studies generally stop there ; and there is hardly one to be found who knows the whole Satapatha Brahmaiya by heart, though several get up portions of it. There are very few Atharvavedis in the Bombay Presidency, a few families residing at Mahuli near Satara,

and some more in Revakanta (See Indian Antiquary Volume, I. p. 129), Last year, two Vaidikas of this Veda, very probably from the latter district, came up to me for Daksina. I took a copy of the German Edition in my hand and examined them, but they did not seem to know their Samhita well. The triumph of a Vaidika consists in repeating his Veda fluently, in all the ways above detailed, without a single mistake in the letters or accents. The students of the Samaveda have their own innumerable modes of singing the Samas. These are now being published in the Bibliotheca Indica. The Samavedis get up their Brahmanas and Upanisads also.

The Vaidikas support themselves generally on the gifts, or Daksinas of those of their countrymen who are charitably disposed. Often recital-meetings, known by the name of Mantra-Jagaras, are held by rich Grhasthas in their houses, at which the principal Vaidikas in the town or village are invited. The reciters of each Veda are divided into two parties, one of which repeats a portion of a Mantra in one or more of the several schemes, and the other party takes up the next; and is then followed by the first again. Each of them is silent while the other is repeating. In this manner, they go on till the time for breaking up arrives. The reciters are provided with milk and other refreshments, and at the end a money-Daksina is given to them by the host, according to his means. It is always a point of honour, at these meetings, who should recite first. By general consent, however, the first place is given to the Rgvedis; and after they have repeated their Mantras, the Yajurvedis begin. But, since there are two classes of Yajurvedis, the followers of Black Veda and of the White, this second place is the subject of contention between them. And sometimes the quarrel waxes so warm that it is often considered, the safest course for the convener of the meeting, in order that his house may not be a scene of tumult, to invite members of only one of these. The third place is assigned to the Samavedis.

The Veda-reciters are patronized by native princes also ; and the most liberal of these are the Gaikavad and the Raja of

Travancore, whose praises are sung by the wandering Tailanga Vaidika, The former has got a regular board of examiners, by whom every candidate that comes up from any part of India is examined and recommended for Daksina according to his deserts. But, with all these sources of income, the Vaidika is hardly in easy circumstances. Hence the class is gradually dying out, and the sons of the best Vaidikas in Poona or the Konkan, now attend Government English Schools—a result not to be much deplored.

Though the time and energy wasted in transmitting the Vedas in this manner, from the times of Katyayana and other ancient editors of the Vedas, has been immense, we should not forget that this class of Vaidikas has rendered one important service to Philology. I think the purity of our Vedic texts is to be wholly attributed to this system of getting them up by heart, and to the great importance attached by the reciters to perfect accuracy, even to a syllable or an accent.

There is another class of Vedic students called Srotriyas, or popularly Srautis, which must not be omitted here. These are acquainted with the art of performing the great sacrifices. They are generally good Vaidikas, and in addition, study the Kalpa-Sutra and the Prayogas or manuals. Their number is very limited. Here and there one meets with Agnihotris, who maintain the three sacrificial fires and perform the fortnightly Istis (sacrifices) and the Caturmasyas (particular kinds of sacrifice). The grander Soma sacrifices are now and then brought forward, but they are as a matter of course very unfrequent. There was one in the Konkan at a village called Golapa, near Ratnagiri, in May 1868, at which I was present, and another at Poona last year. The young Chief of Colaba has made preparations to institute at Alibag, at the end of this month (April), a sacrifice which is to be a compound of the species called Aptoryama and of a ceremony known by the name of Cayana ; that is, the ceremony of constructing the Kunda of altar in a peculiar shape. This will occupy the first twelve days, and the whole will last for about twenty days.

THE NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTIONS

[FROM THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
OF ORIENTALISTS, LONDON, 1876, PP. 188 ff.]

In the following Translations of the Nasik Cave Inscriptions, I have mainly followed Mr. West's excellent lithographs, given in Volume VII of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal. Lieutenant Brett's copies, from which Dr. Stevenson translated them, were also consulted. But finding that neither Collection was satisfactory in every respect, I visited the caves myself about three weeks ago, and compared the copies with the originals. I found a difference in several cases. These have been indicated in their proper places. I was accompanied by my friend Mr. Abaji Visnu Kathavate, himself a Sa*-skrit scholar, who was of much assistance to me. I have translated all the Inscriptions with the exception of No 23, which consists of a few small and incomplete lines. The numbers used are those of Mr. West's copies. The order in which I have arranged my Translations is as follows:—

1. Gautamiputra's Inscriptions, Nos. 26 and 25.
2. Usavadata's Inscriptions, Nos. 17, 19, 18, 16, and 14.
3. Inscriptions of private individuals containing the names of kings.
4. The rest.

No. 26

१ सिद्धं रणो वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य सिरिपुत्रमायिस समच्छरे एकुणविसे ११ गिम्हणपसे
बितीये २ दिवसे तेरसे १३ राजरणो गोतमीपुत्रस्य हिमवतमेव—

२ मंदारपवतसमसारस्य असिकअसकमुडकसुरठकुपुरापरतअनुपविदमआकरावति-
राजस्य विञ्छावतपारिचातसएकएहगिरिमचसिरिटनमलयमहिंद—

३ सेटगिरिचकेरपवतपतिस्य सवराजलोकमंडळ पतिगद्दीनसासनस्य दिवसकर
करविबोधितकमलविमलसदिसवद्धमस्य तिसमुदतोयपीतवाहनस्य पडिपुण्यचंदमंडलससिरीक—

४ पिथदसमस वरवारणविकमचाइविकमस भुजगपतिभोगपीनवाटविपुलदीवभुंदर-
भुजस अभयोदकदानकिलिननिभयकरस अविपनमानुसुमुसकस सुविभततिवगदेसकालस

५ पोरजनविबिसेसमसुसदुसस सानियदपमानमदनस सकथवनपलइवनिभुदनस
धमोपजितकरविनियोगकरस कितापराधेपि सनुजणे अपाणहिंसाइचिस दिजावरकुटुंय-
विबध-

६ नस सगारातवंसनिरवसेसकरस सातवाहनकुलयसपतिहापनकरस सवमंडलाभि-
वादितचरणस विनिवतितचातुवणसंकरस अनेकसमरावाजितसनुसंघस अपराजितविजय-
पताकसनुजनदुपधसनीय-

७ पुरवरस कुलपुरिसपरंपरागतविपुलराजसदस आगमानं निलयस सपुरिसानं अस-
यस सिरिस अधिठानस उपचारानं पभवस एककुस[ल]स एकधनुधरस एकसूरस एक-
भक्षणस राम-

८ केसवाजुनभीमसेनतुलपराकमस [द]च्छणयनुसवसमाजकारकस णभागन-
हुसजनमेजयसकरययातिरामाचरसिसमनेजस अपारिमितमस्यमीचितमभुत^[१] पवनगइडसिधय-
सरससविजाधरभूतगधवचारण-

९ चंददिवाकरनसतगहविचिण समरसिरिसि जितरिपुसंघस णगदरसत्था गगनतल-
मभिबिगाडस कुलविपुल[ण]सिरिकरस सिरिसातकनिस मानुय महादेवीय गोतमीय
बलसिरिय सचवचनदानसमाहिंसानिरताय तपदमानिय-

१० मोषवास्तपराय राजरिसिबधुसदमक्षिलमनुविधीयमानाय कारितं देवधमं cut
away सप cut away सिसरसदिसनिरण्डुपवनसिसरे विमानवराणिविसेसमहिमकं लेणं
ए[तं] च ले[णं] महादेवी महाराजमाता महाराजपतामही ददाति निकायस भदावनीयानं
भिक्षुसंघस

११ एतस च लेणग चित[णं] निमित्तं महादेवीय अयकाय सेवाकामो पिपकामो
ण cut away पथेसरो पितुपतियसधमसेतुस ददाति गामं निरण्डुपवतस अपरदक्षिण
पासे पिंसाजिपदर...सावजात...रव.

Though covered over with a black oily paint, this Inscription, with the exception of a few letters at the end, could be easily read. It is intelligible throughout, though not without a few difficulties; and the words can be readily traced to their Sanskrit originals. The letters, not occurring in Mr. West's lithograph, and such as are different there from what I found them to be in the original, are underlined here, as in other Inscriptions.

Lines 2, 3. Some of the names cannot be identified, **सिरिडन** is perhaps **श्रीस्तन** in Sanskrit. May this be Sri Saila on the KrsNa — **ककर** is very likely the Cakora mentioned in some of the Puranas. For the rest see Wilson's Visnu-Purana and Varaha-Mihita, Chap. XIV.

L. 6. **सन्मारात** or **सन्मारात**. The right-hand stroke indicatory of **त** is distinct in the original.

L. 8 **ककजयदु०** makes no sense. **द** must very likely be read before it, though it does not occur ; and then the word would correspond to **दक्षिणायदु०**. **ककर** must have been intended for **सगर**. Engravers not seldom make such mistakes. **शंकर** can have nothing to do here *, Gautamiputra is compared to ancient kings, and not to gods, in the compound. Dr. Stevenson's **शकारि** will not do ; for what is wanted here is an old Puranic king,

L. 9. **विचिण** offers some difficulty. If taken as corresponding to **वितीर्ण**, there is nothing in the following words which it may with propriety be made to qualify, **वितीर्णः समरः** would hardly be good sense; for the fight is with mortal enemies, and not with the wind, Garuda, etc. Nor would the compound ending with the word look well as an adverb. The letter representing Ca may not unlikely have been engraved for Dha, which it greatly resembles; and with a small stroke to the right, Na would be Na, and the whole word would be **विचिणा**. This yields pretty good sense ; for what seems to be intended is that he propitiated the wind, Garuda and the rest by some processes, and then obtained an easy victory over his enemies. **मातुय, महादेवीय**, etc., stand for **मातुय, महादेवीय**, etc. instrumental singulars in Prakrit.

L. 10. **तिरण्डु** or more properly **तिरणि** (see No. 25, I. 8), corresponds to **तिरणि** (See No. 17, middle of l. 3, and No. 15, I. 7), and was the name of the hill on which these Cave-Temples are excavated. It occurs in No. 9, No. 11, l. 2, No. 25, about the end of l. 9, and also in l. 11 of this. Dr. Stevenson makes " Kanha mountain " of it in one place (p. 43), " the rays of the setting sun " in another (p. 50), and "wilderness" in a
30 [R.G.Bhanadarkar's. Vol.I.]

third¹. **महायनीयानं** ought to be **महायनीयानं** (See to II, and 13 below) = **महायनीयानाम्** which was the name of a Buddhistic sect.²

L. 11. **चितनं**— **लेजपचितन** is the reading of both Lieut. Brett and Mr. West; but I could distinctly see **स** instead of **प** and, **लेजस**, the genitive, is wanted here, **चितनं** = **चेत्यानाम्**. **अयकाय** = **आयकायाः** gen. " of the venerable lady " . **पिसाजिपदर** is unintelligible.

Sanskrit of No. 26.

१ सिद्धम् । राक्षो वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीपुद्गमायेः संवत्सर एकोनविंशे १९ श्रीपद्मक्षेत्रे द्वितीये २ दिवसे त्रयोदशे १३ राजराजस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य ह्रिमवन्मेव—

२ मन्दापर्वतसमसारस्यासिकाशमकुम्भकसुराष्ट्रकुरापराश्रान्तानूपविदर्भाकरावन्नी-
राजस्य विन्ध्यावत्पारियात्रसहस्ररुष्णागिरिमन्थश्रितिनमलयमहेन्द्र—

३ श्रेष्ठगिरिचकोरपर्वतपतेः सर्वराजलोकमण्डलप्रतिगृहीतशासनस्य दिवसककरविभो-
धितकमलविमलसहस्रवदनस्य त्रिसमुद्गतोयपीतवाहनस्य परिपूर्णचन्द्रमण्डलस्य श्रीक—

४ प्रियदर्शनस्य वरवारणविक्रमचारुविक्रमस्य भुजगवतिभोगपीनवृत्ताविपुलदर्धि-
सुन्दरभुजस्यामयोदकदानक्लिन्ननिर्भयकरस्याविपन्नमातृशुभ्रकस्य सुविभक्तत्रिवर्गदेश-
कालस्य

५ पौरजननिर्विशेषसमुद्धदुःखस्य क्षत्रियचर्दपमानमर्दनस्य शक्यवनधन्वनिपुदनस्य
धर्मोपाजितकरविभियोगकरस्य कृतापराधेपि शत्रुजनेऽप्राणहिंसारुचेर्द्विजवरकुटुम्बविवर्ध—

६ नस्य क्षणारातवशानिरवशेषकरस्य शातवाहनकुलयशःप्रतिष्ठापनकरस्य सर्व-
मण्डलाभिवादितावरणस्य विनिवर्तितचातुर्वर्ण्यसंकरस्यानेकसमरावजितशत्रुसंघस्यापरा-
जितविजयपताकशत्रुजनदुष्पधर्षणीय—

७ पुरवरस्य कुलपुरुषपरंपरागतविपुलराजशब्दस्यागमानां निलयस्य सन्तुष्टाणां
भयस्य शिरोऽधिष्ठानस्योपचाराणां मभवत्यैककुश[ल]स्यैकभनुर्धरस्यैकशूरस्यैकवज्र-
पथस्य राम—

८ केशवार्जुनश्रीमसेनतुल्यपराक्रमस्य दक्षिणायनोत्सवसमाजकारकस्य मन्मथानु-
जमेजयसगरयथातिरामाम्बरीषसमतेजसोऽपरिमितमत्तयमचित्रमद्भुत(तं)पवनगच्छद्विष-
क्षराक्षसविद्याधरगन्धर्वचारण—

1. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume V, p. 55.

2. Waseiljew, p. 230.

९ चन्द्रदिवाकरनक्षत्रमहर्षिना समरशिरसि जितरिपुसंघस्य नगवृक्षभा गगनतलम-
मिदिगाढस्य कुलविपुण्यश्रीकरस्य शातकर्णेर्मात्रा महादेव्या गौतम्या बलक्षिता सत्यवच-
नदानक्षमाहिंसानिरतया तपोदमनिध—

१० मोपवासनत्वरया राजर्षिवधूशब्दमसिलमनुविधीयमानया कारितं देयधर्मं cut
away शिखरसदृशश्चिरश्मिपर्वतशिखरे विमानवरानिर्विशेषमाह्निकं लयनम् । एतच्च लयनं
महादेवीमहाराजमाता महाराजपितामही ददाति निकायस्य(घाय) भद्रायनीषानां
भिन्नसंघस्य(घाय) ।

११ एतस्य च लयनस्य चेत्यानां निमित्तं महादेव्या आर्यकायाः सेवाकामः मिय-
कामश्च न cut away पथेश्वरः पितृपतियद्यौधर्मसेतोद्दाति ग्रामं विरश्मिपर्वतस्यापारद-
क्षिणपार्श्वे...सर्पजात...रय ।

TRANSLATION,

This Cave-temple, a benefaction, the greatness of which is not excelled by the best (1) of Vimanas (celestial cars), is caused to be constructed on the summit of Trirasmī, which is like the summit of—, on the 13 th thirteenth day, in the 2nd second fortnight of Grisma (2), in the year 19 nineteen of the King Sri Pudumayi, the son of Vasisthi, by the Great Queen Gautami, the presiding genius of power, taking delight in veracity, charity, forbearance, and abstinence from killing, devoted to religious austerities, self-restraint, vows and fasts, and acting (3) in every way as befits the title of " daughter (4) of royal sages, " and the mother of Satakarni, Gautamiputra [the son of Gautami], the King of Kings, whose might [firmness] is equal to that of the mountains Himalaya, Meru, and Mandara; who is king of Asika, Asmaka, Mudhaka, Surastra, Kukura (5), Aparanta, Anupa, Vidarbha, Akara, and Avanti, and lord of the mountains Vindhyavat, Pariyatra, Sahya, Krsnar-giri, Malaya, Mahendra, Srestha-giri and Cakora ; whose orders are obeyed by the circle of all kings, whose pure face resembles the lotus blown open by the rays of the sun, whose beasts of burden have drunk(6) the waters of the three seas, whose look is as graceful and lovely as the full disk of the moon, whose gait is as

of a country; and supposing that there was a country of that name, its position ought to be farther to the South. The Gurjjara dynasty which the General connects with that country reigned at Broach¹ (See Journal B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X). Kukura answers to Kiuchelo better than Gurjjara. Aparanta must be the Western coast below the Sahyadri; for Kalidasa represents Raghu, in the fourth canto of the Raghuvamsa (Sloka 52, 53, and 58), to have crossed the Sahya to conquer that country, and to have, by means of his immense army, made the sea to appear " as if it touched the Sahya mountain. " Anupa was a country on the Upper Narmada, with Mahismati for its capital.²

(6) According to the usual Sanskrit idiom (Panini I I . 2. 36) **वीर** ought to be placed before **असुरहतोयः**. But there are exceptions, as noticed in Panini I I . 2. 37. Such expressions as **मादव-सिरिणो** for **श्रीमादवस्य** (Malati-Madhava, Act VI.) are not uncommon. Jagaddhara's remark in this case is **मादवस्य इत्यत्र प्राकृते पूर्वनिवातानियमाच्छ्रीमादवस्येत्यर्थः**. According to him, therefore, adjectives may be placed after the noun in Prakrit where this cannot be done in Sanskrit.

(7) Properly the phrase ought to be translated thus, "Whose fearless hand is wetted by giving the water of asylum or safety/" But there is no object or propriety in comparing safety to water. The expression ought to be **अमयदानोदक**. The compound, however, may be dissolved as **अमयस्योदकेन दानम्**, but this is hardly good.

(8) The triad is **धर्म** " religious merit or desert ", **अर्थ** "wealth, possessions, or worldly interests," and **काम**, "desires or pleasures."

(9) To put a Brahman in a condition in which he may " increase and multiply " his race has always been considered act of virtue. Usavadata is praised in Inscription No. 17 for

1 Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Volume X.

2. Raghuvamsa, VI. 37-43.

" having given eight wives to Brahmans," i. e. given them the means of marrying.

(10) The termination **जा** showing " manner " or "variety," which in Sanskrit is applied only to numerals, seems to be appended here to common nouns. Hence **नगवृक्षजा** means " in the manner of mountains and trees. "

By far the greater part of Dr. Stevenson's translation of this Inscription is wrong, and wide away from the true sense. His " Varaja, lord of the circle of Lanka ", " Surya going to the region of the lotuses at the suggestion of chaya ", " the spotless sister, " " Ksatriya flaming like the god of love, " the four institutes, one for the sick and infirm ", " Umakhela, the queen, etc. etc., have all disappeared in my Translation. I need not criticize it further. Any one who will compare both with the original will perceive the truth of my remark.

It will be seen that the cave was caused to be constructed and assigned to the mendicants by Gautami, the mother of Satakarrii Gautamiputra, and not by his wife or widow, as supposed by Dr. Stevenson and all subsequent writers.

Below this Inscription there is another composed of about three lines in smaller characters, which is difficult to read. The time at my command was so short that I had to come away without comparing Mr. West's transcript with it* But I do not think such a comparison would have been of much use. The engraver was evidently in haste, and wanted to compress much matter within the short space at his disposal, in consequence of which the letters are badly formed. The difficulty is increased by a portion in the middle of each line being destroyed. The context is thus cut off. I have, however, been able, by comparing the two copies, to make out the following:—

No. 26 A.

११ भवन्नरत्नार्त्ता वासिष्ठीपुत्रो सिरीपुट्टमवि आणपयति गोबधने अमर्षं

१२ सवसुदलनं अमेघं सव० ११ मि० ५० २ दिव० १३ धनकटसामिनिहि

य एव फतेतरे cut away न एतस तस लेणस पटसभरणे अक्षयहेतु एव गोबधनहरे

दक्षिणने गामो व तिथय भिक्षुहि देवीलिणवसेहिं निकायेन भदायनीयेहिं पत्तिस्त्राय दतो
एतस दानगामस सूदसनेहिं परवटके^[१] एथ गोइ [व] धन हरे पुव .

१३ गामो[म]समदेस^[१] दददिम एतस महाअइरकाने^[१] ददानधमसेतुस लणस
पटिपथरणे अक्षयहेतो^[१] [तु] गामे^[१] मम [वि] लपद^[१] तन cut away सण cut away
येन भदायनीयेहिं पत्तिस्त्रय उथपय [वियापितो] एतस च गामस सन [वि] लपदस भिक्षु-
पालपरिचारइथे समादत्त^[१] पालम^[१] पवजितपरिचारे देवान^[१] कणण^[१] कजे^[१] गोवधनवा-
धनवससय देइहाले^[१] न अमथे^[१] णाणतेन मतगणसपणपणासिस जिनवरस बुधस

१४ वितराम अपवेस^[१] अनामस^[१] अदाणसणके^[१] अरठ समनमके^[१] [सविनमिके]
सवजातपरिवारिके^[१] च एताहिं परिवारेहिं एतं^[१] च गामं^[१] समवि^[१] लपदपरिचार^[१] च
एथ णसथ [गिबध] लिपि अद [दि] मानतमसवसुदसनने^[१] विनिबधकरेहिं आणतमइ
सेनापतिमा मेधाविनासद सतर [ने] ण निच्छिता व निकदेवस कजे .

When a reading not noticed below is not found in one of the copies, it should be looked for in the other.

L. 12. अमेचं looks like अमेव, but what is required is a Prakrit word having the sense of अस्माकम्. —सामिनहिं is the instrumental plural occurring again in N0.25, 1. 5. The न of the singular seems to have the plural termination attached to it in this case, as in the Marathi plural राज्यानीं (=नीं), the singular being राज्याने. The verb or participle of which सामिनहिं is the agent in the instrumental case is wanting, probably lost in the portion of the Inscription destroyed. It should be some word signifying "given". —दत्तस. The t seems to have been badly cut in the rock or compounded by the copyists with v. —परसंथरणे=प्रतिसंस्तरणे whence the ढ ought to be टि. The word occurs in the next line in the form of पटिपथरणे=प्रतिप्रस्तरणे.—गोवधनवहरे may also be read as गोवधनाचारे="district of Govardhana." —तिथय is somewhat difficult Mr. West has भिलेण. I prefer the former, and refer it to the Sanskrit तत्त्वज्ञान or त्रिस्थान. —भदायनेहिं. The व books like न, but there can be little doubt that व is the correct reading, since the word occurs near the end of 1. 10 and in the middle of 1. 13. In the latter place it is distinct in Lieut. Brett's copy, —पत्तिस्त्राय. The first letter is ढ in Lieut. Brett's, and unreadable in Mr. West's.

It must be **व**, for the word is repeated in the next line, where the **व** is distinct. In the latter place the letter that looks like **व** must be corrected to **ख**, as we have got it here. —**खदसनेहि**. The vowel of the last letter is not distinct. The vowel occurs in the last line about the end. —**वुव**. The vowel of the first letter is wanting in Mr. West's, but some mark denoting it is to be seen in Lieut. Brett's, though on the left side of the letter. Mr. West suspects the existence of **म** after **व**, but that letter is not required here unless we read the whole word as **वयम**.

L. 13 **गामो**, ' This is nominative singular, but the sense requires the accusative. —**वददिम** appears to be the first person plural of the perfect. In Sanskrit, however, the root **वद्** first class takes the Atmanepada terminations. Or if one **व** is considered redundant, and consequently to have crept in by mistake, the form is of the root **वा**. But the Prakrits generally have not preserved the Atmanepada. —**अहरकानं** = **आयंकानां**. The dots representing **ह** sometimes stand for **ज** as in 1. 5 of No 12, in which case the word is **अजरकानं**. The plural is used as expressive of respect. —**समलपदं** might be taken as corresponding to **समलपदं** or **समलपदम्**. **वय** or **वह** means a " road " or " path ", but **मल** does not yield an appropriate sense. The letter, however, which looks like **म** may also be read as **वि**, in which case the expression is **समिलपदम्** 'together with the ditches (such as wells) and roads.' The expression occurs further on in this line and in the next. —**उयय**. The isosceles triangle which represents **व** has in several cases in this inscription lost one of its sides. Taking the first letter, therefore, as **व**, the word nearest to **उयय** which makes sense is **विययिषो** or **विययिषो** " abandoned". —**देवानकणकज** is somewhat unintelligible. The first word is very likely **देवानं** = **देवानां**, the second must be one having the sense of " a mendicant " or " beggar," and third **कजे** = **कार्ये**; so that the whole expression appears to mean " for the sake of gods and beggars and mendicants." Generally these are the objects of charity. (See **वनीक-देवद** below.) The first letter is not distinct, as it looks like **ख**.

—~~जीवन्~~ must be a mistake for गोवधन. —~~वडसरय~~ or if the ~~व~~ is taken %with the preceding to give it the form of the instrumental singular, ~~वडसरय~~ is hardly intelligible. But ~~सरय~~ may be read as ~~सिखिय~~ to ~~सिखिय~~ = ~~शिया~~ and ~~वड~~ may be traced to ~~मड~~, in which case the expression is ~~नवशिया~~ attended (lit. begirt) with prosperity, —~~वेणुपाल~~ is perhaps the same man as ~~विष्णुपालित~~, mentioned in No. 25, 1.2. —~~सपथ~~ is difficult. It may be the representative of ~~सपथ~~.

L. 14.: ~~अपवेत्त~~, etc. These expressions are commented on in the notes on 1. 4, No. 25. —~~जिखध~~ should be ~~जिवध~~ (See 1. 5 and 11 No. 25). —~~अविमानतम~~ = ~~अतिमान्यतम~~ looks well as an epithet of ~~निनिबन्धकरेहि~~, but is made part of the compound ending with ~~सपथ~~, which in Sanskrit will not do.

Sanskrit of No. 26 A.

११ नवनरस्वामी वासिष्ठीपुत्रो श्रीपुट्टमविराज्ञापयति गोवर्धनेऽम्नाक्षं

१२ सर्वाङ्गदलनमस्माकं सं० १९ ग्री० ५० २ दिव० १३ । ननकटस्वामिनि-
वीडत्र cut away एतस्य तस्य लवनस्य प्रतिसंस्तरणेऽस्यहेतुत्र गोवर्धनाकारे
वक्षिणार्धे ग्रामः स तत्स्थानमिश्रमिर्देवीलयनवासैर्निकायेन महावनीयैः प्रतिल्याय
दत्तः । एतस्य दानग्रामस्य सुवर्चनेः परिवर्तकमत गोवर्धनाकारे पूर्व—

१३ ग्रामसमवेशं ददिमैतस्य महार्यकानां ददानधर्मसेतोर्कयनस्य प्रतिप्रस्तदनेऽ-
स्येवमुत्थमं सखिलपथम् । cut away cut away (निक) येन महावनीयैः अति-
स्वल्प निवर्तित एतस्य च ग्रामस्य सखिलपथस्य मिश्रुगालपरिवारहस्ते समावृतं पालनं
प्रवर्तितपरिवारे देवानां... कार्ये । ओजवनवास्तव्यनक्षत्रिया विष्णुपोकनक्षत्रिनक्षत्रेण
अर्चयितव्यप्रप्रणाशिनः(नि) जिववरस्य(राय) बुद्धस्य(दाय)

१४ वितरामोऽप्रवेद्यमनासृश्यमदानञ्जानकमराष्ट्रसविनयिकं सविजातपरिवारिकं
च । एतं परिहारेः परिहारेरितं च ग्रामं सखिलपथपरिवारं च । अत्र निवृद्धकिपिरितिवाञ्छ-
कम्पैः सर्वसुदर्शनानां विनिबन्धकरैराज्ञप्तमहासेनापतिना मेधाविनाक्षतसत्त्वेन निक्षिप्तावनी-
कदेवस्य कार्ये ।

TRANSLATION.

The prosperous Pudumayi, the lord of Navanara (1), com-
mands Sarvaksadalana, the Royal Officer in Govardhana :—The
village in the Govardhana district, in the southern division
which (was granted) on the thirteenth day of the second fort

night of Grisma, in the year nineteen of our (reign), by the Lord of Dhanakata, as a permanent provision for the keeping up of this said cave-temple, was disapproved by the mendicants of the place, the Bhadrayanlyas in congregation, residing in the Queen's cave-temple, and given (back). In its place we granted, by (issuing) mandates, another vilage of the same area as the former, along with the wells and roads, as a permanent provision for the keeping up of the cave-temple of the great veperable lady (or grand-mother) which is the bridge of religious desert to the donor ; and the management of the village, which was disapproved by the Bhadrayaniyas in congregation, was placed in the hands of the body of the protectors of the mendicants, (and of ?) the body of the recluses (2), for purposes concerning gods and beggars (generally), We (now) grant the village to Buddha, the best of Jinas, the destroyer of the ignorance (lit. sleep) of the crowd of mortals, by (issuing) commands to the prosperous Visnupala, the Royal Officer residing in Gona-bana. It is not to be entered on or interfered with by others, not to include what has been granted (before) or may be dug out, and not to be subject to the rules (in matters of revenue) applicable to (other parts of) the country, and to include all that may grow on it. (We grant) with these restrictions this village, along with the wells, roads, and appurtenances. This charter (composition) is engraved here by the general, the talented Aksatasattva at the command (3) of the very respectful composers of all mandates (or charters).

NOTES.

(1) I translate नवनरस्वामी as "the Lord of Navanara," upon the analogy of the expression घनकटस्वामी. Navanara must have been the name of Pudumayi's capital. But it may be translated as "the new lord of men." नरस्वामी, however, in the sense of a King, is hardly to be met with, and the epithet नव or "new," as applied to the King, can have so significance, since about the time that it was used in this Inscription he must have been more than nineteen years on the throne.

(2) A distinction seems to be intended here between a **विप्र** and a **प्रव्रजित**. The former term signifies a regular Buddhistic mendicant, and the latter, any one who has abandoned the world and devoted himself to the life of a recluse.

(3) Command, i. e. the respected person composed the charter, and it was engraved as composed. The word **आणत** may here be translated "at the dictation of."

The Lord of Dhanakata spoken of in this Inscription was Gautamiputra ; for the title occurs before his name in No. 25, l. i. He appears to be represented here to have granted a village on the thirteenth day of the second fortnight, etc., which is the date of No. 26. This, therefore, must be the same grant as that mentioned in 1. II of that Inscription. From No. 26 A we see that the Bhadrayanlyas disapproved of the village granted to them by Gautamiputra, whereupon Pudumayi gave them another in its place, and the old one, which for some time had been devoted to charitable purposes generally, was assigned to the Buddhists by this charter.

Govardhana appears from this Inscription, and from No. 25, to have been the capital of the province during the reign of these princes. There is a village of that name at present about three or four miles from the hill where these caves are constructed.

No. 25.

१ सिधं सेनानी विजयति यो विजयतिथवार[रे] गोवधनस ब[ध]नं कटक
स्वामी गोतमीपुत्रो सिरिसदकणि

२ आनपयति गोवधने अमनविष्णुपालितं गाभे अपरकखदियं यं खेतं अन्न-
कालकीयं उमसदाले[से]न भुतं निवत[न] —

३ सतानि बे २०० एतं अद्य खेतं [नि]वतनसतानि बे २०० इमेसे पत्रभितानं
तेकिरसिनं [पुरिसानं] बितराम एतस च [त]ख खेतस परिवारं

४ बितराम अपावेसं अनामसं अदाणखान[or द]कं अरठमविनायिकं सव-
जातपरिकारिकं च एतद्दिन परिहारेदि परिहारेदि.

५ एतं च स [तं] खेतं परिवारं च एष निबन्ध लिहि[मि] सुविनेन आप्त
अमयेन सिवगुतेन [मि] पञ्चतो [ता] महासायिष [न] हि अपरखेतं.

६ दत्ता[तं] पविक्तसवच्छरे १९ वसापखे ४१ दिवसे तापसानं कज ॥ सिद्ध
गोवधने अमचस समकस देया राजनिता

७ रणो गोतमीपुतस सातकनिस महदेविय च जि वासुठीय राजमातुव वचनेन
गोवधने [अम] च समको आपति वतयो तवचव[गोवधने] चि-

८ ठतहि एष असमहि पवततिराक्षिषि अद्याधमदाने लेने पतिवसतानं पद-
जितानं भिक्षुनं गामे रखादिषु पुर्व खेतं दत्तं तं च खेतं

९ एक सतं स च गामो नवसति एष[क] सति य^[.] दानि[नं] एष नमरसीने
राजकखेतं अद्यपेतकं ततो एतस पवजितानं भिक्षुनं तेरहकजहरहि

१० खेतस निवतनसतं १०० एतस च खेतस परिवारं वितराम अपावेसं अनामसं
अदानकानकं अरठसविनयिकं सवजातपरिवारिकं च.

११ एतद्दिन परिहारेहि परिहारेहि एतं च तं खेतं परिवारं च एष निबन्धा लिपि
सुविनेन आप्तपविहरक्षिय [यो] लाजयमातो लेखि संवच्छरे २४.

१२ वसानं^[.] पखे ४ दिवसे पंचमे ५ पुजितिनं कज निबन्धो निबन्धो सवच्छरे
२४ गिद्धानपखे ४ ? दिवसे १०.

This Inscription is faintly cut, and the surface of the rock is so uneven that the natural indentations appear like letters or parts of letters. Hence neither of the published copies is satisfactory. Though Mr. West's is superior as a whole to Lieut. Brett's, the latter is in several places better than the former. With the assistance of these two I was able to make out a good deal, but there are several difficulties which cannot be satisfactorily cleared up.

Line 1. सेनानी. What is marked as **३** = से in Mr. West's copy, has the mark of the vowel **इ** above it, and looks so much like the letter which he has taken to be **३** = ज, that I have put down both as नानी. --विजयति. The sense' requires that Mr. West's **को** should be taken as वि, **तो** निष. **को**ks distinctly like

ॐ = तिथि. तिथिचारा should be तिथिचारे which represents the Sanskrit तीर्थचारे. Hemacanura ग्वारं, दारं and व्वारं as the Prakrit forms of द्वारम्. (कश्चित्तत्पर्यमेव — द्वारं । द्वारं । दारं). The vowel marks are not distinct here. It is चारा in Mr. West's, but चार in Lieut. Brett's. It must very likely be चारे. —वनकटका. The first letter Should be रे (See No.26A.I.12) The dot on च and the right hand stroke of क must be mistakes. There appears to be a letter like ख = म after this word, but nothing satisfactory can be made out of it. —स्वामि. ॐ when looked at from a certain position looks like ॐ = स्वामि; and it must be so, for if it were simply मा, the nether loop would, not be so much below the level of that of the next म. The loop therefore, must be another letter, i.e., व. —गोतमीपुत्रो. ख must have the mark of ह, though I did not see it distinctly. —सदकभि. I is distinctly इ.

Line 2. आनययति. The first two letters are: + ॥ = आन; ॥ must ख. —अपरकसविद्यं. The sense of this cannot be determined with perfect certainty, but it must refer to the direction in which the field lay. In No. 26, 1. II, the word अपरदक्षिण meaning " southwest " occurs, and उत्तरापरा in No. 19. The expression may therefore have been intended for अपरदक्षिणीय. —अजकालकीयं probably corresponds to अकालकीयम् (अकालिकम्). —निबतन. ॥ and ॥ have been put together by Mr. West, but they appear separate in Lieut, Brett's copy.

Line 3. The mark for a hundred has a side stroke, though the copies do not give it. [It therefore signifies two hundred. —निबतन. The first letter is omitted in Mr, West's copy, but there is appendicular stroke to represent it in Lieut. Brett's. The conceit requires the नि. —तेकिरसिनं must very likely be पुरिसानं = पुरुषाणां. —What looks लिखत must be तत्, for the phrase एतत् तत् occurs, in No. 26 A.

tew 4. अपावेवं अनामसं अवाजसादकं अरुहसविनयिकं. Mr. West's copy is not faithful to the original here. The third word is not distinct even in the original; but it must be as, I have put it, for

कश्चिन्पययिषद्वारं । द्वारं । द्वारं ।

these expressions occur in I 10 below, and in the last line of No. 26 A. In this Inscription however, we have ~~अराटसविनिकम्~~ or ~~अराटसविनिकम्~~ for the fourth expression. These phrases correspond to ~~आयाटसविनिकम्~~ or ~~समसाराजकीयनामवेद्यम्~~, पूर्वसदेवकृद्वात्मजम् or सर्वदावस्तंवाद्यम्, etc., occurring in copperplates of a later date¹. ~~अनामसं~~ is to be traced, I think, to ~~अप्रावेद्यम्~~, ~~अनामसं~~ to ~~अनासुद्यम्~~, ~~अनामसुद्यम्~~ or ~~आवागस्यनकं~~, as it may be read, to ~~अनासुद्यम्~~ or ~~अनामसुद्यम्~~, and the last probably to ~~अराटसविनिकम्~~, or more in conformity with Sanskrit usage, to ~~अराटसविनिकम्~~, i. e. "not to fee controlled or dealt with in point of revenue in the same manner as other parts of the country," i. e. "not to be subjected to taxes." —एतद्दिन. The appears to form part of the termination, the usual portion of the हि of the instrumental plural being written separately.

Line 5. एत च सखेत is the reading of Lieut. Brett's copy. It should be एतं च तं खेतं,—I found परिवारं instead of परिहारं. —एच निबध is the reading of the original, as of Lieut. Brett's copy. लिहि ought to be लिपि, the word occurring in the same circumstances in No. 26 A 1. 14. सुविणेण = सुविज्ञेन "a learned man." Compare सर्वज्ञदर्शनानां विनिबन्धकैः in No. 26 A; I. 14. These charters were written by learned men for those officers, —आज्येन ought either to be आज्येन = आज्ञेन or should be taken as forming a compound with the following word.—अज्येन. Afar, West's copy is inaccurate here; the other is better. कसो repressed, the Sanskrit क्षितो, or if there is a नि in the blank, विक्षितो : "placed," i. e. "engraved."—महासन्निधिहि must be महासन्निधिः. See No. 26 A, 1. 12 and the note). —अपर. The perpendicular stroke to the right hand is wanting in the case of अ.

Line 6, एविक or एविक is very likely एविक = पूर्विक "the-preceding" "for for—सावज्ञानं. The mark of अ in , ए is distinct in the original and in Mr. Brett's copy. राजनिष्ठा have been intended for राजनिष्ठि = राजनिष्ठि.

1 See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Volume¹; Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Volume I and X and Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol, VI

Line 7 **वसि**. I do not know what to make of this, If **व** were to be taken as the copulative particle, **सि** alone would not signify anything, and the context seems to require that the sense should be " the Queen of Satakarni Gautamiputra, " and not " Satakarni Gautamiputra, and the Queen " because in line 9 we have the word **पेतकं** " got from the father, " i. e. patrimony, which expression would not suit in the case of the King. Perhaps it may be **वजा=वायं** or **वजा=वयं**. It may notwithstanding be **वजजा=वायं** ; the **अ** may have existed, though it is not now seen, or it may be **वस** or **वस**, equivalent to **वासु**, a term of honour used before the names of women, as it is in Inscription No. 24—**वाहुरीद**. I distinctly saw the word, though in the copies it is found in a mutilated form. The **सु** for **सि** may be a mistake of the engraver or owing to a defect in the rock. —**अमव**. There must have been **अम** in the blank before **व** ; for the following name is the same as in 1. 6, and it is preceded by **अमव** there. —**आवति**. I saw this word distinctly. —**गोवधने**. What seems like **तववधि** may be **गोवधने**, and the first three letters countenance this supposition. It is difficult to say what the next four letters stand for. Perhaps the word is **वधवधि=वास्तव्ये** or **विठंताधि=तिष्ठति** meaning " situated ".

Line 8. **असमधि**. The **धि** is not unlikely **सि**, and I saw something like **ख** below it. The expression, then, is **असमधि=आभने**. —**पवति**. **रविधि**. The copies are defective here, but I could discern these words in the original. —**अवधम**. Lieut. Brett's copy is accurate here and in the case of the next word, where, however, the **त** ought to have the mark of **ह**, as it has in the original. **गामे रसविह**. Here, again, I found Lieut. Brett's copy to be correct.

Line 9. **वसति**. The older copy is better here also. **एवसति व दानं**. The first two letters are very illegible in the original : the second looks like A; but it appears likely that the two stand for **एक** ; for it is in this way that the sentence yields any sense. Had the word **गामे** in the last line been **गामो**, and had there been **व** after **संत**, I should have taken these two letters to represent **नव**, and their appearance would support this reading ; for the.

sense in that case would be :—" Formerly a village and a field were granted to the mendicants. The field is one hundred (nivartanas), and the village nine. At the place where there is the grant of nine hundred is crownland on the boundary of the town, etc." दानि must be दानं. —नगरसीमे is a locative, for Sanskrit nouns ending in न् become masculine nouns ending in अ. —वेतकं. So I read it. In Mr. West's copy it looks somewhat like सप्तक, but in Lieut. Brett's, decidedly more like वेतक, and this gives the good sense.

Line 10. The words in this line have been remarked on before.

Linen. लिपि ह्युक्तेन. See notes on 1. 5 above, What looks like लठ must be लिपि. --परिहारेहि परिहारेहि. We see from 1. 4 that these should be the words here but the original is so bad that Mr. West has got some characters which look like the usual-marks for the figure 10. Lieut. Brett's copy is better. --पडिहरसियः. Perhaps the name of the engraver=प्रतिधारक्षित like धर्मरक्षित occurring in Inscription No. II. --लाजयमा तो=राजयमात्यो, the य being probably a mistake for अ.

Line 12. पुजितिनं is not unlikely पूजितानाम्.

A good many of the anusvaras in the foregoing transcript do not occur in the two copies of the inscription referred to, Some of these I found in the original myself, and others have been put in only when the context undoubtedly required them.

SANSKRIT OF No. 25.

१ सिद्धम् । सेनानीर्विजयति यो विजयतीर्षद्वारे गोवर्धनस्य । धनकटकस्वामी गौतमीपुत्रो श्रीशक्तकर्णि --

२ राक्षायति गोवर्धनेऽमास्यं विष्णुपालितम् । मामेऽपरदक्षिणीयं यत्क्षेत्रमथका-
लिकमुत्तमदासेन [वृषभदासेन] युक्तं निवर्तन--

३ क्षतानि द्वे २०० एतद्वयं क्षेत्रं निवर्तनक्षतानि द्वे २०० अस्य प्रवृजितानि
['तैभ्यः] पुरुषाणां ['तैभ्यः] वितराम एतस्य तस्य क्षेत्रस्य परिवारं

1. Vartruoi, Prakṛta-Prakāśa, IV. 18.

32 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. I.]

५ वितरामोऽप्रापेक्ष्यमनाच्छ्रयमदानस्नानकमराधूसविनयकं सर्वजातपरिवारकं च ।
इतैः परिहारैः परिहारै—

५ रेतश्च तत्क्षेत्रं परिवारं च । अत्र निबद्धलिपिः सुविज्ञेनाज्ञप्तमात्येन [सब-
धेन [नि]क्षिप्ता । महास्वामिभिरपरं क्षेत्रं

६ दत्तं पूर्वकसंवत्सरे १९ वर्षापक्षे ५ दिवसे...तापसानां कार्ये ॥ सिद्धम् ।
गोवर्धनेऽभात्यस्य श्रमकस्य देया राज्ञाह्वतिः ।

७ राज्ञो गोतमीपुत्रस्य शातकर्णेर्महोदय्याध्वार्यावासिप्राजा राअसातुर्वचसेन भोक्-
क्षेत्रेऽम्बुच्छाश्रमक आज्ञप्तिर्वक्तव्यः । गोवर्धने ति-

८ ह्यत्राश्रमे पर्वतशिरश्मावस्मद्धर्मदाने लयने प्रतिवसतां[ज्ञः] प्रवर्जितानां
[क्षेत्रः] मित्पूर्णा[क्षुभ्यः] प्राप्ते रक्षोदिष्टु पूर्वं क्षेत्रं दत्तम् । तच्च क्षेत्र-

९ मेकशतं स च ग्रामो नवशती । एकश्चति यद्दानमत्र नवशतीन्वि राज्ञकक्षेत्र-
स्वस्मत्त्रैत्रकं तत एतस्य प्रवर्जितानां[क्षेत्रः] मित्पूर्णा[क्षुभ्यः] शिरश्मिकम्बरे

१० क्षेत्रस्य निवर्तनशतं १०० धृतस्य च क्षेत्रस्य परिवारं वितरामोऽप्रापेक्ष्यम-
नाच्छ्रयमदानस्नानकमराधूसविनयकं सर्वजातपरिवारकं च ।

११ एतैः परिहारैरेतश्च तत्क्षेत्रं परिवारं च । अत्र निबद्धा लिपिः सुविज्ञेनाज्ञप्तो
प्रतिभारक्षितो राजामात्योऽलेखीत् । संवत्सरे २५

१२ वर्षाणां पक्षे ५ दिवसे पंचमे ५ पूजितानां कार्ये । निबन्धो निबद्धः संवत्सरे
२५ श्रीभ्यपक्षे ५ । दिवसे १० ।

TRANSLATION.

To the Perfect One. Victorious in Senani (leader of the army, of the gods), who is on the gate of the Vijayatirtha (1) in Govardhana. The prosperous Satakarni Gautmlputra, the Lord of Dhanakataka, commands Visnupalita, the Royal officer in Govardhana : We grant to the men in the village (2) who have re-nounced the world, the field in the Village (measuring) two hundred 200 Nivartanas (3) which is to the south-west, and is at present enjoyed by Usabhadasa. We grant the appurtenances also of this said field. It (4) is not to be entered on or interfer-

ed with by others, not to include what has been granted (before) or may be dug out, and not to be subject to the rules (in matters of revenue) applicable to (other parts of) the country, and to include all (5) that may grow on it. [We grant] with these restrictions (various conditions) this said field and these appurtenances. This charter (lit. composition) is engraved by the Royal officer Sivagupta, at the dictation of a learned man. The great lord gave another field in the previous year, 19, on the... day of the 4th fortnight of Varsa, for the sake of the ascetics.

To the Perfect one. This is a Royal command to be issued to Sramaka, the Royal officer in Govardhana. oramaka, the Royal officer in Govardhana, should be given this command at the orders of King Satakarrii Gautamiputra, and of the Great Queen (6) the honoured Vasisfhi, the mother of the King. Formerly a field was granted in the south-westerly direction III the village to mendicants who had renounced the world, living in the cave-temple, which is our benefaction, on Mount Trirasml, the haunt (of ascetics) situated in Govardhana. That field measures one hundred, and the village, nine hundred. On the boundary of the town, at the place where the field measuring one hundred lies, there is a field belonging to the Crown which is our patrimony. Out of this field we grant one hundred nivartanas lying in the openings of Trirasmi (7) and the appurtenances of the plot. It is not to be entered on or interfered with by others, not to include what has been granted or may be dug out, and not to be subject to the rules applicable to (the other parts of) the country, and to include all that may grow on it. [We grant] with these restrictions (various conditions), this said field and its appurtenances. Pratibharaksita, the Royal officer, engraved this charter here at the dictation of a learned man. In the year 24, 4th fortnight of Varsa, on the 5 fifth day. For the sake of the worshipful (persons) this charter (8) was written (composed) on the 10th of the fourth (?) fortnight of Grisma in the year 24.

NOTES.

It will thus be seen that this Inscription consists of two charters containing grants of land to the mendicant priests and recluses. The first was issued by Satakarni Gautamiputra, and the second by Vasis^hl his Queen. Dr. Stevenson thinks it to be a deed of sale executed by the proprietor of Govardhana, as he calls him, conveying the field over which this cave is constructed to Gautamiputra's agem, and thinks the second part to be merely a repetition of the first. The cave is excavated out of the rock, and there could be no field there to convey. His translation therefore is wrong in many places.

(1). गोवर्धनस्य cannot be connected with स्वामी, since this latter forms the second part of a compound word. It must, therefore, be taken with the preceding. Vijayatirtha must have been the name of a shrine or sacred place in Govardhana, and an image of Senani must have been placed or carved out on its gate, as is not unusual in Hindu houses or temples.

(2). अस्य for इमेस seems to refer to the village spoken of in 1. 2. The village must be one near Govardhana and Trirasmī.

(3). Nivartana is thus defined:—ब्रह्महस्तेन दण्डेन त्रिशङ्खेन निवर्तनम्, Brhaspati ; सप्तहस्तेन दण्डेन त्रिशङ्खेन निवर्तनम्, Matsya Purana, both quoted by Hemadri (Danakhanda ed. Bib. Ind. p. 505).

(4). The epithets, अप्रावेक्ष्यन् etc., qualify क्षत्रम् in 1. 3.

(5). परिवारम् 1. 5 is in the accusative, wherefore वितरामः is to be understood, or the accusative may be connected with the वितरामः occurring in 1. 3.

(6). If the expression वज्रि were taken as equivalent to भार्या, वर्या or some such word, the sense would be : " At the orders Or the Great Queen of king Satakarni Gautmiputra, the honoured Vasisthi. "

(7). Trirasmī is used in the plural in Inscription No. 17. The name probably derived its origin from the fact that there are

three hills in one line, detached from the adjoining ranges, on one of which the caves exist. Between these hills there are plains or valleys ; and the field conveyed by Vasisthi was perhaps in one of these.

(8). निबन्धः. This word originally signifies any piece of composition. It is then applied to the piece of composition issuing from a king. Hence the legal word निबन्ध, which signifies any hereditary office conveyed by a royal charter. The word is used in Inscription No. 18, 1. 4.

No. 17.

१. सिद्धम् । राक्षःसहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नृपानस्य जामात्रा दीनीकपुत्रेण उषवदा-
तेन त्रिगोक्षतसहस्रदेन नद्यां वार्णासायां सुवर्णदानतीर्थकरणे देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च
षोडशग्रामदेन अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मणशतसाहस्रीं भोजापयित्रा

२. प्रभासे पुण्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्याप्रदेन भरुकच्छे दक्षपुरे गोवर्धने क्षीर्प-
रगे च चतुष्पाळावसथप्रतिश्रयप्रदेन आरामतडाग उदपानकरणे इषापारादा दमणतापी-
करवेणादाहनुका[र्जा] नावा पुण्यतरकरेण एतासां च नदीनां उमतो[य]तीरं सभा—

३. प्रपाकरणे पीडितकावडे गोवर्धने सुवर्णमुखे क्षीर्परगे च रामतीर्थे चरक[ण?]प-
र्षद्व्यः ग्रामे नानगोले द्वात्रिंशत् नाडीगेरमूलसहस्रप्रदेन गोवर्धने त्रिरास्मिषु पर्वतेषु
धर्मोत्सम्ना इदं लेणं क्खरितं इमा च पोढियो भट्टारका आणतिया च गखोस्मि वर्यारतुं
मालये...हिरुवं उत्तमभद्रं मोचयितुं

४. ते च मालया प्रनादेनेव अपयात्ता उत्तमभद्रकानं च क्षत्रियानं सर्वे परिषदा
कृता ततोस्मि गतो पोक्षराणि तत्र च मया अभिसेकः कृतो विधि च गोसहस्रानि
दत्तानि ग्रामो च.

No. 19.

दत्तं चानेन क्षेत्रं ब्राह्मणस्य वराहपुत्रस अश्रिभृतिस इथे क्रीणितं मूलेन काहापण-
सहस्रेहि^[1] चतुहि ४००० यं सपितसतकनगरसीमाय उतरापराय दिसाय एतो मम लेने
वसतानं चातुदिसस भिखुसंघस मुखाहारो भविसति.

TRANSLATION.

To the Perfect one. This Cave and these small tanks were caused to be constructed on the Mounts Trirasmi (1) in Govardhana, by the benevolent Usavadata, the son-in-law of

King Ksaharata Satrapa Nahapana(2), son of Dinika, Who gave three hundred thousand cows, presented gold, and constructed flights of steps on the river Barnasa, gave sixteen villages to gods and Brahmans, fed a hundred thousand Brahmans every year, provided (the means of marrying) eight wives for Brahmans at Prabhasa (3), the holy place, constructed quadrangles (4), houses and halting-places at Bharukacchha, Dasapura, Govardhana and Sorparaga, made gradens, tanks and wells, charitably enabled men to cross Iba, Parada, Damana, Tapi, Karabena and Dahanuka by placing boats (5) on them ; constructed Dharmasalas and endowed places for the distribution of water, and gave capital worth a thousand for thirty-two Nadhigeras (6) for the Caranas (7) and Parisads in Pinditakavada, Govardhana, Suvarna-mukha, Sorparaga, Ramatlrtha and in the village of Nanagola. By the command of the Lord I went in the rainy (8) season to Malaya to release Hirudha the Uttambhadra (9). The Malayas fled away at the sound (of our war music), and were all made subjects of the Ksatriyas, the Uttamabhadras. Thence I went to Poksarapi and there performed ablutions, and gave three thousand cows and a village.

NOTES.

The first part of this inscription is in Sanskrit. The latter part contains a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit.

(1). For Trirasmi see note No. 26, 1. 10 and No. 25,1. 9.

(2). I think upon the whole that this way of interpreting the expression is more in consonance with known facts than making Nahapana satrap of a king named Ksaharata.

(3). Prabhasa, as Dr. Stevenson says, is a place near Pattan Somnath or Somnath itself. Bharukaccha is now known to be Broach. Dasapura must be some place in Gujarat or in the Maratha country bordering on Gujarat. It occurs in Inscription No. 1. Sorparaga is Supara near Bassein. The Damana and Dahanuka must be rivers flowing into the sea at those places in the Thana District. Tapi is well-known. The others I am

notable to identify. Ramatirtha is, I am told a small place near Sopara. Usavadata's charities do not seem to have gone further to the north than Gujarat, or further to the south than the northern district of the Poona District. The expedition to the south described in the Inscription was occasional, the object being to assist a friendly race of Ksatriyas.

(4) चतुःशाला is a house with an Open quadrangle in the middle and halls on four sides. It has an entrance in each of the four directions : चतुःशालं चतुर्द्वारेभिर्निर्मितं सर्वतोऽप्युत्तरं ॥ नाम्ना तत्सर्वतोभद्रं ह्युभं देवदुपालये (Matsya Punarvratikavya is what is in these days called an अन्नसङ्घः a place where travellers put up and are fed without charge.

(5). 'दाहयुक्तानावापुण्यतरकरेण. दाहयु or दाहयुक्ता may be taken as one name, and कानावा or नावा another and the words पुण्यतरकरेण as forming one compound with them and the rest. But the word नावा is here in such a position that one cannot but think it was intended to signify a " boat ". Then नावा would be instrumental singular, and would stand at the end of the long compound. But the several rivers could not have but one boat; and if the word नौ formed part of the compound, the sense would not be appropriate, for it would appear as if what Usavadata did was to render the " passage across " possible by means of the boats of Iba, Parada, etc. But the sense required is not the *boats* of Iba, Parada etc., but the *passage* of Iba, Parada etc. *by means of a boat*. Hence I think there ought to have been one ना more, with a dot above it, so as to make it 'दाहयुक्तानां नावा पुण्यतरकरेण and probably that letter must have been omitted by the engraver through mistake, as writers often do when they have two or more similar letters to write in succession.

(6), द्वात्रिंशद्वाहीनिरबलसङ्घः. I have translated the expression as in the text, since there is a similar expression in No. 16 (श्रीव-
रिक्तद्वयसङ्घः), and in No. 18, in the last line, which must be so translated. I do not know what sense to attach to नाहीनिर or नाहीनिर as it is written in No. 16. Since even in this Sanskrit

inscription the word stands thus, it must signify something which was usually called by this name alone, and not by its Sanskrit analogue, supposing it had any. Perhaps it may be traced to नान्दीश्वर, a place where anything religiously auspicious was performed, since the gift is to Caranas and Parisads. Dr. Stevenson's supposition that it signifies some currency will not do at all.

(7). I think we must read here चरक instead of चरक.

(8). वर्षादत्तं is intended in this Sanskrit-Prakrit inscription for वर्षादत्तो or वर्षादत्तौ.

(9). This was the name of the Ksatriya race whom Usavadata went to assist.

Dr. Stevenson's translation of this is correct except in three or four places.

No. 19.

This forms portion of No. 17, and is mosatly a mixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit, like the latter part of No. 17.

अभिभूतिस हथे=अभिभूतेईस्ते " in the hands of Asribhuti ". This expression occurs in No. 12, 1. 5, and No. 26A, 1. 13. Since the body of mendicants was itinerant, it was necessary to entrust the benefactions to some persons. —यसपितसतक. This expression seems to correspond to यत्तत्तत्तक, and must be taken to qualify क्षेत्रम्. The meaning would then be, " which field measuring seven hundred " (probably Nivartanas). The usual Prakrit representative of सत्त is सत, but सपित is not unlike the character of this inscription, whtch is rather corrupt Sanskrit than Prakrit. Or, सपितसतकनगर may be taken as one noun forming the name of a place. I was told at Nasik that there is a place of the name of सतपुर=सत्तपुर in the vicinity. वसतानं भिक्षुसंचस = वसतां भिक्षुसंचस्य ; not good grammar. मुखाहारो, I saw a faint perpendicular stroke below, representing the vowel ङ. The expression seems to signify " the chief sustenance. " ¹ It may be taken as corresponding to मुख्याहारो. Or if the stroke is not real, the expression is मन्नाहारो=मार्गाहारो " provision for journey ". But beggars can

1, Compare the use of in अग्रहार.

hardly be under the necessity of taking provisions with them while on a journey, for they go begging.

The Sanskrit of the inscription is therefore as follows:

दत्तं चानेन क्षेत्रं ब्राह्मणस्याश्रितेर्हस्ते क्रीतं भूलेन कार्षापणसहस्रैश्चतुर्भिः
१००० यत्सप्तशतकं नगरसीमाया उत्तरवराया दिशाम्याम् । एतस्मान्मम लग्ने वसन्-
श्चातुर्दिशश्च भिक्षुसंघस्य मुह्यद्गरो भविष्यति.

TRANSLATION.

He, Usavadata, has also given a field in the possession [lit- in the hands] of Asribhuti, the son of a Brahman (named) Vararha. It was bought for the sum of four thousand Karsa- panas, measures seven hundred, and is in the north-westerly direction from the boundary of the town. This shall be the chief support of mendicant priests from the four quarters resid- ing in my cave.

NOTES.

Dr. Stevenson's translation of this is altogether wrong, The grantor, according to him, was a person whose father was from the city of Sataka, and mother of the province of Uttararha. He seems to have divided the words beginning with द thus :— दत्तः भिक्षुः सप्तशतकस्य माय उत्तराहरय, and in doing so, he neglected the grammar of the sentence, the text, and the following word दिशाम्याम्. He was, however, misled to some extent by the copy of the in- scription he had before him. He also represents the donor to have given " a cave to the dejected ", and speaks of " a sin-removing abode for the Buddhistic priesthood ".

No. 18.

उषवदतेन संघस्य चातुर्दिशस्य इमं क्षेत्रं निवातितं दत्ता चानेन अक्षय्यं भिक्षु
कार्षापणसहस्रम्

२ एते च कार्षापणा प्रयुक्ता गोवधनवाधवासु श्रेणिषु कोलिकनिकाये १००० बुधि
पट्टिकानि अपरकोलिकनिका

१ एतो मम लेणे वसुधामं भिक्षुनं वीसिय एकैकस चिवरिकं वारसकं ॥
सहस्रं प्रयुतं पायुनपडिके(क)शते अतो कुस्तण

२ स्थापितं निगमसभाय भिक्षु(धो) च कलकवारे चरित्रं तोति भूबोनेन
दत्तं वत्ते २१ कानिकशुधे पनरत्ते पुवाकवत्ते २०

५ पनरत्तनियुते भगवते देवानं ब्राह्मणानं च कर्षापणसहस्राणि सतरि २०००
वचत्रि-शकसुवर्णकतादिनं सुवर्णसहस्राणि(णि) मूह

Line. 1. दत्ता. This looks like दत्त in the original, but there is little doubt that it must be दत्ता. --अक्षय निधि, or properly नीधि is " permanent capital ". --काहापणसहस्रा. Though there is no mark of the obliteration of any letters after this, still there is no doubt some are wanted at the end of the first and second lines and perhaps of the third. Probably at some later time somebody must have smoothed off that part of the rock. At the end of this first line what is wanted is the number of the sahasras or thousands bestowed and also the termination नि(णि) after सहस्रा.

Line. 2. प्रयुता = प्रयुक्ता " Laid out at interest, invested " --वाथवाहु = वास्तव्याहु. --वुधि = वृद्धि "interest". --पडिक = प्रतिक "what is worth a Kirsapana " ¹. After निका, ये and words expressive of the amount deposited or invested, together perhaps with that of the interest, are required.

Line. 3. वसुधामं. This is to be traced to वर्षावास्तुनाह. The word वसावथस occurs in Inscription No. 12. Buddhistic mendicants generally wandered about during fair weather, and resided in one place during the four rainy months ; and then they held what was called their vassa, corresponding to वर्षा, and read what was called band. ² वीसिय = विंशत्या. For it is clear (see translation) that he left two thousand Karsapanas for providing civarikas. The donor in Inscription No. 12 leaves a hundred Karsapanas

1 See Vartika on Panini V. 1. 25.

% See Hardy, Eastern Monachism, chapter X I X

and directs that the one mendicant residing in his cave should be provided with a civarika ; so that if one hundred suffices for one, two thousand ought to suffice for twenty. And the cave in which this inscription occurs has accommodation for so many, for there are sixteen cells in the interior, and two larger ones at the two ends, each of them sufficient for two.

—**खिवरिक**, or properly **चीवरिक**, is the garment worn by Buddhistic mendicants. **वारसकं = वार्षिकं**, meaning "belonging to or given in the rains " or " annual ". The robing month among the Buddhistic mendicants was the third of the rainy season, when laymen presented garments to them.¹ That was a regular ceremony; hence these gilts. Endowments of this nature are recorded in Inscriptions No. 12 and 21, and in Nos. 16, 17, 18, 24, 39, 44, at Kanheri², in which latter the words **अस्यनीवि**, **पट्टिक**, **वसवथस**, **चीवरिक**, and **वारसक** occur. In the first of these (No. 16) we have distinctly the words **एतो व**

वसतसे वसतस भिक्षुणो खिवरिक = एतस्माच्च वर्षाकतो वसतो भिक्षुकस्य चीवरिक.

—**वायुन**. I take this to be equal to **पादोन** " less by a quarter " The interest of two thousand was one hundred ; of this capital "a quarter less," i. e. seventy-five. —**कुसण**. I have not been able to determine the sense of this word ; but probably it means something connected with the Buddhistic rite of Kasina (Spence Hardy's East. Mon. Chap. XXI).

Line 4. **निगमसभाय**. Instr. sing, = " by the assembly or corporation of the town ", or " by the townspeople generally ". It may be taken as Gen. or Loc. sing. also. — For **निबंधो** see note, Inscription No. 25. — **फलकदारे**. **वार** means "a door" (see note, Inscription No. 25), and **फलक** " a slab, " " the door of a slab of stone ". It should rather be **वारफलके** = " on the slab of the door " (see note 6, Inscr. No. 26). — **तोति = स्तोति**. After the figure for 40 there is a vertical stroke, which does not seem to signify anything ; or if it does, it perhaps shows that there is no odd number after 40.

1 See Hardy, l. c. Chapter XII.

2 See Mr. West's copies. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume VI.

Line भगवतां is not Prakrit—सतेरि s a 'mistake' for सतीरि.
—सुवर्णकतादिनं. It is difficult to say what कतादि or तादि corresponds

SANSKRIT OF NO. 18.

१ सुवर्णकतेन संघस्य चाष्टविंशत्येदं लयनं निर्यातितम् । दत्ता चानेनाक्षयनीभिः
कार्पाणसहस्राणि [३००० ?] ।

२ एते च कार्पाणकाः प्रयुक्ता गोवर्धनवास्तव्यास्तु श्रेणीषु । कौलिकनिकायै २०००
वृद्धिः प्रतिकशतम् । अमरकौलिकनिका [ये १००० ?] ।

३ एतस्मात्सम लयने वर्षावास्तूनां भिक्षूणां विशत्या एकेकस्य चत्वारिकं वार्षिकम् ।
यत्सहस्रं प्रयुक्तं पादोन्नतिकशतेऽसिः कुशनेम् ।

४ श्रावितं निगमसमया निबन्धश्च फलकद्वारे चरित्रं स्तोति । भूयोऽनेन दत्तं वर्षे
५१ कार्तिकशुद्धे पञ्चदशे पूर्वकवर्षे ४०.

५ पञ्चदशानियुते भगवतां [श्रयः] देवानां [वेभ्यः] ब्राह्मणानां [भेभ्यः] च
कार्पाणसहस्राणि चत्वारि ४००० पञ्चात्रिंशत् सुवर्ण ... दीनां सुवर्णसहस्राणि भूतम् ।

TRANSLATION OF NO. 18.

This cave has been dedicated by Usavadata to the (mendicant) priesthood of four quarters. He has also given a permanent capital of [3000 three (1)] thousand Karsapanas. The Karsapanas are deposited with the guilds residing in Govardharaa; with the body of weavers 2000, interest a hundred Karsapanas , with the other body of weavers [1000 a thousand.]. From this [interest, should be given] a garment in the rainy season to each of the twenty mendicants residing during the rains in my cave. From the 1000 (2) laid out at an interest of three-quarters of a hundred Karsapanas, Kusana [should be provided]. This good deed, has been published in the assembly of the town (or amongst the towns-people), and this inscription on the slab-door praises it. Moreover, in the year 41, on the fifteenth of the bright half of Kartika, and in the previous year 40, on the fifteenth, he gave 4000 four thousand Karsapanas and a capital of thousands of Suvarnas for [the acquisition of] thirty-five golden 'Katadis, to the worshipful gods and Brahmans,

(1). 1 gather that the sum he deposited was three-thousand from Inscription No. 16, which also mentions this endowment.

(2). This must have been the thousand deposited with the other body of weavers.

Dr. Stevenson's translation of this-is wrong,, with the exception of that of the first line. He did not understand जीवरिकं, बारसकं, बुधि, श्रेणी, and such other words,

No. 16.

१ सिधे १००० क्षत्रपस क्षत्रपस महामस दाहि—

२ तु दीनीकपुत्रस उपवदातस कुटुंबिनीय दसमित्राय देयधमं उवरको

३ सिधे यसे ४२ वेसासमासे १००० क्षत्रपस क्षत्रपस नहपानस जामातर दीनीकपुत्रेण

४ मि सिधि ३००० संघस धातुदिसस य इमस्मि लेणे वसातानं भविसति चिद-
रिककुशणमुलं च--

५ ये १००० धधि पायुनपाडिकशतं एते च काहापणा अपडिदातवा धधिभो-
[मा]जा एतो चिवरिक सहस्रानि ये २००० ये पाडिके[क]सने[त].

६ मुलं कापुराहारे च शामे चिसलपाद्रे दतानि नाडिगेरानि मुलसहस्रानि अठ
८००० धधे च सधे फलकवारे चरित्रं सोति.

The first two lines of the above form an independent inscription, which is the same as No. 20.

उवरको from अववरकम् " an inner apartment. " From the same word comes ओवरी f., a provincial Marathi word having the same sense.

TRANSLATION or No. 16, LINES 1, 2,

To the Perfect one. This apartment is the benefaction of Bakhamkra, the daughter of King Kshaharata Satrap Nahapana and wife of Usavadata, son of Dinika.

Line 4. नि तिथि. Two or more letters which are required before the first नि must have dropped. There is, however, no indication of the existence of any in the original. दत्ता at least is wanted so as to make the first word दत्तानि. --वत्सात्तानं. This may be the genitive of the present participle वत्सत् Sk., वत्सत् Pr., or may be equivalent to वर्षोत्थानः " living during the rains."

Line 5. वधिभोजा or वधिभाजः=वृद्धिभाजः " bearing interest ".

As to the rest, see notes on No, 18,

SANSKRIT OF No. 16, Lines 3-6.

३ तिद्धम् । वर्षे ४२ वैशाखमासे राज्ञः क्षहारातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जाभात्रा दीनिकपुत्रेण

४ [दत्ता] नि त्रीणि ३००० संघस्य[घाप] चातुर्दिशस्य योस्मिह्यने वत्सतां [or वर्षोत्थानो] भविष्यति श्रीवरिककुशानमूलम् । च—

५ ये १००० वृद्धिः पादोनप्रतिकशतम् । एतेषु कार्षापणा अप्रतिदातव्या वृद्धि-भाजः । एतस्मात्श्रीवरिकसहस्रे द्वे २००० ये प्रतिकशत—

६ मूलम् । कापुराहारे च ग्राम चिखलपाद्रे दत्तानि नादिगेराणां मूलसहस्राण्यष्ट ८००० । एतस्य सर्वं फलकहारे चरित्रं स्तोति ।

Translation of No. 16, Lines 3-6.

To the Perfect One. In the year 42, in the month of Vaisakha, the son of Dinika, and son-in-law of King Kshaharata Satrap Nahapana, gave three thousand 3000 to the priesthood from the four quarters residing (1) in this cave during the rains, as capital for [providing] garments and Kusana. Out of this sum, on 1000 the interest is three quarters of a hundred [i. e., 75] Karsapanas (2). These Karsapanas, bearing interest, are not to be repaid. Out of this [sum] two thousand, which is the capital bearing an interest of one hundred Karsapanas, is for garments (3). A capital of 8000 for Nadigeras was given in Kapurahara, and the village of Cikhlapadra. All this [inscription] on the slab-door praises the good deeds.

NOTES.

(1). The syntactical connexion, when वसतां is the reading, is 'आस्मिह्वयने वसतां यः संघो भविष्यति तस्मै संघाय वसामि. With वर्षस्थानः there is no difficulty,

(2). Out of this interest Kusana was to be provided (see No. 18 and below).

(3). Lit. "Two are Civarika-thousands, those that are the capital bearing an interest of 100 Padikas. " **चीवरिकार्थे सहस्रं चीवरिकसहस्रं ते.**

From this and No. 18 it appears clear that Usavadata gave three thousand Karsapanas; — two deposited with one body of weavers, bearing an interest of 100 Padikas or Karsapanas, from which civarikas or garments were to be provided, and one with another body of weavers, bearing an interest of 75 Padikas, out of which Kusana was to be given. Lines 4 and 5 of this and 3 of No. 18 are thus consistent with each other,

We see from the above that the cave was dedicated to the use of mendicants in the year 42, and from No. 28 that Usavadata bestowed other charities in the years 41 and 40. What era these are to be referred to will be considered in the remarks.

Nearly the whole of Dr. Stevenson's translation of this is wrong.

No. 14.

- १ तस क्षत्रपस नह्वानस जामा
- २ शकस उपवदातस नेत्यकेसु
- ३ वेधिके दाह्नुकानगरे केकापुरे
- ४ षडे अनुगामिहि उज्जिनिय ससिाय
- ५ गवतो ब्राह्मणा भुजतो सतसाह
- ६ गवतो ब्राह्मणानि गवां सतस

- ७ यता दधानि ब्राह्मणान् च दत्ता
 ८ चेन्न सुधे धनस्ये क्षहारा
 ९ न गणा शतसहस्रदेन उष
 १० रूपा नदीय यणासाय द
 ११ सुध २ तिथि चण्योयने तस
 १२ चीत

These lines are complete on the right-hand side, but incomplete on the left, the rock having broken off on that side. There is, therefore, not one sentence complete. Still the general sense is clear, as will be seen from the following.

Translation of No; 14.

- 1 Son-in-law of Satrap Nahapana——1
- 2 Usual deeds of Ushavadata, the Saka (1)
- 3 In Cecika, city of Dahanuka, Kekapura
- 4 In each village, in Ujjayini (2), Sikha
- 5 [Feeding] a hundred thousand worshipful Brahmins
- 6 [Giving] a hundred (thousand) cows to the worshipful Brahmins
- 7 Given to gods and Brahmins
- 8 On (3) the fifteenth of the blight half of Caitia, Ksahara
- 9 Usa(vadata) who gave a hundred thousand cows
- 10 On the river Banasa
- 11 Second of bright half

The Inscription thus appears to be of the nature of No. 17, recording nearly the same charities.

Notes

(1) This has been usually taken to be Saka, as if there were no doubt about it, but it is not quite safe to do so in the mutilated state of the Inscription.

(2) This is not without doubt.

(3) Another inscription seems to begin here, since Ksahara appears again.

NO, 6.

सातवाहनकुले कर्णराजिन नासिककेन
'अमणेन महामात्रेण लेण कारित'

Sanskrit.

- १ सातवाहनकुले कर्णराजस्य नासिककेन
२ अमणेन महामात्रेण लयनं कारितम् ।

[This J cave was caused to be constructed by the sramana officer of Krsnaraja of the Satavahana race, residing in Nasika.

कर्ण is well known to be the Prakrit form of Krsna.¹ नासिकक belonging to or inhabitant of Nasika. The termination कुम् or अक is added upon the analogy of the words embraced in Pan. IV. 2. 121-130. This Inscription is not translated by Dr. Stevenson.

This Krtistara was the second king of the Andhrabhrtya dynasty of the Puranas, as will be shown in the remarks.

No. 3.

- १ सिधं रणो वासिष्ठिपुत्रस सामि सरिपुल्ल-
२ भाइस संवच्छरे २ हेमंतपसे ४ दिवसे-
३ एतिय पुषाय ट(क)टुंषिकेण धनमेण इण.

To the Perfect One. In the year 2 of the King, the Lord, the prosperous Pulumai, the son of Vasisthi, in the 4th fortnight of Hemanta, on—day. Before this, by the householder or husbandman Dhanama.

No. 27.

- १ सिधं रणो वासिष्ठिपुत्रस सरपट्टमयस सवच्छरे च्छ ? टे ६ गिमपसे पचमे^१ ५ दिवसे.

To the Perfect One. In the sixth year of the King, the prosperous Padumaya, the son of Vasisthi, in the — fortnight of Grisma, on the fifth ? day.

1 Vararuoi-Prakṛta-Prakasa III. 33.

34 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. I.]

१ सिधं रणो गोतमिपुत्रस्य साभिसिस्त्रियणसतकणिसं वसरे सातमे ५ हेमन्त-
तसिये १

२ दिवसे पञ्चमे केसिकस महासेनापतिस च(भ)वगोपस भरिजाय महासेना-
पतिणिच वसुय लेण

३ बोपकियतिस जमाने[मन]स पर्यवसिते समणे बहुकानि वरिष्ठाणि उकुते
पर्यवसानं नित चातुदि-

४ सस्य च मिहसुसवस आ(अ)वने दत्तेति.

Line 2. बहुया. बहु or वसु may be the name of the lady or a term of honour used in her case, as वस or वस in the case of those spoken of in Inscription No. 24. Probably the बहु of dramatical language is the same as this.

Line 3. बोपकियतिस जमानस = बोपकियतेर्यमनस्य. Or if the स, which with the vertical stroke looks like अ, is to be so taken, बोपकियति अजमानस = बोपकियति आर्यमानस्य. This will not necessitate माने being considered a mistake for मन. उकुते—उत्कृत्य. उत्कृष्ट is the word we should expect to find in such a case ; but कट् has the sense of " cutting, " and with उद्, of " cutting out, " which Would do very well in the present case. ते in उकुते the representative of तिअ = त्य.

SANSKRIT of No. 4.

१. सिद्धम् । राज्ञो गोतमीपुत्रस्य स्त्रीभिर्भीषणघातकर्णः संवत्सरे सप्तमे ५ हेमन्त-
पक्षे वृत्तिनि १.

२. दिवसे पञ्चमे केसिकस्य महासेनापतेर्मवगोपस्य भार्याया महासेनापत्या धर्मो
लवणम् ।

३. बोपकियतेर्यमनस्य पर्यवसिति समणे बहुकानि वरिष्ठानि पर्यवसानं नित
चातुर्दि-

४. शस्य च मिहसुसवस्यावने दत्तमिति.

TRANSLATION Of NO. 4.

To the Perfect One. On the fifth day, in the 3rd third fortnight of Hemanta, in the 7th seventh year of the King, the Lord, the prosperous Yajna Satakariji, Gautamiputra, (1) the Cave of Vasu, Lady Senapati, the wife of Bhavagopa, the Senapati (commander-in-chief), inhabitant of Kesi was, the Sramana (2) having died, carried to completon, after having been under excavation for many years, for (or by) Yamana (3), the ascetic of Bopaki (or for the ascetic of Bopaki honoured by good men), and given for the use (lit. protection) of mendicant priests from the four quarters.

NOTES.

1. She is called **सेनापती**, not because she commanded any army, but because she was the wife of the **सेनापति** commander of the army. The only way I can think of, of conveying this sense when another expression **भवगोपस्य भार्या** has also to be translated, is that adopted in the text.

2. The Sramana must have been the husband of the lady.

3. I am not quite satisfied with this. I was attempting so to construe the expression **बोपकिपत्रिस जमानेस** as to yield the sense "having done so-and-so or while this was doing, the Sramana died ; " but have not succeeded. So the best way is to take the genitive and interpret it by the prepositions " for " or " by". And there is Hemacandra's authority for it. **तादर्थ्ये केर्वा । तादर्थ्ये विहितस्य हेतुद्वयैकवचनस्य स्यादे वष्टी भवति । कश्चिद्विहीनादेः ।**
.....स्थाने वष्टी भवति

Dr. Stevenson's translation of this is mistaken in many places. He takes the third line to consist of names only.

Who is the Gautamiputra here spoken of ? Dr. Stevenson translates descendant of "King Gotamiputra ". But there is no word here which means " descendant ". And this king Yajna is called Gautamiputra. in the other inscriptions in which

he is named.¹ It appears, to have been a custom in the case of these kings to apply to them an epithet expressive of their being the sons of certain mothers. The Great Gautamiputra was so called because he was the son of Gautami, though his real name was Satakarni. Pudumayi was called VasisthIputra because he was the son of Vasisthi. In the same manner, Yajna Satakarni must have been called Gautamiputra because his mother also was named Gautami.

No. 15.

The language of this inscription is Sanskrit, with the exception of but a few words. It is considerably mutilated towards the end. Even in the first part the letters are not fully formed, and have to be determined by the sense and context. In most cases, however, my readings are obvious, and can admit of little doubt.

- १ सिधं । राज्ञो दमरीपुत्रस्य सिधदत्तामीरपुत्रस्य
- २ आभीरस्य वीरसेनस्य संवत्सरे नवमे गि-
- ३ ह्ये पक्षे चोद्ये ४ दिवसे त्रयोदशे १३
- ५ यापुष्यागकर्णवर्मणः दुहित्रा गणपक-
- ५ रोमेरुस्य भार्यया गणपकस्य विश्ववर्मस्य
- ६ भ्रातृकनि[न्य]कया उपासिकया विष्णुदत्तया सर्वसत्त्वहि-
- ७ तसुसार्धं भिराक्षिपर्वतविहारवास्तव्यस्य चातुर्दिश-
- ८ भिक्षुसंघस्य—मेघजार्धमक्षयनीवी प्रयुक्ता वि[ध] १[नवा]स्त-
- ९ व्याञ्ज आगतानागतासु श्रेणीषु । यतः कुलरीकश्रेण्या इस्ते कार्पापण
- १० सहस्रं १०००—याभिकश्रेण्यां सहस्राणि [सं] द्वे २
- ११ ण्यां शतानि पञ्च ५०० तिलपिथकश्रेण्यां शता ...
- १२ एते च कार्पापणा चताला पदा ... ण्यदिब
- १३ —...तस्य न सवृद्धिकं सवरक्षतिषिद्ध....

1 See Kanheri Cave Inscriptions, No. 44, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume VI.

Notes

1, शिष is doubtful.

4. धातुबधाम is unintelligible. कर्णवर्मणः may be 'काशिवर्मणः', in which case the name is अशिवर्मन् and the क the last syllable of the preceding word.

6. कनिकया is very likely कन्यकया. The first two letters are unintelligible, but they may have been intended for आत् or क्त, so that the whole compound is आत्कन्यकया or क्तकन्यकया.

8. The three letters after संवत्स्य are unintelligible. They may have been intended for मिश्रणाद् or वसनम्. —धनया. One or two letters are lost here. Probably the word was गोवर्धन,

9. कुलरीक was probably intended for कौलिक.

10. The first two letters before शॉत्रिक are unintelligible. They may have been intended for वेष्ट. This and the succeeding lines have lost a good many letters.

Translation.

To the Perfect One. On the 13th day of the fourth fortnight of Grisma in the 9th year of the king Virasena, the Abhlra, the son of Sivadattabhira and of Daman, a permanent capital was deposited as follows with the guilds residing now or in future in Govardhana (?) by the worshipper Visnudatta, the daughter of Karnavarman, wife of Rebhila Gapapaka (the leader of a host), and niece (or adopted daughter) of Visvavarman Gana-paka (the leading host), for the benefit and good of all creatures, and for providing medicine to the body of the mendicant priests residing in the caves on mount Trirasmi :— A thousand Karsapanas with the guild of the weavers, two thousand with the guild of the — engineers, five hundred with the guild of — and — hundred with the guild of the grinders of sesamum (oilmen). These Karsapanas — together with interest —

This is a new Inscription, and was not translated before.

२ विष्णुदत्तपुत्रस दक्षपुरवाचवस लेर्ग^[१] पो-

३ विष्णो न दो ३ अतो दक्ष प्रोत्थिया अकर...४ मे माता.

५ तरो उदिस.

To the Perfect One, [This] cave and [these] two tanks are the benefaction] of the Saka Damacika, writer [or engraver) and usurer (or carpenter), son of Visnudatta and inhabitant of Basapura. One of these tanks... is intended for (the spiritual good of) my father and mother.

NOTES.

दुधिकस = दुधिकस्य probably " a usurer", or = वर्यक " a carpenter ". दाक्षवस = दाक्षतक्यस्य. उदिस = उद्दिष्य.

No. a.

१ सिधं सकस दामधिकस

२ लेखकस दुधिकस पोदि

To the Perfect One. Tank of Damacik the Saka, writer [or engraver] and usurer [or carpenter].

१ देवभर्गे^[१] उपाधि-

२ कवा मर्म्याया लयनं

This cave is the benefaction of Marmā, a worshipper.

No. 8.

१ नादिककल्लभिकगमस दानं^[१]

Benefaction of Nandabhikagama, inhabitant of Nasika.

Nos. 9 and 10.

These two are parts of one inscription, both together forming but one sentence. No, 10 is the first and No. 9 the second part.

- १ रावामच अ[वि]रह[की] विव[र] वलि[सी]कने[प]कस इह[तु]य महा[रु]ती-
- २ व तदपालिकाय रावामच अ[वि]रह[की] तद[रु]ती-
- ३ वर्य भार्याय कयवणकमातुय वरियवर पवते
- ४ त[वि]रह[की] विव[र] वलि[सी]कने[प]कस

L. I. The first letter does not occur in Mr. Wests copy. Lieut. Brett's has it. The initial letter of the second word, read as अ, may have been intended for क, which case We have the genitive रावामचस. — I ररुलपस the र may have been intended for की, in which case the expression would mean "native of ररुल." In such inscriptions it is usual to mention the native places of the persons named. — वक. This syllable occurs at the end of each of the three names of men. Very likely it is an honorific termination corresponding to our modern Marathi भाक appended to the names of Mahars, and traced to the Sanskrit नायक. — रुतीय. This may be कसीय or केसीय.

L. 2. तदपालिकाय = तदपालिकाया or भद्रपालिकाया. The first means " protectress of a fortress " and the second of soldlers", but भद्रपालिका is an unusual expression. Perhaps it is तदपालिकाय, used as an attribute of the following noun,, and meaning "native of" or " residing in :तदपालिक". तदकारकीयस = of तदकारक " perhaps, but it would not do to take it so if the word पालकीय were to be interpreted as proposed last. This word, however, may be read as भद्राकारकीयस, = भद्राकारकीयस, ="one Whose look and deeds are commendable". In this incription no difference is perceptible between the letters and bh.

L.I. 3,4. Some vowel-marks, which undoubtedly are required, i re Wanting. I have not attempted to reduce the ' proper names to their corresponding Sanskrit forms.

- १ तत्तमात्तस्य ररुलीवरस्य वलि[सी]कने[प]कस इह[तु]य महा[रु]ती-
- २ तदपालिकाय रावामच अ[वि]रह[की] तद[रु]ती-
- ३ यस्य भार्या कयवणकमातुय वरियवर पवते
- ४ त[वि]रह[की] विव[र] वलि[सी]कने[प]कस

Translation.

This Caitya-temple was established on the mountain Trirasmī by the worthy Kusi, the daughter of Balistapaka, the king's officer, residing in Rahala, the wife of Agiyatanaka, the king's officer residing in Tatapalika, whose look and deeds are commendable, and the mother of Kapananaka.

Dr. Stevenson treated these as two separate inscriptions. I need not make any remark on his translation of them.

No. II.

- १ सिधं ऊतराहस इतामितियस योणस अमदेवपुतस इन्द्राभितस अमत्तना [नो].
- २ इमं लेणं पवततिरण्डुणि खानितं अमतरं च लेणस वेतियवरं पोडियो च मातापि —
- ३ तरं उदिस इमं लेणं कारितं सबुधपुजाय चातुदिसस भिक्षुसंचस निधा-
तितं च—
- ४ इपुतेन धम्मरक्षितेन

To the Perfect One. This is the cave of the charitable Indragnidatta, the son of Dharmadeva, a Northerner, a Yavanaka, native of Dattamitri, excavated on Mount Trirasmī. The interior of this cave is a shrine for a Caitya, and there are tanks also. This cave was caused to be constructed with a view to [the spiritual good of] mother and father, and is dedicated to the mendicant priesthood of the four quarters, for the worship of all Buddhas, by Dharmarakṣita and his son.

Notes,

ऊतराह = औतराह "belonging to or inhabitant of the North".¹

दात्तामित्री was the name of a town in Sauvira in the vicinity of Sind. In the Siddhantakaumudī this is given as an instance of a Sauvira town under Panini IV. 3. 76. Dr. Stevenson's translation of this contains several mistakes. He makes the father of the donor "prince regnant under Datamitraka."

This Inscription shows how wide! the fame of our Trirasmi was spread. It also points to the settlement of the Greeks near Sind and to their adoption of Buddhism. **दत्तामित्र** may be Demetria.

No. 12.

- १ वेळिदत्तपुतस नेळमस रामणकस
- २ छाकळेयकियस लेन देवधर्म चातुदि-
- ३ सस मिस्तुसंघस नियातितं दत्त[ता] च[चा]-
- ४ नेन अस्यनिवि कदापनसत् १००
- ५ संघस हवे पुतो वसवधस पवदत्तस चिदरि--
- ६ कं दातवं वारसकं

This cave is the benefaction of Ramanaka, a merchant, native of Chakalapaka. It is dedicated to the mendicant priesthood of the four quarters. He has also given a permanent capital of a hundred Karsapanas into the hands of the towns-people. From that a garment should be given in the rainy season to the ascetic living here during the rains.

नेमक is very likely **नैगम** "a merchant".

संघ in the fifth line may mean "the congregation of the mendicant priests". For the rest see notes to Inscription No. 18.

Dr. Stevenson's translation differs a good deal from this.

No. 13.

- १ सिधं सिवमित्तकेषकपुतस
- २ रामणकस लेन देवधर्म

To the Perfect One. [This] cave is the **benefaction** of **Ramanaka**, the son of Sivamitra, the writer.

No. 21.

- १ खातिक उपासकियस मुग्गदासस सपरिवारस केन^[१] देवधम एतस केनस बोधिगुप्त—
 २ उपासकस पुतेन धर्मानदी नादत्त^[१] केत^[१] अपरिलीय कण्हिनीय पुतो च केततो विवरिक^[१] पवइत...

This cave is the benefaction of the worshipper Mugudasa, a Khatika (a butcher) (1) and his family. Dharmanandi, the son of the worshipper Bodhigupta, has given a field in the Western (2) Kaohahini for this cave. From this field a garment [to] an ascetic.

(1) खातिक may have been the name of a tribe. It may also correspond to कौटिक " a butcher". The vernacular word for a butcher, खाटिक or खाटकी, is very near to this.

(2) अपरिलीय—इह is a termination applied to nouns in the sense of " belonging to," " existing in ". दिहइहो भवे । भवेये नाम्नः परो इह उह इत्येतो द्वितो प्रत्ययौ भवतः । परिहं उवरिहं—Hemacandra. The same termination in the form of इह exists in Marathi. अवरिल therefore seems to mean " Western ". कण्हिनी must have been the name of something.

No. 22.

- १ दासकस मुग्गदासस सपरिवारस केन देवधमं.

This cave is the benefaction of Mugudasa, a fisherman, and his family.

No. 24.

- १ सिधं वरगइके^[१]प^[१]तिस देवधमस केन^[१]
 २ देवधम कुटुंबिकिय वसनंदसिरिव ऊवरको उहुतु—
 ३ च वसपुत्तिसदताण ऊवरको पुंन^[१] केन वतुगत—
 ४ विवु^[१] विवुसंभस वाहुत्तिस निवाचितं

To the Perfect One. [This] cave is the benefaction of the merchant Varagahapati, [one] apartment, of his wife the worthy Nandasri, [another] apartment, of his daughter the worthy Purusadatta. The cave thus composed of four parts is dedicated to the mendicant priesthood of the four quarters.

Line श्वस may perhaps be traced to शस्य, or if read as वस, to वास.

Line श्वगुहनिधत. गत probably from गर्त "a hollow", "a cave".

REMARKS.

As I have observed before, the cave numbered 26 by Mr. West was constructed and assigned to Buddhist mendicants of the Bhadranyaya school by Gautami, who is distinctly mentioned as the mother of the king Gautamiputra Satakarni, whose exploits are described in the inscription. Gautamiputra therefore was so called because he was the son of Gautami, while his own proper name was Satakarni. Pudumayi is called Vasithiputa or Vasisthiputra for the same reason. Vasisthi, as I have pointed out, granted the field conveyed in the second charter in Inscription No. 25. She is there spoken of as the Queen of Gautamiputra, if we accept the interpretation given in the note ; and even if we follow that adopted in the text, and understand them as issuing orders conjointly, there could be no reason why their names should be so coupled together unless that relation existed between them. Pudumayi therefore was the son of Gautamiputra, and not his father, as the late Dr. Bhau Daji thought.¹

Gautami is described as the mother of a king and grandmother of a king, while Vasisthi is mentioned simply as the mother of a king. Gautami therefore appears to be the

1. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume VIII, p. 237,

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more elderly of the two, which she could not be if her son were the son of Pudumayi, whose mother was Vasisthi.

Ho. 26 is dated in the year 19 of Pudumayi, when Gautaml, who is spoken of as dedicating the cave in the present tense, must have been alive. Her son Gautamlputra Satakarni issued the charter No. 25 (first part) the next year, and is represented in No. 26 and No. 26A as having granted a village in the same year for the support of the inmates of the cave-monastery of his mother, though his name does not expressly occur. He must, therefore, have been alive when the cave was dedicated. As noticed above, Gautami is spoken of as the mother of the Great King and the grandmother of the Great King. There is no object in such a statement unless the son and grandson were kings at the time when the statement was made. How could Pudumayi then come to be King during Gautamiputra's life-time ? Instances are not wanting in Indian history of sovereigns appointing their sons as governors or kings of distant provinces. Asoka was king of Kashmere during the life-time of his father, and Agnimitra, of Vidisa, while Pusyamitra reigned at Pataliputra. In the same manner, Pudumayi seems to have ruled over this side of the country, since the inscriptions containing dates at Nasik and Karla are dated from the commencement of his reign, while his father Gautamlputra Satakarni reigned at his own capital. Gautamlputra Sri Yajna Satakarni was one of their successors, whose name occurs in these inscriptions. The elder Gautamiputra is mentioned in No. 26 as having "established the glory of the Satavahana race"; whence it appears that the dynasty called Andhrabhrtya in the Puranas was known by the name of Satavahana.

Gautamlputra is spoken of in Nos. 25 and 26A as " the Lord of Dhanakata or Dhahakataka". • Huien Thsang mentions a country of the name of Tonakiatsekia, which name is properly considered as the Chinese representative of Dhanakataka. This General Cunningham identifies with the ancient Dharanikot

situated on the river Krsna, in the Guntur district of the 'Madras Presidency. From the bearings given by the Chenese traveller, it does appear that Dhanakataka is to be looked for somewhere in that part of the country. That Gautamiputra's Dhanakataka was the same as or situated near Dharnikot is confirmed by the fact that coins of the Satavahana dynasty are found in that district. These being leaden coins, the place where they are found may very reasonably be regarded as that of their original circulation. Some of these are figured by Sir Walter Elliot in Plate XI attached to his article in the Madras Literary Journal, Vol. iii, New series. Of these, one (No. 96) has for its legend 'Sata-kanisa ranno', another (No. 101) has ' Gotamiputasa', and a third (No. 105) 'Ranno Gotamiputasa sariyanna-satakanisa '.¹ The legend on a fourth (No. 100) may be read Putumavisa, though I am somewhat doubtful. The Puranic name of the dynasty also indicates that its original seat, or the province over which its kings immediately ruled, must have been somewhere in the Andhra or Tailanga country. At first, the princes of the family must have been subject to the paramount sovereigns of Pataliputra, and were hence called bhrtiyas or servants of those sovereigns ; and afterwards they raised themselves to supreme power.

The three princes named above are not the only ones of this dynasty that are named in the inscriptions. There is another of the name of Krsnaraja, spoken of in No. 6 as belonging to the race of Satavahana. The characters in this inscription are far older than those in Nos. 25 and 26. The Va, consisting of a circle with a vertical stroke above, is very much unlike the isosceles triangle of these latter, and this letter and the Da, made up of a small rectangle with the left hand side wanting

1 General Cunningham reads this as Rajuya Gotamiputa Satakanisa, but I observe the letters Sari after Gotamiputasa distinctly, and others further on which look like Yanna. He reads the legend on No. 100 as Pudumavisa, and does not give that on No. 101, but I have little doubt it is Gotamiputasa. (See ARc. Geogr. of India, p. 541.).

and with two vertical strokes upwards and downwards, as well as the general style, look more like those of Asoka inscriptions than those of these later ones do. This in itself shows that a considerable interval of time must have elapsed between Krsnaraja and Gautamiputra. And this is confirmed by the Puranas, which, though there is not so much agreement amongst them as might be desirable, in the case of this dynasty, place about nineteen kings between Krsnaraja, who stands second in the list, and Gautamiputra.¹ There are two other circumstances that deserve remark. In the time of Krṣṇaraja, the capital of the province seems to have been Nasik (Nasika), for his officer or general resided, there, as we gather from No. 6, while in Gautamiputra's time it was Govardhana. There is still a village near Nasik of the name of Govardhana, as I have observed before. The other circumstance is that while out of the five kings, beginning with Gautamiputra, the names of three occur in the cave inscriptions on this side of India, not one out of the nineteen successors of Krsnaraja is mentioned. This would tend to show that the Satavahanas possessed these provinces in the time of Krsnaraja, but that some time after him they were deprived of them by another race of kings, who must have held them till Gautamiputra regained them and re-established the power of his dynasty. And in No. 26 he is mentioned as having exterminated the race of Khagarata and "established the glory" of his race. The dynasty of Khagarata therefore must have ruled over these provinces during the interval. But what other indications have we of the existence of this dynasty? In the first place we have the inscriptions of Usavadata, which mention a king of the name of Ksaharata Nahapana, who is also called Ksatnpa or Satrap. Ksaharata looks very much like Khagarata and the characters in these inscriptions occupy a middling position between those of No. 6 and No. 26. Ksaharata Nahapana therefore may well have been the founder of the dynasty which displaced the Satavahanas

1 See—Wilson's Visnupurana, Chapter XXIV, Book IV,

some time after Krsinaraja. And coins of a race of kings calling themselves kings and Ksatrapas or Satraps have been found in Gujarat and elsewhere, and amongst them one of Nahapana himself. There are two inscriptions also in Gujarat, which mention some of these kings. Very likely therefore it was this dynasty that Gautamiputra displaced.

A passing examination of the coins of the Satavahana dynasty mentioned above points to the same conclusion. If we look at the figures of the coins bearing the devices of a horse, four wheels, and a pyramid composed of arcs of circles with a wavy line below and a crescent on the top, we shall find that these are alternative emblems. Some of the coins have the first and the second, others the first and the third, and the rest the second and the third. The first two occur on No. 96 and No. 92, the former of which bears the legend Satakanisa Ranno. This was the name of one of the earlier kings of the dynasty. Of the coins which bear the third emblem, those which have a legend at all contain the names of Gautamiputra and his successor. Now this third device is universally seen on the reverse of Sah coins ; it does not occur on a Satavahana coin of a king earlier than Gautamiputra, while it does occur on his and on those of his successors. This would show that the device was borrowed from the Sahs, and was perhaps used by the Satavahanas to indicate their conquest of them. And since it occurs first on Gautamiputra's coin, it must have been he who overthrew them. An examination of more coins of this dynasty, if available, would throw further light on this subject. But so far as my present information goes, the fact tends to confirm what we have gathered from other sources, viz. that Gautamiputra put an end to the Sah dynasty.

These inferences would be rendered highly probable, of almost certain, if what is known or believed with regard to the dates of these kings were made to harmonise with the similar information we have with regard to the dates of Krsnaraja and

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Gautamiputra. The coins of the Satrap or Sah dynasty- bear dates, but it is not known to what era they are to be referred. For the dates of the Satavahana kings the only authorities are the Puranas. Though there is no very satisfactory agreement amongst them as to the names and number of the individuals composing the dynasty, the period of its total duration, given by all, nearly corresponds. Starting from the date of Candragupta Maurya, which is generally believed to be 315 B. C., and deducting 294, the number¹ of years for which the intervening dynasties reigned, we have 21 B. C. as the date of the foundation of the Andhrabhrtya dynasty; and going on further in the same way, we have 2 A. D. for Krsmaraja's accession; and 319 A. D. for that of Gautamiputra. Now if we take Nahapana to be the founder of the Saka era, and refer all the Sah dates to that era, the information got from the caves and the inferences based on it are perfectly consistent with these dates. Nahapana's career of conquest must have ended in A. D. 78, when the era began ; and this agrees with what we have stated above that the Satavahanas were deprived of the province of Nasik some time after Krsnaraja. In the same manner, if the statement that Gautamiputra exterminated the race of Khagarata is true, the last of the Sah dates must come up near enough to 340 A. D., that being the date of Gautamiputra's death, or of the end of his reign. This last date, if the era is Saka, is, according to Mr. Fergusson;² 376 A. D., in which case it would not agree with the other, but there is a mistake here. Mr. Justice Newton, whom he follows, assigns 235 A. D.³ to Svami Rudra Sah, the 25 th in his list, on the supposition that the era is Vikrama's, whence it appears that he reads the figure on the coin of that monarch as 291 . But if we turn to the copies of the figures given by him at page 28, Vol. VII. Journ., BBRAS. we shall

1' Wilson, Visnupurana, Chapter XXIV, book IV.

2. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol; IV.

8 Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol.IX., p.18.

find that-there must be some mistake as to the right-hand stroke on the mark for a hundred in the last of the three dates given under Svami Rudra Sah. For the first of these is 224, the middle figure being the mark for 20, since the circle has one diameter¹; and the second 192, the mark for a hundred having no side stroke. It is impossible then that the king, whose date is 192, should be reigning in 291. It is extremely probable that this king, No. 18 in Mr. Newton's first list (Journ. BBRAS. Vol. VII.) or No. 25 in his second (Vol. IX.), whose date appears thus to have been misread, or improperly engraved, is the same person as No. 12 in the former or No. 19 in the latter. For the name of the individual and of the father is the same in both cases. There is only the prefix Svami, "Lord, " in the former, which make no difference, and the date 192 in the one case and 197 in the other. The final date of the Sahs therefore is that of No. 17 (p. 28, Vol. VII. BBRAS), which is 250, for the figure resembling the letter sa stands really for 50, as I have shown in my paper² on the Valabhi dates.

This date in the era of the Saka Kings is 328. About that time then, i. e. about nine years after his accession, the Sahs must have been conquered by Gautamiputra. If, on the contrary, we should take the era to be Vikrama's, Nahapana's date would be about 60 B. C, i. e. he reigned 62 years before Krsnaraja, which, it will be seen, does not agree with the evidence of the caves, the Satavahana dynasty having been in possession of Nasik in A. D. 2. In the same manner, the final date, which, according to Mr. Newton and Mr. Fergusson, is 235 A. D. on the hypothesis that the era is Vikrama's, but which really should be 196 A. D. in conformity with my reading of the dates, is so remote from Gautamiputra's 319 A. D., that he can in no sense be said to have exterminated the " race of Khagarata, " The

1 See the numerals in the Nasik Cave Inscriptions and my paper in Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. X, p. 67.

2. Ibid, p. 72.

Vikrama era will therefore not do. The objection brought by Mr. Fergusson against the Saka is that if the dates were referred to it, the Sahs would overlap the Guptas by a considerable period. But this period has now been reduced to about ten years, the Guptas being supposed to have come into power in 319 A. D. And a difference of 10 years in the uncertain condition of our chronology is almost nothing. Besides, there is nothing to show that the Guptas obtained possession of the countries over which the Sahs ruled in 319, or immediately after. Thus the date 319-340 A. D. for Gautamiputra, and the Saka era for the Sah dates, alone appear to be consistent with what we find in the cave inscriptions about that monarch and the Satavahana dynasty. The dates in Usavaduta's inscriptions, therefore, viz. 42, 41 and 40, would be 120, 119 and 118 A. D. respectively.

The other inscriptions show that in the early centuries of the Christian era Buddhism was flourishing in this part of India. Mendicant priests from all quarters assembled at Trirasmī during the rains, and held what is called their vassa ; and laymen made presents to them, especially of garments, during the robing month. For this purpose it was usual for persons who possessed the means, to deposit sums of money out of the interest of which the garments were given. The followers of Buddhism appear to have belonged principally to the artisan and labouring classes. Brahmanism was not in a condition of decline. Usavaduta made as many presents to Brahmans as to the Buddhists; and in these Buddhistic cave inscriptions they are spoken of with reverence. Gautamiputra also takes pride in calling himself the protector of Brahmans, and credit is given to him for averting the confusion of castes, i. e. destroying the effects of foreign inroads on Brahmanism and the system of castes and re-establishing them.

Inscription No. 15 is dated in the ninth year of a king named Virasena, who is called an Abhira or cowherd. The Puranas place a dynasty of that name after the Andhrabhṛtyas,

and it was one of the many that ruled over the country, contemporaneously it would appear. They must have come into power after 416 A. D., and, according to the Vayu-Purana, ruled for 67 years. The Abhiras do not seem to have been very powerful kings, and possessed only this part of the country. The traditions about a Gaulirajya current in the Nasik and Khandesha districts not unlikely refer to them.

THE RAMANUJIYA AND THE BHAGAVATA OR PANCARATRA SYSTEMS

(From the *Berichte des VII. International Orientalfoen Congresses*
held at Vitnna in 1886, Wien 1889.]

A work entitled *Arthapancaka* that has recently fallen under ray observation gives a summary of the doctrines of the school of Rsmanjuja. The whole subject is treated of under five heads viz. (1) *jiva*, i. e., animal spirit or dependent spirit; (II) *Isvara*, i. e., God ; (III) *upaya*, i. e., the way to God; (IV) *phala* or *purusartha*, i. e., the end of life; and (v) *virodhinah*, i. e., obstructions to the attainment of God.

I. — Jivas are of five kinds, viz. (I) *nitya*, i. e., those who never entered on *samsara* or the succession of lives and deaths at all, such as *Garuda*, *Visvaksena*, and others; (2) *mukta*, i. e., those, who have shaken off the fetters of life and whose sole purpose and joy is attendance (*Kaimkarya*) on God ; (3) *Kevala*, i. e., those, whose hearts being purified, are fixed on the highest truth and who are thus free from the succession of births and deaths; (4) *mumuksu*, i. e., those, who having experienced the misery of life, are averse to its enjoyments and have fixed their desire only on the highest end, viz., the attainment of the condition of an attendant on God 5 and (5) *baddha*, i. e., those who devoting themselves to life, whether of a God, man, or brute, that their previous merits or demerits (*karman*) have assigned to them, seek only the enjoyments of such a life and are averse to the joys of *Brahman*.

II. The manifestations of *Isvara* or God are five ; viz.,

(1) *Para*, i. e., he who lives in *Vaikuotha* and whose presence is enjoyed by the *Nitya* and *Mukta* spirits who dwell near him, who is unbeginning and endless, who wears celestial ornaments, celestial garments, and celestial weapons, who possesses celestial beauty and an endless number of holy attributes, and who is accompanied by *Sri*, *Bhu*, and *Lila*;

(2) Vyuh'a, i. e., the forms of Samkarsaria, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha, assumed for the creation, protection, and dissolution of the world;

(3) Vibhava, i. e., incarnations such as Rama and Krsna for the establishment of Truth, the protection of the good and the destruction of the wicked;

(4) Antaryamin, who has two forms in one of which he dwells in everything and rules over all, is bodiless, all-pervading, and the store of all good attributes and is called Visnu, Narayana, Vasudeva, etc., and in the other he possesses a body bearing celestial weapons such as a couch-shell and a discus, and celestial ornaments, dwells in the heart of man, is the store of all good attributes, and is known by the names of Hrsikesa, Purusottama, Vasudeva, etc.;

(5) Arca, i. e., idols of stone, metal, etc., in which he dwells and allows himself to be worshipped by his devotees. In the Yatindramatadipika, to be noticed below, and in other places, the Vyuhas are given as four, Vasudeva possessed of the six great attributes being the first, Sarharsana, possessed of two, viz. Jnana and Bala, being the second, Pradyumna having Aisvarya and Virya, the third, and Aniruddha possessed of Sakti and Tejas, the fourth. The first Vyuha is assumed in order that it may serve as an object of devotion, and the other three for creation etc. of the world. In the present work, the Vasudeva Vyu ha is put down as the second form of the Antaryamin.

III. The Upayas or ways to God are five, viz. (1) Karma-yoga, (2) Jnanayoga, (3) Bhaktiyoga, (4) Prapattiyoga, and (5) Acaryabhimanayoga. Under the first comes the whole Vedic sacrificial ritual and the Smarta or domestic ceremonies along with the fasts and observances by going through which the person is purified. Then by means of Yama, Niyama, etc., mentioned in the Yogasastra, one should concentrate one's mind upon oneself. This concentration leads to Jnanayoga which consists in fixing the mind on Narayaw or Vasudeva, described

in the Vasudeva Vyuha, as the person on whom one's own self on which the mental powers have already been concentrated depends. Thus the devotee arrives at God through himself. The jnanayoga leads to Bhaktiyoga, which consists in continuously seeing nothing but God. Prapatti is resorted to by those who cannot avail themselves of or are not equal to the first three methods. It consists in throwing one's self entirely on the mercy of God. There are many details given which need not be reproduced here. The last method, Acaryibhimanayoga, is for one who is unable to follow any of the others, and consists in surrendering oneself to an Acarya or preceptor and being guided by him in everything. The preceptor goes through all that is necessary to effect his pupil's deliverance, as a mother takes medicine herself to cure an infant.

IV. The Purusarthas are five, viz., (1) Dharma, (2) Artha, (3) Kama, (4) Kaivalya, and (5) Moksa. The first three do not differ from those ordinarily called by those names, and the last two are the conditions attained by the Kevala and Mukta spirit (I. 3 and 2 above).

V. The Virodhins are five, viz.,

(1) Svasvarupavirodhin, i. e., that which prevents one's own real or spiritual nature from being seen, such as the belief that the body is the soul;

(2) Parasvarupavirodhin or that which prevents one's approach to the true God, such as devotion to another or false deity or belief in God's incarnation being but a human being etc.;

(3) Upayavirodhin or that which prevents the true ways from being resorted to, as the belief in ways other than those mentioned above being more efficacious or in the latter being inadequate ;

(4) Purusarthavirodhin, or attachment to other than the true or highest object of life;

(5) Praptivirodhin, i. e., the being connected with a body that one's own Karman has entailed or with other spirits who are so embodied.

At the end of another work, viz. the Yatindramatadipika, the author gives a variety of views entertained by different classes of writers belonging to this school. The Suris admit only one entity (Tattva); the Rsis divide it into two, Atman and Anatman ; and the Acaryas professing to follow the Sruti, propound three Tattvas or entities, viz., (1) Bhogya or what is to be enjoyed or suffered ; (2) Bhoktr, the enjoyer or sufferer ; (3) Niyanttr the ruler and controller. Some Acaryas teach the system under the four heads of (1) Heya, or what is to be shunned, (2) the means of keeping it off, (3) Upadeja or what is to be sought and secured, and (4) its means. Other teachers (Desikas) divide the subject into five parts, viz., (1) what is to be attained or got at (Prapya), (2) he who attains it (Praptr), (3) the means of attainment (Upaya), (4) the fruits or objects of life (Phala), and (5) obstructions or impediments. These are the five topics or the Arthapancaka described above. Some teachers add one more topic which is called Sarhbandha (relation), and thus expound six. There is no real difference according to our author between these several views, since the variety is due * to the adoption of a different principle of division by each teacher. The true substance of the Vedanta or Upanisads is that there is only one Brahman with the animal spirits and the dead world as its attributes (Cidacidvisistadvaitam).

The doctrines of Ramanuja's school here given are the same as the doctrines of an older school, that of the Pancaratras or Bhagavatas, reduced to a systematic form. In the Narayaniya section of the Moksadharmaparvan which forms part of the twelfth or the Santiparvan of the Mahabharata, there occurs a text in which the Samkhyayoga, Pancaratra, Vedas or Aranyakas, and Pasupata are mentioned as five distinct systems of religious truth.¹

The Vedas or Aranyakas here spoken of are the system afterwards known by the names of Aupanisada and Vedanta. The doctrines of the Pancaratra system are explained in Chapter 339 of the same book. Vasudeva is the supreme, unborn, eternal and all-pervading soul, the cause of all. From him sprang Samkarsana, or the soul that animates all bodies, regarded as one, from him Pradyumna, the sum total of all intelligence (Manas), and from him, Aniruddha who represents Ahamkara or egoism, and who created all objects. Varaha, Narasimha, Rama, Krsna and others are represented as subsequent incarnations of the Supreme Vasudeva. Bhakti or love and faith is the way of reaching God. The Narayaniya section is older than Ramanuja, since he refers to it in a passage in his Vedantabhasya, to be noticed below, and older also than Samkaracarya, who quotes in his Bhasya under II, 1, 1. from Chapters 334 and 339,¹ and 350 and 351.² In his Vedantasutrabhasya Samkaracarya gives under II. 2, 42 these same doctrines as maintained by the Bhagavatas, and refutes them on the ground that if Jiva, or the animating soul, is to be considered as created by Vasudeva, it must be capable of destruction, and hence there can be no such thing as eternal happiness. Then under Sutra 44 he gives the same doctrines in a modified form. Samkarsana and others are not the animating soul, intelligence, and egoism, independent of Vasudeva, but they are different Vyuhās or forms of the same Vasudeva, regarded as possessing certain attributes, viz. jnana and aisvarya, sakti and bala, and virya and tejas, respectively. This too is refuted by Samkaracarya. In connection with this modified doctrine. the name Pancaratra is used as of those who advocated it.

Ramanuja in his Vedantasutrabhasya introduces his comments on these Sutras by the observation, 'Raising an objection against the authoritativeness or truth of the Pancaratra dispensation which was revealed by Bhagavat and which shows the way to the highest bliss, from its being a (separate) system like those

1 Page 409, Vol. I (Bibl. Ind. Edn.).

2 Page 413 *ibid*.

of Kapila and others (which have been refuted), he refutes it.' The objection that is raised is this. The Bhagavatas maintain that Samkarsana, the animating soul, and others were created ; but the Srutis lay down that souls are not created. Then under Sutra 44 which, however, is 41 in his Bhasya, Ramanuja says that this objection is based on a misconception of the doctrine of the Bhagavatas. The correct doctrine is that Vasudeva, the supreme soul, assumes these four forms out of love for those who depend upon him, in order that they may resort to him under those forms. In support of this he quotes a text from the Pauskarasamhita ; and another from the Satvatasamhita is quoted to show that the worship of these four forms is really the worship of the supreme Vasudeva. The supreme Vasudeva is attained by his devotees when they worship him according to their abilities in his Vibhava and Vyuha manifestations or in his original subtle form. By worshipping the Vibhavas, they reach the Vyuhas and through the Vyuhas they reach the subtle form. The incarnations Rama, Krsna, and others are Vibhavas, the Vyuhas are those mentioned above, and the subtle form is the supreme Brahma(n) called Vasudeva, possessed only of the six attributes, Jnana, Aisvarya etc.

According to Ramanuja, therefore, the Bhagavata doctrine, when properly understood, is not opposed to the Sruti and it is therefore not reputed by the author of the Vedantasutras but pronounced as correct. It will thus appear that the system was known by two names, Pancaratra and Bhagavata, though Bana in his Harsacarita speaks of these as two different schools. If they were different, the distinction between them was probably due to one having adopted one form of the doctrine explained above and the other, the other. Under Sutra 45, Samkaracarya accuses the Pancaratras of treating the Vedas with contempt, since it is stated in one of their books that Sandilya, not having found the way to the highest good in the four Vedas, had recourse to this Sastra. Ramanuja answers this accusation by

saying that a similar statement occurs in the Bhumavidya (Chandogya Up. VII. I.). Narada is represented there as saying that he has studied all the Vedas and other branches of learning and still he only knows the Mantras and not the Atman. This does not involve the contempt of the Vedas, but the object of the statement is simply to extol the Bhumavidya or the philosophy of the highest object that is explained further on. Or the sense is that Narada studied all the Vedas but was not keen enough to comprehend the nature of the Atman, though set forth in those works. Precisely the same interpretation should be laid on this statement of Sandilya's not having found the way to the highest good in the four Vedas, and it should not be construed as involving contempt for the Vedas.

Ramanuja's system is thus the same as the Pancaratra or Bhagavata. The sacred books of this latter are the Pancaratra-Samhitas, three of which, the Pauskara, Satvata, and Parama, are quoted by Ramanuja in the passage referred to above. The following exist in the library of Jasvantrao Gopalrao of Patan :

- a Laksmi-Samhitl, Gr. S. 3,350.
- b Jnanamrtasara-Samhita, Gr. S. 1,450.
- c Paramagamacudamani-Samhita, Gr. S. 12,500-
- d Pauskara-Sarhhita, Gr, S. 6,350.
- e Padma-Samhita, Gr. S. 9, 000.
- f Vrddhabrahma-Samhita, Gr. S. 4,533.

The book printed as Naradapancaratra in the Bibliotheca Indica is only one of these that are marked b. A copy of c was purchased by me for the Government of Bombay two years ago. Whatever may be the time when these and other Sarh-hitas were written and the religion received a definite shape, the root of the Bhagavata or Pancaratra system is to be traced to very remote times. Its distinguishing features are, as we have seen, the worship of Vasudeva as the supreme Brahma and the doctrine of Bhakti or faith and Love as the way to salvation. It does not trace all our finite thought and feeling to a principle

alien to the soul such as Prakrti or Maya, as the Samkhya or Advaita Vedanta does, and look upon freedom from that sort of thought and feeling as Moksa or deliverance. It is a system of popular religion and has not such a metaphysical basis as either of those two has. Vasudeva was recognised as the supreme deity even in the time of Patanjali, for under Panini IV, 3, 98, the author of the Mahabhasya states that the Vasudeva occurring in the Sutra is not the name of a Ksatriya, but of Tatrabhagavat, which term is explained by Kaiyata, as signifying a certain [form of the] Supreme Deity. And since Panini himself directs us in that Sutra to append the termination aka to Vasudeva in the sense of 'one whose Bhakti or object of devotion is Vasudeva' the worship of Vasudeva is older than that grammarian also. In forming some conception of the origin of this cultus, other circumstances than those hitherto mentioned must be taken into consideration. In the Narayaniya section of the Mahabharata, the Pancaratra is represented as an independent religion professed by the Satvatas and is also called the Satvata religion¹ ; and Vasu Uparicara, who was follower of that religion, is spoken of as worshipping the Supreme God according to the Satvata manner (vidhi) which was revealed in the beginning by the Sun.² The religion is stated to be the same as that taught to Arjuna by Bhagavat himself when the armies of the Pandavas and the Kurus were drawn up in battle-array and Arjuna's heart misgave him.³ Thus the Bhagavadgita belongs to the literature of Vasudeva worship. In the Bhagavata-Purana, the Satvatas are represented as calling the highest Brahma (n), Bhagavat and Vasudeva, and as worshipping and adoring Krsna in a peculiar way.⁴ Ramanuja too refers, as we have seen, to the Satvatasamhita. Satvat was the name of a descendent of Yadu as we learn from the Puranic genealogies, "and his' race was the race or clan of the Satvatas. The Satvatas are mentioned in the

1 Chapter 348, verses 34, 55, 84,

2 Chapter 335, verses 19, 24.

3 Chapter 348, verses 8 ; chapter 346. kerses 11.

4 Bhagavata Purana, IX. 9. 49 ; XI. 21. 1.

Bhagavata along with the Andhakas and Vrsnis, which were two of the Yadava tribes.¹ Vasudeva himself was a prince of that race, being called Satvatapungava.² About the time when Panini flourished or when the Upanisads were written, and even later when Buddhism and Jainism arose, the energies of the Indian mind were directed to religious speculation, and we find a variety of systems coming into vogue. In this intellectual race, the Ksatriyas took a much more active part than the Brahmans. In the Chandogya Upanisad, a prince of the name of Pravahana, the son of Jaibala³ and Asvapati, King of the Kekaya country⁴ appear as teachers of religious truth and Brahmans as learners ; and in the former passage it is even stated that the Ksatriyas were the original possessors of that knowledge. Similarly, in the Kausltakibrahmanopanisad, we find Ajatasatru, king of Kasi, explaining the true Brahma(n) to Balaki the Gargya, who had only pretended to teach it to the king, but did not know it really. The same story is told in the Brhadaranyaka. Buddha was a Ksatriya and belonged to the Sakya clan; so was Mahavira, who belonged to the race of the Jnatrkas. Since then the Ksatriyas were so active at the time in propounding religious doctrines and founding sects and schools, we may very well suppose that a Ksatriya of the name of Vasudeva, belonging to the Yadava, Vrsni, or Satvata race, founded a theistic system as Siddhartha of the Sakya race and Mahavira of the Jnatrka race founded atheistic systems. And just as Buddha under the title of 'Bhagavat' is introduced as the teacher in Buddhistic works, so is Vasudeva as Bhagavat introduced in the Bhagavadgita and some other parts of the Mahabharata. That must have been one of his most prominent names, since his followers were in later times called Bhagavatas. Or perhaps, it is possible that Vasudeva was a famous prince of the Satvata race and on his death was deified

1 Bhagavata Puraya. 1.14, 25 : III, 1, 22.

2 Ibid, XI. 27,1; I. 2. 32.

3V.3.

4 V.11.

and worshipped by his clan ; and a body of doctrines grew up in connection with that worship, and the religion spread from that clan to other classes of the Indian people. In the course of time other elements got mixed with it. We have seen that Ramanuja considers Rama, Krsna and others to be only Vibhavas or incarnations of Vasudeva and they are so represented in the Narayaniya also. This means that the legends and worship of those deified heroes became identified with Vasudeva ; and the traditions about the Vedic Visnu and the Puranic Narayana, who drew out the submerged earth were also in subsequent times referred to him, and thus the various forms of modern Vaisnavism arose.

It is therefore clear that the Pancaratra was a distinct system independent of the Vedas and Upanisads. But during the early centuries of the Christian era, while the country was under the domination of foreigners of the Saka, Palhava, and Yavana races, the Buddhists had grown powerful. With the restoration of the native dynasties in the fourth century, the influence of Brahmans increased, and they then began a fierce conflict with all heretics. These were cried down as scoffers, atheists, nihilists (Vainasikas), etc. The great Mimamsakas— Sabarasvamin, Mandanamisra, Kumarila, and others, flourished during this period of conflict. They ran down even the Aupanisadas or the holders of the Jnana-marga, i. e., the religion of the Upanisads, as against the Karma-marga or the sacrificial religion. The Bauddhas and Jainas who had no regard for the Vedas whatever met them on independent or rationalistic grounds. But the Aupanisadas fought them on the field of the Vedic orthodoxy and succeeded in maintaining their position. There were unquestionably in ancient times several Aupanisada systems ; but it was the doctrine of the unreality of the world and the unity of spirit with which the name of Samkaracarya is connected and which has been characterized by the Madhvas as but Buddhistic nihilism in disguise, that succeeded on the present occasion. And that doctrine was by others considered as subversive of religion and certainty.

Samkaracarya and his followers did not treat tenderly the religious systems that had become popular, such as that of the Bhagavatas or Pancaratras and of the Pasupatas. It was, therefore, Ramanuja's endeavour to put down the pernicious doctrine of Maya or unreality, and seek a Vedantic and philosophic basis for the religion of Bhakti or Love and Faith that had existed from times immemorial; and thus the Pancaratra system, which was independent of the Vedas before, became in his hands a system of the Vedanta or an Aupanisada system.

A BUDDHIST JATAKA STORY IN PATANJALI.'

[From the Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1892, Volume, pp. 421 ft].

The Adiccupatthanajataka, No. 175 of Fausboll's edition (vol. II, p. 72), is to the following effect :-In former times, while Brahmadata was reigning at Benares, the Bodhisatto was born in the family of a Brahmana, and after finishing his education at Takkkhasila, became an Isi hermit(Rsi), and lived on the slopes of the Himalaya together with a crowd of followers or disciples. After having spent a long time there, he came down from the heights, and lived together with his followers in a hut made of leaves in the confines of a village in the vicinity. When the hermits went into the village for alms, a monkey used to get into the hut of leaves, spill the water, break the pots, and clear his bowels in the fire-sanctuary. After the hermits had lived for a year in the village, they made up their minds to return to the slopes of the Himalaya, as the heights had at that time become charming by means of flowers and fruits ; and begged leave of the villagers. The villagers expressed their intention to give a feast to the hermits at their hut before their departure and the next day brought a great many nice eatables to the hermitage. The monkey, thinking of inducing the villagers to feed him also, assumed the appearance of one practising religious austerities and of a pious being, and stood adoring the sun. The villagers seeing him in that attitude, and observing that those who lived in the vicinity good men became good themselves, said—

सर्वेषु किर श्रुतसु सन्ति सीलसमाहिता ।

यस्स सास्सामिगं जम्मं आदिच्चसुयतिव्वति ॥ इति ।

" Among beings of all species, there are (some) who are ennobled by their virtue ; see, a vile monkey adores the son. " The

1 This and the following two articles appear as "Miscellaneous Notes " in the Transactions of the Congress [N. B. U.].

Bodhisatto, finding that the men were praising the monkey in this manner, and observing that they were pleased with an undeserving creature, said -

नास्त सीलं विजानाथ अनजाय पसंसथ ।
अग्निहस्तश्च ऊहंति तेन भिक्षा कमण्डलु ॥ ति ।

" You do not know his conduct ; you praise him without knowing ; he cleared his bowels in the fire-sanctuary, and broke pots."

Thereupon, knowing the hypocrisy of the monkey, they struck him with sticks and fed the hermits.

Under Panini I. 3. 25, Patanjali gives as an instance of the first Varttika आदित्यपूजतिष्ठते, " he adores the sun " and quotes the following verses :-

बहुनामप्यचित्तानामेको भवति चित्तवान् ।
पश्य वानरसैन्येऽस्मिन्यदर्कपूजतिष्ठते ॥
मैव मंस्थाः सचित्तोऽयमेवोऽपि हि यथा वयम् ।
एतदप्यस्य कापेयं यदर्कपूजतिष्ठति ॥

" Among many unintelligent beings there is (possibly one) who is intelligent, seeing that in this crowd (army) of monkeys, one adores the sun.

" Do not think he is intelligent and is as we are; even this is his monkeyism, that he adores (apes the adoration of the) Sun."

Here the story is not given ; but there can be no question that whatever it may have been, a monkey is seen putting himself into an attitude of adoring the Sun, and in this respect it resembles the Buddhist Jataka. In both, the two verses are spoken by two different persons. The speaker of the first verse supposes that the attitude the monkey assumes is out of real devotion for the sun, wherein we have another point of resemblance. But in the Mahabhasya the adoration is regarded as indicating such an intelligence in a monkey as men possess ; while in the Jataka story it is attributed to piety. The same word, stha with upa, is used in both ; but the verse in Patanjali being in Sanskrit, where the distinction between the Atmane-

pada and Parasmaipada is to be carefully observed, the Atmane-pada is used, as real adoration of the sun is meant; in the Pali the distinction between the voices is lost. The impression of the first speaker is corrected in both by the second, wherein we have a fifth point of agreement. But intelligence is denied by the second speaker in the one case, and piety in the other, which difference depends upon the original difference pointed out above. In the Mahabhasya story, a crowd of monkeys is seen before him by the first speaker ; while in the Jataka there is only one monkey. In the second verse in Patanjali, the Parasmaipada is used, as reality is denied to the adoration, and it is in consequence no adoration. Whatever, therefore, may have been the story from which these two verses have been extracted in the Mahabhasya, the resemblance between it and the Jataka story is so great as to warrant us in attributing a common origin to them, and regarding them as different versions of the same story, though we have no grounds for holding them as identical.

DATES OF THE VEDANTAKALPATARU, VACASPATI,
UDAYANA AND RAMANANDA.

(From the Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of
Orientalists, London, 1892, Volume I. pp. 423 ff.]

In noticing the Vedantakalpataru of Amalananda, Dr. Hall, in his "Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical systems", says :—"It was written in the days of one Raja Krsna, who had a brother Mahadeva."

A more definite statement was not possible at the time when Dr. Hall wrote. But since that time we have made greater progress in the knowledge of Indian antiquities, and can now with ease determine who this Raja Krsna was who had a brother of the name Mahadeva. The verse occurring in the Kalpataru is as follows •—

कीर्त्या यादववंशमुन्नमयति श्रीजैत्रदेवात्मजे
कृष्णे क्षमायति सूतलं सह महादेवेन संविभ्रति ।
भोगीन्द्रे परिहृयति क्षितिभरप्रोद्भूतदीर्घधामं
वेदान्तोपवनस्य मण्डनकरं प्रस्तौमि कल्पद्रुमम् ॥

"I begin the Kalpadruma (wish-fulfilling tree), calculated to adorn the garden of Vedanta, while the King Krsna, the son of Jaitra, is protecting the earth in a manner to exalt the Yadava race by his fame, along with his brother Mahadeva ; and the Lord of the serpents is resting himself after the long-continued exertion consequent upon (bearing) the burden of the earth"

These princes, Krsna and Mahadeva, who were sons of Jaitra, and belonged to the Yadava race, were the princes of those names of the Yadava dynasty of Devagiri. The introduction to Hemadri's Vedanta-khanda and the inscriptions speak of them as the sons of Jaitrapala, and we are told that they succeeded their grand-father Singhana. During Krsna's lifetime Mahadeva only assisted him in the government, and became sole king himself after Krsna's death. Krsna reigned from 1247

A. D. to 1260 A. D.¹ The Kalpataru was therefore written in the interval between these two dates, i- e. about the middle of the thirteenth century. Vacaspatimisra, on whose work, the Bhamati, the Kalpataru is a commentary, lived sufficiently long before this date to acquire reputation as an important author.

Another latest limit to Vacaspati's date is Saka 1174 or 1252 A. D., in which year a commentary on Bhasarvajna's Nyayasara was written by Raghavabhatta, who mentions or quotes from Vacaspati and Udayana.² Dr. Hall gives the time of Bhoja of Dhara as the earliest limit; for, Vacaspati, he says, quotes Bhoja.³ Unfortunately he has not stated where Bhoja is quoted by him ; but if it is the passage from Rajavarttika quoted at the end of the Samkhyatattvakaumudi that he means, the Rajavarttika has not yet been discovered, and we do not know for certain who its author is. The statement made by Dr. Hall that it was composed by Bhoja is based simply on the information given by Kasinathasastri Astaputre, which is more than questionable.⁴

But if the supposition that the Rajavarttika was written by Bhoja is correct, the earliest limit for Vacaspati's date is the period between 996 A. D. and 1051 A. D. Vacaspati thus flourished between about 1050 and 1250 A. D. But in this period we have also to place Udayana, and assign to him a date later than Vacaspati, for Udayana has commented on the Varttikatattvartika of Vacaspati. Another earliest limit to the date of Udayana is saka 913 or 991 A. D., in which year Sridhara's Kandali was written. In his commentary on Udayana's Kiranavali, Vardhamana, the son of Gangesa, says in his explanation of one passage that therein Udayana sets forth the view of the Kandali.

1 See my Early History of the Deccan, p. 86.

2 Dr. Hall's Bibliography, p. 26.

3 Samkhyasara, Introduction, p. 40, note.

4 Ibid, p. 49, note.

The Kalpataru is mentioned by Ramananda in his comment on Samkaricarya's Bhasya on the Vedantasutra I. 4.11.¹ He states that the explanation given by the author of the Prakatartha about the accent in the word Pancajana has been refuted by the author of Kalpataru. Thus we have the author of the Prakatirtha first, then Amalananda, the author of the Vedantakalpataru, about 1250 A. D. ; and after him Ratmananda, the author of the Ratnaprabha, published in the Bibliotheca Indica,

THE LATEST LIMIT OF THE DATE OF THE ORIGIN OF THE
CONCEPTION OF THE TEN AVATARAS OF VISNU AND OF THE
WIDOW MARRIAGE TEXT,^१

[From the transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists of 1892, London, Volume I, pp. 425 ff].

A manuscript of a work entitled Dharmaparikṣā, by Amitagati, a Digambara Jaina and the author of the Subhasitaratna-Sarhdoḥa, which was written in Vikramasārhaṭ 1050, in the reign of Munja of Dhara, has recently fallen into my hands. It was composed in 1070 Vikrama, as we are told in the following verses ;—

सबत्तराणां मि(वि ?)गते सहस्रे । सप्ततौ विक्रमपार्थिवस्य ।
इदं निवे(वि)द्यान्यमतं समाप्तम् । जिनेन्द्रधर्माभितियुक्तशास्त्रम् ॥

" When a thousand and seventy years of King Vikrama had elapsed, this sastra, full of the incomparable nature of the religion of the Jinendra, in which other creeds have been condemned, was finished. "

Amitagati makes use of a story to convey his precepts, in the course of which the God Visnu, and the several acts unworthy of him as the Supreme Being which he did while he lived in the world as Rama and Kṛṣṇa, are spoken of. In connection with this I find the following verse ;—

मीनः कूर्मः वृष्टुः श्रोको नारसिंहोऽथ वामनः ।
रामो रामश्च रामश्च बुद्धः कल्की दश स्मृताः ॥

" A fish, a tortoise, a boar, a Man-lion, Vamana (dwarf), Rama, Rama, Rama, Buddha and Kalkin,—these are known as ten (forms of Visnu). "

There is a marginal note on Prthu in which the word is explained as meaning Sukara or " boar, " The three Ramas are of course Parsurama, Rama, the son of Dasaratha, and Balarama

or Kṛṣṇa. The last is spoken of independently in several places as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

In another place, when the divine character of Viṣṇu is ailed in question, we have—

स मत्स्यः कच्छपः कर्मात्मकरो नरकेसरी ।

वामनोऽक्षुत्रिधा रामः परः प्राणीव दुःखितः ॥

" Why did he, like an ordinary miserable living being, become a Fish, a Tortoise, a Boar, a Man-lion, Vamana (dwarf), and , Rama thrice ? "

Here we see that the idea of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu had become quite an ordinary article of belief in 1070 Vikrama or 1014 A. D., and Buddha had been received into the popular Brahmanic pantheon. In the latter verse the two last incarnations have been omitted, probably because the object was to represent the births of Viṣṇu in previous ages of the world ; while the ninth belongs to the present, and the tenth to a future age.

A little farther on, a story is told of a recluse of the name of Mandapakausika. On one occasion he sat down to dinner along with other recluses. Seeing him sitting in their company, the other recluses rose up, afraid to touch him, as if he were a Cardala. Mandapakausika asked them why they rose up as they should at the sight of a dog. They told him that he had become a recluse immediately after he had been a Brahmacarin, and without going through the intermediate order by marrying a wife and seeing the face of a son. A man without son does not go to heaven; nor are religious mortifications successful, if gone through by one in that condition. He then went away and asked men of his caste to give him a girl in marriage ; but as he had become an old man, nobody would give his daughter to him. Thereupon he went back to the recluses and told them of this, when they advised him to marry a widow and assume the life of a householder. By doing so, no sin was incurred by either party, as stated in the scriptures of the recluses (tapasagame). For they said —

पत्य(त्यौ) प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे प्रनष्टे पतिते सृते ।

पञ्चस्थापन्तु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

" In these five distressful conditions, viz., when the husband has renounced the world, is an eunuch, is not found, has fallen away from caste, or is dead, another husband is allowed to women. "

The text on the subject, occurring in the Smrtis of **Parasara** and **Narada**, and also in that of **Manu**, according to a statement of **Madhava** contained in his commentary on **Parasara**, though not found there now, is as follows :—

नष्टे सृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे च पतिते पतौ ।

पञ्चस्थापन्तु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

The difference, we see, is little ; the words are merely transposed in the first line, and we have **प्रनष्टे** for **नष्टे**. This transposition, however, allows of the proper locative **पत्यौ** of **पति** being used, without the violation of the metre. It will thus appear that the text was known in 1014 A. D., and widow marriage was **not** a thing quite unheard of at that time.

. **THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SUTRAS OF ASVALA-
YANA AND SAMKHAYANA AND THE SAKALA AND
BASKALA SAKHAS OF THE RKSAMHITA.**

[From **the** Transaction of the Ninth International Congress of **Orientalists**, London, 1893, pp. 411 ff].

A Manuscript of a work Anukramanikadhundhu was purchased by me for the Government collection about two years ago. It was bought by my agent from a Brahman of Samkhayana school, living at a village called Brahmapol, about two miles from Jayapur, along with other Vedic works belonging to the school. It consists of the Sarvanukrama in a tabulated form. In each line we have first the number of the hymn, then the first pada of the first verse, and afterwards follow in order the numbers of the Vargas and of the verses of which the hymn is composed, the name of the Rsi, and the deity, and the metre. The next hymn is treated similarly in the next line. When the particulars referring to a hymn cannot be completely given in a single line, we have more than one, i. e., a paragraph. The Suktas are numbered continuously from 1 to 1017, and the end of the Adhyaya is simply marked with the letters Adhya. The Valakhilyas come between hymns 668 and 669, i. e., after viii, 48, and are numbered from 1 to 10. The manuscript was transcribed on Sunday the 7th of the dark fortnight of Bhadrapada, in the Samvat year 1796, and is thus a hundred and fifty years **old**.

This tabulated Anukramani agrees in all respects with the Sarvinukrama of Katyayana, as I have found from a comparison of parts here and there with the statements at the top of the hymns in Professor Max Muller's edition and with the original Sarvanukrama. The number of verses in vii, 21 is, however, given as nine, because it would appear, at first sight, the tenth is **the same as** the last verse of the previous hymn, In other places,

however, where the same verse occurs at the end of two successive hymns, it is not left out of account; so that there is probably a mistake here. The number of hymns, 1017, is the same as that given in the Anuvakanukramani, indexed in the Sarvanukrama, and found in the Vulgate. But our Dhundhu differs from the last in omitting one of the eleven Valakhilya hymns, viz., that beginning with *yamrtvijo* (viii. 58) ; but agrees with the Sarvanukrama. For this also omits the hymn, and an anonymous commentary on the work, existing in one of my recent collections of manuscripts, agrees with the text, as it contains no reference to it.

The author of the Bhasya on the Caranavyuha, often noticed by scholars, says that the omission of viii. 58 constitutes the distinction between the Samkhayana and Asvalayana Sakhas. At the same time, he notices the Insertion of two of the three verses composing the hymn into X, 88, but only as a khila, and, consequently, not to be counted. The work before me does not notice the insertion, probably just on this account, assigning to the hymn nineteen verses, which it has in the Vulgate. It will thus appear that the statement of the commentator as to the omission of viii. 58 in the Samkhayana Samhita is confirmed by my manuscript; and the Sarvanukrama, agreeing with both, seems to follow the text used by the school of Samkhayana, rather than that used by the Asvalayana school.

But the statement of the commentator and this conclusion are contested by Prof. Oldenberg, and the grounds are these :— In the Upakarapa ceremony, usually called Srivani by us, after the name of the month in which it is performed, oblations are thrown into the fire after the repetition of the first and last verses of each Mandala. In the Samkhayana Grhya Sutra the last verse that is directed to be repeated is " tac chamyor avrnimahe," etc.; which, therefore, must have been the last verse of the tenth mandala of the Samhita followed by Samkhayana. Similarly in another place in the Sutra, the teacher having taught to the pupil the whole of the Veda ending with Samyor Barhaspatya, is

spoken of. Samyor Barhaspatya here means, according to Vinayaka, the commentator on the Sutra, the second verse, “तच्छंयोरा०” etc. occurring at the end of the last hymn, and not that same verse occurring in the middle. Now, on the evidence of a Karika, quoted in a Prayoga or manual of domestic rites, noticed by Professor Weber in his first Berlin catalogue (p. 314), it is concluded that the Baskala Samhita of the Rgveda ended with the verse “तच्छंयोरा०” etc., and since Samkhayana prescribes that verse for the last oblation, that this is the Samhita that Samkhayana followed, and that his Sutra was written for those who accepted the Baskala Samhita.

To determine this point, it is necessary to trace the source of the information contained in the Karika noticed by the two scholars, and to bring together the statements of subsequent writers based on that source. The Karika occurs in the work entitled Asvalayana-Grhya-Karika, attributed to Kumarila. Whether this writer is the same as Kumarila the great Mimamsaka is a point which I, at least, do not consider to be settled. There is a copy of it in the Government collection of 1883-84 made by me, it bears the number 509. The collection A. of 1881-82, also made by me, contains two copies of a Bhasya on the Karikas, Nos. 176 and 177. No. 176 is an excellent manuscript and contains the original as well as the commentary. The author of the latter does not give his name; and though the name Narayana does occur in one place, still it is written in such a manner that it remains doubtful whether it is meant as the name of the commentator. In the introduction we are told, "First of all, Narayana, the author of the Vrtti, composed his work, as it was difficult for persons of little learning, who had simply a smattering of a part of the sacred lore, to perform the various ceremonies prescribed by Asvalayana with the help of the Sutra alone. Taking the Vrtti as a basis, and considering the views of Jayanta and others which are in conformity with the Sutra, the author of the Karika composed the Karika, setting forth the procedure in order. Still, some people neglecting this

Karika, though of use to carry one through the rites, on account of the difficulty arising from its brevity, and regarding a paddhati (manual) alone to be useful in this respect, perform the rites for themselves, and cause others to perform them (in accordance with it). Therefore, on account of the impossibility of removing doubts, by a mere Paddhati as to what is first and what is last, whether a thing exists or does not exist in the whole body of rites, prescribed in the Grhya Sutras, some one, through the favour of the deity, presiding over the ceremonial having sat at the feet of a master, the like of whom is not to be found, of the name of Vuppadevabhakta, residing in the city of Kalamba, and belonging to the Asvalayana school of the Rgveda, for receiving instructions in the interpretation of the Karika, is now expounding the whole Karika, for removing doubts concerning the body of rites that are performed, making use of what was taught to him by his master. "¹

From this it appears that the Karika was written in accordance with Narayana's Vrtti, the views of Jayanta and others being also represented ; and in the work itself the Bhagavadvrttikrt and Jayanta are frequently mentioned.² Now, as regards the point in question, Naidhruvi-Narayana's Vrtti on Asv. Gr. in. 5. 9, is: " It is well known to students that this itself (and no

1 तत्रादावाश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्रमात्रेणैवाल्पव्युत्पत्तिमतामभ्यसने कदेशस्पर्शिना तदुक्त-
स्तत्कर्मनिर्वाहो दुस्तर इति वृत्तिरुन्नायायनो वृत्तिमकरोत् । तामेव वृत्तिं पुरस्कृत्य
सूत्रार्थानुकूलाजयन्तादीन्विचार्य कारिकाकारः क्रमेणैवेति कर्तव्यताकारिणी कारिकां चकार ।
तथाप्यत्र केचन संक्षेपकाठिन्यात्कर्मनिर्वाहकारिणीमपि कारिकां निवार्य परस्मिन्नेवाद्योपयोगि-
नीमवधार्य कर्म कारयन्ति कुर्वन्ति च । अतः कोऽप्यत्र कर्मदेवतानुग्रहेण गृह्योक्तसकल-
कर्मसु किमादौ किमन्ते किमस्ति किं वा नास्तीत्यादिरूपं संदेहं केवलं पश्यत्या दूरीकृतुं-
मशक्यत्वात्कारिकार्थपरिज्ञानार्थमुपेयान्तःपातिन्यामाश्वलायनशाब्दायां कलम्बपुरवासिनं
लोकोत्तरं वुप्पदेवभट्टाख्यं गुरुमुपास्य तदुक्तिमेव निमित्तकृत्य किममाणकर्मकलापसंदेहाप-
नुत्त्ये तावतीति कारिकां विवृणोति । ~From No. 176 of A. 1881-81

% See also Dr. Buhler's review of my Report for 1883-84, Indian Antiquary, Volume XVIII, p. 188a,

other > is the Sutra and Grhya of the Sakala traditinal text and the Baskala text. For the Sakalas ' Samani va akutih' is the verse, because it is the final one of their Samhita ; while for the Baskalas, ' tac chamyor avrnimahe ' is the one, being at the end of their Samhita. Construing it thus is proper¹. " The Karika based on this Vrtti is that noticed by Professor Weber in the first Berlin Catalogue, and runs thus :-" The last oblation (ahuti thrown into the fire) of the Sakalas is after the repetition of the Rk. 'samani vah,' and the last oblation of the Baskalas, after (the repetition of) the Rk. 'tac chamyor.'³ The commentary on this is :-" In the province of Rgveda there are five different Sakhas, Asvalayani, Samkhayani, the Sakalas, Baskalas and Mandukas. Of these, the last oblation of the Sakalas is by repeating ' samani vah, ' and the last oblation of the Baskalas is by repeating ' tac chamyor.'² Everything else is the same. This same Asvalayana Sutra is of use for the performance of the rites to the followers of the Asvalayana Sakha, and to the Sakalas and Baskalas.*" Jayanta in the Vimalodayamala thus speaks about the point:-" Since this itself (and no other) is the Sutra of Sakala and Baskala, and this the Grhya of the two Samhitas, those who end their Samhita by the verse, ' Samani va akutih' throw an oblation into the fire after repeating this verse and then offer to the Svistakrt; while those who read ' tac chamyor avrnimahe ' at the end of their text throw an oblation on repeating that verse and then offer to the Svistakrt and not on repeating

1 See p. 168, Bibl. Ind. Edn.

2 शाकलानां समानी व इत्युच्यन्त्याहुतिर्भवेत् ।

बाष्कलानां तु तच्छंयोरित्युच्यन्त्याहुतिर्भवेत् ॥

—From MSB. No. 509 of 1883-84 and 176 of A. 1881-82.

3 ऋग्वेदे पञ्च शास्त्राभेदाः । आश्वलायनी सार्ववायनी (कात्यायनी) शाकला बाष्कला माण्डूकाभ्येति । तेषां मध्ये शाकलानां समानी व इत्युच्यन्त्याहुतिर्भवति । बाष्कलानां तु तच्छंयोरित्युच्यन्त्याहुतिर्भवति । इतरस्तैर्ब समानम् । आश्वलायनशास्त्रा-
नुसारिणां शाकलबाष्कलानां वेदमेवाश्वलायनसूत्रं कर्मानुष्ठानाद्यनुपकरोति ।

From No. 176 of A. 1881-81.

'samani va akutih.' This sense is obtained from the word 'eka,' which occurs in both the Sūtras.¹

It will thus be seen that the source of the information used by Professor Oldenberg is Naidhruvi-Narayana's statement in the *vrcti*; and though Jayanta's direct connection with Narayana's work is not mentioned, still the passage from his work is so greatly like that occurring in the *vrcti*, that there is hardly any reasonable doubt that it is based on the *vrcti*, or both derived from a common source. If, then, the Baskala Samhita ended with "tac chamyor" etc., while the Sakala with "Samani va Akutih", the Samkhayana Sūtra, which prescribes "tac chamyor" etc. as the verse for the last oblation in the Upakarana ceremony, must be a Sūtra of the Baskala Sakha; and as according to Saunaka, the Samhita of this school had eight hymns more than that of the Sakalas, and the arrangement of some of the smaller books composing the first Mandala was different, it follows that the statement of the commentator on the Caranavyūha that Samkhayana Samhita differed from Asvalayana's, which is the same as that of the Sakalas, only in excluding viii. 58, cannot be true, and there is no Samhita exactly corresponding to the Sarvtnukrama, which also excludes this hymn. At the same time, though my manuscript was in the possession of a Brahman of the Samkhyayana school, along with the other works decidedly belonging to that school, still it should be considered as not representing the Samhita of that school. But, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that those same writers who give us the information which leads to these conclusions tell us as a fact well known to students of Asvalayana's Sūtra, that that was the Sūtra and Grhya of Baskalas as well as of the Sakalas. The same fact is stated by Gargya-Narayana in his

1 यतः शाकलवाष्कलयोरेतदेव सूत्रं द्वयोः संहितयोर्गृह्यं च । तत्र ये समानीव आकूतिरित्यनया संहितायाः पारं गच्छन्ति ते समानी व आकूतिरित्यनयेव हुत्वा स्विष्टकृत्वा जुहुति । ये तच्छब्दोरावृणीमह इति समान्नायान्त पठन्ति ते तथैव हुत्वा स्विष्टकृत्वा जुहुति न समानी व आकूतिरिति । अयमर्थः उभयोरकक्षयमात् ।

comment on the first Srauta Sutra of Asvalayana. The expression 'idam eva' or 'etad eva,' used by them, would show that this same and no other was, according to the commentators, the Sutra of the Baskalas ; and if the Samkhayana Sutra was peculiarly theirs and the Asvalayana that of the Sakalas, they were not aware of the fact. Again, if, following these commentators and looking to the present condition of the text, we exclude the hymn containing 'tac chamyor' etc. from the Sakala Samhita, and hold it to have at no time formed part of it, the traditional number of Rks in it, viz. 10580V4, exceeds the real number by 15, which is exactly the number of Rks contained in that hymn. This in itself would show that the hymn formed part of that Samhita at some time, and if we interpret the Grhya Sutras iii, 5, 8 and 9, independently of Naidhruvi-Narayana, and in accordance with Asvalayana's usual style, we shall find that he supports our inference. And if this inference is correct, all the difficulties pointed out above will disappear, and Samkhayana's Sutra as well as Asvalayana's will have to be considered as a Sutra for both the Sakalas and the Baskalas.

According to Narayana, Asvalayana uses the word *eka* in iii. 5. 8 to indicate that the verse "Samani va akutih" should be used to the exclusion of "tac chamyor avrnimahe", which is prescribed in the next sutra ; and the word *eka* in this last sūtra or iii. 5. 9 is used to indicate that 'tac camyor avrnimahe' should be used to the exclusion of 'Samani va akutih'. Thus the sense is, *that* or *this* verse should be used, and not both, i. e., *vikalpa* or option is here allowed ; but it is a *vyavasthita vikalpa*, i. e., one course is to be followed by one class of men and the other by another. Now, Asvalayana's usual way of expressing a *vikalpa* is by the use of the word *Va*, as in i. 10. 9 ; i. 11. 13 ; i. 14. 5 ; i. 15. 6 ; i. 19. 2 ; i. 20. 1 etc. etc. and we find the word used even a little before in the section under consideration in the Sutra iii. 5.3. Different courses for two classes of persons are prescribed by naming one of the classes, as in i. 7. 9 where **Jamadagnas are mentioned, and i, 10, 9, where we have the**

Pancavattis, or by using the word eke, i. e. "some", as in i.4. 2; i. 13.6, etc. So then, if he meant the verse mentioned in iii. 5. 8 for the Sakalas and that in iii. 5. 9 for the Baskalas, we should expect him to name the first school in the first Sutra or the second in the second. At any rate, even if this mode of expression should be considered unnecessary, the word va is quite indispensable. Again, Narayana interpretes the word eka in these two sutras in quite a different manner from that in which he interpretes it in iii. 5.6. In this last sutra the word is used to prevent the repetition of the next verse in the text of the Samhita, while in the two, it is, he says, used to prevent the verse in the next or the preceding sutra from being repeated in addition to the one occurring in the Sutra itself. And Narayana himself is by no means certain about the explanation he has given; for he winds it up by saying "ity evam niveso yuktah," which means "This construction is reasonable," or rather according to the sense of the word nivesa as used by the grammarians, it means, "Asvalayana should properly have put in words to that effect."

The true explanation of the two sutras seems to me to be this. Asvalayana evidently meant to prescribe the first and the last verse of each Mamdala. But since those for whom he wrote were supposed to know the whole Samhita by heart continuously without proper divisions, or perhaps to possess a book in which the verses were written continuously without a break, he prescribes a pair of verses in each case, the first of which is the last of the previous Mandala, and the second the first of the next Mandala. This mode of expression can evidently not be used in prescribing the first verse of the first Mandala, or the last verse of the last Mandala 5 hence, they must be prescribed separately and singly. But to prevent the possibility of the learner connecting the word dvṛca, "pair of verses," with the first verse that has to be prescribed singly, and of his repeating the second verse also of the first Mandala, the word 'eka' is used in the Sutra, iii. 5. 6, "Agnim ide purohitam ity eka." But there is no such necessity in the sutra which prescribes the

last verse of the tenth Mandala, for even if the word "pair" were brought over to it, it could mean nothing, as nothing follows the last verse. If, notwithstanding this, the word *eka* is used in that sutra also, the reason must be the same as that which holds in the case of the sutra about the first verse of the first Mandala, i. e., it is used to prevent the next verse from being repeated. The conclusion to be derived from this is that some verses followed the verse "*samani va akutik*" in the text as it existed in Asvalayana's time. And the last of these additional verses is also prescribed in iii. 5. 9 by Asvalayana; and there too, he uses the word *eka*. What could be the meaning of the word there? No more verses can be supposed to follow the last of the additional verses. We can understand the meaning or Asvalayana's object in using the word only if we suppose that the additional verses which followed "*samani va akatih*" constituted such a hymn as the *samjnana* hymn with fifteen Rks, as given by the author of the commentary on the *Carnavyuha*, the fifth of which was "*tac chamyor*" etc., and the fifteenth or last also the same. If the word *eks* had not been used in the sutra which prescribes "*tac chamyor*" etc., the learner, by connecting the word "pair" with it, might have used the first "*tac chamyor*" etc., i. e. the fifth verse of the hymn, and along with it the sixth also, "*Nairhastyam*" etc. But *eka* prevents the use of this, and the result is that the last verse only of *samjnana* hymn is prescribed. But now the question arises, if another hymn followed "*samani va akutih*," why does Asvalayana not prescribe its last verse only, "*tac chamyor*" etc., as is done by Samkhayana, and why does he prescribe "*Samani va akutih*" etc. also. The reason must, I think, be sought for in some such fact as this, that in his time the *samjnana* hymn was considered as a necessary appendage of the *Samhita*, though the text of the latter ended with "*samani va akutih*," or there was no general agreement that that hymn was not a part of the *Samhita*; some included it, while others did not*. To meet both these views, Asvalayana prescribed both the verses; so that it is not *vikalpa* or option that Asvalayana allows; an option to be construed as resulting in one verse being prescribed

for one of the two schools, and the other for the other ; but twenty-one Rks are prescribed, and twenty-one ahutis or oblations for the followers of Rgveda generally. And since the scholiasts we have consulted inform us of the tradition that Asvalayana sutra was intended for the Sakalas as well as the Baskalas, the twenty-one Rks and ahutis must be understood as laid down for both.

If, for these reasons, we reject Narayana's interpretation, and admit the supposition that Asvalayana prescribes the two verses either because the samjnana hymn formed a necessary appendage of the Samhita, or its rejection was not accepted by all, Samkhayana must be understood to prescribe the last verse only of that hymn, not because he intended his Sutra for the Baskalas only, but because he acknowledged the samjnana hymn as decidedly the last hymn of the Samhita, and not a mere appendage; or the view of its being apocryphal was not started in his time, or he did not notice it. But that view, which is only indicated by Asvalayana, gained strength gradually, especially in the Sakala school, and about the time of the Anukramariis, the hymn was rejected by that school. But the Baskalas were more conservative, and retained it. And even the Sakalas, though' the hymn was thrown out, repeat at the present day the last verse or it, " tac chamyor " etc., in winding up the Samdhyavatidaha and the Brahmajajna. It is repeated before the verse "namo brahmane," which is prescribed by Asvalayana in iii. 3.4; and both are prescribed in the Grhya-parisista (Ed. Bibl. Ind. p. 270, 1, 8) This circumstance might not improperly be taken to point to its ancient connection with Sakala samhita. By the way, it would appear, from what I have stated, that the Anukramanis are chronologically subsequent to Asvalayana's Grhya.

And now all the difficulties which I mentioned before have been cleared. What the commentator on the Caranavyaha says as to the difference between the Samhitas of the Asvalayana and the Samkhayana schools is true, as the Samhita of the latter is not necessarily that of the Baskalas. These two Sakhas are only

40 [R.G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. I.

two Sutra Sakhas like those of Apastamba, Hiranyakesin, and Baudhayana, and do not point to a difference of the Samhita text. If we believe the scholiasts, Asvalayana's Sutra was intended both for the Sakalas and the Baskalas, and we may regard Samkhayana's also as intended for both. That the Sakha of Asvalayana is a Sutra Sakha only, and is not tied down to a particular Samhita, is also indicated by the present practice of Brahmans of that school, who at the end of their Samdhya adorations, have to describe themselves individually as Rgvedantargatasvalayana-Sakala-sakha-dhyayin. The name of Sakala is added to show what Samhita it is that he studies, as the name Asvalayana by itself does not do so. The Baskala Sakha seems to be extinct now; for the author of the commentary on the Caranavyuha, after giving its peculiarities on the authority of a Vrtti on the Auukramani, says "evam adhyayanabhavacchakha"bhavab, " "such a text is not studied, therefore the Sakha does not exist. " The only Samhita, therefore, to which both Asvalayana and Samkhayana now refer is that of the Sakala school. And the text used by the two Sutra schools differs only in the omission of Rv. viii, 58, by the followers of Samkhayana. But in this respect they agree with the Sarvanukrama ; and it is the Asvalayanas who have admitted that hymn into their text, or allowed it to remain there in opposition to that work. My manuscript, also found with a Brahman of the Samkhayana school, really represents the text of his school, and of no other; and the traditional number of Rks in the Sakala Samhita, 105801/4, is now justified, since at one time the Samjnana hymn formed a part of that Samhita.

It may be remarked in conclusion that the Sutras of Asvalayana and Samkhayana about the Upakarana ceremony which we have been discussing are adduced by the commentator on the Caranavyuha as authorities for including that hymn in the text of the Samhita. One can understand how in his eyes the Sutra of the latter is an authority, believing as he did that the Samhita of Samkhayana was the same as that of the Sakala school. And probably he attaches the same significance to Asva-

layana's prescribing the use of " tac chamyor " as to Samkhiyana's ; but he has not explained why it is that the former prescribes the last verse of X, 191, " Samani vah, " etc. also. He, of course, does not adopt Narayana's interpretation. According to the commentator, the Samhita of all the Rgveda schools is the same ; which is true, as we have seen, in the case of the four that are extant. The fifth, the Manduki, has not yet been traced.

There are two copies, recently transcribed, of the commentary on the Carinavyuha in the Deccan College collections, No. 19 of 1871-72, and No. 5 of 1873-74. Neither of them contains the name of the author. But the work has been lithographed at Benares, and also printed in the Benares Sanskrit series, as an appendix of the edition of the Pratiskhya of the White Yajurveda. In both, the name of the commentator is given as Mahidasa, who wrote the work in the year (expired) tridasangadharimite, which in the edition in the Benares Sanskrit series is given as equivalent to 1613, but which really means 1633, tridasa, meaning " gods ", denotes 33, the traditional number of the gods. This Mahidasa or Mahidasa is probably the same as the author of the commentary on the Lilavati, written in 1644, and noticed in my Report for 1883-84 under No. 205 (pp. 82 and 368). The dates refer to Samvat, i. e. the era of Vikrama, and **thus** correspond to 1577 and 1588 A; D,

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE OPENING SESSION OF
THE FIRST ORIENTAL CONFERENCE OF INDIA, HELD
AT POONA ON THE 5TH OF NOVEMBER 1919.

(From the Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1920,
Volume I, PP. 13 ff.]

[His Excellency the Governor of Bombay presided on the occasion. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar was prevented by illness—mainly brought on by the exertions involved in preparing the Address—from attending the meeting, and so the address had to be read by another scholar. This address has been the last literary writing of the author.].—N. B. U,

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I sincerely thank you for having elected me President of this Conference. My only qualification for this post is that I am the oldest of you all, and if time allows, I intend to give you an illustration of my age by mentioning the several controversies which I have carried on since I began life as a scholar. I take it that our body here is composed of two classes of learned men, those educated as Pandits of the old school and those who have been studying the literature of the country and the inscriptions and the antiquities which are found scattered in the different provinces, by the application of the critical and comparative method. As to the former class, there are at present two Sastras mostly studied, namely Vyakarana and Nyaya. In the former, Bhattoji Diksita's Siddhamakaumudi and Manorama and portions of Nagojibhatta's Sabdendusekhara and his ParibhasenduSekhara, and the Navahnikī and the Angadhikara from Patanjali's Mahabhasya are taught. My only suggestion with reference to this is, that the Mahabhasya is such an important and informing work that it should be the aim of the Vaiyakarana school to read the whole of it with its pupils. I had an occasion in connection with a controversy to give the correct sense of the passage of the

Mahabhasya under Panini V, 3. 99 given in the footnote.¹ My difficulty was great especially because Nagojibhatta in his Uddyota on the passage interprets Mauryas as manufacturers of idols. I consulted learned grammar-pandits, but they were not able to give me the correct sense off-hand, because this portion of the Mahabhasya does not come within the range of their studies. I then wrote a Sanskrit commentary on the passage, and they saw the propriety of taking Mauryas as a race of princes. My interpretation, that the Mauryas are spoken of in the passage as having used golden images for their purpose when they were in need of gold, was accepted by Prof. Kielhorn, who was opposed to me in that portion of the controversy, as he wrote to me in a private letter and did not contest my view again in the Indian Antiquary for 1887, in which the controversy was carried on.

The other school, that of the Nyaya, deals with what is called the Navya (or modern) Nyaya, based upon the Tatva-cintamani, composed by Gangesopadhyaya of Bengal, the many abstruse commentaries beginning with the Didhiti of Raghunathabhatta Siromani, and ending with the Jagadisi of Jagadisa Bhattacharya and the Gadadhari of Gadadhara Bhattacharya, are taught and studied in this school.

The whole learning has become extremely artificial and the student of this school acquires a certain intellectual acumen, which, however, is not of much use in ordinary matters. It is very unfortunate that this modern Nyaya should have driven out of the field the system of Logic and Didactics of Nyaya, founded by Gautama and elucidated by Vatsyayana in his Nyayabhasya, for about the time when this Bhasya was written, the Buddhist Mahayana school had acquired prominence and the two systems carried on controversies which are interesting to students of the progress of

¹ अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति । खिदः स्कन्दो विशाख इति । किं कारणम् ।
मौर्वीहिरण्यार्थमिदं प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत्तासु न स्यात् । यास्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तासु
भविष्यति ।

thought. Vacaspati gives some valuable information about this point and I have given elsewhere a translation of his remark in the following words:—"The revered Aksapada having composed the Sastra calculated to lead to eternal bliss, and an exposition of it having been given by Paksilasvamin, what is it that remains and requires that a Vartika should be composed? Though the author of the Bhasya has given an exposition of the Sastra, still modern scholars like Dinnaga and others having enveloped it in the darkness of fallacious arguments, that exposition is not sufficient for determining the truth. Hence the author of the Uddyota dispels the darkness by his work the Uddyota, i. e., light (torch)". On this Uddyota there is a commentary by Vacaspati himself, entitled Vartikatatparyatika and on this again Udayana wrote the Tatparyaparisuddhi. These works represent the Brahmanic side of the argumentation with the Mahayanists and a study of them would be both interesting and instructive. But this study has disappeared before the cumbrous subtleties of the modern Nyaya. Still, however, I hear that some of these works are read in the Mithila country.

There are other schools also which might be styled (i) the literary, (ii) the medical, and (iii) the astronomical or astrological schools. In connection with the first, Kavyas, dramatic plays and works on Poetics such as the Kuvalayananda, the Kavyaprakasa and the Rasagangadhara are generally taught and studied. The course of this school might be improved by including some of the works alluded to in the last two treatises. As to the other two schools I have nothing to say. I am not aware, whether in any of the indigenous establishments there exists a Mimamsa school; but I think that there ought to be such a school in connection with Dharmasastra in which the most important treatises on religious and civil law should be taught and the rules of interpretation given by the Mimamsakas applied for the decision of legal points. I consider it advisable that in connection with this Dharmasastra and Mimamsa school

the oldest treatises, the Bhasya of Sabaraswamin and the Virtikas of Kumarilabhatta, should be regularly studied.

As to the other class of our body here, viz. that composed of critical scholars, the first thing we have to bear in mind is that the study of the Indian literature, inscriptions and antiquity according to the critical and comparative method of inquiry, so as to trace the history and progress of Indian thought **and** civilization, is primarily a European study. Our aim, therefore, should be to closely observe the manner in which the study is carried on by European scholars and adopt such of their methods as recommend themselves to our awakened intellect. To an intelligent man this ought to be enough to qualify him for the pursuit of critical scholarship, and the Government of India seemed, at the Conference held at Simla in 1911, to favour the idea of opening Research Institutes at the Capital City and presidency-towns ; but subsequent events led to the idea being set aside, and instead, the Government provisionally adopted the plan of sending qualified Indians to Europe and America to be trained under famous Western scholars. We have now among us several gentlemen, who have returned after serving out their period of apprenticeship. There are others among us, who have qualified themselves for the purpose by the method alluded to above by me.

Between the Western and Indian scholars a spirit of co-operation should prevail and not a spirit of depreciation **of each** "other. We have but one common object, the discovery of the truth. Both, however, have prepossessions and even prejudices and the same evidence may lead to their arriving at different conclusions. Often, however, when controversies **are carried on, the** truth comes out prominently, and there is a general acquiescence when it does so. **To** express the same **idea** in other words, the angle of vision, if I may use an expression that has become hackneyed, may be and is different. **The** Indian's tendency may be towards rejecting foreign influence on **the** development of his country's civilization **and to claim high**

antiquity for some of the occurrences in its history.¹ On the other hand the European scholar's tendency, is to trace Greek, Roman or Christian influence at work in the evolution of new points, and to modernize the Indian historical and literary events. It is on this account that there has been no consensus of opinion as to the approximate period when the most ancient portion of the hymns of the Rgveda was composed. Some refuse to assign it a higher antiquity than 15 centuries before Christ, while others carry it far to the beginning of Kaliyuga, i. e. to about 3101 B. C. A scholar may have conceived a prejudice against the Indian race and may look down upon the Vedic Rsis. Thus, our critical method is unfortunately too often vitiated by extraneous influences. But this probably is due to human weakness. A critical scholar should consider his function to be just like that of a judge in a law-court; but even there human weakness operates, and renders a number of appeals necessary, so that one judge differs from another, and so does one critical scholar from another.

Now as to the subjects to which our critical studies are directed, the principal one is that of the interpretation of the Vedas. This has been the monopoly of the European scholars and we Indians have not taken any considerable part in it. But it is indispensably necessary that we should enter the field. A European scholar may give up the function of a judge which I have attributed to him, and assume that of a prosecuting counsel. A certain individual, looking to what are called the Dana-stutis or praises of gifts, has given it as his general opinion that the old Rsis or seers had no higher aim than the materialistic one—the acquisition of wealth. Thus he bases a universal judgment

1 Notable instances of the former are afforded by the persistent efforts made by some of us to prove that the twelve signs of the Zodiac are not adopted by the Hindus from the Greeks, though names of the signs are the translations of the Greek names, and even these last are given in a verse of Varahamihira. Garga, as quoted by the latter states, 'The Yvvanas are the Mlecchas among whom this Sastra (astronomy, and astrology) is well known; they even are worshipped like Rsis.'

on what he finds in about 15 or 16 hymns out of 1017. In the same Vasistha Mandala in which he (finds such a praise of gifts (hymn 18), there are the outpourings of a contrite heart afflicted with a deep sense of sinfulness, and humbly begging to be forgiven. But such points as this last do not attract the attention of the prosecuting counsel. Then again the same scholar asserts that " The hymns of the Rgveda are for the most part composed with the technical object of some ritual, and this object stands quite near to the later ritual. " This is perfectly wrong. The Rgveda collection has been treated, from the times of the Aitareya Brahmana down to the present day, as a storehouse of sacred texts to be uttered and used whenever any new ceremony has to be sanctified. Thus the Brahmana again and again states " That contributes to the success of the sacrificial worship, which is possessed of an appropriate form, i. e., when the act performed is alluded to by the Rgveda. " This rule has been followed by all writers on later ceremonies. The resemblance between the verse and the act may be simply verbal as in the prescription of ' Sukram te, etc. ' (Rgveda VI, 58, 1) in which there is mention of the bright form (Sukra) of Pusan, i. e., his form during the continuance of the day, to the invocation of Sukra or the planet Venus in the ceremony called the ' Grahamakha. ' And this adaptation of different Rgveda verses for the performance of the Soma services also, such as a Sastra repeated by the Hota, i. e. a priest, and for the choice of the Anuvakya and Yajya. verses, is apparent from the services and the verses themselves, so that there is no question that the hymns of the Rgveda form the storehouse for the preparation of the services required for rites that came on in later times. (See my Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-8884, pages 32 ff.). Thus it will be seen that the Rgveda hymns were mostly composed for purposes other than those connected with the sacrificial ritual and there are a great many hymns which are to be recited in, the morning on the first day of the Soma sacrifice (prataranuvaka), which are addressed to Agni, Usas, 41 [R.G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. I, I.]

and the Asvins. The commentator on the *Asv. or. Sutra* (IV, 15, 11) states that *Usas* has nothing to do with *Soma* sacrifice ; still as the goddess is connected with the preceding *Agni* and the following *Asvins*, hymns to her are intended in this list. Thus the theory that the hymns to the Vedic deities were inspired by the poetic inspiration of beauty holds its ground firmly, notwithstanding the assertions of the above-mentioned prosecuting counsel of a scholar. The three deities, *Agni*, *Usas* and *Asvins*, are represented as manifesting themselves in the morning. The old Aryans were accustomed to rise very early and enjoy the beauty of the Dawn and its thickening away into brighter light. It will be seen from all this that the cult followed the composition of hymns and did not precede it in a far outweighing measure.

Then again an attempt has been made to throw discredit on the ritual prescribed in the *Grhyasutras* and the *Srautasiltras* by tracing them to the praactices of savages like the Red Indians of America ; and even the *Upanayana* and the marriage ceremonies of the domestic rites and the *Diksa* ceremony are treated similarly. But the main points involved in these ceremonies are neglected. The priest in the case of *Upanayana* is the father of the boy himself and *not* a developed form of the "medicine man" of the barbarians. The boy is dedicated to the service of the God *Savitar* in the words " O God *Savitar*, this is thy *Brahmacarin*; preserve him, may he not die "; and the object of the ceremony is not to scare away the evil spirits of whom the *Acarya* or father is afraid. The putting on of the hide of an antelope in the *Diksa* and other ceremonies, the fasting which precedes them, and such other practices came down to the Hindus from their residence in the forest, where the antelope was a familiar figure, and from the necessity of preserving the body in an unencumbered condition before the performance of any rite. This is done even at the present day when the Brahmins have to perform holy functions such as meditation, celebration Of the birth of such a god as *Krsna*, the performance of the

SrAddha ceremony, etc., and these practices are certainly by no means to be traced to the weird performances of the medicine-man of the savages. The question of magic rites is an independent one and should not be confounded with the cults prescribed in the Sutras. As shown by an inscription, regarding a treaty between the king of the Hittites and the king of Mitani, found in Asia Minor, the Aryans who ultimately migrated to India were the neighbours of the Assyrians or Asuryas and must have learnt from their connection with these and the Babylonians the art of magic, and the; subsequent composition of the Atharva-veda must have been greatly influenced by this circumstance. Therefore, whatever weird and magical practices are to be found in the Hinduism of the day, are not unlikely to be traced to this source.

Notwithstanding such aberrations of scholars as we have noticed, European scholarship deserves our highest respect, and the erring individuals are corrected by other scholars and on the whole no great harm is done. Still, we Indian scholars ought to devote ourselves strenuously to Vedic study. Yaska tells us that a science should not be taught or communicated to a fault-finding or prejudiced man and the mood to be observed in studying a subject is, according to the Bhagavadgita, that of Sraddha, i. e., a disposition to receive whatever strikes as reasonable or an attitude of open-mindedness. We are likely to be more actuated by this spirit in the study of our Vedas than any foreign nation. Still those of us who have not become critical scholars by closely observing the method of European scholars, or serving out a period of apprenticeship to them, exhibit a number of faults and weaknesses which entirely vitiate their reasoning. A young man, the editor of a good many Sanskrit works, asks me with a derisive smile what the necessity was of naming a MS., showing the country it came from and the age in which it was written, when the mere fact of its presenting a varied reading is enough for all purposes. He did not know that when a judge noted down the age or a wit-

ness appearing before him, the name of the caste or the community or the country to which he belonged, he got information from him which had a value in the estimate of the evidence. Similarly another young man, not fully acquainted with the critical method, said that Namadeva and Jnanadeva were contemporaries but that the difference between their languages was due to the mistakes of successive scribes. He thus believed that the scribes could reconstitute the grammar and lexicon of a language, forgetting to ask himself why the marvels effected by the scribes in the case of Namadeva should not have been effected by them in the case of Jnanadeva himself, whose language they had not altered. I do not give these as solitary instances but as due to the working of a spirit which has rendered Jnanadeva, the author of *Jñāneshvara*, which does not contain the name of God Vithoba at all and whose Marathi is very archaic, to be the same individual as the author of the *Haripatha*, whose abhāṅgas teem with allusions to Vithoba and Rakhumai and whose language considerably approaches modern Marathi. The Marathi literature which has come down to us is full of such strange theories. It is a very disagreeable matter to dwell at this length on the faults of our Indian scholars, but it is an allegiance which I owe to truth.

The study of Vedantism among European scholars is dominated by the views of Prof. Deussen, who is a follower of Saṅkarācārya's system of world-illusion and the spiritual monism, but it is wonderful that nobody should have penetrated below the surface of the question and seen that it is not one system that the Upanisads teach, but several, inconsistent with each other and each supported by an Upanisad text (see the Introductory chapter of my *Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism* etc.). I have already alluded, in connection with the modern system of Nyāya, which forms the stock-learning of the existing Nyāya school, to the growth of a controversy between the Brahmans and the Mahāyāna Buddhists, the Brahmanic side of which is represented by Vātsyāyana, Bharaḍvāja, etc., and the Buddhist side by

Dinnaga and others. This controversy might well form the subject of close study among modern critical scholars and perhaps even a clue to Samkaracarya's theory of world-illusion might be found in the Nihilism of the Buddhist Mahayana school.

Another very important branch of our study is that of inscriptions, which are scattered over the whole country and are engraved on stones or on copper-plates. These last are mostly deeds of gifts of villages or of the revenues of villages to Brahmans or for the support of temples and other religious establishments. These deeds contain the pedigrees of the donating monarch, with notices of important points in the careers of his ancestors and in that of the reigning monarch himself. These notices have a historical value which must be judged of by our usual canons of criticism. We are thus enabled to reconstitute sketches of dynasties and of the principal points in the history of the provinces concerned. The inscriptions on stones contain records of specific events which enable us to find a clue to the progress of the occurrences described therein. We should be groping in the dark if there were no chronological light thrown on the events recorded in our reconstituted sketches. Such chronology we have for post-Christian occurrences. We have an era which originally dated from the coronation of a Saka king and was called also the Era of Saka kings. By a mistake in identification, such as those we have noticed in our vernacular literature, the name of the Saka king was supplanted and that of the Salivahana or Satavahana Dynasty which followed those kings was substituted in its place. In the usual practice, the two names are put together and the era is called " Salivahana Saka " which can denote the names borne by two dynasties. There is another era to which the name of Vikramaditya is attached. There is a third bearing the name of the Gupta princes, which has been in use for some centuries. Its initial date, as compared with the Saka era, was given by the Arabic writer Alberuni as 242 Saka, but unfortunately that writer stated it to be the era of the extinction of the

Gupta dynasty. It was however found to have been used by the Gupta princes themselves and hence scholars and antiquarians not only disbelieved *this fact*, but threw discredit on Alberuni's statement of the initial date of Gupta era. Long and pungent controversies followed on this matter, new initial dates for the Gupta era being proposed. I also took part in the controversy and my conclusion, recorded at the end of a note in the Appendix A to the second edition of my *Early History of the Deccan*, is as follows :—" Thus, then, the evidence in favour of Alberuni's initial date for the Gupta era appears to me to be simply overwhelming. " Subsequently in an article in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLII, pp. 199 etc., I had to consider the relation between the dates found in Mandasor inscriptions. These dates are given as the years that had elapsed after the constitution of the Malavas as a Gana or a political unit. This Malavagana came afterwards to be identified with the name of Vikramaditya, just as the Saka era came to be associated with the name of Salivahana or Satavahana. The only Vikramaditya that became famous, after the institution of the era of the political unity of the Malavas, was Candragupta III of the imperial Gupta dynasty, who came to the throne about A. D. 400, conquered Ujjain, made it one of his capital cities, drove out the Sakas and was consequently called Sakari. These two ears then, that of the Saka and that of Vikrama, have become our guides in determining the chronology of the post-Christian occurrences.

Another source of information is that which is afforded by comparison of the statements by foreign writers with those found in the indigenous records. Thus Megasthenes is mentioned by Greek writers as an ambassador sent by Selukos to the court of Sandracotta. Sandracotta is the same as Candagutta, the popular pronunciation of the Sanskrit Candragupta. Hence we gather the contemporaneity of Candragupta, the Maurya, with Selukos.

Similarly, in the inscriptions of Asoka " Antiyoko nama Yona Raja" is mentioned as a friend of Asoka, as also four

others associated with Antiochus. Thus the age of Candragupta is about 325-315 B. C. and that of Asoka's coronation is about 269 B. C. Similarly we gather chronological information through the comparison of Chinese literature with the Indian. The *Karikas* of *Isvarakrsna* on *Samkhya* philosophy and its commentary, for instance, was translated into Chinese between the years 557 A. D. and 569 A. D. *Pulakesin* came to the throne in 610 A. D. and was the only southern monarch to conquer whom the efforts of *Siladitya* or *Harsavardhana* proved fruitless ; he remained an independent sovereign. These facts are gathered from the writings of *Hiuen Tsang* and our copper-plate inscriptions, which tally with each other.

In this field of the study of inscriptions the most confusing points are those connected with the dynasty of *Kaniska*. It is a great desideratum that all inscriptions and other scraps of information connected with the family should be brought together and attempts should be made to fix their dates. No such comprehensive attempt has, I believe, been yet made, and it is now left to those of us who have paid special attention to this branch of our study to make it. The *Epigraphia Indica* has been doing good service by the discovery and publication of new inscriptions and the whole department of *Archaeology* is devoted to making excavations and bringing to light new sources of information. Such a source is that of a Greek of the name *Heliodora*, having been discovered by means of an inscription at *Besnagar* as a *Bhagavata* and a worshipper of *Vasudeva*, the rise of this sect being shown as early as the 2nd Century before the Christian era (See my *Vaisnavism* etc. pp. 3-4). The field of research in this connection is extensive ; to cultivate it and to bring out fruitful results it is necessary that more of us should devote themselves to the subject.

During the period that I have been working in this line* I have had to take part in several controversies. One of these I have already mentioned, and that is about the Gupta era.

I now close the address by briefly setting forth the points involved in one that is still agitating us, and that is about the genuineness of the Arthasastra attributed to Kautilya, which has been recently discovered. Prof. Jacobi believes that it is the production of Canakya or Visnugupta, who overthrew the Nandas and raised Candragupta, the Maurya, to the throne. Prof. Hillebrandt, on the other hand, attributes the authorship to a member of the school of Kautilya and not to the great Canakya himself. The point I wish to make out is that it was not written so early as in the times of Candragupta, the Maurya, but later. The earliest notice of Kautilya's work is that contained in the Kamasutra of Vatsyayana, in which occur a number of passages which are the same as in Kautilya. It is then mentioned by Kamandaka in the third century, by Dandin in the sixth century and by Bana in the seventh century A. D. But its existence is noticed by no writer earlier than Vatsyayana's Kamaasutra. Patanjali, the author of Mahabhasya, throws side-glances on the things existing in or about his time. He mentions the Candragupta-Sabha, the greed of the Mauryas for gold and their selling golden idols, and the beating and the sounding of the Mrdanga, Sankha and Panava in the temples of Kubera, Rama and Kesava, the existence of a sect of Sivabhagavatas holding an iron lance in their hands. In the extent of the literature written in the Sanskrit language, he enumerates a number of Vedic words with the Angas, Vakovakya (which is defined by Samkaracarya and Ranga-Ramanuja as Tarkasastra), Itihasa, Purana and Vaidyaka, but there is no room anywhere here for Kautilya or for his work the Arthasastra. Now as to the arguments that may be taken as pointing to an earlier date for the Arthasastra, the following may be mentioned :—

(i) Anviksiki as defined by Kautilya consists of Samkhya, Yoga and Lokayata. This is the popular philosophy of the time of the Svetasvataropanisad and the Bhagavadgita, while the Anviksiki of Vatsyayana's Nyayabhasya is the system of Gotama

himself. They should rather show a later date for Nyaya Philosophy than an earlier one for the Arthasastra.

(ii) Then again, Kautilya speaks of his writing a Bhasya on his own Sutra and of apadesa, i. e. the statement of the views of others and lastly of the Siddhantin. Now in the chapter on Tantrayuktis he mentions this last circumstance as the yukti or the device for the exposition of the system, so that it should not be necessarily understood that the views of the Siddhantin or the last writer are given by himself. Similarly in the Vedantasutra, when the views of other authors are first given and that of Badarayana at the end, it ought by no means to be understood that Badarayana himself was the writer. Hence the occurrence of the name of Kautilya should not be taken as indicating his authorship of the whole statement.

Now as to the date of the Arthasastra itself, it depends on that of Vatsyayana's Kamasutra. Vatsyayana lived after Kuntala Satakarni Satavahana, whom he mentions as having killed his queen Malayavati in an amorous sport by a pair of scissors. Kuntala must have flourished in the middle of the first century B. C. and consequently Vatsyayana lived about a hundred years afterwards, so that he may be placed in the first century of the Christian era. Since these calculations are rough, we may assign him to the first or the second century A. D. This is the earliest date to which we can refer Kautilya. The last Sloka of the chapter on Tantrayukti is :—

येन शास्त्रं च शास्त्रं च नन्दराजगता च ह्यः ।
अमर्षेणोद्भूतान्याह्य तेन शास्त्रमिदं कृतम् ॥

the sense of which is "This Sastra was composed by him who, unable to bear it, extricated this Sastra, the insignia of authority and the country under the sway of Nandaraja." The second word Sastra which occurs in the last line refers to the book actually written, while the word occurring in the first line alludes to the conception and development of the idea of the Sastra. This conception and the development were attributed

to Vispuguepa by tradition, as well as the removal of the insignia of authority and the overthrow of the sway of Nandas. The Arthasastra therefore was attributed to Kautilya, because traditionally he was the conceiver of it.

The study of the Avesta or the sacred literature of the Parsis has been associated with the study of our Sanskrit literature. There is a close resemblance between the languages of this literature and of the Vedic Sanskrit, so much so that, with but the slightest changes, certain passages from the one can be turned into the other. But a critical study of the Parsi Scriptures began with a French scholar named Anquetil Duperron, who came to this Presidency in the 18th century, discovered that literature and was struck with its importance. Critical studies were undertaken in Europe and several scholars such as Martin Haug, etc., devoted their lives to it. In India critical scholarship of the European type was introduced by the late Mr. K. R. Cama, in whose memory there exists an Institute erected by his friend Mr. Sukhadwala. Avestic studies were subsequently conducted by a number of Parsi scholars, prominent among whom is Dr. Jivanji Jamshetji Modi. It is very desirable that intelligent Parsis in greater numbers should enter into the field and conduct researches into their ancient religion and customs.

The Arabic and, Persian literature also should prove a fruitful field of study. Early Arabic and Persian writers like Alberuni, have much to say about the contemporary history, religions, customs and manners of India. Their study is, therefore, bound to prove of great use. Again our modern vernaculars, especially the Aryan ones, have borrowed much from these sources and many points connected with their etymology cannot be satisfactorily solved, unless we seek help from the Persian and Arabic languages. I am glad to note that the attention of young scholars is drawn in this direction also. In this connection I have to note with satisfaction the useful work

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that the Hyderabad Research Society is carrying on under the patronage of His Most Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government. I do hope that scholars will take greater interest in these subjects, as also in the Chinese and other literatures, without which Oriental studies are bound to remain incomplete and one-sided.

Now, gentlemen, I close. I am very glad to observe that critical scholarship has, notwithstanding the defects alluded to by me, been flourishing among us. Good books and lectures have recently been published, especially in connection with the Calcutta University. Our own University has not extended that support to original research that we might expect from it. Still, I close the active years of my life with an asured belief that sound critical scholarship has grown up among us, and that it will maintain its own against aspersions and attacks. I am very glad to observe that a large number of papers will be read at the session we begin to-day, a good many of which must be important, so that in every way we have reasons to congratulate ourselves ; and this our Conference will, I trust, be a landmark in the progress of our [studies.

MY VISIT TO THE VIENNA ORIENTAL CONGRESS

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XVII (1889) pp. 72ff].

BEING A PAPER READ BEFORE THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, ON FEBRUARY 11TH, 1887,

When my college friend and class-fellow, Mr. Javirilal Umiashankar Yajnik, saw me a few hours after my return to Bombay from Europe, and proposed that I should give an account of my visit at a meeting of this Society, I had no hesitation in saying that that was the last place I should myself think of for such a purpose. My visit to Europe was of a very short duration, and though I could say something that might interest an ordinary native audience, I had very little to communicate that was worthy of being listened to by such a learned body as the Bombay Asiatic Society. Besides, even as regards a mixed native audience, so many natives of the country had visited Europe before me, and lived there for a number of years, and communicated their experiences to their countrymen after their return by publishing books and pamphlets and delivering lectures, that short as my visit was, I could have nothing new to tell even to such an audience. My scruples, it appears, were communicated to the respected President of the Society, who thereupon suggested that I should give principally an account of the Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna to which I had been deputed, and in connection with that, some of the impressions which what I saw in Europe had produced on my mind. To this I assented, and I thus appear before you to-day.

I arrived in London on Saturday, the 28th of August, and stayed there till Thursday, the 9th of September. On the afternoon of this day I left for Oxford, where I spent the next three days. On Monday I went thence to Birmingham, and returned to London on the following Wednesday. The next

four days I spent in London, and left England for France] on Monday, the 20th. In London I saw St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, the House of Commons, India Office, the National Gallery, the Guildhall, the British Museum, the Tower of London, the Kew Gardens, Hampton Court, the Royal Exchange, the Bank of England, the Hyde Park, the Albert Memorial, the Albert Hall, and the Indian and Colonial Exhibition. I had unfortunately none to guide me in London, as I had in Oxford and Birmingham, and therefore I did not see as much or as well as I might have. I met our late Secretary, Dr. Codrington, in Vienna, and on my informing him that I had been to London, he told me he was in London during the time I was there, and had he known of my being there, he would have been glad to take me with him and show me all the sights. I was very sorry that I did not know Dr. Codrington was in London ; but as it was, everybody was very busy and nobody could make it convenient to go with me. I cannot stop here to give the impression that each of the buildings and institutions I saw produced on my mind, and my general impression I will give further on,

I wore in Europe my usual Maratha costume, the turban the long coat, and the white *uparrem* or scarf. In the streets of London and in the places I visited, therefore, I often met persons who stopped me with the words *bahut garmi hoti hai, salam, &c.* The conversation thus begun in Hindustani was continued in English, and I was asked to what part of India I belonged, and where I was going. These were Anglo-Indians ; and they told me how long they were in India and in what part, and spoke of the days they spent in the country with agreeable feelings. I was once accosted in Marathi near the Royal Exchange with the words **हुम्ही कोठून आलां,** " Whence do you come ? " I said I was from Bombay, and asked the gentleman whether he was in the Maratha country, to which he replied in Gujarati, **अमे काटेवाडनी होता,** " I was in Kattiawar " **आवहुं काम ईं हूं** " What office did you hold there ? " I asked. **अमे पोळिदिकळ दजंङ**

'~~He~~ was Political Agent,' was the reply. Then I asked in Marathi **आपण आंडरसन साहेब काय**, "Are you Anderson Saheb?" so which he replied, "Yes." Then we went on speaking in English together, and he was kind enough to go with me and stow to the Office of the Oriental Bank to which I wanted to go

The first person I saw in London was Dr. Rost, Librarian, India Office, who received me very kindly. I visited him several times, and on one occasion he remarked that my lectures on the Sanskrit and the derived languages, three of which the Society did me the honour of publishing in their journal last year, were very important, and wished me to complete them as soon as I could. The second time that I saw him in the India Office library, Dr. Eggeling, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Edinburgh, happened to be there, and I was introduced to him by Dr. Rost. Professor Eggeling has been compiling a descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office library, on the model of Professor Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, and he had come that day to London to examine some of the manuscripts carefully. I had an interesting conversation with him, and in his congenial company, and in that of Dr. Rhys Davids, the Pali scholar, to whom I was introduced by Professor Eggeling three or four days afterwards, I felt myself at home. I passed a very agreeable evening with them at the National Liberal Club, of which Dr. Rhys Davids is a member. We had a long conversation on a variety of topics, ranging from Buddhist metaphysics to English and Indian politics, including the annexation of Burma. Dr. Rhys Davids seemed to be full of admiration for the freedom, boldness, and truth of the religious and philosophic thought of ancient India about the time of Buddha, to which the modern world according to him presents no parallel. Professor Eggeling did not quite agree with him' taking into consideration the development of philosophic speculation since the time of Kant, and was disposed to sympathize with his though as regards religious ideas and theories I per-

fectly agreed with Dr. Rhys Davids. According to Dr. Rhys Davids, the Buddhistic ideal is the condition of an Arhat who enjoys profound internal peace undisturbed by passion. It is a condition of holiness, goodness, and wisdom. This seems in his opinion to be at the bottom of the religious aspirations of man, or probably the only thing that is valuable in those aspirations, and this alone Buddhism set up as an ideal to be striven for by the religious man, to the exclusion of the ideas of God, the human soul as one unchangeable substance, and eternal existence. Dr. Rhys Davids is an enthusiastic Pali scholar, and has succeeded in organizing the Pali Text Society, in connection with which, with the aid of other scholars, he has been publishing in annual instalments the sacred books of the Southern Buddhists. The service he has thus been rendering to the cause of scholarship and research is invaluable. But it is very much to be regretted that he cannot devote his whole time to his studies, and has to work for his bread at the bar. If he had been a German he would have got a Professorship somewhere. He is, however, Professor of Pali in the London University, but without pay and without pupils. He is a candidate for the vacant Secretaryship of the Royal Asiatic Society, which is a paid appointment; and I have no doubt, if elected, he will be of very great service to the Society ; but it is by no means certain that he will get the appointment. I saw him on one occasion in his rooms in Brick Court, when he showed me some splendid Pali Manuscripts which had been presented to him, if I remember right, by the king of Siam.

Another gentleman with whom I came in contact in London and who was very kind to me was Colonel Henry Yule, **Member** of the India Council and President of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Edward Thomas, a Bengal Civilian, who, after his retirement devoted himself to the study of Indian antiquities, and Dr. J. Fergusson, a zealous student of ancient **Indian** architecture and archæology, both of whom were active members of the Royal Asiatic Society, are dead. The **Society's Secretary**,

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Mr. Vaux, has also rather suddenly been removed by death at an early age and another not yet appointed ; so that the Society is not in a very flourishing condition at present; and Colonel Yule observed to me how difficult it was for them to get enough matter for the Society's Journal. I also came in contact with Mr. J. S. Cotton, Editor of the Academy, who was once employed by the Secretary of State to examine the materials in the India Office, and digest them into a report on the advancement or condition of India ; and he seemed to be very familiar with Indian matters.

At Oxford I was received with cordiality and almost enthusiastic kindness by my old master, Mr. Sidney Owen, who was Professor of History and Political Economy in the Elphinstone College, from January 1857 to April 1858, and his family. Here I had before me the charming and edifying spectacle of a well-regulated, high-toned, and happy English family. The one object of father, mother, sons, and daughters seemed to be to please me ; and I felt I was in the midst of persons who had, as it were, found in me a long-lost son or brother. Oxford was at this time empty, the Colleges having vacation, and all I could see was the buildings. Mr. Owen showed me Magdalen, Christ Church, Worcester, Baliol, and others. The quadrangles with the green grass nicely trimmed, the gardens and walks, and the canals give a rural, quiet, and pleasing appearance to the scene calculated to compose the mind and dispose it to contemplation, thought, and study. Within the premises of the same colleges there are often buildings in three different styles of architecture, the mediaeval, that of the seventeenth century, and the modern. It was a curious sight of a nature to awaken historical associations rather than produce a sensation of harmony, the stone of the mediaeval buildings in particular being in a crumbling condition. But even this characteristic is calculated, I suppose, to confirm the reflective mood. I also **saw** the Sheldonian Theatre where the commemoration is held, **the Bodleian library, the Martyr's Memorial, and others. I paid**

a visit to Prof, Max Midler, who unfortunately was not in good spirits on account of the recent loss of a favourite daughter. He regretted very much that he should have been in that condition at the time of my visit. He wished to see more of me than he could under the circumstances. Still I had a pleasant and interesting conversation with him for an hour and a half. He told me he had quoted my lectures in a paper that he had been publishing in a German periodical, and read a passage from that paper in which he interprets the expression Bhasarthah, occurring in connection with certain roots in the Dhatupatha as meaning "roots the sense of which is to be known from the spoken language." Though of course I am a strong advocate of the view that Sanskrit was the Vernacular of the Indian Aryans, and think I have proved the point in my last lecture, still I did not believe that the expression Bhasarthah meant what the Professor said, and was sorry not to be able to agree with him. Then he spoke to me about a letter he had received from the late Divan of Bhavnagar, Mr. Gaurisamkar, which was written on the occasion of his assuming the order of Samnyasa, and about a copy of the new Sainhyasin's work on the Vedanta, presented to him by the author. Professor Max Muller spoke approvingly of the doctrine of the Vedanta that the contemptibility and misery of life come to an end when an individual soul knows himself to be the same with Brahman or the Supreme soul. As I am not an admirer of the doctrine in the form in which it is taught by Saiikaracarya and which alone is now the prevalent form in India, I observed that though according to his system a man must rise to the knowledge, "I am Brahma," previous to his entering on the state of deliverance or of eternal bliss, still it is essential that the feeling of *me* or *egoism* should be destroyed as a necessary condition of entrance into that state. The *me* is the first fruit of ignorance, and it must be destroyed in the liberated condition. A soul has no individual consciousness when he is delivered, and in that state he cannot have the knowledge, "I am 'Brahman.'" The illustration often given of a

liberated soul that becomes one with Brahman is that of the space or ether that is enclosed in an earthen jar becoming one with the infinite outer space or ether when the jar is broken to pieces. In such an absorption into or identification with Brahman when there is no individual consciousness and no knowledge that "I am the Brahman," what happiness can there be ? Besides, the proposition, "I am Brahman".' does not according to Samkaracarya's system mean I am one with the Supreme Soul, who is the author of the Universe and who dwells in the Universe, so full of beauty and grandeur. This, I believe, is the idea of the author of the Vedantasutra and of some of the Upanisads ; but with Samkaracarya, the Universe or Creation is an illusion like that perceived by a man who sees a rope in darkness and mistakes it for a serpent, and flies away from it through fear. Misery, worldly happiness, sinfulness, littleness, and indeed all finite thought and feeling, are illusions. When these are dispelled the soul is free and happy and without finiteness or limitations, so that the proposition, "I am Brahman," means "I am not the miserable, sinful, little soul, tied down to this or that mode of thought or feeling, that I appear to myself to be ; but a free, blissful, unchanging and unconditioned soul." This is the real nature of the soul, and anything at variance with it that is felt is an illusion ; so that Samkaracarya's ideal is not to become one with another being who is the Supreme Ruler of all, but to see that oneself is really a blissful and unconditioned being. Though I might admire the doctrine about the first ideal, I do not think the latter to be very charming. This discussion we carried on for some time, and then we turned to other matters. Professor Max Muller made me a present of a copy of the four parts of the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* as a [memento of our short meeting, and with a few complimentary remarks on my work in the field of scholarship, for which I feel very thankful to him, brought the conversation to a close.

On Sunday, the 12th, I was introduced by Mr. Owen to Professor Jowett. He received me very kindly, but nothing of importance was said in the short conversation that followed.

I went to Birmingham to have a glimpse of Industrial England. Fortunately I found an obliging friend in Colonel A. Phelps, late Commissary-General, Bombay. The British Association for the Advancement of Science recently held its meetings at the place, and an exhibition of the arts and industries of Birmingham had been got up for the occasion. Colonel Phelps took me twice to see the exhibition, and there I saw the products of an immense variety of industries with the latest improvements, from a new apparatus for electric lighting without the high tension so dangerous to life that is a drawback in the present mode, to a machine for washing clothes by means of steam, and school furniture so manufactured as to avoid the evils such as shortsightedness, which results from the use of the present kind of furniture. The kind Colonel also showed me the engine factory of Tangyes, Gillott's pen factory, and a pin factory. He then took me to the Birmingham Municipal Offices and Town Hall, both of which are splendid buildings, and in the afternoon to the Liberal Club, where I saw a great many members in the dining and the smoking-rooms. Mr. Chamberlain came in a short while after we entered, and I was introduced to him by the Colonel. A short but interesting conversation followed. Mr. Chamberlain endeavoured to excuse himself from attending to the affairs of India, while I strove hard to fix the ultimate responsibility of governing the country on the British Parliament and through it on each member, and especially on the leaders of parties.

After having seen so much of England I started from London for Vienna on the 20th. I went by way of Paris where I could spend only two days, during which, however, I saw so much as to make my head giddy. I saw the artificial lakes, the grand cascade, the race-course, the dismantled palace of St. Cloud, the palace, galleries, and park of Versailles, the Louvre, Luxembourg, Pantheon, the porcelain and tapestry manufactories which, I was told, are maintained at the expense of Government, and other places. Paris appeared to me to be a beautiful town, the

palace at Versailles with the parks and avenue in front is superb, and the pictures at that palace and in the Louvre are innumerable and beautiful. The French appeared to me to be a nation of lovers of beauty and spared no expense, since the Government maintained even factories for painting pictures on porcelain and weaving them by means of coloured thread. But when certain places in the town called to my memory the frightful deeds of the people during the first revolution and of the Commune in 1871, the melancholy reflection forced itself on me that even an intense love of beauty, which I consider to be heavenly, is not necessarily associated in the human heart with a heavenly or angelic character, and that it is a mere passion in the human breast like rage and resentment. I was sorry not to have met any of the French Oriental scholars in Paris. I had very little time, and besides I was told that one of them, Monsieur Senart, was not in town, and I subsequently learned that even Monsieur Barth was absent. From Paris I went to Munich, where I stopped for a day. I found it to be a charming little town. There is an excellent museum, and a building in an elevated position called the Maximilian College, which commands a very fine view. I saw these and also a bronze colossus representing Bavaria, behind which there is a corridor in the shape of three sides of a rectangle with marble busts of the great men of the country placed in niches in the walls. The view from this point also is commanding, and in the light of the morning sun the place looked very charming and well suited for contemplation. From Munich I went on Saturday, the 25 th, to Vienna, the place of my destination, which I reached at about 9 p. M.

The next morning Dr. Rost and Dr. Kielhorn came to see me at the Hotel de France, which is situated close to the University. We walked together for about an hour and returned by a tramcar to the University. The meetings of the Congress were held in this building, and the office of the managing committee was also located there. We stepped into the office and signed our names in the Register of *members*. - In the even-

ing a *conversazione* was held at one of the hotels in order that the members of the Congress might make each other's acquaintance. The attendance was very large, and I was introduced to and exchanged cards with a great many scholars. There were two Egyptians with an ivory complexion and Turkish caps, a Chinaman, the Secretary of the Chinese legation in his national costume with the long pigtail, a Japanese in European costume, an Indian Mussulman, native of Aligarh and educated at Cambridge, similarly dressed, and myself with my turban and *uparneth*. The Chinaman's knowledge of French was greatly admired, and they said he spoke the language perfectly as well as a Parisian.

The next morning at ten o'clock the members of the Congress gathered together in the large hall of the University. Opposite to them on the other side of a large table sat the members of the Committee of Organization with the minister of Public Instruction and Archduke Rainer, who is a great patron of learning in Austria. The Archduke in a short speech declared the Congress open, after which the Minister of Public Instruction rose and welcomed the members of the Congress in the name of the Government. He was followed by the President, Baron Kremer, who delivered a long, address in French. Then the leaders of the different deputations rose one after another and made a few observations, and those who had brought presents for the Congress laid them on the table. In the afternoon the different sections met in the rooms assigned to them, and after the election of the President and Vice-President, papers were read and discussed. As I belonged to the Aryan Section I witnessed the proceedings of its meetings only. I will therefore confine myself to an account of them. Our President was Prof. Roth of Tubingen and Vice-President, Prof. Weber. Among the members who attended were Dr. Rost of the India Office; Professors Buhler of Vienna, Kielhorn of Göttingen, Ludwig of Prague, Jacobi of Kiel, Leumann of Strasburg, Kühn of Munich, Jolly of Wurzburg, and Windisch of Leipzig;

Drs, Hoernle of Calcutta, Carteilieri of Vienna, Macdonell of Oxford, and Stein of Buda-Pest; and Messrs. Bendall of the British Museum, Grierson, a Bengal Civilian, and McAuliffe, a Panjab Civilian, and Capt. Temple. Dr. Cust of the Royal Asiatic Society of London attended some of the meetings, and we had an American gentleman of the name of Leland, who has made the language of the Gipsies his special study. There were two French scholars of the names of Millouë and Guimet, and an Italian scholar named Lignana. There were other members whose names I do not remember. Our average attendance was about 45. Prof. Max Müller did not come on account of the unfortunate occurrence I have already mentioned, and the other scholars conspicuous by their absence to me, at least, were Professors Oldenberg of Vienna, Aufrecht of Bonn, Kern of Leyden, Eggeling of Edinburgh, and Dr. Bohtlingk of Jena. The Aryan section met also on the following days, the last sitting being held on Saturday. Englishmen and myself read papers in English, and the German scholars in German with the exception of Dr. Stein, the Hungarian, and Dr. Hoernle, who used English. One of the French scholars only read a paper, and this was in French ; and the Italian read in the language of his country. These four languages only were recognised by the Congress. Mr. Bendall read a paper on the discovery in Nepal of a new alphabet with arrow-head characters. Specimens were exhibited on the occasion, but I felt convinced that the alphabet was only one of the many varieties of the Nagari, and what looked like arrow-heads were only the short horizontal strokes which occur at the top of each Nagari letter. They were thicker in this manuscript than usual and written in a manner to make one end narrower than the other. Mr. Grierson appeared before the section twice, to read a paper on some of the dialects of the Hindi, and at another time with observations on Tulasidasa and other Hindi poets. This gentleman has been doing very useful work by studying the peculiarities of the Hindi, as spoken in the provinces of Behar and Mithill, and publishing grammars

of the dialects prevalent there. The Aryan section adopted a resolution recommending to the Government of India the institution of a regular survey of the spoken dialects of India. I read at the first day's meeting, extracts from my Report on the search for Manuscripts which is now in the Press, and placed before the section an old Palm-leaf Manuscript of a Jaina work, hitherto unknown that had been discovered in the course of the search now conducted by Dr. Peterson and myself, and which would have been placed before the section by Dr. Peterson himself if he had been present. This excited a good deal of curiosity, and one of the scholars gave it as his opinion that the work belonged to that branch of the Jaina sacred literature which is known by the name of Purvas, and which is by some believed to be more ancient than the other branches, without, in my opinion, sufficient reason. At another meeting, Prof. Roth made a few observations on the peculiarities of Vedic grammar, dwelling principally on the fact that when a noun and an adjective are used together, the case termination is often found affixed to one of them only, as in the instances **परमे व्योमन्, महिना जन्मि,** &c. Prof. Jacobi read a paper in which he endeavoured to show that the Brahmanic hero-god, Kṛṣṇa, was admitted by the Jainas very early, more than a century before the beginning of the Christian era, into the list of their holy personages. Prof. Kuhn appeared with a paper on the dialects of Kasmir and the Hindu Kush. One of Dr. Bühler's pupils, a young man of the name of Dr. Cartellieri, showed, by comparing passages in Subandhu's Vasavadatta with similar ones occurring in Bana's Kadambari, that Bana adopted, in a good many cases, Subandhu's images, and often his very words and expressions, so that the doubts thrown on Subandhu's priority to Bana were groundless. Dr. Hoernle read a paper on an old Manuscript of a work on Arithmetic found at Bakkhali in the north of Panjab in a ruined enclosure. It is written in a character which is a variety of the Kaśmir character known by the name of sarada; and Dr. Hoernle thought it was transcribed in the 8th or 9th century. The

character appeared to me not very different from, or very much more ancient than that in which Kasmir manuscripts about 100 or 150 years old are written. Dr. Hoernle had read a paper on the same Manuscript about three years before at a meeting of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Mr. Leland read a paper on the Gipsy language, in which he traced the origin of the Gipsies to India ; Captain Temple gave some account of the Dictionary of Hindustani Proverbs that he has been compiling; the Italian scholar read a few remarks on the words Navagva and Dasagva occurring in the Rgveda ; and the French, an essay on the myth of Vrsabha, the first Tirtharhkara of the Jainas. A few other papers were also read.

At one of its meetings, the Section adopted a resolution asking the Government of India to restore the appointment of epigraphical surveyor, as the arrangements proposed by Dr. Burgess for getting translations of inscriptions done by different scholars willing and qualified to do them, were considered unsatisfactory, and to re-appoint Mr. Fleet to it. I must here observe that I did not quite approve of such a personal question being brought before that learned body.

One thing in connection with the work of the Semitic section that came to my notice must here be mentioned. Prof. Karabacek read a report on the paleographical results, furnished by some of the papyri or documents written on pieces of the papyrus which were found in Egypt. These were purchased by the Archduke Rainer, who paid more than 25,000 florins for them. I went to the place where they are kept and exhibited, and was told that some of them were more than two thousand years old. There is among them an original order issued by the Caliph Amru, which bears his own signature. The papyri were found rolled up, and it is a very difficult thing to unroll them in a manner not to break them into pieces. This however is done very carefully by Prof. Karabacek and his coadjutors ; and there is a large photographic apparatus in the building, by means of

which the papyri are photographed, and copies of the size of the original printed off from the negative in the colour of the original.

On Monday, or the first day, an evening party was given by the Minister of Public Instruction. Besides the members of the Congress there were other distinguished guests, among whom was the British Ambassador, Sir Augustus Paget. On Wednesday, a sumptuous entertainment was given in the afternoon by the Burgomaster in the large banqueting hall of the Rathhaus. The Rathhaus or Townhall is an extensive and noble building round which the learned guests were taken, previous to their being led into the banqueting hall. Refreshments were laid on the table, and the best available music provided for the occasion. In the evening of the same day, there was a reception at the residence of Archduke Rainer. There was an unlimited supply of the best Viennese sweetmeats, and tea, coffee, and ices. A good many persons, including myself, were introduced to the Archduke and the Duchess, who spoke a few words to them in German, French, or English. On Thursday, a grand dinner was given in the evening by the Committee of organization, and there were toasts and post-prandial speeches as usual. In the afternoon of Friday, the members of the Congress were taken in river-steamboats by the Danube canal and by a special train up a hill in the vicinity called Kahlenburg, the view from which is splendid. The whole city of Vienna lay at our feet at a short distance, and with hills on the sides, the scene was charming. We spent about an hour at the place and returned home a little after sunset.

Dr. Bühler had told me a day or two before the dinner on Thursday to compose a few verses in Sanskrit and sing them in reply to one of the toasts. I said I would rather sing them at a meeting of the Aryan section, where I should have a select audience that would understand me. Accordingly I composed eight verses¹ in different metres and sung them in the manner

¹ Printed at the end of this article.

we usually do in India, at the final meeting of the Aryan section on Saturday morning. After that was over, I read some of the hymns in the Rgveda Samhita in the manner in which they are recited by Vaidika Brahmans here, as some of the German scholars were anxious to hear how the accents are indicated in pronunciation.

The sight of so many men from different parts of Germany and Europe who had chosen a life of study and thought, and who applied themselves with such devotion and zeal to the study of the sacred language of my country and its varied literature, was very gratifying to me. The spirit that actuated them appeared to be that of the old Rsis of India, who cared little for worldly possessions, and devoted themselves to a life of study and meditation. In the ancient times in India, whenever any grand sacrifice was performed by a great king, Brahmans from all parts of the country assembled at the place and held debates and discussed abstruse points. One such congress of Rsis is reported in the Brhadaranyaka Upanisad and the Vayu-Purana. Janaka, the king of Mithila, performed a horse-sacrifice, and a great many learned Brahmans from the Kurupancalas or the country about Thanesar, Mathura, Delhi, and Agra flocked to the place. Janaka wished to find out who among these was the most learned and knew the Brahma or the highest truth the best, and therefore brought forth a thousand cows and tied pieces of gold of the weight of ten tolas to the horns of each. Then he said to the Brahmans : " That one among you who knows the Brahma the best should take away these cows. " None of the Brahmans dared to take them, when Yajnavalkya said to a pupil of his, " Young man, drive these cows home. " The pupil began to do so, when all the other Brahmans got angry, saying, " What, does he think himself to be the one among us who knows the Brahma the best ? " Janaka had a priest of the name of Asvala, who said to him : " Well, Yajnavalkya, are you the one of us all who knows the Brahma the best. " Yajnavalkya replied, " I am but an humble servant of

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one who knows the Brahma the best ; I only want the cows, " Then the priest Asvala put a question to Yajnavalkya, and he was followed by a great many others who put similar questions, requiring him to explain a large variety of points concerning the ritual, the gods, the soul, the supreme cause of the world and the soul of all, good deeds, bad deeds, &c. Among his interlocutors was a lady of the name of Gargi Vacaknavi who, in her own words, " attacked him with two questions as a warrior of Kast or Videhas attacks an enemy with two arrows on his strung bow. " Yajnavalkya answered satisfactorily the questions of all. This is a celebrated chapter in that Upanisad, and is very important for the history of ancient Indian thought. The idea I endeavoured to bring out in the verses sung by me at the Congress was that this body of holy and learned Rsis, adored by gods and men, that had assembled at Mithila, the capital of the king of Videhas, on the occasion of the horse-sacrifice, had risen up again at Vienna, the capital of the Emperor of Austria, to dispel the darkness that had overspread the earth in this sinful age of Kali, out of pity for man. Asvala, the priest of Janaka, had assumed the form of Buhler, Yajnavalkya appeared as Weber and Roth, and Sakala as Kielhorn. Kahoda manifested himself as Jolly ; and the remaining Rsis as Ludwig, Rost, Jacobi, and the rest. There was a Viennese lady who attended the meetings of our section, and who takes very great interest in Indian literature and has read nearly all that has been written about it, as well as translations of Sanskrit works. She was our Gargi Vacaknavi.

Such a compliment, I thought, these European scholars, and especially the Germans, deserved. Ever since the discovery of Sanskrit, the Europeans have devoted themselves with their usual energy to the study of the language and its literature, and to the solution of the various problems suggested by it. They have successfully treated the affinity of the Sanskrit with the ancient languages of Europe, classified the languages of the civilized world on a scientific principle, and the races that speak

them, shown that the Aryans of India, composed of the three castes, Brahman, Ksatriya and Vaisya, belong to the same race as the ancient Greeks and Romans and the nations of modern Europe, except the Turks, the Hungarians, and the Fins, penetrated into the secret of the formation of human speech and the growth of myths, and constituted the science of language and comparative mythology. They have collected manuscripts from all parts of India, and from Nepal, Ceylon, Burma, and Siam ; and the Government of India has been assisting their efforts by instituting an archaological survey and search for Manuscripts. They have examined the Vedas carefully, and traced out a great many facts concerning the original history and condition of the Indian Aryans, and compiled dictionaries, concordances, and grammars. The Mahabharata, Ramayana, some of the Puranas, and the law books, as well as the dramatical literature, have been subjected to a similar examination. Buddhism, the memory of which has faded away in India, has again been brought to our notice ; and its sacred texts, Manuscripts of which are nowhere now found in India, have been rendered available to us.

In this work of study and research the Germans, of all the nations of Europe, have been the foremost. Most of the great achievements I have briefly indicated above are due to their patient industry and critical acumen. We have had one great French scholar, and there are now two or three. Englishmen first of all discovered Sanskrit, as was of course to be expected from the fact of India's having fallen into their hands, and we have had first-class English scholars, such as Colebrooke and Wilson. But somehow Sanskrit and philological studies have not found a congenial soil in the British isles. While there are at present twenty-five German scholars at least who have been working in the different branches of Sanskrit literature and have published something, we have not more than five among Englishmen. England employs Germans in connection with **her** philological work. The best Sanskrit scholar in the country is a German, and the Professor of Sanskrit at Edinburgh and the

Librarian of the India office are Germans. There is a German in charge of Manuscripts in the British Museum and the Assistant Librarian at the Bodleian is a Hungarian. The Germans are the Brahmans of Europe, the French the Ksatriyas, and the English the Vaisyas ; though, as was the case in India, the Brahmans of Europe have now taken to a military occupation. The great excellence of German scholarship consists in the spirit of criticism and comparison that is brought to bear on the facts that come under observation, and in the endeavour made to trace the gradual development of thought and language and to determine the chronological relations of events.

So much for the bright side of the picture. But it has also a dark side, to shut our eyes to which will do no good to the cause or to anybody. The proper and fruitful exercise of the critical and comparative, or what might be called the historical spirit, depends upon innate ability and a naturally sound judgment. These are not to be found everywhere, and often we meet with instances in which very comprehensive conclusions are based upon the most slender evidence. Though it is true that a native does not easily look at the language, thought, and institutions of his country from the critical standpoint, while the first impulse of an intelligent foreigner is to do so, still there are some disadvantages under which the foreigner must labour. He has no full and familiar knowledge of what he subjects to a critical examination. In the case of European Sanskrit scholars there is besides always a very strong disinclination to admit the high antiquity of any book, thought, or institution, and a tendency to trace Greek influence everywhere in our literature ; while not seldom the major premise in the reasoning is that the Indians cannot have any good in them, since several times in the course of their history, they allowed themselves to be conquered by foreigners. Oftentimes the belief that the Brahmans are a crafty race -prevents a full perception of the truth. Of course, scholars of ability and sound judgment shake off such tendencies and prejudices; and among these I may

mention, since I do not wish to make invidious comparisons between living scholars, Dr. Muir of Edinburgh and Prof. Goldstacker.

But independently of such defects in the exercise of the critical faculty, there are very important branches of Sanskrit literature which are not understood in Germany and Europe. I had a conversation with Dr. Kielhorn on this subject the day after I reached Vienna. I said it appeared to me that works in the narrative or Puranic style and the dramatic plays were alone properly understood in Europe, while those written in the style of discourse or works on philosophy and exegesis were not. He replied that even several of the dramatic plays and works on Poetics were not understood. Mistakes are constantly made when a scholar endeavours to interpret and criticise a work or passages in a work belonging to any of the Sastras, as we call them ; and often the sense of passages containing idiomatic expressions in other works also is not perceived. A scholar reads such a work or interprets such expressions and passages with the aid of a grammar and a dictionary ; but a clear understanding of them requires an amount of previous knowledge which cannot be derived from either. As to positive command over Sanskrit, I had an illustration in the shape of a card which was given to me by a Professor at the Congress on which two verses in the easiest of Sanskrit metres, the Anustubh, composed by him, are printed. In three of the four lines the metre is violated, and there is a bad compound in the second verse. If the study of Greek was not successfully carried on in Western Europe before the fall of Constantinople drove many learned Greeks into that part of the continent, it is of course not reasonable to expect that Sanskrit literature should be properly understood in Europe without instruction from the old Pandits of India. This defect was first of all clearly perceived by those German scholars who spent a good many years in India ; and now it has been acknowledged by others also, though there are still some whose reliance on a grammar and a dictionary continues unbounded, And the

Germans have already begun to remedy the defect. Dr. Garbe was sent more than a year ago to this country at the expense of the Prussian Government to study Indian philosophy. He lived at Benares for a year and read one or two works with some of the Pandits there, and has recently returned to his country. Dr. Kielhorn has undertaken to publish an edition of the *Kasika*, an old commentary on Panini's *Sutras*, containing copious notes and explanations of a nature to enable the European scholar to understand the intricacies of the style of grammatical exegesis. And on the last day of my stay at Vienna, Dr. Bühler told me that he had on that day called on the Minister of Public Instruction to represent to him the necessity of having an Assistant Professorship of Sanskrit in connection with the University of Vienna. This he means for Dr. Hultzsch ; but his ultimate idea is that large Universities, such as those of Berlin and Vienna, should have an Assistant Professorship to be held by a Sanskrit Master of Arts of the Bombay University, and on Dr. Hultzsch being raised to the Professorship or provided for elsewhere, he will have an Indian in his place. This I believe is a good idea, in the interests of both European and Indian Sanskrit scholarship ; but the principle involved in it, viz., a close intercourse between the scholars of the two countries, deserves to be carried out in other ways. This also has not escaped the attention of Dr. Bühler; for though he is not now in his bodily form present in India, he carries on an active correspondence with many persons here, and has recently issued a prospectus about a Vienna Oriental Journal which will contain several articles in English intended to be read by us here. I have no doubt that such a close intercourse will be productive of benefit to us here. New ideas and views about matters in Sanskrit literary history are constantly started in Germany, and these will stimulate thought and inquiry among us, and we shall be able to make use of our knowledge either to confirm or refute them, and put forth new ideas and views of our own. It is very much to be wished that more of us devoted ourselves to learning and research. Every year our University turns out a good many Sanskrit scholars, and but few

have hitherto made scholarship the occupation or pleasure of there lives. But physical wants claim attention first, and unless somebody in his liberality makes provision for them, there is little hope that we shall have many scholars among us. The necessity of endowing Professorships for the advancement of learning and science among us was recently urged with characteristic ability on the attention of his audience by the Vice-Chancellor of the University and our President; and I gave expression in my humble way to the same idea in my first Wilson Lecture and in my evidence before the Education Commission ; but there is no hope of Government being able to do anything in the matter in the present state of circumstances, while as regards ourselves there is little public spirit among us, and the liberality of Khojas, Parsis, and Hindus flows in other channels, and no one has the power of diverting it into this.

Another feeling which the sittings of the Congress evoked in me and to which I gave expression in my verses was that of admiration for the respect for human nature and brotherly sympathy for mankind which, I thought, were evinced by the interest which so many people took in the condition, the thought, and languages of the people of Asia, Africa and Polynesia, so inferior to Europeans in all that constitutes civilization. I also thought that international congresses such as this were calculated to promote good feeling -between the different nations of Europe, so as to render war impossible in the course of time. And from what I saw during my hasty visit it appeared to me that Europe was approaching towards a realization of this ideal. There is hardly so much difference as regards external appearance and manners between the different nations of Europe as there is between the different races of India, though their languages are more widely different than those of Northern India. Their dress, their modes of eating, their social manners, and their institutions are a good deal more alike than ours. Any invention or discovery made in one country finds its way easily into another. The railway trains of one country run in continuation of those

of another, and the postal and telegraphic arrangements are such as one might expect only in a country under one and the same Government. Travellers are always going from one country to another, and everywhere there are hotels where their comfort and convenience are carefully attended to. So that, to an external observer, Europe appears in times of peace to be one country. And I saw a pantomimic show in one of the theatres in Vienna which intensified my general impression. At first girls in European costume appeared dancing on the stage. Then was shown the digging of the Suez Canal and the plying of steam-boats in it. This was followed by a representation of the cutting of the Mount Cenis tunnel; and afterwards appeared men and women in the costumes of all countries, with some in our Indian costume, and a number of negro boys. And they all danced together in joy, the negro boys beating time. This idea of a universal brotherhood was, I thought, the most precious product of European civilization, more valuable by far than railways and electric telegraphs. And it was in such a mood of thought that I opened my versified Sanskrit address with the words, " Supreme over all is that brotherly feeling for mankind which prompts the constant endeavours of these men to study the languages, the sciences, and arts of Eastern races so utterly different from themselves; " and ended it by saying, " May Congresses such as this conduce to knit different countries together in friendship, to the cessation of war, and to the prosperity of mankind "

I was however not free from disturbing thoughts* Though all this Oriental learning had probably its origin in a respect for human nature, still a mere love of reputation and a desire to conform with the fashion of the day are the motive causes in most individual cases. Though the whole external look of Europe makes for peace, still ever since the idea expressed in the lines

**Till the war-drum throbbed no longer and the battle-flags were furled
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world,'**

was distinctly formulated, there have been many wars in Europe, and many more times have the Europeans fought Asiatics and Africans and crushed them. And I remember that the advancement of oriental learning was looked forward to in some quarters as one of the happy results of one of these latter wars ; so that, love of oriental learning is not necessarily associated with goodwill for the oriental races. A German Sanskrit Professor once said to me that he liked social equality being given to the natives of India, but not political equality, and that he considered the Ilbert Bill to be mischievous. I told him that in Ceylon and the presidency towns the native magistrates did actually exercise the power of trying European offenders. He did not know that, he said, but still proceeded to defend his position, and, bringing his oriental learning to his aid, observed, " Oh, Buddhism has softened the Ceylonese, so that they might exercise that power ; but the case is different in India. " I listened quietly, thanking my country's stars that she had not fallen into the hands of Germans. And two of the most civilized nations in Europe have for the last fifteen years been making preparations with their usual energy for a grand human sacrifice, in which the blood of about eight million human victims is to be poured on the altar of the goddess of nationality. Even the Oriental professors of those two nations are full of warlike sentiments ; and there is a firm determination to destroy the hated enemy or die. So that, the spirit of humanity, though evolved in the course of European history, has been entirely driven out of the field of action by the spirit of nationality. The very physical energy of the European races and the importance attached to mere material greatness are unfavourable to the further growth of that spirit. And in this matter at least the prophecy of the old Locksley Hall has not been fulfilled, and there is ground for the despon

•Tennyson, Locksley Hall.

dency expressed in the new. After the Congress was over I stayed for a week more in Vienna, and saw the museums, the picture galleries, and other sights. I left the place on Sunday, the 10th of October, for Venice, where I spent three days.

I have already taken up so much of your time, that I have little left for conveying to you some of my general impressions. I will, however, do so hastily. Everywhere the energy of the European races and the orderly shape that they give to everything made a deep impression on my mind. On my way from Brindisi to Calais, I observed on the sides of the railway in Italy vines and trees planted in straight lines at equal distances, and in Southern France, happy-looking villages with nice roads laid out, and grass so well trimmed as to give the fields and even the slopes of hills a smooth appearance. Everywhere the hand of man was to be seen. In London I was impressed with the immense wealth of the people, and their devotion to business. In private dwellings and in shops all things are nicely arranged. The shops are generally in substantial buildings, and the shopkeeper is always seen standing or sitting on a high stool, ready to attend to his customers. The affairs of every large establishment where a number of men are employed are conducted with the regularity of a machine. Wherever I went I could not avoid making comparisons between what I saw and what exists in India. I felt that with our fields neglected except for getting a harvest or two, our things lying about in a disorderly condition in our houses and our shops, and our shops constructed of wooden planks and our shopkeepers often dozing in their seats, we are considerably inferior in point of energy to the European races, and especially to the English. When I saw the exhibition at Birmingham and observed how some improvement or other is always made in machines, implements, and arts, and how new arts and industries spring up, I could not avoid remarking to my kind friend Colonel Phelps, "Your intellects are always awake, ours are dormant." Indian implements and arts are now in that condition in which they were in the time of Manu,

The English people possess a vast power of organization. Those of them who hold the same view on any matter easily combine together to advance that view, and thus form clubs and associations. I was struck when I heard that the National Liberal Club in London had 5, 000 members. In India hardly so many as five persons can be found to lay aside their jealousies and combine for the advancement of a cause. In every one of the towns I visited, there are one or more museums, and in most of them picture galleries. Both the Government and the people take pride in them and in other institutions of the kind, and are ready with their contributions of money for their improvement. We have no museum anywhere in India worthy of the name, and picture galleries are never dreamt of. I saw a splendid free library at Birmingham maintained by the Municipality, and in the Guildhall in London, and was told that all the municipalities in England had such free libraries. We never heard of anything of the kind in India. Even such a rich municipality as that of Bombay, with its surplus of five lacs, does not maintain an institution of the kind, and it is a matter of no little wonder that the idea should not have been put into the heads of the members of our Corporation by any European gentlemen or a native who has been to England. The means of communication throughout Europe are, as I have already stated, perfect, though the Customs Officers on the frontiers of a country give some trouble, and there are establishments in all places for the accommodation of travellers. Travelling, therefore, is so easy, that a timid Hindu like myself, who cannot speak French or German, could go from London to Vienna, and thence to Venice, alone, without the least difficulty. All that I saw in Europe deepened the impression that, as we are, we are an inferior race in point of energy. We are far behind Europe, and especially England, in all those matters that I have just noticed, and ours is what Principal Wordsworth calls a feeble civilization; though I believe the vigorous civilization of Europe is now on its trial, and the war between the French and the Germans which must come some

day, and the socialistic and nihilistic movements, if they make further progress, will determine whether it is not one-sided, and its ideals have not been chiefly, if not exclusively, material. And in this respect we should by no means be very anxious to realize it among ourselves.

One point more, and I have done. When I set my foot, on the soil of Italy and saw the Italian Custom-house officers, policemen and others, exercising their authority, the thought entered my mind, " But a few years ago this country was cut up into a number of little states, most of them despotically governed, and now these people have become one nation and got representative institutions"; and I cast a wistful eye at their newly-acquired independence. While in London I once went to see the Tower with my friend Dr. Rhys Davids, and when I was shown the place where Anne Boleyn, Catherine Howard, and Lady Jane Grey were executed, and also the dungeon into which those persons who were obnoxious to the reigning prince or his courier were cast quietly and in a manner unknown to anybody, I observed to my friend, " You are a wonderful people ; three centuries ago you were governed by monarchs nearly as absolute and despotic as any that reigned in India, and you have now gradually worked out your freedom without shedding much blood ; while we have not succeeded in emancipating ourselves during the last twenty-five centuries. " Notions such as these were present in my mind during the time I was in Europe; but after a while I asked myself, what it was that I wished ? Should I like that the English had never conquered the country ? I at once said, " No. " For, as I had already observed to my friend we really were not free under the old native monarchs. Under them there was no possibility of our having any idea of that European civilization which I so much admire, there was hardly much security of life and property, and there was little possibility of a man travelling from one province to another without being looted. And we should in that case have had no post-office or roads or railways or electric telegraphs or printing presses; and

above all, that education which has now opened our eyes to our own defects, and given birth to new aspirations. And how was it possible that they should not subjugate the country when it was in the lowest state of political degradation, with selfishness reigning supreme, rival competitors for thrones or for power intriguing against each other and asking their aid, and the people at large maintaining their traditional indifference? Would I then wish that the English voluntarily retired from the country—for driving them away was out of the question—and left us to govern ourselves? Even here I had no hesitation in saying "No." If they should retire, we should immediately return to the old state of things. For though we talk about public spirit, public duty, nationality, and things of that sort, these ideas have not deeply sunk into our nature. Self-interest is as strong a motive with us as it ever was before. There is a lamentable want of serious thought amongst us. Childishness is rampant everywhere. We are divided into castes and communities that have not yet learnt to make common cause with each other. We still want that energy and those orderly modes of action, and that power of organization, which are necessary in order that we may progress in civilization; and we shall only lose the ground which we have gained under the British, and shall be unable to form a strong Government; and all the benefits of a higher civilization that we at present enjoy will be lost to us. I believe it to be an act of Divine Providence that the English alone of all the candidates who appeared about the same time for the empire of India should have succeeded. The Marathas, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French were all weighed in the balance and found wanting, and the empire was given to the English. For the Marathas possessed the usual vices of Indian rulers, the Portuguese were intolerant and forced their religion on the people, the Dutch have made the natives of the countries they conquered hewers of wood and drawers of water, and the French are volatile and have no settled principles. Of the other nations of Europe, the Germans and Austrians do not them-

selves enjoy that freedom that we do under the British, and Russia is the most despotic of all European States, and is perhaps as barbarous as ourselves without our mildness. But England is a nation that has worked out its freedom. She gave liberty to the Negro slaves at a vast sacrifice of money ; and it is the only country in Europe where the sentiment of humanity has made progress. It is impossible that such a country should treat us as slaves ; or, like the Dutch, reduce us to the condition of mere artisans and labourers. Reflections such as these quieted me, and I was content that the English should rule over us, notwithstanding that there are very few Sanskrit scholars among them. In this frame of mind I got on board the steamer "Siam." The next morning, a fellow-passenger of the name of Colonel Noble, Commissioner of Sahet Mahet in Oudh, came and sat near me. He asked me a variety of questions, one of which was, "How will you manage about caste after your return to your country?" I said •• "When I go back I shall live with my family as a Hindu that I am, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, and will not invite caste opposition. If, notwithstanding, I find myself in difficulties, these must be put up with ; for it is of the highest importance that we should visit Europe, if we would march on, side by side with our rulers, towards a higher goal." "That word 'rulers,' says Col. Noble, "that you have used, I do not like. For, it is the feeling of a great many Englishmen, that we are but your brothers to direct and guide you towards a brighter future.¹" I was highly delighted, and thought that if all the statesmen and officers in whose hands the destinies of India were placed were actuated in all that they did by such a feeling as this, we should be the happiest people on earth ; we should forget that we were governed by foreigners, and look upon the British Government as our own national government. There were a good many other passengers on board who were very courteous and kind to me, and with whom I had pleasant conversations. Among them were Mr. Sheppard, Revenue Commissioner, Northern Division, and a good many other civilians

belonging to Bombay, Madras, and the North Western Provinces. The charge of *hauteur*, usually brought against Anglo-Indians, I found to be false on board the steamer.. The Siam dragged its stow length along the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean, and at last we found ourselves in the harbour of Bombay. In the bustle and commotion which followed in consequence of everybody's desire to go on shore at once, I made my way to the place where Colonel Noble was, and took his leave with the words, "Your sentiments with regard to my people are, no less than your name, NOBLE," and came away.

VERSES
DEDICATED TO
THE ARYAN SECTION
OF

THE VIENNA ORIENTAL CONGRESS.*

पौरस्त्यानां जनानां निरतिशयमपि स्वात्मतो भेदभाजां
भाषाविद्याकलानामधिगमविषये संततं सप्रयत्नाः ।
येनान्योन्यं समेताः समुचितवचनैर्बोधयन्त्येवमेते
सौर्यं सौंदर्यभावो जगति विजयते मानुषत्वानुबन्धी ॥ १ ॥

नानाविग्देशसंस्थान्मथितबुधजनान्संगतान्भीनिदुर्या-
मास्थेयाभूभृतोस्यां नृपसुकुटुम्बणे राजधान्यां समक्षि ।
वैदेहस्याश्वमेधे पुरवरमिथिलामाभितं पुण्यसंघ
ब्रह्मशानामुषीणां सकलसुरनरेर्बन्धितानां स्मरामि ॥ २ ॥

अम्बलो भवति बृलररूपः
याज्ञवल्क्य इव वेबररोडौ ।
शाकलः किल भवेत्किलहानौ
यः कडोड इति सात्र च योलिः ॥ ३ ॥

गार्गी वाचकृषीवेडा पुरंधी प्रतिभाति मे ।
ग्रन्थावलोकनं यस्या जीवस्यालम्बनं महत् ॥ ४ ॥
अम्बान्द्विगरोस्तयाकुबिहृत्स्थान्मन्येव तांस्तानृषीन्
सर्वे तत्स्वरताः श्रुतिस्मृतिपरा शानैकबन्धस्पृहाः ।
शङ्के तिथ्ययुगप्रभावजनितं गार्गे तमः सर्वतो
दूरकिर्तस्तृपास्थितः सकरुणः सौर्यं धुमनिं गणः ॥ ५ ॥
समतीत्य बराकोई निरिचनवार्धन्तिभामिमां प्रातः ।
मेष्णः पादोर्बद्धा वयं च देशाश्च नो भवेयुरिति ॥ ६ ॥
आर्यवर्तनिवासिभु तद्विद्यावर्षिताद्वराम्भवतः ।
सोदार्दे वाग्धेई बिहृत्स्वरूपं तथा च मयि ॥ ७ ॥
राष्ट्राणां स्नेहभावाय बिग्रहस्य शमाय च ॥
कल्पतामीदृशी संसम्बहुजानां च भूतये ॥ ८ ॥

* See ante p. 845.

THE
CRITICAL, COMPARATIVE, AND HISTORICAL METHOD
OF
INQUIRY,
AS APPLIED TO SANSKRIT SCHOLARSHIP AND PHILOLOGY AND
INDIAN ARCHEOLOGY,

[Being a lecture read at the Public Meeting held under the auspices
of the Free Church College Literary Society of Bombay on the
31st of March, 1888, originally published by the Author
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A critical inquirer is one who does not accept an account of an occurrence just as it is presented to him, whether orally or in writing. He subjects it to certain tests calculated to prove its truth or otherwise. He takes care, for instance, to ascertain whether the person giving the account was an eye-witness to the occurrence, and if so, whether he was an unprejudiced and at the same time an intelligent observer. If his information is based on other sources, the critic endeavours to ascertain the credibility or otherwise of those sources. When it is a thing or a verified occurrence that he has to deal with, he does not satisfy himself with that view of its nature and relations that appears plausible at first sight. He seeks for extraneous assistance to enable himself to arrive at a correct view. One of the most efficacious means employed by him is comparison of like things or occurrences. This comparison enables him to separate the accidents of the thing or occurrence from its essential nature, and sometimes to arrive at a law which includes the thing or occurrence as a particular case and explains it. Though comparison may thus be considered one of the means of a critical examination, still its own proper results are so important that it deserves to be considered an independent method of inquiry. The history of a thing, *i.e.* a comparison of the various forms it presents at different well-ascertained periods, is also of the

greatest use for the determination of its real nature. Often, when no written history is available, the inquirer determines the historical or chronological relations between the several forms of a thing by referring them to an obvious standard, and arrives at some important conclusions based on such relations. Thus for instance, the Greek *esmes* 'we are' is more ancient than the Sanskrit *smas*, for it retains the original *a* of the root *as* in the form of *e* which Sanskrit has lost ; and the Sanskrit *santi* 'they are,' more ancient than the Greek ' *enti* ' which has lost the whole root *as*. From an observation of many such forms the conclusion to be drawn is that Greek is not derived from Sanskrit, nor Sanskrit from Greek, but both from an older form of speech. The comparative and historical methods correspond to the inductive method used in the physical and experimental sciences. In those branches of knowledge in which you cannot from the nature of the case make experiments, you have recourse to comparison and historical observation. The inductive method began to be used in Europe about the end of the sixteenth century, and since that time very great progress has been made in the discovery of the laws of the physical world. The critical, comparative, and historical methods began to be well understood and employed about the end of the eighteenth century, and within a hundred years since that time, an equally amazing progress has been made in other departments of knowledge ; and geology, paleontology, comparative philology or the science of language, comparative mythology, evolution and the origin of species, scientific history, comparative jurisprudence, archeology, sound scholarship, and even comparative religion are the grand results. Before the employment of the inductive and experimental method such theories as that nature abhors a vacuum passed current; and before the application of the comparative and historical method the beliefs that the world was created in six days and that the Hebrew was the primitive language of which all the rest were offshoots were equally prevalent. But just as an experiment with a tube longer than thirty-

three feet, in the case of water, was enough to explode that theory, so did the observation and comparison of the different strata of which the earth is composed and the discovery of Sanskrit and its comparison with Greek, Latin, and other languages dispel those beliefs. And this critical and comparative method is necessary not only for increasing our knowledge of the world and of historical man, but also for arriving at correct views of things in ordinary practical life. I must use criticism and comparison if I wish to have a true knowledge of the character of any man, public or private, or to understand any individual action of his correctly. Criticism and comparison are necessary for the politician, the legislator, the lawyer, the merchant, and, last but not least, the newspaper writer if he is to rise above the level of scurrilous journalism.

Criticism and comparison are of use not only in enabling us to arrive at a knowledge of what is true, but also of what is good and rational. A man born in a certain country with certain social and religious customs and institutions, and in a certain range of ideas, thinks those customs, institutions, and that range of ideas to be perfectly good and rational, and sees nothing objectionable in them, unless he is a man of genius. When, however, he comes to know of other customs, other institutions, and other ideas, and compares them with those to which he has become accustomed, he is able to find out any evil that there may be in the latter, and to see what is better and more rational. The comparison of the jurisprudence of different countries is calculated to afford valuable hints to the legislator for the improvement of the laws of his own country. Similarly, the critical observation and comparison of the social institutions of other countries and even of other religions will afford guidance to the social and religious reformer. Critical comparison is also of use in giving us juster notions of the beautiful. These general observations, applicable as they are to all the branches of knowledge I have indicated, I will expand and illustrate by taking instances from those subjects to which I have devoted Some

attention, viz. Sanskrit scholarship and philology, and Indian archeology.

Before admitting the narrative contained in an ancient work to be historical, one ought to ask oneself whether the object of the author was to please and instruct the reader and excite the feeling of wonder, or to record events as they occurred. If the former, the narrative cannot be accepted as historical, but legendary. Our obvious and almost axiomatic notions of ordinary probability should also be brought to bear on the question. If a king, for instance, in such a narrative is represented to have reigned a thousand, or even two or three hundred years, one ought to understand that the author wants to excite the feeling of wonder and admiration in his reader, and was in all likelihood under the influence of that feeling, himself. If we apply these tests to our existing Sanskrit literature, we must declare the Ramayaga, the Mahabharata, and the Puranas to be not historical works. Of course, it is possible that they may have a historical basis, and some of the persons mentioned in them may have really existed; but we cannot assert that they did exist, without corroborative evidence such as is to be derived from contemporary inscriptions and the historical writings of foreigners. Now, if the object of the author be the latter, and the narrative answers to our tests of ordinary probability, the work must be accepted as historical. But we have very few such works in Sanskrit literature now extant. Probably, there were many more, but they are lost to us. The Vikramankacarita, the Harsacarita, the Gaudavadha, and the Rajatarangini are works of this nature. I will also include deeds of grants inscribed on metallic plates, stone-inscriptions, and coins among the historical documents now available to us. It appears to have been the custom in ancient times, as it is even now, to preserve genealogies of royal families. We find some given in the Puranas. These have a historical value as they are confirmed by inscriptions. But as the readings have in the course of time become corrupt, and the genealogies of different royal families seem to have been confused together.

they are not to be relied on implicitly, without check and comparison. Now as to the contemporary caritras or the deeds of kings spoken of above, it ought to be remembered that the writers, being dependents or servants of the princes whose account is given therein, cannot be expected to be impartial historians of their patrons and masters; and must be regarded as open to the temptation of bestowing extravagant praise on them and their ancestors. Accordingly, the virtues that they ascribe to the princes in the most general terms cannot safely be accepted as historically true ; but the specific statements such as those of their being at war with certain other princes or of their having constructed certain public works must be ; and if corroborative evidence becomes available, we find them confirmed. Thus, all the copperplate grants of the successors of Pulakesi II of the Calukya dynasty of Maharastra, who ascended the throne in the year 610 A. C, speak of his having defeated or remained subdued by Harsavardhana, the sovereign lord of the whole of Uttarapatha or Northern India, and obtained in consequence the title of Paramesvara or sovereign lord. This is confirmed by what the Chinese pilgrim Hwhan Thsang, who travelled in India from 629 A. c. to 645 A. C, tells us about the prince. Siladitya, as Harsavardhana is also named by him, invited the ablest generals, and sending a large army under them, and on one occasion taking the command himself, fought with the people of Maharastra who were at that time ruled over by Pulakesi, but he was not able to conquer them. Now, the point to be considered with reference to such a book as the Rajatarangini is that though the author is to be considered a contemporary historian so far as the period in which he lived is concerned, what were his authorities for the history of previous times ? He does mention previous writers and speak of having consulted eight historical works. But he begins his history with Gonarda I, who was the contemporary of Yudhisthira, and gives three names after him. The next 35 princes are, he says, unknown by name ; and then mentions 13 *more*. This is the period for which, he says, he did not find

full authorities, and mentions the books from which he got the 17 names given by him. The next period begins in 1184 B. C., when a prince of the name of Gonarda III ascended the throne. The history is then carried on by Kalhana without a break up to his own times. One of the princes, however, is represented by him to have reigned for 300 years; and the average duration of the reigns of the princes in the different groups is sometimes 48 years, sometimes 38. When it is remembered that this varies from 18 to 22 only, the chronology of Kalhana in the older portion of his history must be considered as not reliable. Though it appears very probable that he himself did not put on paper anything for which he found no authority, the works he consulted cannot be considered to be quite reliable themselves. And looking generally to the manner in which the text of old works gets corrupt in the course of time, this is perfectly intelligible. Still, since Kalhana mentions his having used inscriptions, and edicts or proclamations of kings, and states with what public works in Kasmir the names of some of the princes are connected and makes specific statements about them of another nature, the narrative portion of his history should, I think, be considered generally reliable, and also the chronology of the period nearer to his own time. But the older chronology and even to a smaller extent the latter require rectification, as we have seen from the internal evidence; and there is ample external evidence also. For Kalharia mentions three Turuska or Scythian kings who reigned before his historical period, *i. e.* before 1184 B. C. and whose names he gives as Huska, Juska, and Kaniska. There are coins of all these kings, and inscriptions also, from which it appears that the last was the founder of the dynasty. Kalhana mentions Buddhism as flourishing in Kasmir during the reigns of these monarchs, and represents them to have constructed monasteries in a country in the vicinity which appears to me to be Afghanistan. Now here, Buddhistic records and traditions, which represent Kaniska as a great patron of the religion, confirm Kalhana's account. But his chronology is entirely wrong.

For, from the evidence of the inscriptions, coins, and Buddhistic traditions, Kaniska has been placed about the end of the first century of the Christian era ; and I have found reason to refer him to the middle of the second. Similarly, a comparison with Chinese chronology, which is believed to be very accurate, has led to a correction in the date of a later prince named Lalitaditya, who conquered Yasovarman, the sovereign of Kanoj and the patron of Bhavabhuti and Vakpatiraja, the author of the *Gaudavadha*, and who, according to Kalharia's chronology, reigned from 655 to 732 A. c. The Chinese account represents his brother who was king before him to have sent an embassy to China in 713 A. C; while according to Kalhana that brother died in 691 A. C. But even supposing that the Chinese account is not correct, Prof. Jacobi has recently calculated the date of an annular eclipse of the sun which is represented in the *Gaudavadha* to have occurred about the time Yasovarman's position in his kingdom was shaken, apparently by a foreign invader whom that scholar understands to be Lalitaditya. The eclipse occurred on the 14th of August 733 A. C. and reached its middle at Kanoj at 40 minutes after 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Now, if the danger to Yasovarman's position that is spoken of was really that caused by Lalitaditya, which appears indeed very likely, Lalitaditya must have been living and in the height of his glory in 733 A. c, while the *Rajatarangini* represents him to have died in 732 A. c.

Here I have given you a specimen of the sort of criticism to which books or documents of a professedly historical character ought to be subjected. As to the other class of works—the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, and all poems, plays, and religious books such as the *Vedas*,—though the narrative therein contained is not historical, still they are of great historical value in so far as they place before us the thoughts and feelings, the aims and aspirations, and the manners and customs of the people at or, possibly in some cases, before the time when they were written, and thus present to us a picture of the life and civilization of the

period. If, for instance, woven or sewn garments, ships, chariots, and weapons of war such as a sword and an axe, are incidentally mentioned in the Rgveda, it must be inferred that these were used at the time when the hymns, in which they are mentioned, were composed, and the arts of manufacturing them were known and practised. If the Atharvaveda tells us that "when a woman has had one husband before, and gets another, they shall not be separated if they offer the *ajapancaudana* offering," we may safely infer that the practice of widow-marriages existed in those days. We may arrive at the same conclusion, and also infer the existence of polygamy in some cases at least and the absence of polyandry from the words of the Aitareya Brahmana that "one [man] may have many wives; but one [woman] cannot have many husbands *simultaneously*" When we find that the Mantras or formulas contained in the Rgveda which the bridegroom addresses to the bride on the occasion of marriage contain allusions to the indissoluble character of the union into which they have entered and to their bringing up a family of children it must be supposed that when these Mantras or formulas were composed, the two parties to the marriage were not children but capable of understanding and appreciating the sense of what one says to the other. When in the Ramayana and Mahabharata Ksatriya girls are represented as calling a meeting of their possible lovers and choosing that one from among them that they liked, the custom must be considered as existing at or before the time when they were written. In Sana's Kadambari the Queen Vilasavati is spoken of as going to the temple of Mahakala and hearing the Mahabharata read. This shows that our present custom of reading that work and others of the kind in temples for the edification of visitors existed in the middle of, the seventh century after Christ, when Bana wrote; and his mentioning the Bhagavadgita as a part of the Mahabharata shows that the work is older than the seventh century and formed an episode of the epic then as it does now. From the fact that Rama, the hero of that very

popular epic the Ramayana, is represented as a rigid adherent of truth, regardless of the worldly sacrifices that such a course entails, as unswerving in his attachment and fidelity to his one wife, and as possessed of such equanimity and firmness of character that "when he was invited to his father's palace to be installed as Crown Prince, but was instead sent to live in a forest, divested of all worldly greatness and enjoyments, there was not the slightest change observable in his countenance," the conclusion is legitimate that the higher Hindu mind loved and admired these virtues. A wife's faithful devotion to her husband and her following him cheerfully through dire vicissitudes of fortune, with her love and respect for him unabated, were equally objects of admiration with Hindus, as is shown by the characters of Sita, Damayanti and Tara,

Perhaps the distinction between the ways in which the two classes of works are used for historical purposes, will be best illustrated by a specimen of the mistakes which writers in the vernacular papers make on the point. One such writer, waxing warm in the course of a dissertation against the Poona High School for Girls said, "What, had we not learned women in ancient times such as Gargi, Sita, and Tara? But did they attend a High School? What then is the necessity of a High School in these days?" And on another occasion in that same paper, another or the same writer in giving advice to the women of these days said something to this effect, "You are ambitious of rivalling Gargi, Sita, and Tara; but you should attend to your domestic duties first." I do not remember the exact words now, but this is certain that the writer made no distinction between Gargi, and Sita or Tara as historical personages. Sita and Tara occur in poetical or legendary works; and though they may have existed, we have no grounds for believing that they did. They are not represented as possessed of learning, though they were educated women; but supposing they were, all that it would prove is that in those times it was possible for women to become learned, and that some did become so. But the existence of Gargi

as a historical personage,[as a woman of learning, and as a Vedic teacher, is not a matter of reasonable doubt. For a Rgvedin Brahman has, as a portion of his daily religious exercises, to recite portions of the Vedas and other sacred treatises, and pour water in the name of and, technically, for the satisfaction of three classes of beings, viz. deities, Rsis, and Acaryas. This is prescribed in the Grhya Sutra of Asvalayana, and the names are given there. The Rsis mentioned are the composers of the Rgveda hymns,—Grtsamada, Visvamitra, Vasistha &c.; and since these hymns exist, their authors also must have existed. The Acaryas are the Vedic teachers, or writers as we should call them in these days, and in the list there are the names of authors of works called Brahmanas and Sutras, some of which have come down to our times. Thus, Sakalya whose name occurs in the list was the author of the existing Pada text of the Rgveda; Pingale wrote a treatise on the sacrificial rites which is mentioned by the grammarians ; Asvalayana did the same and his work is now extant; Aitareya and Samkhyayana were the authors of Brahmanas which are extant; Saunaka wrote the Rgveda Pratisakhya; and Baskala and Sakala were the names of teachers of two different recensions of the Rgveda. All these being historical personages, the three women, Gargi Vacaknavi, Sulabha Maitreyi, and Vadava Pratitheyi, whose names occur in that same list of Acaryas or teachers, must be so likewise, though their works have not come down to us.

Since then it is from our ancient literature that we have to find out the history of our people, it becomes a thing of the greatest importance to determine the form in which the works we are concerned with, were written by their authors. The readings of passages are not the same in different manuscripts of the same work. A variety of this nature we find to a pretty large extent even in ordinary works such as the poems and dramatic 'plays. Sometimes, numbers of the whole stanzas are to be found in certain manuscripts and not in others, as in the Case of Kalidasa's Sakuntala, But in the Ramayana and the

Mahabharata, the two most important works of the non-Vedic period, the differences are bewildering. No two manuscripts from different parts of the country agree. Often there are, in some, whole chapters which are omitted in others. Sometimes new stories or legends are found. It is, therefore, the duty of the critical scholar to collect Manuscripts from different parts of the country and collate them, with a view to arrive at a correct text. In the performance of this task, which often is very laborious, he ought to be guided by definite principles. He should, in choosing or rejecting a certain reading or a certain passage, see whether it gives good sense, whether it agrees with the context, whether it is in keeping with the author's general way of thinking, whether it is found in the oldest manuscripts, whether the idea or mode of expression was current in the author's time, whether it involves redundancy or tautology, and so on. In some parts of India such as Bengal, people have been in the habit of taking very great liberties with the text of their author; and in Southern India they have been as a general rule very conservative. This fact I would take into account in determining the correct text of a work. When, however, the differences are very great, the best way is to treat the texts found in different provinces as independent editions or recensions. And this is what the old Indian Vedic scholars did. In the Vedic texts also different readings sprang up in the course of time; and one active cause of this was the fact that they were handed down orally. But when scholars like Sakalya, Saunaka, Katyayana, and others arose and gave a definite form to the Vedic literature, they took into account these differences and established separate recensions or editions of the texts, known to us now by the name of Sakhas, which represent the forms of the text taught in different schools, such as those of Sakala, Baskala, the Taittiriya, the Maitrayaniya, the Kanva, the Madhyandina &c. It is the business of a scholar of the present day to compare these several texts, as well as the several recensions of later works, determine the circumstances under which they arose and their mutual rela-

tioas, literary as well as chronological, and find out which of them have a greater claim to be considered genuine and original.

Now as to the mode of interpretation of the texts so settled. The first rule is that a word as occurring in a book must be interpreted in the sense which usage has given to it. Etymology may serve as a guide; but it ought never to be set above usage. Consequently, no word should be understood in an etymological sense only. Oftentimes it is difficult to find the correct etymology, and a man has recourse to one that is fanciful. An interpretation of a book based on such fanciful etymologies must be incorrect. Then again, the literature of a country is divisible into periods, and the usage of one period differs from that of another. A word, therefore, occurring in a certain book, should be understood in the sense which it has in the usage of the period in which the book was written. A better way still is to interpret it in the sense in which the author himself uses it in other parts of his work. Our oldest literary period is that of the Vedas, and this again is clearly divisible into the period of the hymns and the period of the Brahmanas.' The language of the hymns is archaic and very different from the later Sanskrit; that of the Brahmanas is much nearer to the classical Sanskrit. The hymns contain a great many words which do not occur in later Sanskrit, and there are also a good many which have a different sense there from that which they have in the latter. Under these circumstances, the only proper way to understand the hymns is to bring together and compare the passages in which the same word occurs, taking etymology as a guide only where necessary. In the same manner, the ideas and modes of thinking which from our acquaintance with the period we have seen to be prevalent should be referred to for help in interpreting a passage. If, instead of resorting to these methods, we take an isolated passage and interpret it according to modern usage, modern ideas, and fanciful or even true etymology, we may make it mean anything; and we shall thus find in the Vedas not only pure theism.

but even railways and electric telegraphs. These observations are also applicable to works belonging to other periods.

Having disposed of books and other written documents, I will now endeavour to estimate the value of traditions. If we accept traditions as we find them, we shall often be deceived. There is a tradition among us, for instance, that Bhavabhuti and Kalidasa were contemporaries; but we have now found that Bhavabhuti lived in the first quarter of the eighth century of the Christian Era, and Kalidasa long before 634 A. C, since he is mentioned as a famous poet in an inscription bearing that date and also by Bana who lived in the middle of the seventh century. Bhavabhuti, it has recently been discovered, was a pupil of Kumarilabhaṭṭa; and Kumarilabhaṭṭa quotes from Kalidasa's *Sakuntala*. Similarly, the authors, Dhānvanṭarin, Kṣapanaka, Amarasiṃha, Kalidasa, Varahamihira, Vararuci, and others who formed the traditional nine gems, are said to have lived at the court of Vikramāditya the founder of the Samvat Era, the initial date of which is 57 B. c. But Varahamihira, as stated by Amaraja in his commentary on Brahmagupta's *Khandakhadya*, died in Saka 509 or 587 A. C; and the epoch year of his *Pancasiddhantika* is 427 Saka corresponding to 505 A. c.; and the existence of Vikramāditya in 57 B.C. has not yet been traced. Alberuni, who accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni in his invasion of Gujarat in the early part of the eleventh century, reports a tradition that the Gupta era dates from the extermination of the Gupta dynasty. But princes of the Gupta dynasty date their inscriptions in their era, which therefore, was in use before their extermination. Tradition makes Panini a contemporary of Katyayana, and represents him as having been a blockhead who by austerities pleased Siva and obtained a new grammar from him. Katyayana held a disputation with him for eighty days and, though Panini proved a powerful antagonist, he was ultimately vanquished. The fact, however, as we know it, is that Katyayana is the writer of *Vartikas* or comments on Panini's grammar, in which he explains, rectifies, and supplements Panini's rules. It was in consequence of his

having thus rectified and supplemented Panini that the story of his having vanquished him must have arisen,—and traditions often have a basis of this nature and no better—but it is impossible that he should have written those comments, a good many of which are explanatory on the work of a contemporary. Besides, from a comparison of the works of the two, it appears that the Sanskrit language was in a somewhat more archaic condition in the time of Panini. Hence, therefore, the tradition cannot be true; and there are also inherent improbabilities in it. Sometimes the tradition of one sect contradicts that of another. The Svetambara Jainas, for instance, claim to represent the original Jainism and speak of the Digambara sect as having been founded by one Sivahuti in 83 A. C. ; and give childish explanations of the origin of the two peculiar doctrines of that sect, viz. nudity and denial of absolution to women. The Digambaras, on the other hand, represent themselves to be the original Jainas, and state that a sect of the name of Ardhaphalaka separated from them about 272 B. c, and out of that arose after a long time the Svetambara sect. Still, however, traditions are not to be entirely rejected. An endeavour should be made to ascertain their antiquity, as their credibility must be considered to be proportionate to it ; and if they are in themselves probable and stand all critical tests, they may be provisionally accepted. Thus, the tradition about the nine gems has been traced up to the year 1,005 Samvat or 948 A. D. In an inscription bearing that date, found at Buddha Gaya, it is stated that Vikramaditya was a renowned monarch in whose court there were nine learned men celebrated under the epithet of the Nava-ratnani or nine jewels of whom Amaradeva was one. That portion, of the tradition which refers to, Vikramaditya's being a great patron of learning ascends still higher into antiquity. In the introduction to Vasavadatta, a work mentioned by Bana in his Harshacarita and consequently written before the middle of the seventh century, its author Subandhu, who also is mentioned by name as a previous poet in the Gaudavadha by Vakpatiraja,—who lived in

the middle of the eighth century,—speaks regretfully of the sweet or tasteful poesy of the time of Vikramaditya, having, when he lived, dried up like the waters of a lake which once was full. And the manner of his regret, looks like that of one who lived near to the times of Vikramaditya. But nothing has yet been found to confirm the date ; and it occurs only in the *Jyotirvidabhaarana*, the author of *which* pretends to be the great Kalidasa, but which has been satisfactorily proved to be but a recent forgery by all scholars who have noticed it. Since the tradition is thus confirmed, it may be accepted as correct; but the date of the nine jewels and of their patron Vikramaditya should be taken to be that which we have got for Varahamihira on unimpeachable evidence. And a great king of the name of Harsa Vikramaditya is mentioned by Kalhana in the *Rajatarangini* as a paramount sovereign ruling at Ujjayini. He drove away Sakas and all Mlecchas from the country, and was a great patron of learning. According to Kalhana's chronology which in this place is, as I have already observed, very faulty, this Vikramaditya lived in the first half of the second century of the Christian era. But description of the king suits so well the patron of the nine gems, that we may correct the date assigned by Kalhana in the light of that of Varahamihira, and suppose Harsa Vikramaditya to have reigned at Ujjayini in the middle of the sixth century and patronized Kalidasa, Amarasimha, Varahamihira, and the rest. And nothing that has yet been discovered goes against the contemporaneity of those three; so that the tradition, when corrected as regards the date of Vikramaditya, agrees with everything that is known and seems highly probable. It may incidentally be observed here that Subandhu appears thus to have lived after Vikramaditya and before Bana, that is between 550 and 650 A. C., And this is in keeping with his regretful mode of expression noticed above ; and both together lend strong support to another tradition that he was the son of a sister of Vararuci, one of the nine gems of Vikramaditya's Court. But the chief use of a tradition is to confirm, Corroborate, and strengthen other evidence; and it should

not be put in the place of such evidence. This will be illustrated further on.

I will now proceed to give instances of our method from philology and point out the errors due to superficial analogies. People seem to think that mere external similarity between a word in one language and another in another language is enough to enable us to decide that the two are one and the same word. Thus I have heard the word *Dutch*, (Germ.) *Deutsch*, traced to the Sanskrit word *Daitya*, which means 'a demon' or 'an enemy of the gods', *Taittiriya* identified with *Tartar*, *Caspian* with *Rasyapa*, and *Chitpavan* or *Chipte* with *Copt* or *Gypt*. It is melancholy to see such etymologies and a great many others of the same nature put forth without the slightest evidence, and against all the rules of philological comparison. Now there are languages which bear a close affinity to each other, and there are others which do not. Words in a language belonging to the former group observe certain laws in assuming the forms which they possess in another belonging to the same group. Thus the High German in which we have the word *Deut*, *sch* being an adjectival termination, is related to Sanskrit. But Sanskrit consonantal sounds assume certain forms in German. And there is a law with reference to that point known by the name of Grimm's law. The German *d* corresponds to *th* in the Gothic, with which also low German or Anglo-saxon, i e., the modern English agrees, and to *t* in Sanskrit. Thus German *drei* is English *three*, and Sanskrit त्रि ; Germ, *dass*, Eng. *that*, Skr. तद् ; Germ, *du*, Eng. *thou*, Skr. त्व in त्वम् ; Germ, *dutch*, Eng. *through*, Skr. तिरम् ; Germ, *durst*, Eng. *thirst*, Skr. तृष्ट, i e., तर्षे &c. Similarly, Germ. *t* is Eng. *d*. and Skr. ध ; as in the instances, Germ, *mit*, old H. G. *mitte*, Eng. *mid*, A. S. *midde*, Skr. मध्य ; Germ. *tag*. Eng. *day*, Skr. some such word as धक्. You will thus see that there is a law which determines the forms that Sanskrit words should assume in German, and that law ought to give to *daitya* some such form as *teudh*; so that we should not allow ourselves to be deceived by the mere similarity of *daitya* and *deut*. Besides, from all the

observation that the great founders of comparative philology have made, they have come to the conclusion that the affinity between the Sanskrit and the European languages dates from prehistoric times, *i. e.*, is due to the fact that the ancestors of us all spoke one and the same language before they separated and formed distinct nationalities. This was long before the time when the Vedas were composed. Now the word *daitya* does not occur in the Vedas and was formed later. How could such a word be found in the German, not having existed in the Sanskrit itself a long time after the Aryan separation ? There are, indeed, instances in historical times of independent Aryan communities having again been brought into connection with each other and exchanged a few later words. Thus our astronomical works, and especially those of Varahamihira, contain several Greek terms, as will be hereafter noticed. If we suppose the word *daitya* to have been communicated to the Germans by us in historic times, is there any record anywhere of our having gone into the forests of Germany and established a kingdom there, as we have of the Bactrian Greeks having established one in the Panjab ? And are there more such instances ? None has been pointed out. The other etymologies must also be similarly condemned. Are we to suppose that the students of the Taittiriya recension of the Yajurveda came from Tartary, and our Chitpavan Brahmans from Egypt, and that these foreigners were admitted into our exclusive Hindu community and assigned the highest place ? Is there a tittle of evidence to show that ? The Jews came to our country in very early times, and the Parsis later ; but have they become incorporated with our community, taken our Gotras, and become students of our Vedas ?

There are many instances of false and unscientific Marathi etymologies in our books. Unless you resort to comparison and historic observation and discover laws which explain the particular case before you, your etymology must be empiric. Thus our ordinary root **बस** 'to sit' has been traced to Skr. **वस** 'to dwell'. Of course **ब** and **व** constantly interchange places in our languages

and there is no difficulty on that point. The sense, however, of बस is not appropriate ; but even that is no great objection. Still, if we have recourse to observation and comparison, we shall find that this etymology is wrong. बस has another form बैस, and since the tendency of languages is always to drop an element and not add, बैस is an older form of the root; and that it is a form of that same root and not an independent root is shown by such contractions as म्हास 'a she-buffalo' for; म्हेस, जसा 'as' for जैसा, तसा 'so' for तेसा &c. Again, the analogy of the cognate languages also shows that बैस is the real form of the root; for the Gujarati has बैस, and the Hindi बस, though बैठ is more common. Now Marathi, Hindi and Gujarati have descended from the old Prakrits; and ऐ in the first two and ए in the last is a combination of the vowels अ and इ, brought together by the dropping away of uninitial consonants, which forms a characteristic of the Prakrits, as will be seen from the following instances :—

Skr. स्वदिर <a certain tree',	Pr. स्वइर ¹	M. H. P. स्वेर	G. खेर.
— बलीवर्ध <a bullock',	— बइल	— — — बैल	— बैल.
— तादृश 'like that',	— तादिस, Ap. तइस	— — — तेसा	—
'a माहिणी she-buffalo',	— माहिनी	M. म्हेस, H.P. भैस	— भैस.
— भगिनी 'a sister',	— भइणी M. dial.	भैण, H. बैन	— बैन.

So that बैस or बेस must be बइस in Prakrit or बइस, since व and ब are always interchangeable. Now, we know that Skr. उपविश which means 'to sit' appears in the Prakrit in the form of उवइस, व being changed to ब as a general rule of which there are many instances, and व being dropped as in कह for कवि, रह for रवि &c. Then the initial vowel उ is dropped since it is unaccented, as it is in the following cases :—

Skr. अभ्यन्तर 'inside',	H. भीतर, M. भितर
— अरघट्ट 'a water-wheel',	H. रहट, M. रहाट

1 Here and in the following pages M. = Marathi, H.=Hindi, Ap. = Apabhramse, G.= Gujarati, P.=Panjabi, S.-Sindbi, B.= Bengali, and O. =Oriyn.

- Skr. **अम्यज्जन** 'td be soaked*, H. **मीजना**, M. **मिजणे**, **मिजडुं**
 — **एकस्थं** 'collected', H. **कट्टा**
 — **उपाध्याय** 'a teacher, 'a priest', M. **पाध्या**, P. **पाधे**
 — **उपरि** 'above', M. **वर**

Here then, there is an analogy at every step, and the M. **वस** is thus derived from the Skr. **उपविश**.

Another instance of the necessity of a close observation and comparison of facts is afforded by the derivation of masculine nouns ending in **आ** in Marathi and Hindi. It is supposed that the **आ** of these is a remnant of the **ओ** of masculine nouns in Prakrit, such as **हत्यो**, **गुणो** &c. But the question is, by what rules of transformation does **ओ** become **आ**, and why is it that a great many nouns such as **हात** 'hand', **पाय** 'feet', **कान** 'ear', and others are without it? Besides, in such a language as the Sindhi, those nouns which end in **अ** in Hindi and Marathi end in short **उ**, while those ending in **आ** have **ओ** for their final; as **हथु**, **कनु** for **हाथ**, **कान** &c. and **घोडो** 'horse', for **घोडा**, '**मंजो** 'bedstead' for **माथा**, **मथो** 'head', 'top' for **माथा** &c. The correct way of finding the origin of these forms in **आ** appears to me to be the following :-

In modern vernacular pronunciation there is a law of accentuation which has produced important results. The penultimate syllable of a word is in all our dialects pronounced with a stress the tendency of which is to lengthen that syllable and drop the final vowel, and in most of them this tendency has worked itself out. The preceding vowel, however, is not always written long, but still the long or at least the emphasized pronunciation does exist. Thus **गुण** 'virtue' is pronounced by us as **गुण** in M., **गुन्** in H., **फूल** 'a flower' as **फूल**, **बल**, 'strength' as **बल** (baal), **मदन** 'god of love' as **मदन** (madaan), &c. In these instances, though we write the penultimate vowel short, it is really long. The final **इ** or **उ** of Sanskrit words recently imported into the languages have been dropped in virtue of this law of accentuation. Thus :—

M. H. G. पद्धत 'method', 'mode', Skr. पद्धति.

M. H. G. P. गत 'condition', Skr. गति

M. G. विपत्त, H. P. 'विपत्त', 'misery', Skr. विपत्ति.

M. H. P. G. B. रीत 'manner', Skr. रीति

M. H. G. P. B. जात, 'species', 'caste', Skr. जाति.

M. H. कीर्त्त, H. G. P. कीरत्त, 'fame', Skr. कीर्ति.

M. H. P. G. रास 'a heap', Skr. राशि.

M. H. P. G. नीत 'mortality', Skr. नीति.

M. G. वस्त, H. P. वस्त, 'a thing', Skr. वस्तु.

H. P. साध 'a good man', Skr. साधु.

M. G. H. P. मध 'honey', Skr. मधु.

Not only does this law characterise the vernacular speech of the day, but it must have been in operation for centuries, since the old Prakrit words, which like the above have not recently been imported but have descended to the modern languages from the spoken dialects of ancient times, have also been similarly changed. Thus:—

M. B. भूक, H. G. B. भूख, P. भुक्ख, O. भोक 'hunger', Pr. बुहुक्खा, Skr. बुभुक्षा.

M. H. P. G. जीभ, B. O. जिभ, S. जिम, 'tongue', Pr. जिम्भा, Skr. जिह्वा.

H. P. सेज, M. G. शेज, S. सेज सेजा, 'a bed', Pr. सेज्जा, Skr. शय्या.

M. भीक, H. G. भीख, P. भिक्ख or भीख, B. O. भिक, 'alms', Pr. भिक्खा, Skr. भिक्षा.

M. नीज, H. P. नीद, S. निँड, 'sleep', Pr. निद्दा, Skr. निद्रा.

M. सौँड, H. सूँड, G. सूँड, P. छूँड, B. O. झूँड, झूँडि 'trunk of an elephant', Pr. सोण्डा, Skr. झुण्डा.

M. G. दाढ, H. डाढ, 'a jaw', 'a grinder', Pr. दाढा, Skr. दंष्ट्रा.

H. S. साध, B. साद or साध, O. साध, 'wish', 'longing', Pr. सद्धा, Skr.

M. G. धूल, H. धूल, S. धूलि, B. O. धूला, P. धूर, 'dust', Pr. धूलि, Skr. धूलि.

M. बहिणः or मेण, H. मेण, बहिण or बहण, G. बेन, B. बोन, 'sister', Pr. बहणी, Skr. बहिनी.

M. म्हेस, H. म्हेस, G. म्हेस, P. म्हेड or म्हेस, 'a she-buffalo', Pr. महिरी, Skr. महिरी.

H. P. कोस, G. कुस, M. कूस, 'a side of the abdomen', Pr. कुविस, Skr. कुवि.

M. सवत, H. सौत, fellow wife', Pr. सवती, Skr. सपती.

M. खान, H. खान, mine', Pr. खणि, Skr. खनि.

H. सास, P. सस्स, M. G. सासू, 'motner-in-law', Pr. सरसू, Skr. श्वश्रू.

M. G. बीज, P. बिज्ज, 'lightning', Pr. बिज्जू, Skr. बि द्.

M. ऊंस, H ऊस र ईस, P. इक्ख, Pr. उच्छ, Skr. इच्छु.

H. G. आंस, P. अक्ख, B. O. आसि, 'the eye', Pr. अक्खि, Skr. अक्षि.

M. G. B. O. हाड, H. हाड, हड्ड or हड्डी, P. हड्ड or हड्डी, Pr. अही, Skr. अस्थि.

In this manner the आ, इ, ई, उ'and ऊ of Sanskrit and Prakrit nouns have, in almost all cases, been dropped in the vernaculars or changed to a silent;अ. Final ओ is similarly treated. Even in the Apabhramsa period this rule of accentuation must have prevailed, since the ending vowels are similarly shortened in a good many cases. The Prakrit ओ of the nominative singular of masculine nouns is mostly shortened to उ in that dialect, and sometimes altogether dropped, The modern vernaculars have thus got a great many masculine nouns ending in the silent अ, such as हात or हाथ hand कान 'ear', दांत tooth', धीट bold', बड 'the Banyan tree '. When the final vowel is preceded by another, and not by a consonant as in these words and the others given in the above lists, that other vowel, being accented by our rule, shows a tendency to become long; and the original final being dropped, the accented vowel becomes final. Thus ;—

Skr. मोक्तिकम् 'a pearl', Pr. मोत्तिअं, M. मोतीं, G. P. H. मोती.

Skr. पानीयम् 'water', Pr. पाणिअं, M. G. पाणीं, H. पानी.

Skr. पुथिका 'a flowering bush', Pr. जुहिआ, M. H. G. जुही or जुई.

Skr. घोटिका 'a mare', Pr. घोडिआ, M. G. H. P. घोड़ी.

Skr. शाटिका 'a garment', Pr. साडिआ, M. G. H. साड़ी.

Skr. वसिका 'earth', Pr. मत्तिआ, मट्टिआ or मिट्टिआ, M. माती, H. मट्टी &c.

Skr. तैलिकः 'a seller of oil', Pr. and Ap. तैल्लिओ-उ, M. तेली.

Skr. नापितः 'a barber', Pr. नाविओ or न्हाविओ, Ap. नाविउ, M. न्हावी, H. नाई.

Skr. वृश्चकः 'a scorpion', Pr. विञ्जुओ, Ap. विञ्जुउ, M. विंचू, H. P. विछू, S. विछु, B. O. विका.

Skr. यूका 'a louse', Pr. जूवा, H. P. G. जू, M. ऊ.

Skr. बाटिका 'an enclosre', Pr. बाटिआ or बाडिआ, M. G. H. बाडी, B. बादी.

Skr. बीटिका 'a roll of betel leaf, &c.', Pr. बीडिआ, M. बिही, G. बिही, H. बीडि.

Skr. जीवः 'life', Pr. जीओ, Ap. जीउ, H. जी.

Skr. लोहितम् 'blood', Pr. लोहिअं, G. लोही, H. P. लोइ.

Skr. जलौका 'a leech', Pr. जलोआ, M. जलू, G. जलो.

Skr. बालका 'sand', Pr. बालुआ, M. G. बालू, H. बाल.

Thus then, the Sanskrit and Prakrit penultimate vowels become final in the vernaculars and, being originally accented in consequence of the law we have been considering, retain that accent in most cases, and are thus lengthened. When the penultimate happens to be अ it is lengthened to आ, as in

Skr. घोटकः 'a horse', Pr. घोडओ, Ap. घोडउ, M. H. P. B. O. घोडा.

Skr. पारदः 'mercury', Pr. पारओ, Ap. पारउ, M. H. P. B. O. पारा.

Skr. आमलकः 'a kind of myrobalan', Pr. आमलओ, Ap. आबंलउ, M. आबंला, H. P. B. आबंला or आमला.

Skr. आग्रातकः 'hog-plum myrobalan', Pr. गम्माडजो ?, Ap. गम्माडज, M. आंवाडा, H. अंवाडा.

Skr. बिभीतकः 'beleric myrobalan', Pr. बहेडजो, Ap. बहेडज, M. बेडडा, H. P. बहेडा.

Skr. पुस्तकम् 'a volume', Pr. पोल्हजो, Ap. पोल्हज, H. P. पोथा.

Skr. कण्टकः 'thorn', Pr. कण्टजो, Ap. कण्टज, M. H. B. कांटा.

Skr. बोलकः 'aball', Pr. गोलजो, Ap. गोलज, M. P. गोळा, H. B. गोला.

Skr. शालकः 'brother-in-law', Pr. सालजो, Ap. सालज, M. H. साळा, H. साला.

Skr. दीपकः 'a lamp', Pr. दीवजो, Ap. दीवज, M. दिवा, P. दीवा, H. B. दिया.

Skr. मन्थकः 'a bedstead', Pr. मन्थजो, Ap. मन्थज, M. मांथा.

Skr. मस्तकम् 'head', Pr. मन्थयं, M. (Goan. Mal. and Chit.) माथा; by a change of gender, Pr. मन्थजो, Ap. मन्थज, M. H. B. माथा, P. मन्था.

Skr. कटकम् 'a wristlet', Pr. कडजं, M. (Goan. Mal. and Chit.) कडां.

Skr. कीटकः 'a worm', Pr. कीडजो, Ap. कीडज, M. किडा, H. P. कीडा, B. कीडा.

It may be urged that in modern pronunciation when the penultimate अ is accented, it does not become आ, even though pronounced long, as observed before. How is it then that it becomes आ here? In modern times several new modes of pronunciation have arisen, but as regards the matter in hand, to lengthen अ into आ was the old process. And often when the old processes have disappeared from what is considered as the standard form of a language, they are found preserved in some dialect of that language. Thus, while in the standard Marathi the penultimate अ is simply pronounced long, it becomes आ in the Goanese and Malvani dialects.

Thus :—

St. M.	Mal. Goan.
वातक 'a garment'.	वाताक.
'कपट'.	कापाक.
'वतन' hereditary property'.	वतान.
जतन 'careful preservation'.	जतान.
घोतर 'a garment'.	घोतार.
खडप 'a roek'.	खडाप.

In this manner, then, the penultimate अ became आ in consequence of the accent and, the final vowel being dropped, itself became the final, and has preserved its accent. Thus the nouns ending in आ in Marathi and Hindi are derived from Sanskrit nouns with the penultimate and final syllables ending in अ. The consonant of the final syllable is dropped in the Prakrits, and the vowel अ is together with the nominative termination changed to ओ. This ओ, being unaccented, is first shortened to उ in the Apabhramsa dialect, and afterwards entirely dropped ; while the accented अ of the penultimate syllable is lengthened to आ and becomes the final. In most cases the final syllable is क applied in Sanskrit to modify the original sense in some way. Instances of those nouns which are seen to have क as the ending syllable in Sanskrit have been given above, together with their Marathi and Hindi forms in आ. And in those cases in which the Sanskrit forms of other Marathi and Hindi words in आ are not seen with a final क, it must have been applied to them in the spoken language, since Panini gives a very general rule as to the addition of क to all nouns, and we actually find its remnant अ in a great many words, including past and present participles in the Prakrits. I have spent so much time on this instance in order to give you an idea of the extent to which it is sometimes necessary to make close observation, discover analogies, and trace the operation of laws, to enable us to arrive at correct etymologies. A mere hap-hazard assertion without any proof is unscientific and will not do in philology any more than in other subjects.

In connection with this matter of insufficient or superficial analogies, I may mention that those who are engaged in the studies I have been speaking about are peculiarly open to their influence, especially when they lead to or support a theory which is striking. Thus, the Ramayana is supposed by some to represent the struggles between the Brahmanas of India and the Buddhists of Ceylon ; that the Raksasas that disturb the rites of the Brahmanas in the Dandakaranya are Buddhists; that the red clothes worn by the priests at the magic rites of Indrajit are the brown garments of Buddhist mendicants &c. Again, Sita's ravishment is the same incident as the ravishment of Helen, and Siva's bow which Rama bent is the bow of Ulysses. Therefore, Valmiki must have been influenced by Homeric ideas, and the poem written after the Hindus came in contact with the Greeks. I cannot stop to give you a detailed account of this controversy ; but will observe that if such analogies are to be used as arguments in favour of a certain theory, an antiquarian in the remote future may declare that the Maratha Hindus had no family names before the British conquered India; but that they learned to use them, having seen the British doing so. Hence some of their family names are but mere translations of British names ; thus Gore or Dhavale is a translation of White; Kale, of Black : Landge, of Wolf, Kolhe of Fox ; Parvate or Dongre, of Hill; Barve, of Wells ; Gole, of Ball; Ghate of Bell, &c. But as we now know that we had these names before we heard of the British, the theory cannot be advocated at the present day. And to my mind the analogies about the ravishment of the wife of another and the bending of a heavy bow are more natural and less due to intercommunication than this close correspondence of family names. For, what incident is more common in an early condition of society than for one powerful man to take away forcibly the wife of another ? Even in a highly civilized condition of society the incident is not uncommon, though the forces used are of a more delicate nature. The same remark applies to a heavy bow. And the state of society pictured in the

Ramayana is very archaic ; the whole Maratha country was a forest infested by Raksasas or savages, the ancestors of our Bhils and Gonds ; and the gentler races of the South were so uncultivated that they were compared to monkeys. Valmiki does not mention a single Maratha town, while in the Mahabharata the names of Karhad and Supara occur. He has heard a few names of places in Southern India, but does not seem to be familiar with the geography of the country ; while, in the third and second centuries before the Christian era, the Aryas became more familiar with the South, as we see from the inscriptions of Asoka, Patanjali's Mahabhasya, and Buddhistic tradition. And to this must be added the weight of the tradition which represents Valmiki as the first or earliest poet of the non-Vedic Sanskrit. Similarly resemblances have been traced between the ideas expressed in the Bhagavadgita and those expressed in the New Testament, and a Christian influence detected in that work. But a good many of these resemblances are more apparent than real, the whole tone and manner of the Gita are different from those of the New Testament, and most of the notions suspected to be borrowed from the Bible are found expressed in the Upanisads and such older works, as has been shown by the late Dr. Muir. Scholars seem sometimes, when they have to advocate a theory, to forget our common humanity to which a great deal that is common in our notions must be attributed.

On the other hand, when the evidence is irrefragable it is unscholarlike to deny foreign influence. For instance, the Indian astronomical works written during the first five centuries contain several Greek terms. The names of the twelve signs of the Zodiac are translations of the Greek names ; and the original Greek names even are given by Varahamihira in the following Arya quoted by Bhau Daji:—

क्रियतादुरुजित्तुमकुलीरलेयपाथोनजूककौर्वाख्याः ।
तौक्षिक आकोकेरो ह्यग्रेगणेत्यतिः क्रमशः ॥

Where we have Kriya *i. e.* Kribs, Tavuru *i. e.* Tauros, Jituma *i. e.* Didymos, Leya *i. e.* Lèon, Parthona *i. e.* Parthénos, Juka

I. e. Zygón, Kaurpya i.e. Scorpius, Taukshika i. e. Toxòtes, Akokero i .e. Aigòkeròs, Hrdroga i. e. Hydrochèos, Itthasi i e, Ichthy's. Some of the other terms are Heli ' the sun' i. e. Hèlios, Kona i. e. Kronos, Kendra i.e. Kèntron, Jamitra -i.e. Diametron &c. Altogether there are 36 such terms. These are not Sanskrit words; and to endeavour to give them an unnatural Sanskrit etymology is vain and unscholarlike. We have the clearest evidence of the close connection between Hindus and Greeks from about the third century before Christ to the first after Christ, in the inscriptions of Asoka and others, in coins which bear the names of Bactrian Greek monarchs, in Greek as well as Indian characters, and in Buddhistic literature. Garga as quoted by Varahamihira says :—"The Yavanas are Mlecchas among whom this Sastra (*i. e.* astronomy and astrology) is well known ; they even are worshipped like Rsis ". The Greeks were at that time called Yavanas; for in an inscription of Asoka, Antiochus king of Syria is called a Yonaraja. So also Milinda who reigned at Sakala in the Panjab and who has been identified with the Bactro-Greek monarch Menandros is called a Yona king in Pali books. The Hindus had their own astronomy before they came in contact with the Greeks ; but they borrowed from the latter what was necessary for their own further progress. Prof. Weber thus expresses himself on the point :—" Although most of these names denote astrological relations, still, on the other hand, in the division of the heavens into Zodiacal signs, *decani*, and degrees, they comprise all that the Hindus lacked, and that was necessary to enable them to cultivate astronomy in a scientific spirit. And accordingly we find that they turned these Greek aids to good account; rectifying, in the first place, the order of their lunar asterisms, which was no longer in accordance with reality, so that the two which came last in the old order occupy the two first places in the new; and even, it would seem, in some points independently advancing astronomical science further than the Greeks themselves did,"

I will now give a specific instance to show how previous history enables us to understand the nature of a thing, though what I have hitherto said in connection with other points contains a good deal calculated to illustrate this also. At present we use an era which is called Salivahana Saka ; and ordinarily we understand the word Saka in the sense of 'an era,' and believe that the era was founded by a king of the name of Salivahana. But the word Saka has not the sense of an era in the Sanskrit language ; and the expression Salivahana Saka has been in use for about three or four hundred years only. Before that, and even in some books of the subsequent period, the expression used is Sakakala. Varahamihira calls it Sakendrakala or Sakabhupakala, i. e. the era of the Saka king. In an inscription dated 500 Saka, it is called the era of the coronation of the Saka king ; and in another dated 556 Saka, the era of Saka kings. In all old copperplate grants the expression used is Sakanrpakala or Sakakala i. e. the era of the Saka king or Saka. Thus, then, this is an era founded by a great king of the Saka or Scythian race. And that India was exposed to the inroads of the Scythians and that they established a kingdom in the country, is proved by many an inscription and coin. There was a dynasty of kings who called themselves Satraps and ruled over Ujjayini, Kathiawar, and Gujarat. In the beginning at least they were in all likelihood the viceroys of the Saka kings.

Salivahana or Satavahana was the name of a royal family which ruled over Dakshinapatha or Southern India. The principal branch reigned at Dhanakataka in Telingana, and the younger princes of the family, or a subordinate branch, ruled over Paithana. The Satavahanas came in contact with the conquering Sakas, who established their power also over a part of the country ruled over by the Satavahanas. But after a short interval of time, one of the princes of this family succeeded in driving away the foreigners and regaining the lost provinces. The Sakas and the Satavahanas were by these events associated together in the popular memory ; and it must have been on this account that the names of the two families came to be connected

in after times with the era, which thereafter was called the Salivahana Saka. More information, however, is wanted to enable us to understand satisfactorily how the name Salivahana came to be connected with the era ; but at present we do not possess it.

Thus, then, the great lesson we have to learn is that if we wish to know and understand the truth about a point, whether in science or practical life, we should seek analogies, find out, if we can, the history, and criticise, not foolishly and ignorantly as we often do, but according to well defined and rational principles.

And now, gentlemen, and my Hindu friends in particular, a word as to my object in taking up this subject for to-night's discourse. It is no use ignoring the fact that Europe is far ahead of us in all that constitutes civilization. And knowledge is one of the elements of civilization. Experimental sciences and the sciences that depend on the critical, comparative, and historical method have made very great progress in Europe, and what deserves our earnest attention is that they are every day making further and further progress. The Europeans have derived much greater advantage from our connection with them than we have from their connection with us. They have turned to account their acquaintance with the sacred language of our country, and have added the sciences of comparative philology and comparative mythology to their existing store of knowledge. The old principle of the classification of races has been given up, and a new one based on the affinity of languages adopted. Civilized mankind has in the first place been divided into three races,—the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Turanian. The first has again been subdivided into the Hindus, the Hellenes, the Italians, the Slavs and Lithuanians, the Kelts, the Teutons including the Scandinavians and the Germans, &c. So strongly and universally has the fact that affinity of language points to a community of descent and consequently to a common nationality been grasped in Europe

that "to it," as Sir Sumner Maine remarks, "we owe, at all events in part, the vast development of German nationality; and we certainly owe to it the pretensions of the Russian Empire to at least a presidency over all the Slavonic communities."—So that, it may be remarked by the way, the many wars that have been fought in Europe since 1855, and are likely to be fought during the next twenty years, have or will have for one of their causes the discovery of Sanskrit. Though in itself this is by no means a very gratifying result, still I allude to it simply to show how deeply the Europeans have been influenced by the new ideas. Similarly, I think the liberality that is now observable in the religious thought of Europe is due to the study of Sanskrit and Pali literature. All this will show the activity of the European intellect, and convince us that the principle of progress is very strong in their civilization. But what advantages have we derived from them? A great deal of what they have got from us has but very indirectly been given to them by us; while they have placed before us a whole civilization, which undoubtedly is far superior to ours in a great many points. The impulse to be communicated to us by it ought to be a hundred-fold stronger than that which we have communicated to them. Just as they have used the critical and comparative faculty with energy and produced the results I have just noted, we should use it and direct it not only to find what is true in science, but what is good and rational in social and religious institutions. But have we received the impulse, have we been using the faculty? Who can say we have, while our new literature is scanty and barren of any original idea and we are still quarreling about female education, caste, and religion? Why should we not move on, side by side with Europeans, in the great fields of thought? Why should discoveries be made in France, Germany and England, and not in India? If you say that in most of the branches there are facilities in Europe for making fresh additions to the existing stock of knowledge, while we have none in India, surely no costly laboratories are required to enable us to study the ancient literature of our country and its architectural remains and inscrip-

tions, and to throw light on its political and literary history and its philology. This is a field in which we may successfully compete with Europeans, and in which we enjoy certain peculiar advantages. But these advantages can be turned to account only if we follow their critical, comparative, and historical method. My object, therefore, has been to call your attention to the nature and requisites of this method, in order that by its successful application to the branch of study I am speaking of, we may take our legitimate place among the investigators of the political, literary, and religious history of our country, and not allow the Germans, the French, and the English to monopolize the field. And here I feel myself in duty bound, even at the risk of displeasing some of you, to make a passing allusion to the most uncritical spirit that has come over us of praising ourselves and our ancestors indiscriminately, seeing nothing but good in our institutions and in our ancient literature, asserting that the ancient Hindus had made very great progress in all the sciences, physical, moral, and social, and the arts,—greater even by far than Europe has made hitherto—and denying even the most obvious deficiencies in our literature, such as the absence of satisfactory historical records, and our most obvious defects. As long as this spirit exists in us, we can never hope to be able to throw light on our ancient history, and on the excellencies and defects of our race, and never hope to rise. While, if we shake ourselves free of such a bias, and critically and impartially examine our old records and institutions, we shall do very great service to our country ; we shall be able to check the conclusions of some European scholars who are swayed by an opposite bias; and at the same time that by a clear perception of our great national defects we prepare the ground for healthy progress in the future, we shall, I promise you, find a great deal in the past of which we may honestly be proud.

But an honest and discerning pride in the achievements of our ancestors entails a heavy responsibility and duty. We should render ourselves the worthy sons of the fathers whom we respect.

A son that is no better than the father or is worse certainly dishonours him. Have we then not been dishonoring our ancestors, of whom we profess to be so proud, by going backwards and thus becoming worse than they, or, at the best, standing where they left us ? For, if you examine your history you will find that your philology is where Panini and Katyayana left it, and your philosophy and literature where Kapila, Kanada, Gotama, Valmiki, Vyasa and others left them ; and your social institutions are actually far more irrational than theirs were in the very olden age. Let us therefore do honour to them by showing that we have their capacities and can use our rare opportunities. We have just seen how fifteen hundred years ago, the Hindus availed themselves of the astronomical knowledge of the Greeks; they 'worshipped' the Greek astronomers, in the words of Garga, 'as Rsis', and finally, according to Prof. Weber, who is by no means fond of praising us, advanced astronomical science further than they did. Let us act likewise, and, sitting at the feet of the English, French, and German Rsis, imbibe the knowledge that they have to give, and at least keep pace with them, if not go beyond them. Let us learn, let us reform. If we do not do so, fifteen centuries hence, the antiquarian of the period will, unlike Weber, say, " the English placed before the Indian Aryas the highest civiliazation which Europe had reached by the end of the nineteenth century ; but in the hot plains of India, the Indian Aryas had grown so degenerate, that it produced no influence whatever on them, and their degeneracy deepening, they eventually became hewers of wood and drawers of water, or were swept off the face of the earth by the inexorable law of the survival of the fittest."

LINES FOR FRESH RESEARCH IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE AND INDIAN ANTIQUITIES

[From the Sanskrit Research, Bangalore, 1915, Vol. I, pp. 51ff, being a lecture originally delivered under the auspices of the Free Church College Literary Society of Bombay in 1905.]

It gives me very great pleasure to find that a school of critical scholarship is growing up amongst us. The young men who were sent to Europe and America by Government to work under European and American scholars for two or three years, or who went there on their own account, have been endeavouring, with the assistance of an energetic young gentleman, who is both a scholar of the old and new school, to organise, in connection with an institute at Bangalore, a series of lectures on subjects connected with Sanskrit literature and Indian Archaeology, treated on the principles, accepted and approved by critical enquirers, and also to issue a periodical magazine.

In 1888, just 27 years ago, I delivered a lecture on " the critical, comparative and historical method of inquiry " in connection with the Free Church Literary Society, Bombay, and published it in the form of a pamphlet.¹ It does not appear to have attracted the notice of our Sanskrit students, and there has been very little work done by Indians in the field of critical research. I therefore call the attention of students again to the lecture. Seventeen years later, i. e., about ten years ago, I delivered another lecture in the same institution. Therein I suggested or pointed out fresh fields for research in the various branches of Sanskrit literature and Indian antiquities. This lecture has remained unpublished to this day, and I deem the present one to be a fit occasion, when we have so many young men prepared to work in connection with original research, to

publish it. This I do in the following pages, omitting only a few introductory sentences.

Before I proceed, allow me, gentlemen, to state that whatever is done must be done strictly in accordance with the critical method. There is nothing mysterious about this method. It is the same method as that pursued by a judge in coming to a decision in the civil and criminal cases that come up before him. But I must lay special stress on one or two points in connection with our province of enquiry. We must discard certain suppositions which, as natives of this country, have taken a firm possession of our minds. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata should not be regarded as books of sober and authentic history. Vyasa should not be believed as the author of all the Puranas in face of the facts that their contents are not only inconsistent with each other, but positively betray hostility towards the views and creeds of each other. Nor should all the Puranas be regarded as ancient because they pretend to be so. Some of them are very modern. Several other such suppositions might be mentioned. I would recommend you, for the practical understanding of the method, to read carefully the works of European and American scholars.

The most ancient Sanskrit work is the Rgveda Samhita. European scholars have been working at it for the last fifty years and have published editions of the original and Sayana's commentary on it, dictionaries giving references to all the passages in which a certain word occurs, grammars, translations, innumerable essays discussing particular points, books containing descriptions of the deities and the genesis of the conceptions involved. But the language of the Rgveda is very old ; a great many of the words, grammatical forms and idioms are unintelligible. The question therefore is what are the helps to the study of the Rgveda-Samhita. There is a long commentary on it by Sayana. But the interpretations given by him sometimes appear unnatural and far-fetched ; in some cases, the same word is ex-

plained differently in different places and the same verse is interpreted differently in different Vedas. Sayana, therefore, had no traditional interpretation of the Veda to guide him. Some European scholars, headed by Roth, therefore set him aside entirely and, regarding the Rgveda as an Indo-Germanic work, i. e., a work containing the thoughts of the early ancestors of the whole stock rather than a work belonging to the Indian branch of the race, interpret it by means of etymology, grammar, comparison of all the passages in which a word occurs and by one's own idea of what is appropriate in the case of primitive thought. Other scholars have recently contested the truth of this view and laid down that the Rgveda is essentially a Hindu work; that though Sayana interprets the same words and passages in different places in different ways, still *one* of the ways at least is often found correct and therefore he was in possession of some tradition; that the same holds good of Yaska, who, though he interprets words by means of etymology, often-times mentions the Aitihasikas (or knowers of legends) and Sampradayavids (or persons acquainted with the tradition) ; that the Nighantus, though they contain but a few words and only give their general sense, must be considered as based on tradition ; that there is no wide and impassable clift between the Rgveda and the later literature and that therefore all the help we can derive from this last we must avail ourselves of; that we should seek Hindu ideas (or at least the primitive forms of Hindu ideas) in the Rgveda rather than Indo-Germanic ideas. The necessity of comparing parallel passages and even the aid of etymology are not dispensed with by this school. Pischel and Geldner are the scholars who have put forth this view, and I believe it is correct. Though there is a break in the tradition and a great many changes and revolutions took place in later times, still we cannot say that between the Vedic and later Indians there is that difference which exists between two entirely different nations. I will give an instance of persistent continuity, Caranas or bards in Gujarat and Rajputana narrate stories the verses in which have been composed by others; but

the link between them is supplied by the Cranas Orally in prose, so that if the tradition of the stories is lost and only the verses, as having a permanent form impressed on them, are preserved, these verses become unintelligible without the oral prose link supplied by the living bard. Now the practice of telling such stories existed in Buddhistic times and in those represented by Brahmana literature, and there are hymns in the Rgveda also which are called Akhyana hymns and which contain verses only. The connection between them was once orally supplied but has now to be guessed to render the verses intelligible. Here then we have a continuous literary practice from Vedic times to this day. And in these days we are as anxious about praja (progeny), pasu (cattle or wealth), and daksina as the old Vedic bards were. The Rgveda has been translated from Roth's point of view by Grassmann and to a certain extent by Ludwig also. But if any one of you are disposed to work in this direction, I would recommend its being translated in accordance with Pischel and Geldner's idea. But rather than undertake such a laborious work at once it would be well for you to confine yourself to parts or to the elucidation of certain words and expressions by means of the processes above mentioned. A student of the Rgveda will have to read it many times from different points of view. Even the grammar has not been fully investigated, especially the syntax. Roth has noticed a curious phenomenon in the omission of the termination of a case after some nouns when it is used after others in a sentence. In the case of the omission the termination is to be brought over to the noun from another noun after which it is used. Thus in viii. II. I we have **त्वमग्ने व्रतया अग्नि देव आ मर्तेष्व** ! "Thou O Agni, art the protector of the law among gods and mortals." The sense does require our understanding **देव** as **देवेभ्यः**, the **सु** being brought over from **मर्तेभ्यः**. So also **इवा रुक्ष ओषधीषु हनोत्** vi. 3.7. "The fire roars in trees and bushes", **रुक्ष** having **सु** supplied to it from **ओषधीषु**. Similarly **तमिन्द्रमहात्माजिह्वतेमर्मे इवामहे** (i. 81. 1). "We invoke him (Indra) in fights large and small," Evidently **अर्मे** is here con-

trasted with मङ्गल and should therefore be अङ्गैः. Several more such cases have been adduced by Roth.

The text of Rgveda, there is reason to suppose, is not quite the same as it was originally. Some Suktas and Rks are found in the other Vedas, and there the readings in some cases are different. What the original readings were will have to be determined, if at all possible, by comparing the variation and taking a good many other facts into consideration. The way has been shown by Oldenberg, and it is quite open to any of us to follow it.

Another question that will have to be considered is whether the sacrificial ritual that prevailed in the times of the Rgveda was as elaborate as that detailed in the Brahmanas; and if not, to determine its nature and compare it with that which came in later. The supposition that the Brahmana ritual was elaborated in later times is supported by the fact that the Mantras used in some of the ceremonies are not to be found in the same place in the Samhita, i. e., are chosen from different parts of it, and the principle laid down in the Aitareya Brahmana is that that Rk should be used which has some reference to the ceremony that is performed. So then here we find the practice of attaching Rk verses to every new ceremony to confer sanctity on it in its initial stage. In later times the connection between the Rk used and the ceremony did not go beyond the sameness of sound, howsoever entirely different and inapplicable the sense of the verse was.

There are several questions to be considered in connection with the Upanisads. As to the text, the following facts should be borne in mind. Sometimes the same verse occurs in more Upanisads than one, sometimes a whole passage or story found in one is repeated in another, and sometimes in the same Upanisad. These phenomena appear in an exaggerated form in the Mahabharata. A number of verses in the same are to be found in the Manusamhita and certain stories or discourse

occurring in one book are repeated in another (or the same), sometimes in an expanded form. The occurrence of the same verse or verses in different works I have in other place accounted for by the theory that since writing was in ancient India introduced at a late period and was not generally in use even after its introduction, verses containing a moral or religious idea were composed and handed down orally and, after a time, the name of the author was forgotten. Then when books came to be composed they were appropriated by different authors. The same is the case with regard to long passages containing stories or discussions. They were, so to say, in a floating condition, i. e. in the mouths of people, and were afterwards incorporated in books. As to the same discourse (such as that addressed by Yajnavalkya to Maitreyi in the Brhadaranyakopanisad) being repeated in another part of the work, this circumstance is, I think, to be accounted for by the supposition that the works in which such repetitions occur were made up by collecting matter from different places. The book is really a collection, and not one composed by one and the same author. Hence different versions of the same discourse, found in different quarters, were incorporated in the same book. The repeated discourse often-times contains additions, omissions or variations of reading and thus, though in substance it agreed with a preceding one, it was retained on account of its peculiarities. From this reasoning as well as from the fact that different doctrines are sometimes inculcated in the same Upanisad, it would appear that these works are generally collections of the observations or discourses of different Rsis.

One thing I would recommend in connection with the Upanisads is the study of the growth and development of philosophic and religious ideas from the philosophic hymns of the Rgveda to the Upanisads. It should be determined what it was that communicated an impetus to the thought of a Rsi; why it was that the Ksatriyas are mentioned as particularly active in such speculation ; whether one same doctrine is taught in all the

Upanisads ; whether, if Pantheism is taught, it is of the nature that all reality consists of one soul, eternal, pure, and knowing, and every thing else is an illusion, or that God by means of self-determination assumes the form of the whole external world; and whether there are not purely theistic principles. If there are such, it should be found out what attributes are assigned to the supreme soul, what is represented as the relation between it and the individual soul, and what is aimed at as the *summum bonum*. All other doctrines, if there are any, should be traced. I have mentioned in a paper I published about five years ago' an allusion to the doctrine that the soul is not a permanent substance, and what remains of a man after death is his *karma*,—a doctrine that in later times was adopted by Buddhism. An attempt should also be made to trace the influence of the Upanisad ideas on the later development of Hindu religion and philosophy. For the purposes of such an essay as this the Upanisads must be interpreted philologically, i. e., according to grammar, usage, context, comparison of parallel passages, and any historical information that is available, and not according to the commentary of any particular school, though all the existing commentaries belonging to the different systems should be read in order that the varying interpretations may serve as guides.

We will now turn to Vyakarana or Grammar. The knowledge of the Grammar of Sanskrit must have been fully attained before the time of Panini and from the very arrangement of his rules Panini's object seems to be to reduce the whole to the shortest possible compass and give it a systematic form. But the question is what is the language taught by Panini. It is not that of the Vedas, since its grammatical peculiarities are specially noticed by him, nor of the Ramayaoa and Mahabharata, for there are a good many forms in them which violate Panini's rules. The later literature was not popular literature and the author specially learned Panini's grammar and wrote in con-

formity with it. Some European scholars, and especially the American Sanskritist Whitney, have expressed their utter want of confidence in the grammarians and consider the language taught by them as fanciful or existing only in their imagination. A love of an artificial system is attributed to Indians generally, and if some matters cannot be brought into harmony with a preconceived system, they are made to be so. Thus, the Suktas in the Vedas have each an author mentioned in connection with them. In some cases the author's name is unknown ; but to carry out the system thoroughly, a word from the hymns is taken out and understood and mentioned as the name of the author. Whitney, therefore, does not believe in the reality of the forms taught by the grammarians unless they are found actually used in the language. And first about the Dhatupatha it is stated that only about 850 roots out of about 1700 given in it can be traced in the language. The rest, therefore, are invented by the grammarians. Now, as to the lists given by Panini they do not afford a fair ground for judging of his accuracy. For, there is every probability that there are interpolations in them and if there are more roots given in the Dhatupatha than are found in the literature the fault may be of later writers or readers. Still, though not found in the existing Sanskrit literature, some roots are found in the Pali stories called Jatakas, as has been pointed out by Dr. Buhler, and some in our present-day Vernaculars. No instance of the use of the root **हृश्** to touch has been given in the Petersberg Dictionary; but in the form of **हृ[ना]** Hindi and **हिर[ने]** Marathi it does exist in our languages. Similarly, in the case of forms the change of **धे** to **हे** in the perfect, as in **ब्रह्महे** prescribed by the grammarians, he asserts, is due to "down-right unintelligent blundering", because there is nothing here which might be expected to change the dental to a cerebral; Why not ? There is the same thing here as in the case of **अनुद्वन्द्व** and **अस्तोद्वन्द्व**, which forms Whitney gives in his grammar as correct. He does not **विब्रह्महे** in the literature, but he does not **विब्रह्महे** either; then why condemn

the former in such violent terms ? It is only a person who does not understand Panini and is prejudiced against Indian writers generally that can use such expressions in speaking of him. Whitney's attacks go much further and he even condemns the logic of his system. But the German scholars, the venerable Hofrat Dr. Böhtlingk and Dr. Keilhorn's pupils have defended him. Now, to be able to say that the grammarians are untrustworthy because the forms and phrases they teach are not found in the existing literature, it is necessary that one should have before one a vast literature composed of works of all sorts, works containing discourses, narrations, and lively conversations. But all styles are not fully represented in the existing Sanskrit literature. Here, as in the case of roots, our Vernaculars may sometimes assist the inquirer in finding out whether the grammarians have taught the language correctly. Thus expressions like **वाहि वाहीति याति** " goes again and again," or **न संभावयामि स महान्हरिं निन्दिष्यति** " I do not think it probable that his honour will abuse Hari" as applicable even to a past time in which he is asserted to have abused him, are not found in the old literature ; but still our Marathi has the phrases, as in **जा जा जातो** and **मला वाटत नाही कीं तो हरीची निंदा करील** said in reply to one who has reported, **त्याने हरीची निंदा केली**. It would certainly not do here to say that in teaching these phrases Panini drew on his imagination.—If then some of Panini's forms and phrases are not found in the existing literature, but his grammar does teach a real language, what was that language ? About thirty-seven years ago I showed, in the Preface to my Second Book of Sanskrit, that the several past tenses are used in the Aitareya Brahmapa exactly in the senses attached to them by Panini. Dr. Keilhorn's pupils have carried on the examination further and the conclusion follows that the Bhasa or spoken language of which Panini teaches the grammar was akin to that of the Aitareya and other Brahmagas. A question connected with this is whether Sanskrit was ever a spoken language. Curious views are held with reference to this by European scholars, some of whom do not seem to be

actuated quite by an impartial spirit. These I have considered in my Seventh Wilson Philological Lecture published in the Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, and arrived at the conclusion that the Sanskrit was the language of educated people and the Prakrit of the lower strata of society, and the area over which the former was spoken gradually became narrower and the Prakrits went on developing until they have become the modern Vernaculars. Dr. Franke has written on the subject and arrived at similar results, and recently a paper followed by a debate was read at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society. No two scholars approach the subject from the same point of view, the question often becomes confused and it is very difficult sometimes to apprehend precisely the difference between two writers and speakers. Still the whole question is worthy of reconsideration ; and I would recommend to your attention Patanjali's Mahabhasya, which is a great work well worthy of close study. The style is pure, sometimes lovely, the argumentation is close and subtle, and it is real pleasure to read and understand the book. But often it is difficult to apprehend the connection between the several sentences. The instances given and the observations frequently made are full of information, but these have already been collected by Weber. Still a careful reader will glean much more than Weber has done. It is worth the while of a critical student to devote close attention to the work.

I will now turn to the Mahabharata. European scholars have but recently begun to study this epic and grapple with the innumerable questions connected with it. One of the main points is whether the Mahabharata is a Smṛti, i. e. a didactic work, or an Epic. If the former, the principal object must be considered to be to teach morality, the main story and other smaller ones being narrated to illustrate and support the doctrines inculcated. On this theory the whole book, it is said, will have to be considered as having from the beginning existed in the form in which we find it to-day. But I have already, in going over the Upanisads, given a reason why* the Mahabharata must

be considered as a collection of heterogeneous matter **and** not as one whole. Again, southern Mss. of the Epic are different from those in the North. A copy of Asvamedha Parvan in Telugu characters was once examined by me; and I found it contained stories and other matter which the Bombay edition did not contain. Again, Patanjali mentions the names of Yudhisthira, Bhima, Arjuna etc., and the family name Pandava, and tells us that the Kurus fought in accordance with the law, i. e. theirs was a fair fight in which no undue advantage was taken and that Yudhisthira and Arjuna were well-known. Taking these facts into consideration and the circumstance that the name Mahabharata is mentioned by Asvalayana and Panini, 1 arrive at the conclusion that a Mahabharata existed in Patanjali's time. Still, under Panini iv. 2. 60, he tells us that Yavakritika is one who reads and knows the Akhyana of Yavakrita and Yayatika one who reads or knows the Akhyana of Yayati. Here these Akhyanas are evidently spoken of as having a separate existence. But at present we have them in the Mahabharata alone. And since we have supposed that a Mahabharata existed in the time of Patanjali, these stories did not form parts of it. Even if they did, and the stories existed separately also, the circumstance would show that the Mahabharata was made up by collecting matter from different quarters.—Again, the different parts of the Epic are unequal and written in different styles. I have elsewhere given a reason why I consider the chapter in the Anusasana Parvan in which the relations between the Sakas and Yavanas on the one hand and tirahmans on the other are represented to have been written after those races had lost their predominance in the country, i. e. about the end of the fourth century. In the epic itself it is represented as having been edited at different times, the editions differing from each other in extent. From all these reasons it appears that even in the beginning, when the first shape was given to it, it was a work of the nature of a collection like the Upanisads; but unlike these, additions were made to it later from time to time;

But a didactic character it seems in some way to have borne from the beginning. Patanjali, as already noticed, reports the tradition which exists at the present day that the Kurus fought in conformity with the law (Dharma), i. e. the moral law. If the war was so regarded, the idea of making it serve a moral purpose must have existed in very early times; and if it did, it is easy to understand how the Epic should attract material of a didactic nature from different quarters. It is by no means necessary to suppose that the existence of that idea must necessarily have led to the Epic being at once cast into the form in which it now exists. The idea was there and it served as an attracting centre. The Mahabharata, as I have elsewhere stated, is mentioned in inscriptions dated A. D. 492-3 and 495-6, and as a Satasahasri or composed of a lakh of slokas as it now is in one of the year A. D. 532-3. The Bhagavadgita formed an episode of the work in the time of Bana, i. e. middle of the seventh century, and the Narayanoiya which we have at the end of the Santiparvan, in the time of Sarhkaracarya in the beginning of the ninth century. Looking to the fact that what we at present consider the regular metres mostly prevail in the Mahabharata and to the frequency with which the irregular ones occur in the Upaniṣads, the work must be supposed to have been composed after them and about the same time as the metrical works in Pali, i. e. about the fourth century before Christ.

These questions of the nature, composition and state of the Mahabharata deserve your attention. But the Mahabharata is a mine of information about the literature and philosophy, aims and ideals, manners and customs, and social and moral condition of the periods to which its different parts refer. It deserves study from this point of view, and as it is a huge work certain points or portions only might engage the attention of one scholar; Before however setting to work one must read what the European and American scholars have written about it. We have in German the volumes published by A. Holtzmann* Father Dahlroan, and Jacobi, and in English that published by

Professor Hopkins as also an article on the "ruling caste" in the Journal of the American Oriental Society.

The Ramayana also deserves our attention. Mss. of the poem differ widely from each other. One often-times contains verses and passages which are paraphrases of the corresponding ones in another. A chapter in one is sometimes longer than that which answers to it in another, or has a portion of the text in the later incorporated in it. This has been accounted for by the supposition that the poem was learnt by heart by rhapsodists, who went from place to place and recited it for the delectation of their hearers, and when it was committed to writing by different persons from the mouths of different rhapsodists, the Mss. came to be in the condition in which we find them. The last or Uttarakanda and also the first or Balakanda were added in later times ; and the story really begins with the exile of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana to a forest. These points you will have to consider if you mean to devote yourselves to the study of the Ramayana. The condition of the country South and North as depicted in the poem will also be an interesting study as well as the manners, customs, aims and ideals of the people, as in the case of the Mahabharata. You will also have to consider why it is that the characters in the Ramayana are not mentioned in the Mahabharata as those in the Mahabharata are, and why even Amara gives the name of Kṛṣṇa among the synonyms of Viṣṇu, but not of Rama. It will also be useful to compare the story with that in the Dasaratha Jataka, which represents Rama, called Ramapandita, Lakshmana and Sita, the children of the eldest wife of Dasaratha, to have been banished to a forest for twelve years, because the wife that had succeeded the mother of Rama wanted Dasaratha again and again to assign the kingdom to her son Bharata; and Dasaratha feared that she might even take away the life of Rama and the other two. But nine years after, Dasaratha died and Bharata instead of ascending the throne went to Rama and endeavoured to persuade him to return and assume the sovereignty. But since he had been banished for twelve

years and there still remained three, Rama would not return. At the end of the three years he came back and took possession of the throne. Curiously enough, Sita though represented as Rama's sister, was raised to the dignity of the Chief Queen.

I may here mention that the large number of Jataka stories in Pali, which have now all been printed and some¹ of which have been translated, deserve careful study. As already stated, Dr. Bühler made use of them to point out to Professor Whitney that some of the roots in the Dhatupatha, the existence of which he attributed to the inventive faculty of the Indian grammarians, were in vernacular use. Another scholar has written a book based on them on the " social divisions in Eastern India at the time of Buddha". The stories are interesting in more ways than one and the information to be gleaned from them as to the manners and ways of thinking of all sorts of men from the king to the common labourer in the street and the condition of Indian Society generally is very valuable. They vividly represent the virtues and vices of the times to which they refer.

Puranas (and usually the Purana) are mentioned in some of the Brahmanas and Sutras. The contents of a Purana are five-fold : 1. creation, 2. resolution or dissolution, 3. family or geneology, 4. the Manus or certain periods, and 5. the doings of persons belonging to certain families. The idea has been started by Mr. Jackson that originally there was only one Purana as in speaking of it the singular (Purana) only is used. But that is not the invariable practice ; the plural also is used. But while comparing the Vayu, the Mirkaijdeya, and Linga Puragas it appeared to me that the sections on creation agree in substance as well as words in those Puranas as if they were derived from a common source ; while the Visnu has an abridged form of them. It appears that the Puranas were written to extol particular deities such as Visnu, Siva, Durga, etc. and

1 Since the above was written all have been translated.

advance their worship, to sanctify customs that had come into use and lay down certain religious duties and prohibit others which had become obsolete. The earliest of them mentions Gupta princes and consequently must have been written, as I have elsewhere stated, in the last quarter of the fourth century. They are of use for tracing the growth of the religion that took the place of the old Vedic fire-worship. Most of the facts and observances of the religion of the day have their authority in one or other Purana.

As to the Hindu Law which we study it is based on certain metrical works which are ordinarily called Smrtis. There are older works which are called Dharma Sutras. Patanjali seems to know of those only and not of the Smrtis. Some Dharma Sutras, such as those of Apastamba, Gotama, Vasistha etc., are extant. Each of these belonged to a certain Vedic school or Carana, and thus religious and civil law grew up within the limits of that body. A demand for a law binding on all was not, it appears, felt for a long time; but it came to be felt eventually, and the metrical Smrtis began to be written for general use. Some of these, there is reason to suppose, were based on the Dharma-Sutras ; and as I have stated elsewhere, the Vinayaka-Santi in the Yajnavalkya Smrti agrees almost word for word with the Sutras of the Katha school on the subject. The doctrines laid down by the Smrtis have been expounded by the authors of the Commentaries or Nibandhas, such as Medhatithi, Vijnanesvara, Apararka and Nilakantha. It would be worth the while of a Sanskrit scholar who is at the same time a lawyer to trace the history of Hindu Law, both religious and civil, from its beginning in our oldest literature through the Dharma-Sutras and the Smrtis, to the Nibandhas or Commentaries ; and if this is a wide subject, any portion of it only might be taken up for such a treatment. The Tagore Law-lecturers at Calcutta, including Professor Jolly, have done good work in connection with the subject. The introduction to the translation of law books published by Dr. Bühler and Jolly in the series of the

Sacred Books of the East will give the readers a good knowledge of the development of Hindu Law up to the rise of the Smrtis. An easier work, though laborious, would be to trace the quotations from Smrtis given in the Nibandhas to their source to enable one to find out whether the Smrtis before their authors were exactly those which we have at present under the same names.

European scholars have not yet done much to elucidate Indian philosophy. I have considered the first portion of the subject already in going over the Upanisads. The notions put forth in those works were worked out in the older times by authors whose names are like those of the Rsis, such as Auduloma, Asmarathya, Badari etc., but all we know of their work are the extremely short notices contained in Badarayana's Sārīraka Sūtras. This latter work, as the principal work of the Vedānta, has been commented on by the founders of the various Vedāntic schools of modern times. Most of them twist 'the sense of the Sūtras whenever they have to interpret them in accordance with their own doctrines; but it is a useful task to find out what Badarayana's [own] system was. Dr. G. Thibaut has already done this to a large extent. But there is room for more work in connection with it. The author of the Sūtras does not support the doctrine of Maya ; and it would be worth the while of a scholar to trace the history of the doctrine through all the available works, including Buddhistic works of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools, the Yoga-Vasistha and the system of the Kashmir Saivas. A similar treatment should be accorded to Rāmanuja's doctrine of the reality of God, the individual soul and the inanimate world as three distinct substances, the last two being under the perfect control of the first, who is their internal soul and whose bodies they constitute. A work comparing the doctrines of the various Vedāntic systems that prevail, viz. those of Saṃkara, Rāmanuja, Mādhva, Vallabha, Nimbarka and others together with an account of their attitude towards the prevailing religion of ceremonials is very desirable, .

There is a great deal of work to be done in connection With the System of philosophy not proposing to be based on the Upanisads. What the Samkhya system is is, I believe, not yet clearly understood. Hitherto it has been usual to translate, the Prakrti of this school by Nature which, of course, is inanimate nature.' But the first product of Prakrti is Buddhi or definite conception (अव्यवसाय) and through it is produced Ahamkara or consciousness of self. How this can be a product of Nature in its ordinary sense is more than I can understand. The Samkhya philosophy is the earliest. The words Samkhya and Yoga as well as some of the peculiar terms of the system (*Mahat, Avyakta, Pradhana, Purusa* or *Rsetrajna*) occur in the Upanisada. In the Bhagavad:gita and other parts of the Mahabharata also there are some of these terms; and the Puranas explain the genesis of the world by speaking of the production of the Samkhya principles from the Avyakta or Pradhana put into motion by God. The chief authority for the system is Isvarakrsna's Karika. The so-called .Samkhya Sutra I consider to be spurious. The doctrines are atheistic. But the Samkhya alluded to in some of the works mentioned above is theistic, and probably the words Samkhya and Yoga are not used in their technical sense. I would propose that somebody should take up this subject, collect the passages in which these words and some technical terms of the system occur, determine the sense of the words and decide whether the references are to Isvarakrsna's atheistic Samkhya or to any other system. of course the interpretation must be philological; it would not do to accept the views of the sectarians, who interpret the word *Avyakta* in the Kathopanisd to mean " the body".

The Nyaya and Vaisesika systems should be studied, with a view to ascertain their origin. Are there any germs in the previous literature which developed into those systems? An endeavour should be made to ascertain this. The great commentaries on the Sutras of the two schools should be carefully studied to ascertain the points in dispute between the Buddhists and those schools, and the manner in which they argue with each

other. . For, in the celebrated passage in Vacaspati's commentary on the Uddyota the former tells us that the doctrines laid down By Vatsyayana in his explanation of Gotama's Sutras were refuted by *the Buddha* Dinnaga; and' Bharadvaja wrote his Uddyota to answer his objections and set Vatsyayana right. If possible, any Buddhistic work on Dialectics that may be available should be read for the purpose of comparison. The Nyaya System of Dialectics is very interesting, and probably. controversies such as those regulated by it must often have taken place in the olden days.

Lastly, I would suggest that the history of the manner in which the descendants of the old fire-worshipping Rsis have become devotees of Visnu, Siva, Durga and a host of other deities, and built temples instead of yajna- mandapas and worshipped idols instead of invisible deities, by throwing oblations into the fire- in. then; names should be investigated. The innumerable animals that were slaughtered in the Yajnas or sacrifices produced feelings of revulsion)' wordly life was found to be miserable; and there were dreams of a happy Condition in another 'World. The Upanisad Rsis therefore, resorted to the contemplation of the Supreme Soul; that pervades the beautiful Universe, and aimed at the closest possible approach to him or union with him as the' means of the highest bliss. The Buddhas and Jainas found a way in righteous and benevolent conduct, and others derived comfort from adoring' Vasudeva regarded as the Supreme Being 'and sought for their highest bliss in love for him and faith in him. This school was known after wards by the name of Bhagavata and Pancaratra. The Vasudeva of this school and of the Bhagavad-gita were afterwards identified with Visrtu and Narayana, who had already been objects of worship before, and thus arose modern Vaisnavismi But India has ever been exposed to the inroads' of foreigners and the settlement of these *in the country*' has led to the, multiplication of races.' These faces had their own gods. Some of them, who had preceded the Aryas in their occupation of the country, worshipped then god by means of the

phallus, and his worship must have been so general that he was taken over by the Aryas and identified with their Vedic Rudra. Other races worshipped other deities and these also were adopted into the pantheon, and Puranas were written to exalt their glories. Buddhism and Jainism being religions founded by men who came to be considered as perfect beings, naturally there was a desire to worship their relics and pay homage to their statues. The worship of these became general and spread over the Indian world and hence idols of Rama, Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmi, Siva and Parvatī were prepared and established in public places for worship. But whatever may be the mode of accounting for the religious revolution that took place in the country, the question itself deserves careful study, and one who desires to take it up will have to read the Puranas, the Pāncarātra-Agamas, the Śaiva-Agamas, the later literature of the several sects, and some portion Of the Buddhistic and Jaina literatures.

I will devote the remaining portion of the lecture to the consideration of the study of Indian antiquities or of Indian history by means of coins and inscriptions and by the help of such incidental notices in Sanskrit literature as may be available. If you wish to take up the subject, you will have to cast a glance over the volumes of the Indian Antiquary, the *Epigraphia Indica*, the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society, of its Bombay Branch and of the Bengal Asiatic Society, as well as the separate volumes of inscriptions that are published, and the Archaeological Reports, and read such portions of these as refer to the line you may have chosen. As to the inscriptions of Asoka and those in the cave temples the last thing has not been said about them yet. They deserve a fresh study, The University has been offering a prize for transcripts and translations of the Karla inscriptions but no candidate has yet appeared. Then we have to consider the inroads of the Greco-Bactriani princes into India and the establishment of a kingdom by them in the Punjab with Sakala for their capital. One of these princes named Milinda is noticed in a Buddhist work as holding a controversy with a Buddhist saint

named Nagasena. Milinda has been identified with Monander. The Bactrians were followed by the Sakas, who ruled over Kathiawar and Malva for more than 200 years, but were soon followed in Northern India by the Kushanas. There appear to have been two families of these, the later having Kaniska for its founder. The name of this prince is famous in the literature of the Mahayana Buddhism. He is generally placed in the first¹ century of the Christian Era, but I have on a careful consideration assigned him to the first quarter of the third century. There are dates in his inscriptions, but they run on from the unit figures (5, 6, etc.) and I have supposed that the hundreds in those numbers have been omitted in accordance with a practice prevalent in Kashmir in later times. But I am now of opinion that the existence of that practice in the early centuries cannot be proved; there is an inscription of the third Kushana prince in eastern Malva which is dated in the same way as the others belonging to the dynasty, and the practice of omitting hundreds does not seem to have ever existed in Malva. I would, therefore, now put forward the supposition that Kanaka founded an era of his own, but that its initial date must be about A. D. 200. -The whole evidence I have brought forward is consistent with *only* such a late date and not with the first century.¹ No scholar has answered my arguments, but they are sceptical as to the truth of my conclusion, and some wish me to read the notices occurring in a Chinese book about the Kushanas, and reconcile them with it. I have yet found no time for it. But this question of Kaniska's date is important and is worthy of being taken up by any one of you. Then followed the dynasty of the Guptas and the Kushanas, and the Sakas of the Kathiawar and Malva were deprived of their power. But foreigners continued to pour into the country. There were Abhiras who penetrated into the country in such large numbers that after they became Hindus

1 Since the above was written, several other inscriptions containing the name of Kaniska have been discovered and the whole evidence requires a thorough sifting.

they formed subdivisions of some of our castes and we have now. Aher sonara and ordinary sonars, Aher sutars and ordinary sutars and Aher gaulis and ordinary ganlis and several more of such divisions. A dynasty of Abhiras seems to have, reigned somewhere in the Matatha country, probably in Khandesh, since an inscription of one of the princes exists at Nasik. Again we had an iuroad of another foreign race called the Gurjaras. The Gurjaras, who came by way of the Punjab and gave their name to a part of it which is called Gujarat to this day, settled in Rajputana and founded a kingdom, thence extended, their power to Kanauj, which became their capital, and afterwards an off-shoot of the race established a kingdom at Anahilapattana and gave the name Gujarat to the province of Lata. This race has also given rise to a special division of castes like the Abhiras. The history of these races which have settled in the country and become Hindus deserves to be carefully studied; all the information that can be got must be secured and that which is now available to us must be weighed critically. I am of opinion that some at least of the Rajput families of the present day are of a foreign origin. Inscriptions, of some of the dynasties that ruled over Northern India have been published, but the information available from them has not been collected and put into shape, as that referring to the Maratha and Canarese dynasties has been. A family of the name of Kalacuri reigned in Cedi or the country about Chattisgarh and; a good deal of information is available about it and it can be put into shape. The subject was proposed for a university essay several times but it was not taken up by any body.¹ A dynasty that ruled over some part of Gujarat and even Maharastra in the fourth century and is known by the name of Traikutakas used the same era as that used by the princes of Cedi., The question to be considered is whether it belonged to the same race as those princes. The history of the Paramaras of Ujjayini

1.This year (1915) how ever ,an essay on this subject has been

and Dharadesa has also to be written. We possess a good deal of information about them

You will thus see how many questions there are In Sanskrit literature And Indian Antiquities which require, to, be, taken up. If we natives of, the Country study them strickly according to the critical method, we are likely to throw more light on them in in sortie respects than European and American scholars. But what is the reason of the fact that though we have been teaching Sanskrit in the University for the last forty years, we have turned out but few critical schplars ? The reason probably is that a man must first devote himself to something that enables him to earn his livelihood ; and most of his time being spent in that pursuit, very little is left for anything else. And scholarship is not something , that you can acquire at odd moments. Ihave₂ therefore, been for several years urging the endowment of permanent fellowships in connection with the Colleges or Universities, and even proposed that the Daksina fund, which, in my opinion is now wasted on what are called Daksina fellowships tenable for a year or two only, should be used for endowing .permanent fellowships, ,Lord Harris took up the question at my suggestion, but in the face of the opposition of the Department,which is jealous of any suggestion from without, he had to give it up. And endowing fellowships from some other source is something that Government have not yet considered to be necessary for the advancement of original research among us and no patriotic Indian, has turned his attention to it.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Delivered on the 15th of December 1918, at the Bhandarkar Oriental.
Research Institute on the occasion of the Opening of a Series
of Lectures arranged by the Institute.

{FROM THE ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR INSTITUTE, VOLUME I
(1919-20), pp. Iff.].

THE OBJECT of this Institute is to promote among its members a spirit of inquiry into the history of our country—literary, social and political—and also to afford facilities to outsiders engaged in the same pursuit. The idea is to get scholars to deliver lectures and read papers before the members of the Institute and to publish these in the form of a journal. The work undertaken is indeed arduous ; and it may well be questioned Whether we Indians are sufficiently advanced to undertake unaided such a task with confidence and execute it in a manner so as to bring about fruitful and uncontestable results. To secure such results some familiarity with the critical and comparative method of inquiry is necessary. Institutions similar to this, e. g. the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, have been in exigence for a long time among us, and several Indians have distinguished themselves by their work in connection with them. Our University has sent out into the world a large number of students of Sanskrit and the vernacular languages of India; but the number of inquirers has been very small and almost insignificant. Besides, much of the work done by Indian scholars is considered by the leading scholars of Europe as possessing little worth. We may easily retort to this charge and show their incompetence in dealing with Sanskrit matters; nevertheless we ought to ascertain whether this charge brought against us is based on truth, and, if so, we should set about mending our ways.

I have already tried to impress on our students the importance of the pursuit of a critical -and comparative method of

inquiry,¹ and indicted the lines of research that should be followed.² But these lectures of mine do not seem to have produced a very wide effect ; though, of course, I am much gratified to find that a small body of critical scholars has, now grown up and is still growing up amongst us, and naturally they are among the members of this institution. Still, I must once hastily go over what I may call the temptations of an Indian scholar. He is prone to see good in everything old. If he does it without any evidence, he makes himself ridiculous and unworthy of attention; and sometimes even when there is evidence he is prone to take that view of it which reflects most credit on his ancestors. For instance, in a paper entitled ' International Law in Ancient India ' a scholar from Madras states that injury to the cultivators, their implements and crops by the enemy was against our international law. If this is to be quoted in our favour as against the practice of European combatants, the fact that European fights are between nations, while Indian fights have been between princes or chiefs, the great body of their subjects remaining unaffected, should not be lost sight of; so that if the enemy did not lay waste the land of the cultivators or do them any other injury, it may possibly have been due to the fact that in the case of success the cultivators and their lands belonged as much to the invading enemy as to the original chief. But this is not an instance of extravagant admiration for ancient Hindus, and it is taken from a paper which is thoughtful and written on critical lines.

But the tendency towards such admiration is very strong in the generally uncultured mind. Several years ago a young enthusiast came to me and wanted to know if in the course of my search for manuscripts I had come across a copy of the Maya-

1 In a lecture delivered in 1888 under the auspices of the Free Church Literary Society, Bombay, and published *Ante*, pp. 362 ff.

2 In a lecture delivered in 1905 in the same institution and published *Ante*, pp. 394 ff.

Samhita which, he said, contained instructions for the accomplishment of wonderful feats. On my replying in the negative, he said that Europeans must have found a copy of the Samhita ; for otherwise how could they have possibly made the discoveries and inventions such as those of the telegraph, the telephone and others ? Again there are persons who find in the Rgveda an allusion to the X-rays, railways and what not. I hope you will not consider my having brought forward these cases an insult to you, implying a comparison of your work with theirs. But what I have called the peculiar temptations of an Indian scholar do, in a large number of cases, influence our judgment.

For instance, reverence for the name of Vyasa is early instilled into our minds. Consequently we are apt to feel shocked if anybody were to tell us that Vyasa is only a mythical figure without any historical counterpart. Yet the chief circumstances we know about him are so incongruous and conflicting with each other that they unmistakably point to that coadusion. Vyasa is said to be the grandfather (by means of Niyoga) of both the Pandavas and the Kauravas, and yet he lived long enough to watch their deeds and write about them after the time of their death or ascension to heaven, and thus compose a voluminous work beyond the working capacities of an old man. Again, it is said of him in the Visnu-Purana that there was only one Veda in the beginning and that Vyasa divided it into four and taught it to four pupils: the Atharvaveda he taught to Sumantu, the Samaveda to Jaimini, the Yajurveda to Vaisampayana, and the Rgveda to Paila. Asvalayana in his Grhya-Sutra gives a list of the Rsis or Vedic teachers in whose name oblations of water have to be made on certain occasions. Among these Rsis are the authors of the several Manilas of the Rksamhita, and the writers of the Brahmanas and Sutras, such as Kausitaka, Samkhayana, Aitareya, etc., whose works have come down to us. This, therefore, is a list of actually living Vedic teachers. In this list occur the names Sumantu, Jaimini, Vaisampayana, and Paila, spoken of as the pupils of Vyasa in the Visnu-Purana, to whom he taught the

four Vedas. If the names of the alleged *pupils* of Vyasa do occur in this list of teachers, why not that of Vyasa himself if he was a historical personage and a teacher of these four? Again the Brahma-Sutras are attributed to Badarayana, which is regarded as another name of Vyasa. So that our Vyasa is to be the author of the Brahma-Sutras also. Even such a great writer as Ramanuja subscribes to this opinion and considers this Vyasa to be the same as the author of the Mahabharata. But in the Sutras themselves occur names of ancient authors with an indication of their views which are often contrasted with each other. With the views of Jaimini, a name specially connected with the karmamarga or the road to final bliss by means of deeds such as sacrificial ceremonies, are contrasted those of Badarayana which have a reference to the jnanamarga or the way of knowledge. One would here expect the name of Vyasa, if that was the name of the author of the Brahma-Sutras; but we have that of Badarayana only. Vyasa is also considered as the author of all the Puranas. But these contain conflicting views, and the same author cannot be considered as speaking highly of the gods Siva and Visnu in one place and making contemptuous observations about them in another. So that here too Vyasa is a mythical personage. The word vyasa has the sense of expansion or analysis, as opposed to samasa which means contraction or synthesis. As observed before, the Visnu-Purana reports that all the four Vedas form one whole. This whole was expanded or analysed into four distinct substances. The Brhad-Aranyaka-Upanisad has in two places an enumeration of the then existing lore, in which Itihasah and Puranam are put in the singular number, showing that each of these formed an independent whole. These afterwards were analysed, or divided, or expanded into the many stories contained in the Mahabharata and into the large number of Puranas that we possess. Thus there was a vyasa in each of the three cases and its importance led to the identification of the action with the actor : the analysis came to denote the analyser.

Similarly, we have been since our childhood so familiar with the stories contained in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana that we should at once 'condemn the critic who spoke of the stories as cotistitntitig merely legendary poems, i.e., works of imagination, having perhaps historical basis of which one cannot be certain. The poems are very valuable from the historical point of view, because one can gather from them information as to what men and women did or thought in those days, i. e., as to the stage of civilization at which they had arrived when the poems were composed. But the occurrences reported in them cannot be regarded as strictly historical. In a prize-essay that I had to examine in connection with our University, the writer—who, I believe, was an M. A.—stated that the Mahabharata was in every sense such a historical work as that of Thucydides. But it did not occur to him that before making such a statement it was necessary for him to settle whether the poem had one author or more, whether these authors were contemporary witnesses of the events they reported and whether the stories told by them were in themselves credible.

As to the authors of the metrical treatises on Law they mostly bear the names of old Rsis of the Upanisad or Sutra period. But it ought not to be supposed that the laws and usages mentioned in the Smrtis of Yajnavalkya and Asvalayana belonged to the period of Yajnavalkya of the Brhad-Aranyaka and the Asvalayana of the Srauta and Grhya Sutras. It had become the custom or a matter of style to use the names of older sages in composing the Smrtis and Puranas of the period of what I have elsewhere¹ called the Brahmanic revival.

I have here briefly sketched the natural failings of Indian scholars. The fact is that the literature and the antiquities we examine are our own, and naturally we look more to the contents of a literary work than to its historical relations, which require the exercise of the critical faculty. It is questionable whether

1 In the "Peep into the Early History of India," Ante pp. 7 ff.

a European Scholar reads Sanskrit works to be amused or instructed by them; his point of view is historical and critical. On one occasion I happened to say to the late Dr. Bühler that the Third Act of the Uttararamacarita drew tears from my eyes whenever I read it. He seemed to be surprised. This constitutes the difference in the points of view of the 'Indian and the European scholar. We must not on that account cease to read our Sanskrit and vernacular works for the pleasure and instruction which they afford to us. Only we must take care that our partiality for them in this respect does not obscure our judgment when we have to examine them critically in order to find out their historical relations. We may feel deeply moved by the Third Act of the Uttararamacarita; but when the question of historical truth comes up for consideration, we must be prepared to accept, if our evidence leads to it, that Rama and Sita are mythical personages and that they did not really exist.

I have here touched only the fringe of the subject; the critical method to be pursued I have indicated in the two lectures alluded to above. Our critical studies must be conducted conjointly with European scholars. We should read their works and take hints from the observations contained in them, both as regards the subjects to be investigated and the methods to be followed. Our research work will assuredly bear fruit if it is thus conducted.

In conclusion I am happy to say that, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which we labour, critical scholarship has been steadily advancing among us. In recent years I have had several papers from the Madras Presidency the writers of which show considerable critical acumen and skill and I have full hope that our work here and in the Madras Presidency will put an end to the disparaging tone in which the European scholars speak of us, and compel their approval and even their admiration.

THE MAHABHARATA

. (Being the address delivered by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in inaugurating the Mahabharata Edition work of the Bhandarkar Institute on the 1st of April 1919, This address is being now published for the first time.-N.B.U.]

The Mahabharata is a work which is essentially connected with a stage of civilization which the Indian Aryans had attained, and without which that stage would be unintelligible. The traditions which have been embodied in it have their roots in the most early times. The name Bharata, which indicates the races which fought against each other, occurs in the 3rd Mandala of the Rgveda Samhita, where it is stated that the Brahman or religious worship instituted by Visvamitra protects the Bharata people. On the other hand, in a hymn of the seventh or Vasistha Mandala it is stated that the Bharatas were like sticks used in driving the cattle with — torn into shreds, and were feeble; when Vasistha became their leader, the people of the Trtsu race spread over a wide extent. Similarly a prince of the name of Sudas crossed a certain river safely as Indra was pleased with the ministrations of the Kausikas, i. e., Visvamitra and his kinsmen. On the other hand, in the fight between the ten kings Indra protected Sudas through the religious service performed by the Vasisthas. Thus it appears that these two Rsis were at times the religious leaders of the Bharata tribe and Purohitas of Sudas, but which of them supplanted the other is not easy to determine. This is the origin of the famous enmity of the two sages, elaborated and even grotesque stories of which are narrated in later works-inclusive of the Mahabharata. The enmity of Vasisfha and Visvamitra, which is an article of ordinary Hindu belief, has thus come down to us from early Vedic times, and thus also the name of the fighting race, mentioned in the work Which we propose to edit, is as old as the Rgveda. In the Aitareya Brahmana Dirghatamas Mamateya' is represented as having crowned Bharata, the son of Dusyanta, by the use of the ceremonies contained in the ritual of the Indra coronation, and it is

also Stated that Bharata was enabled by it to conquer the whole world, whereupon he performed the horse-sacrifice indicative of his supreme sovereignty. Similarly the name of Janamejaya, the son of Parikst, is mentioned there as having been thus crowned and having performed A horse-sacrifice.

The Mahabharata is mentioned by panini, and the Bharata and Mahabharata by Asvalayana. One way of determining the position of a work in Sanskrit literature which we resort to is to determine the literary stratum to which it belongs. The Rk-sarhhita forms the oldest stratum (or strata), the Brahmanas form the next, though considerable chronological distance separates the two; then we have the the stratum represented by Yaska and Panini. The question now is what position to assign to the Mahabharata. If we judge form the language, we shall find that it is not in strict conformity with the rules of Panini, as shown by Prof. Raj wade in the case of the Bhagayad gita. This is a stage in the growth of the Sanskrit language at which Pacini's idiom was not strictly cared for, and a great deal of freedom, which we even in Marathi resort to, was used. But the sounds of the language at that stage had not become corrupt by passing through the mouths of foreign races, i. e, had not acquired the form of Pali. In other words, the language of the Mahabharata represents the speech of the Indian Aryans, though strictly grammatical forms had gone out of use. Thus this stage in the growth of the language belongs to a period later than Yaska and Panini. The Mahabharata, therefore, is a work in popular use, and gives us knowledge of the ideas, conceptions, institutions, manners and customs of the Indian Aryans. And thus we find in it the philosophy and the morality which found their proper exposition in the Upanisads and Dharmasutras, such as those of Gautama, Vasistha, and Manu. The object of the writers of the Mahabharata seems to be to include in it in a popular form all the stories, and moral and philosophical conceptions that h a d deveopped from the remotest times to the period when its composition was conceived of. Thus it forms a sort

of encyclopaedia *pi* the knowledge possessed by the Aryans. This object seems to have been never lost sight of during the course of the development of the work and thus we have had : interpolations from time to time. For historical purposes it, is necessary to ascertain what matter was. interpolated at what time. There are. differences of reading in individual cases, but they are not so great as in the case of the Ramayana, for instance. The theory is that the Ramayana was committed to memory and there were rhapsodists who sang it on different occasions. When the poem came to be written out, the reading of the different rhapsodists were used by different writers, and thus we come to have recensions in which the stanzas give the general sense but differ as to the particular words used. Such differences do not seem to exist in the case of the Mahabharata MSS. Its recensions seem to be due to the interpolations introduced from time to time. There, are, of course, as noticed above, varieies of reading in the portions of the recension which agree with each other. Our determination, of the text should proceed mainly on these two lines. The Mahabharata ' Prospectus, which has been prepared carefully by Mr. Utgikar, explains all matters connected with our work. When the text is prepared and established in accordance with the . principles explained therein, then will be the time to inquire into and consider various questions concerning the Epic, such as the following; Whether the purpose of the work is to narrate the heroic deeds of the principal characters and the episodes introduced to set off or illustrate the exploits of the heroes, or whether the main purpose of the work is moral or didactic and the epic portions are introduced to illustrate the didactic purpose; whether the poem originally intended to represent the filial victory of the Kauravas and was afterwards recast in order to represent their defeat and the success of the Pandavas, or whether the poem was gradually altered to give it a Vaisnava character which it had not in the beginning; whether Krsna's early life was spent in the Gokula or cowherd-settlement, or whether it was totally unconnected

with his career as a member of the Satvata branch of the race of Yadu and was introduced into the story in later times.

This work we propose to inaugurate on this auspicious New Year's day of our Hindu calendar. The conception of the undertaking is entirely due to the enlightened views of Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, from whom we have received and are to receive, munificent financial help but that alone will not suffice, and we have to request other chiefs and persons possessing the means to contribute towards the successful execution of the plan. For it should never be forgotten that this is a patriotic work. The Mahabharata is essentially connected with our intellectual life. There is almost no Hindu who has no knowledge of one or more of the heroes whose exploits have been sung in the Epic. Our attitude towards the best of them is respectful and reverential. The late Mr. E. I. Howard, one of our earliest Directors of Public Instruction, often said to me in the olden days that we Hindus should be proud of our Mahabharata heroes, and entertain feelings of admiration and respect for them. That such a work as the Mahabharata should still remain a confused mass scarcely does any credit to us, whose attitude towards the heroes should be of such a nature.

And now a word as to the spirit in which the work should confidently be conducted by us. It should be thoroughly impartial. Our aim should be to find out the truth, whether it is flattering to our racial pride or otherwise. Scholars of the leading European nations have been for a long time engaged in making researches into our literature and ancient history. They have got their own critical methods. New ideas and issues strike them more easily than they do us. On the other hand, there are proper Hindu feelings and ideas which they do not

perfectly understand and make mistakes about. Science is not racial or national. European scholars and ourselves should devote respectful attention to what we have got to say to each other, We should learn from them and strictly use their critical methods, and they should not treat our suggestions with contempt, thus alone with the common efforts of both historical and literary research will advance and throw light upon our past ,which must remain dark without such research.

CONVOCATION ADDRESS

[Delivered by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vice-Chancellor, at the University of Bombay, 1894. Originally published in 1894 by the author.]

Gentlemen of the Senate, Ladies and Gentlemen.— His Excellency the Chancellor has assigned to me the onerous task of addressing you to-day, and it will not, I expect, surprise you if I feel extremely diffident as regards my ability to execute the function which on other occasions was performed by Chancellors, such as His Excellency himself, Lord Reay, Sir James Fergusson, and Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, and by Vice-Chancellors such as Sir Raymond West, Dr. Mackichan, and the Hon. Mr. Birdwood. If I can at all hope to attract your attention, it can only be on the ground of the novelty of a native of this country addressing you from this chair. But even when you look at the fact from that point of view, a feeling of bitter disappointment is sure to arise in your minds. For you have, through a mournful occurrence, lost an opportunity of listening to a more distinguished and abler native of the country, whose public utterances were, as Sir Raymond West in the best notice of Mr. Telang's life hitherto published happily expresses, it, characterised by " a Sweet persuasive reasonableness, illumined by a diffused radiance of feeling, " and whose inner nature was, as he truly says, " in a great degree that of a meditative Saint, enamoured of purity and holiness, and filled with longing aspirations for the progress of mankind, but especially of the Hindus, towards perfection in knowledge, wisdom, and purpose. " A sadder occurrence than the death, at an early age, of your late Vice-Chancellor I do not remember. When his faculties had reached their fullest development and his thoughts on all subjects had become mature, when, by his intellectual and moral excellence, he had but just risen to a position of high honour and influence, and a wide sphere of

usefulness had opened itself before him, and the highest expectations were everywhere formed of the good he would be able to do, he was snatched away from us by the hands of death. He was not only the brightest, or one of the brightest *alumni* of our University, but as a Fellow and Syndic always exerted himself to promote its interests and raise the quality of its tests. In his hands the interests of higher education, so far as the University was concerned, were safe. Mr. Telang's untimely death revived with very great force the controversy which the occurrence of the death of a graduate always gives rise to. His death was followed by that of another gifted graduate who was an M. A. and M. D.—Mr. Vithal Vishnu Gokhale. He was one of six brothers, all of whom, with the exception of the last, who is still young, achieved great distinction at the University, but three of whom had died before him. Another very promising young man, Mr. L. R. Vaidya, who had gone through all the Arts examinations up to the M. A. very successfully, passed the LL. B. and the Advocate's examination, compiled a very useful Sanskrit dictionary, and edited a Sanskrit poem, similarly died a very premature death. And there have been a good many more such instances. The responsibility for the deaths of these young men is, by a large number of persons, brought to the door of the University. The courses laid down are, they say, very difficult, the rules are stringent, a candidate who has failed in one subject is made to go through the whole course again instead of being examined in that one subject only and the examinations are stiff. In the first place, before the charge can be truly made out against the University, it is necessary that an equal number of young men not belonging to the University should be taken, and the percentage of deaths among them shown to be lower. But this has not been done by anybody. In the next place, many of the young men whose deaths we deplore died not immediately after finishing their course, but a good many years after; so that the heavy strain to which the avocation they had chosen subjected them must at least have as much to do with their premature death as the University course. Still, I am not prepared to

deny that the long course of study that a student has to go through before he becomes an M. A., LL. B., or even a B. A. does impose a heavy strain on the intellects of our young men. The education of a Hindu of the upper classes belonging to a generation immediately preceding ours consisted simply of reading and copying letters and a little mental arithmetic, while we have had to go through a course of training lasting for at least ten years in two or three languages, the literature of those languages, mathematics, history, philosophy, physics, &c. The only sort of indigenous education that can at all be compared with that which we receive is that which was given to those who became Sastrins or Pandits. But in their case they took their own time to finish a book, and the number of such Sastrins or Pandits was insignificantly small, there being hardly two or three to each district. If, then, while our fathers, grandfathers and so on were almost entirely free from any mental strain, we are subjected to it for at least ten years, it is not, I think, unreasonable to assume that somehow or other it must tell on our health. What then ? Shall we ask that our colleges and high schools should be shut up ? No, we are so jealous of this free gift of higher education by a civilised Government that whenever there is a report of the abolition of any of these institutions or a Government Resolution having a remote tendency to discourage higher education appears, we are all up in arms,—metaphorically of course. Shall we then render our degree course easy and direct the examiners to put easy questions ? If we think over the matter, we shall see that this demand really means that we want the degree or certificate of higher education, the semblance of it, not the reality. But in practical life semblance will not help us; we must have the reality. And let us see whether while we have the reality of higher education we cannot prevent this heavy mortality amongst our graduates. If we examine the matter more carefully, we shall, I think, find out in what direction the remedy lies. I have been at some pains to ascertain how many men from our M. A. and D. A. lists have died from 1862, the year in which the first B. A. examination was held, to

the year 1880. In this portion of the M. A. list there are the names of 25 Maratha Hindu Graduates, of whom 11, or 44 per cent., have died, and there are 18 Parsis, of whom only 3, or 16*6 per cent., have died. There are three Gujrathis, one Musulman, and two Europeans or Eurasians; but I do not take these into consideration, since the operation of any law in such matters does not become manifest when the area of observation is very limited. In the B. A. list between those years we have 193 names of Maratha Hindu Graduates, of whom 40 or 20.7 per cent, have died. The number of Gujarathi Hindu Graduates is 40, of whom 9 or 22*5 per cent. have died. The number of Parsis is 63, of whom only 6, *i.e.*, 9.5 per cent., have died. The oldest graduate in this portion of the list is of 32 years' standing, and the youngest of 14 years. Amongst graduates, therefore, of between 32 and 14 years' standing, 44 per cent. Hindu M. A.s have died, while of the Parsis only 16.6 per cent; and 20.7 per cent. Maratha Hindu B. A.s have died, 22*5 per cent. Gujarathi Hindu B. A.s, and 9.5 per cent, only Parsi B. A.s. Now what is the cause of this disparity? It cannot be said that the Parsis are less studious than the Hindus, for they have obtained equally high University honours; neither can it be said that after graduation they lead a less busy life than the Hindus. The cause, therefore, must lie in certain circumstances, the existence of which makes the Parsis go on and the absence of which leads to the early breakdown or death of the Hindus. A Parsi enjoys life much better than a Hindu, uses nourishing food, goes through a greater amount of physical exercise, and does not, as a general rule, marry very early. Neither does a Parsi girl enter upon the married condition until she is mature. It must then be that, because these conditions are wanting in the case of the Hindus, so many of them comparatively are unable to bear the strain which higher education and subsequent active life impose upon them and die off. The food used by most of our Hindus, if not all, is hardly nourishing, they have no liking for physical exercise, do not know how to enjoy life, and marry very early and the health of their wives is in a shattered condi-

tion on account of early maternity. Reform in this direction is, therefore, the only way to avert the evil. And this is not the only sphere in which we find the strain upon us to be heavy. We have now come in contact with an energetic race, able to sustain a great deal of continuous and hard exertion, and possessed of habits of punctuality and regularity, which enable a man to go through a large amount of work with the same efforts. We have not yet acquired those habits, and our indigenous modes of work are more leisurely. We have to stand side by side with Englishmen or act under their direction in the work of administration, and compete with them and other European races in matters of trade, commerce, and manufacture. Every one of us who enters the Public Service has to work continuously from 10 o'clock to 5 o'clock, sometimes much later. A man engaged in trade and commerce has always to be on the alert and watchful of his opportunity, and even the labourer in a manufacturing establishment has to work continuously from six in the morning till six in the evening. Thus, under the new conditions of life, we have to bear a heavy strain in almost all spheres of activity. If, then, we will not sink and fall back in the race or die off under the tension, we must turn our attention to reform in the direction indicated by the statistics we have examined. Early marriage, both of boys and girls, must be put a stop to, physical exercise must be regularly resorted to by young as well as old, and our diet must be more nourishing. But I have heard people complain of poverty, and say that they cannot afford to use nourishing food. But complaints of poverty are heard only in connection with education. When a Hindu has to get his boy married he does so, howsoever poor he may be, and borrows, pledges, or pawns, if he has no money. But he will do nothing of the kind for the education of his son. Still he sees that education will enable him to earn a livelihood and sends him to a school, but he will spend as little as possible on the object. Thus, then, to render ourselves fit for the new conditions of life, all our ideas on social matters must undergo a thorough change.

In previous Convocation speeches the change recently introduced into the Arts course has been noticed. As I myself took very great interest in the question and often discussed the new scheme with my lamented friend, Mr. Telang, and as objections are still raised against it in one shape or another, I hope you will allow me to say a few words on it. If one surveys the history of higher education in this Presidency, one will find that a contention between two ideas or sets of views has been going on all along. Some educationists would comprehend or include a great many subjects in a course of general education, while there are others who would put in as few as possible and begin special education early. The necessity of a general education and also of special education has not been denied by either party though in the beginning that for the latter was not practically acknowledged. But there is very great difference as to what subjects a general education and special education should embrace. Higher education began in this Presidency with the establishment of the Elphinstone College about the year 1836. From that time up to the establishment of the University every student of the College had to go through a course of mathematics, beginning with spherical trigonometry and ending with the differential calculus, history, political economy, logic, mental and moral philosophy, and English literature. Even for the B. A. examination, history, and logic and moral philosophy formed part of the necessary course in 1862, the first year, in which it was held. In 1863, however, logic and moral philosophy were taken out of the necessary course and put into the special or optional course. A further change in the same direction was made in 1865, when history also was removed from the necessary course, so that a few books in two languages and a short course in mathematics only formed the accessory course. Thus the specialists fully succeeded. Now, gentlemen, the object in laying down a number of optional subjects is to enable the student to apply himself exclusively to that subject in which he takes interest and thus to acquire a special proficiency in it, which he would not acquire if others repulsive to him were forced upon him. But from the manner in

which the subjects; out of the optional list were chosen,' it would appear that our students had either a varied taste or no taste at all, and were guided by other considerations than the interesting nature of particular subjects. Thus in a large number of cases they did not choose exclusively mathematical subjects or literary subjects or scientific subjects, but took up one or two from one branch and the rest from the others. Thus dynamics and hydrostatics and analytical geometry were chosen with political economy, or logic and moral philosophy ; or chemistry, dynamics and hydrostatics, with political economy. The object of the advocates of special education was in this manner defeated by the students. To prevent a fanciful choice of this kind kindred subjects were in 1879. grouped together and a candidate was required to choose one of these groups. But even in the choice of a group the students were very often guided, as I know from experience, not by their tastes but by the probability of an easy or a difficult examination in them. When, from the known characteristics of certain persons, generally appointed examiners, a student saw that an examination in a certain subject would be easy, he took up that subject; and when that in another subject was similarly expected to be difficult, he rejected that subject or group. Thus it often happened that a young man got his B. A. degree after having gone through about seven poetical and prose books or parts of books in each of two languages and a course in mathematics or science not very comprehensive. During the three or, four years that he spent at college he did not imbibe any sound principles in spheres of thoughts with which he necessarily came in contact after he went into the world. In practical, life there are always political, moral, social, and economic questions coming up, and every graduate has to form some opinion about them and advocate it in the press or on the platform But for this a great many were hardly qualified, not knowing anything about history, political economy, and philosophy. Ignorance of sound thought on those subjects and the absence of the mental discipline which a course of study

the rule that a candidate for LL. B. and M.C.E. should be a Bachelor of Arts, But in the early days of the University the number of B. A.s was Very small and even that of those who passed the Matriculation examination, and the course of medical education extended over five years and that of civil engineering over three. They, therefore, conceived the idea of granting a sort of license to those students of medicine and civil engineering who Were qualified for their particular profession, but were not qualified for a degree. As, however, they considered it inconsistent with the dignity of a University to issue licenses, they gave the name of degrees to the licenses they issued in medicine and civil engineering, and thus we came to have the degrees of Licentiates of Medicine and of Civil Engineering. In law, however, such a necessity was not felt, and and the B. A. qualification was adhered to. But since the time when the rules were promulgated the number of successful candidates at the several examinations in Arts have vastly increased, and while we had 39 candidates who passed the Matriculation in 1862, we have now about 800 or 900 passing every year. In 1862 there were only four B. A.s; We have now between 100 and 150, and at the Previous Examination we have between 160 and 240 successful candidates; and at the 1st B. A. more then 150. The time, therefore, for carrying out the idea of the founders of our University, in a modified shape at least, has long since arrived ; and the engineering faculty has raised the standard of qualification from the Matriculation to the Previous examination. But the medical faculty has been discussing the question for nine years without coming to any conclusion. It was even proposed or resolved that, instead of the Licentiate of Medicine, we should have the more dignified degree of Bachelor of Medicine, and for this at least it was hoped that all medical members of the Senate would agree in requiring a higher standard of general education; but even for that the majority in the Senate would have nothing more than the Matriculation. The sister Universities of Calcutta and Madras have raised their preliminary requirement to the First Examination in Arts; but we Will have nothing of the

kind, It stands to reason that if a medical man has had a good general education, he is likely to be of greater use ; but we do not want him to be a man of general education. This you will admit is a very unsatisfactory condition of things and is unintelligible to my mind, A dead-lock such as this cannot but be a matter of great concern to one who wishes to see self-government flourish in this country, and augurs ill for our future prospects, I earnestly hope, therefore, that wiser, counsels will come to prevail, and our medical faculty and the Senate will decide the question in a satisfactory manner. I would propose for their consideration, as a sort of compromise, whether, if they must have the Matriculation for the degree of Licentiate, it would not be advisable to have the Intermediate as a preliminary qualification for the higher degree of M. B. We shall thus have three medical degrees corresponding with three, stages in general education, that of Licentiate with the Matriculation, the M. B. with the Intermediate, and the M. D. with B. A., The field of choice will thus be comprehensive, and the candidate may choose one of the three according to his own capacities and means.

The character of our Senate and the debates carried on by it have a good deal changed since I first became acquainted with the body. In those days a very small number of Fellows attended the meetings, but they were men who took very great interest in educational matters and were alive to the responsibility of their position. There were only, if I remember right, about twelve fellows present when such an important question as the introduction of Persian as a second language at the higher examination in Arts was discussed and that language added to the list from which it had before been excluded on account of its being a vernacular. Now we have a larger number of fellows, on the roll, and a larger number take interest in University matters. This is as it should be. If, however, instead of being guided by told reason and acting with a sense of responsibility, the Senate becomes a democratic assembly, carried away by

emotion and impulse; the change must certainly be a matter for regret.
for regret.

Our University is but an examining body, -and its function, like that of a mint, is confined to assaying the silver¹, perhaps the gold, of the intellectual acquisitions of our young men, according to certain standards, and stamping it with the letters B. A., M. A., M. D., &c Such an idea of a University is no doubt in keeping with the spirit of the age in which machinery has received such a high development- But this, is neither the primary, nor a dignified, nor a fruitful idea of a University. A-University, in my opinion, ought to be a body of men devoted to learning, engaged in the pursuit of truth, carrying on researches and investigations, and communicating their knowledge to others by educating young men and by the publication of books and papers. -Such a body should have a healthy public opinion of its own, the influence of which every one of its members, whether a teacher or an examiner, should feel, and which should compel him to do his duty faithfully and conscientiously, Looking to the manner in which the work in the departments both of instruction and examination has been done for a great many years, I have long felt the necessity of such a public opinion as the only remedy for the many defects that are observable. But it is a question whether we shall ever be able to realise this idea in India. In the first place our colleges are scattered over the whole Presidency and cannot on this account influence each other. The learning and the knowledge that we aim at are, and must necessarily be, what might be called European learning and European knowledge, and the methods of investigation, research, and education are European. Consequently, Europeans, must form a very large and predominant element of such an institution. But the European professors and teachers that come but feel themselves as exiles in this country and have got no permanent stake in it. They can hardly, therefore, be expected to take pride in such an institutions as I have been thinking of and contribute to its formation. Hence it is that though we have had European professors and teachers here

now for more than half a century, not a single work of a nature to make its mark in the world has been published by any one of them, except the German professors of Oriental Languages. And as to the natives of the country, they, too, have shown no zeal or ardour in the pursuit of knowledge. Our graduates after leaving the University often forget all about the subjects to which they were introduced while at college ; and if in any case they continue to take interest in them, it is but of a languid nature. It must be said, however, on their behalf that the first thing they must think of is getting on in the world, and perhaps the avocation which they have to follow with that view allows them little time for pursuit of knowledge. What is necessary then is that in connection with the University we should have some endowments in the nature of fellowships or professorships to be held by the natives. Germany is the country in Europe which is known to be foremost in carrying on original research in all branched of knowledge, and this has been attributed to the fact that it was cut up into a great many little states, and continues in a great measure to be so cut up. Each of the states made it a point to have a University of its own with its usual complement of professors and the country has thus come to have many such Universities, and a great many men devoted enthusiastically to study and research. But what is the possibility of our having such professorships, fellowships, or studentships? There are many and important calls on the public exchequer on account of which it does not appear likely that Government will institute them, though it behoves a paternal Government to direct its attention to this branch of educational work also. But Government have at their disposal a fund which might be used for this purpose. The late Mr. E. I. Howard, Director of Public Instruction, who has left his permanent stamp on the Department of Public Instruction, saw the necessity of such professorships or studentships and got the Government to put into his hands the Daksina Fund. He thereupon created certain appointments, which he called fellowships—a name which shows what his idea was; and he often expressed that idea by saying that his object

was to encourage the pursuit of learning among the natives of this country. He, therefore, did not lay down a certain period for which a fellowship was tenable, and our early Daksina fellows held their appointments for five or six years and might have held them longer if they had wished. But since his time the idea has been lost sight of, and the Daksina fellowships have been, to all intents and purposes, converted into scholarships, tenable for a year or two, ostensibly to enable the Bachelors of Arts to study for the M. A. degree, which, however, they are not compelled to do. But there is nothing to prevent us from retracing our steps and the Daksina Fund might still be used for the institution of fellowships or studentships in connection with the University with a monthly allowance varying from Rs. 150 to Rs. 250. I am sure we shall then have a few men at least determined to devote their life to study and research. But the Daksina Fund can go but a little way; and the means that are wanted for this purpose must principally come from our rich citizens themselves. Scholarships and prizes we have got in abundance. What is now wanted is studentships or fellowships of the kind I mention; and the merchant princes of Bombay will truly immortalise themselves and entitle themselves to the permanent gratitude of their countrymen if they endow them. Five or six thousand rupees are sufficient for a scholarship, wherefore the credit derived from such a gift is but little. But a fellowship, from the very fact that a large amount is required and that it alone will be the means of promoting the growth of knowledge in the country, will remain a standing monument of the generosity and public spirit of the citizen who endows it.

But such as our University is, it has been the means of promoting education in the Presidency and, through it, of doing a great deal of good generally. Had it not been for such a central establishment as ours that lays down what boys and young men shall be taught, sees that they have been taught it, and issues certificates to that effect, education would not have received the expansion it has. At the same time it is quite clear

that; stick an expansion would not have been possible had there been, no openings for our graduates in the public service and the professions. In 1862 there were only 4 B. A.s. Now the number on the M. A. list is 106, and that on the B. A. list is 1,339 ; and if we add the 183 that have passed this year, the total number of graduates in Arts is 1,628. Besides we have 35 Bachelors of Science, which brings it up to 1663. Of these 378, inclusive of the 31 who have passed this year, are Bachelors of Law, They are either employed in the Judicial Service of Government or are pleaders. In both capacities they have greatly contributed to raise the tone of the administration of justice. I remember in my younger days to have, in my native district, constantly heard murmurs against the conduct of the munsiffs or subordinate judges of those days; but they have all ceased now. A few graduates have got entrance into the Revenue Service, and from all the information I have I am in a position to state that there also their work is satisfactory. Nearly the whole of the higher branch of the Educational Department is conducted by graduates. The greater the number of educated men that find entrance into the services, the better will it be in the interests of good government. It is not enough that the statesmen at the helm of affairs and the great officers immediately under them should be disinterested persons desirous of nothing but the good of the people. The agency they employ for carrying out their orders and for the performance of the details of the administration must be as good as it can be made. Our immediate governors, with whom it rests to make our life miserable or happy, are the Patils, the Kulkarnis, the Talatis, the Mahalkaris, the Mamlatdars and their Karkuns, the Police Chief Constables and Inspectors, the petty Magistrates and the Subordinate Judges. For the purposes of good government in a country where the masses are uneducated and ignorant it is, in my humble opinion, of the highest importance that these should, as far as possible, be men of education and principle. On the list of medial graduates we have five Doctors of Medicine and 438 Licentiates of Medicine, inclusive of the men who have passed this

year; in all 443. Some of these are employed in the service of Government, and a few in Native States; but a good many • are engaged in private practice. It is only in Bombay and some of the larger towns in the districts that our medical graduates find private practice; but in Bombay the field is how overcrowded. European medicine has not yet found favour with the masses, * and the condition of our medical graduates is anything but satisfactory. On the list of the graduates in Civil Engineering we have one Master and 311 Licentiates inclusive of this year's men. Most of those are employed in the Public Works Department, on the railways, and in Native States. A few are engaged in private practice; but there is no extensive field for it.

On our list all the literary classes or castes of Hindus are represented; and there are a few from what are called the backward classes. The Parsis have, as may be expected from their usual energy, taken the fullest advantage of the benefits of the University, considering that they form such a small part of the population of the Presidency. The only important community that still remains backward is that of the Mahomedans. There are not more than about 20 on the list of graduates in Arts. Up to this time we have had one Mahomedan M. A. only, and it is a gratifying circumstance that we have got another this year. In Bombay we have a large and influential Mahomedan community, but its members are engaged in trade and commerce; and, as a rule, Indians, whether Hindus or Mahomedans, who have an opening in this sphere for their sons do not care to give them higher education. The Deccan Mahomedans, like the Deccani Hindus, have no genius for trade or commerce, but somehow they do not come forward as their Hindu brethren do. In my opinion it behoves the leading and influential members of the Mahomedan community here and in the mofussil to make strenuous endeavours to bring up their co-religionists. The assistance of other communities might be asked and will, I suppose, be given. A large number of scholarships, not less than 100; to, be, held by Mahomedans in High Schools and

Colleges should be instituted. If it will take a long time to raise a sufficient fund to be invested for the purpose, a beginning should be made by making annual contributions. Let us show that we possess public spirit and will help ourselves. If we bring forward Mahomedans in this way, they will be represented on our University lists in due proportion and will take their places side by side with the Hindus in the public service and in the professions in a corresponding proportion.

But, gentlemen, though our University has thus been successfully discharging its duty, there are certain points which it is urgently necessary that our graduates should carefully bear in mind in order that they may be as useful as they might be to the Government of the country, promote the general interests of the community, and contribute towards the regeneration of India. And to these, with your permission, I will now devote a few minutes, addressing my remarks to my brother graduates. An undergraduate of the University, after he has finished his course and taken his degree, claims to be called an educated man. The Sanskrit word that corresponds to the word educated is "sista," and according to the old Hindu idea a "Sista" is, in the words of the great grammarian Patanjali, a man who does not store up wealth (literally one who keeps so much grain only as is contained in a jar), who is not greedy, and who disinterestedly, without any further object, acquires perfect proficiency in some branch of learning. The idea, therefore, is that he who devotes himself to the pursuit of knowledge or truth for its own sake and disdains mere worldly prosperity is a man of education or culture. To deserve this title, therefore, it will not do for undergraduates to study their books and subjects only with a view to the degree examinations and in a manner to achieve success. It will not do for them to choose their optional subjects only because the examination in them is likely to be easy. They should take a real and lively interest in the books they read and the subjects they study, and choose their optional course only because they have a predilection for it.

With a sincere and humble desire to know and to improve, they should endeavour to find and appreciate the good that their books place before them, appropriate it, and make it a part of their own nature. Mere success at an examination and the acquisition of a degree, and through its means the improvement of one's worldly prospects, are not very high motives, and are certainly unworthy of any thoughtful man, and especially of the descendants of those who disdained riches to be able to devote themselves single-heartedly to knowledge and truth. At the same time to deserve this title of *sista* or educated it will not do for one who has got his degree to think that his work is accomplished and that he has nothing more to do with books or knowledge. An educated native should continue through his life to take interest in the great subjects of knowledge which occupy the attention of man, and should go on closely watching the progress of ideas in Europe, where, of course, there is greater movement of thought than in our country. He will forfeit his claim to be considered a man of culture, if he chooses to be ignorant of what the progressive nations of the West are thinking, doing and admiring. But in the course of our progress in this lifelong education we are likely, in consequence of our previous antecedents, to misunderstand and misapply European ideas. Against such misunderstanding and misapplication we have to guard ourselves. For instance, the idea of self-respect, personal independence, national independence, liberty of speech, and patriotism are constantly brought to our notice, and there is evidence that a good many of our men do not understand their proper limitations. Self-respect and personal independence often degenerate into disrespect for others, and want of reverence for those who, by their position, knowledge or even age, deserve it from us. Such a degeneration can only have the effect of degrading a man's character. Self-respect ought to come into operation only then, when a low worldly motive is about to lead you to do a mean or an unrighteous act, and prevent you from doing it. Personal independence ought to be exhibited only then, when the importunity of others or

the fear of displeasing them prevents you from saying and doing what, after a careful inquiry, you have come to believe to be undoubtedly true, and lead you to say it or do it. National independence you can have only when there is a nation and it has the capacity of governing itself. But when the inhabitants of a country are divided into a number of separate communities or castes hostile to each other, national independence can only mean the possession by one community or one caste of power over others which it must, of course, use for its own benefit and to the detriment of others. And when the country has never had in the course of its history a training in free or representative institutions or never been animated with a desire for them or had even a conception of them, national independence must mean the tyranny of one man over all others. In the same manner liberty of speech and all kinds of liberty have their limits, which it is of great importance always to bear in mind. You cannot speak what you like or act as you like simply because you are free or possess liberty. Liberty of speech means that one should not be prevented from speaking what, after a careful examination, one has found to be unmistakably true and which it is good in the interest of the community that one should speak. If, however, you say something against an individual or a body of individuals because they are obnoxious to you, without any inquiry and without even a decent knowledge of the matter with reference to which you are criticizing him or them, it is an absolute misuse of the liberty of speech which cannot but promote ill-feeling, foment quarrels, and eventually bring on ruin. Similarly, liberty of action implies that one should not be prevented from doing what one's conscience approves or imposes on him as a duty. If, however, conscience or sense of duty is set aside and a man, under the influence of any of his lower passions, acts in a manner to do harm or injustice to others, he is not a man who is free, but is a slave of his passions, and will have to be prevented in certain cases from being so by the laws of the community. ..

' The idea of patriotism which is constantly brought up before our minds by English literature and history, is in the same manner liable to be very greatly misunderstood and misapplied. One may think patriotism requires him to hate foreigners because they are foreigners, to run down their manners, customs, and institutions, to attribute vices to them which they do not possess, and deny their most manifest virtues and all the good that they actually do. On the other hand it may be considered to consist in praising one's ancestors and one's own people, admiring their manners, customs and institutions, and denying their manifest failings and the patent defects of their character. This is the patriotism of feeble minds incapable of thought* and action. And eventually it resolves itself into a confirmed enmity for one's own people. For if people do not see the good that there is in foreigners, they are incapable of learning; if they do not see their own serious faults and defects and the evil that there is in their manners, customs, and institutions, there can be no improvement, no progress; and the nation must lag behind while others are going on, and must suffer. He only is a true patriot who, with an unprejudiced mind and with the light that God has vouchsafed to him, examines the manners, customs, and institutions of his country and the character of his people, fearlessly exposes the abuses or evils he may find therein, and earnestly calls upon them to reform and improve even at the risk of offending them and being stoned by them. Again, one ought to be a patriot in reality and not in name merely; for if he is a true patriot, he must be prepared to sacrifice his time, money, convenience, interests and even reputation for the good of his country. But if he is good only for talking and slowly retires when called upon to undergo self-sacrifice, when he will work only in matters where he is praised by his countrymen and will stand at a convenient distance from others, which, howsoever beneficial to them, offend their prejudices, he is but a self-seeking patriot. Again, in politics patriotism generally aims at national independence. But have already pointed out what national

independence can only mean in the case of a country divided into communities and castes in chronic hostility with each other and unused to, or acquainted with, free institutions. An Indian patriot must recognize the great forces in operation in the world. Asia is being divided among themselves by three great European Powers, and in the contest; from the character and peculiar civilization of its people, Asia is nowhere. We ought to consider ourselves peculiarly fortunate in having fallen into the hands of a nation that has a conscience. England would be ashamed of herself if she held India solely for the purpose of her own aggrandizement. She has consciously undertaken the function of civilizing India, and of this our University is one of the many evidences available. She has given an orderly and stable government to the country; destroyed the Thugs, Pindarics, and Dacoits; allowed to every man the right to live and enjoy his earnings, which no one, howsoever high his position, can transgress; and given us the benefits of the inventions of the nineteenth century,—railways, telegraphs, a highly organized post office, and so on. The material or mechanical resources of England are vast. The intellect of a European, especially of Western Europe, is ever wakeful, ever active. Every new idea is grasped, examined from all points of view, and it fructifies. Improvements in the processes of manufacture of all kinds, from that of fire matches to that of guns, ships of war, and spinning and weaving machinery, are constantly going on. And above all, the Englishman possesses immense powers of organization; he is ever diligent and watchful; his work is always methodical and systematic; he is animated by an over-powering sense of national duty; and he maintains perfect discipline in everything. I say "above all," for it was by these qualities that he succeeded in establishing an empire in India, before he had steamships, railways, electric telegraphs, and powerful guns and other arms of precision. A wise Indian patriot, therefore, will take pride in the fact that this country forms a very important member of the Empire over which the sun never sets, and that India is one of the brightest jewels, if not the brightest, in the British Crown.

The glories of that Empire he should regard as his glories and its misfortunes to be his misfortunes. We are the inhabitants of Greater Britain, i. e. of the larger section of Britain, the smaller section of which is situated in North-Western Europe; and our political patriotism should centre itself round that name. Therein lies our salvation. The world is moving towards higher political unities. And a higher unity has been formed in the shape of the British Empire; and there can be no disruption of that unity as long as Englishmen are what they are, nor can there be the remotest desire for it so long as Indians are thoughtful and wise. There may be some points in the policy pursued in the government of the country and some acts which are conceived more in the interests of England than of India. There may be grievances and individual cases of oppression. But we have got the right of petition and the liberty of speech. This right and this liberty should, however, be used in the manner I have already indicated. Care should be taken to study the particular question and ascertain the truth about it, to say nothing that is not true, and to ascribe no evil motive; and general denunciations, of which unfortunately we find so many, ought strictly to be avoided. We may even ask for powers and privileges. But before we do so we should take care to qualify ourselves for their exercise. We should learn to use them in the interests of the community at large, and rise superior to all considerations about self, caste, or clique. Nothing but a sense of duty to the general public should actuate us in the exercise of the powers and privileges that may be granted to us. At the same time we should endeavour to form habits of working in an orderly and methodical manner. If those powers and privileges have, in the first instance, to be exercised by the masses of the people, they ought to be made to understand what they mean; they ought to be taught that they have certain interests as a community which it is their duty to promote by a just and faithful exercise of those powers and privileges, and educated into a desire for them. If we bestow no thought upon such matters and go on asking, we shall simply be wasting breath. And as to the

powers and privileges already granted to us, if we use them for advancing our private interests or those of our clique or caste and will not do the work they entail regularly, we shall make ourselves the enemies of our country instead of patriots. For there will thus be misgovernment, and the British authorities will take away what they have granted, or at least cease to grant more, and our future prospects will be destroyed. Whenever a native misuses a privilege or a power, there ought, therefore, to be a strong public opinion among us which will condemn him and prevent further misuse.

I have thus briefly discussed the manner in which some of the ideas to which we are introduced are, or may be, misunderstood and abused. We should guard ourselves against such a misunderstanding and such an abuse, and treasure up in our hearts the words of the great sage of Chelsea, addressed to the students of the Edinburgh University, on the true objects of education. " You are ever to bear in mind," says he, " that there lies behind that (mere positive and technical knowledge) the acquisition of what may be called wisdom—namely, sound appreciation and just decision as to all the objects that come round you, and the habit of behaving with justice, candour, clear insight, and loyal adherence to fact. Great is wisdom; infinite is the value of wisdom. It cannot be exaggerated, it is the highest achievement of man. ' Blessed is he that getteth understanding.' And that, I believe, on occasion may be missed very easily: never more easily than now, I sometimes think. If that is a failure, all is failure!" Let us then endeavour to acquire this highest achievement of man, this wisdom, by means of the education we receive, by what European literature and history teach us, If we do not do so, rest assured all will be failure, as the prophet tells us.

One of the ideas which is calculated to lead us to wisdom, and which, in recent times, has been exercising such a powerful influence over the European mind and leading Europeans to

5? (R. G. Bhankar's Works, Vol I.]

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study with as sympathetic: spirit the literataure , the history, and the religion of our country arid the other conuntries in the world, even the thoughts and ideas of savages, is- the 'unity of the human race, We should learn to sympathize with the) joys and griefs of men of all study watchfully the conflict and progress of ideas among them and their gradual advance from barbarism to the height of civilization, and from the elevated standpoint thus gained, and' with our national prejudices thus cleared off, look back upon the history of our race, trace; with an unbiassed mind its progress towards civilization and observe the phenomenon of its stagnancy, or, more truly, its decline and degradation. It will then be our duty strenuously to endeavour to eradicate the causes of that decline and' that degradation. My friends, we are living in a momentous period in the history of India. Upon our conduct at this period depends the' future of our country. The Indian intellect has been dormant for 'centuries. Original thought disappeared with the old Rsis; the fermentation of religious and philosophic ideas "ceased with the decline of Buddhism; philosophy became verbose arid wasted itself in trifling subtleties; poetry assumed an artificial character; religion degenerated into forms, ceremonies, and superstitions; and custom became a hideous tyrant and brought in female infanticide, the burning alive of widows, the marriage of a hundred or a hundred and fifty girls to one man, the degradation of womankind, hook-swinging,' &c., &c.; and there was no moral force in the land to do battle with these evils. It was reserved for the foreigner to put some of them down with the strong arm of the law; but in the cases in which the foreigner will not interfere they still flourish. The intellect and the moral sense of the country must now wake up' under the influence of European civilization, and the task and heavy responsibility of regenerating her has devolved upon ourselves, who have felt the influence, Thought on every subject of interest to humanity must be stimulated, literature and philosophy have a fresh start our vernaculars be improved, and a desire for knowledge be propagated. The great iniquities and falsehops of our social

institutions and customs must be corrected, the standard of practical morality raised, tastes improved, higher ideals placed before the people; and religion purified and reformed. If we have truly assimilated the idea of patriotism, if the feeling has really sprung up in our hearts, here is a legitimate field for its exercise. But if we neglect it entirely, or are very lukewarm about it, and confine our activity to the political sphere, the least that can be said about the matter is that our patriotism is not the genuine but a counterfeit article. And we shall cut the ground from under our feet; for, from what I have already said, you will see that there can be no political advancement without social and moral advancement. In this process of regeneration the ideas or principles, which alone will guide us safely, are sense of duty, love of truth, and love of justice. The education we receive will have to be considered merely superficial if it does not enable us to grasp these principles. These, therefore, I earnestly implore you to learn thoroughly and incorporate with your internal spirit. Not only will they elevate the individual character, but they alone will ensure the future happiness of our race. For, social arrangements, manners, and customs then only conduce to the happiness and prosperity of a nation, when they are based upon truth and justice. One of the greatest historians of England, who denies that history is a science which will enable us to predict the results of particular deeds, as the astronomer predicts an eclipse, still acknowledges that "one lesson and only one history may be said to repeat with distinctness; that the world is built somehow on moral foundations; that in the long run, it is well with the good; in the long run, it is ill with the wicked." And further on he says more forcibly and eloquently, "First, it (history) is a voice for ever sounding across the centuries the laws of right and wrong. Opinions alter,

manners change, creeds rise and **fall**, but the moral law is. written on the tablets of eternity. For every false Word or unrighteous deed, for cruelty and oppression, for lust or vanity, the price has to be paid at last, not always by the chief offenders, but paid by some one. justice and truth alone endure and live. Injustice and falsehood may be long -lived, but doomsday comes at last to them, in French revolutions and other terrible ways." There, gentlemen, must all discussion and dispute end, and there will I end.

REJOINDER TO MR. JUSTICE RANADE

(FROM THE BOMBAY GAZETTE, BOMBAY, APRIL, 1894]

The late Mr. Justice Ranade criticised in an address delivered at the Eighth Annual General Meeting of the Bombay Graduates' Association some of the conclusions arrived at in the Convocation Address, The following is the reply of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, dated Lonavata, 24th April 1894.

Sir,—The position and influence of the Honourable Mr. Justice Ranade render it necessary that against my usual practice I should notice his criticism on my Convocation address, Mr. Ranade discovers an undertone of pessimism in what I said. In private conversation also he has again and again denounced me as a pessimist. But I am unable to find the reason. What I have been doing during the last seven or eight years is to call attention to the defects and shortcomings of my countrymen and the erroneous notions prevailing among them, imploring them to endeavour to get over them as a necessary preliminary to all progress and tell them that without the acquisition of certain virtues and without a reform of our social Institutions real political advance is impossible. Beyond this I can find no justification of Mr. Ranade's use of that epithet in my case. But there is no reason why I should complain. On the contrary, I should feel myself highly honoured by Mr. Ranade's speaking of me as a pessimist. For in the course of a lecture delivered by him in connection with the anniversary of the Prarthana Samaj, about a fortnight ago, Mr. Ranade told his audience that Carlyle and Ruskin were pessimists. A pessimist then is one who hates cant and convention, and preaches sincerity, fidelity to truth, and action as opposed to talk; for that is what Carlyle and Ruskin do. But Mr. Justice Ranade warned his hearers against Carlyle and Ruskin as unsuited to our weak constitution, however suited they might be to the sturdier races that inhabit the British Isles; This I am unable to understand,

Such a scientist as Tyndall acknowledges with gratitude the healthy moral influence exercised over *him* by Carlyle, saying it was his teaching that roused him to action. Principal Selby observed in the course of a lecture that he delivered to his pupils the other day that Carlyle, Ruskin, and Wordsworth were his favourite 'authors, meaning thereby to recommend them to their attention.

Perhaps Mr. Justice Ranade does not like my plain-speaking, for he is reported to have said at the lecture alluded to above that "a wise doctor never revealed to his patient the danger of illness he suffered from; though some thought that truth was truth and must always be told" This constituted the radical difference between us. But what surprises me greatly is that Mr. Ranade should see that his doctrine is based on the most hopeless pessimism. For the comparison implies that India is suffering from a dangerous disease that must terminate fatally. But if she is suffering from a disease which is curable, but may become dangerous if she does not carefully attend to the directions of the doctor, can the doctor be called wise who will not warn her and impress upon her the paramount necessity of carefully observing his directions, if she wishes to live but will go on telling her that she is in sound health, equal to any kind of exertion and may conduct her as she wishes? If I believed that India was suffering from a disease of the former kind, I would pass my days in the saddest silence* But I believe she is suffering from a disease of the latter kind; and hence my efforts to warn her and to point out the remedies. This is what I have done in my Convocation address; and the directions there given might be shortly summed up in the words: "Follow Carlyle and Ruskin, and you will be saved".

I will now proceed to the main points discussed by Mr. Ranade. He says I did not attribute the disproportionately large *mortality among the Hindus* to "the strain of studies in

bute Again, he says, I Was "of opinion that they (the evil results) Were not due to any overstrain of studies and examinations". ; I was not and did not say I was. Oft the contrary, lendeayoured to make out that the education we received did impose a heavy strain upon us, from which our fathers and grandfathers were free. And I said that the strain in the ordinary walks of life was also heavy in consequence of our having come in contact with a more energetic race. I admitted the strain, but, unlike Mr. Ranade and others., I did not propose the, reduction of the standards, as that would mean the giving of degrees to men with only a semblance of education; but, finding from a comparison of the mortality among the different classes of graduates that the Parsees stood the strain very well, I advised the Hindus to live like the Parsees, and affirmed, that a thorough change in their social ideas and customs would alone enable the Hindus to bear the strain. And I do not know, how men who advocate a reduction, in the standards an with consistency ask Government to hold the Civil Service Examination in India. The course of study for that examination is certainly more difficult than that for the B. A. degree, and is as hard as, if not harder than,,that for the M. A. examination. Our best B. A.s have, when they happen to go England, to place themselves for one or two years under a professional crammer and even then get a low place in the pass list. Our only way, therefore, is to fit ourselves for the strain which the higher education imposes, and not ask that the strain be reduced. If Mr. Ranade thinks that the real evil lies in the University curriculum, he ought to have faced* that vital question, and given us his solution of it instead of contenting himself with a general allusion to the pass degree of the English Universities. He has not made any specific proposals as to how the standard should be reduced. The only, definite thing that he and persons who think with him have got to say is that candidates who fail in certain subjects should be examined in the following year in those subjects only. But if we exarnine our death list we shall, I think find that a

great many on that list were not plucked at all at any examination ; so that ,supposing the change were not objectionable in other respects, it would by no means operate as a far-reaching remedy.

Since the lowest percentage of deaths among the Parsee graduates is the point on which my argument for social change hinges, Mr. Justice Ranade's great effort is directed towards making out that the Parsees have no advantage over the Hindus in this respect, and these do not die in larger numbers. But since Mr. Ranade has also been an advocate of social reform, he endeavours to clear himself from a possible misunderstanding as regards his attitude towards that question, and asserts that if he is going to prove that the Parsees have no superiority over the Hindus, it is only because " no useful purpose is served by imperfect generalizations". He also thinks it unfortunate that I should have confined my inquiries to the first eighteen years of the existence of the University. But let us look into the question more closely in order to find out whether Mr. Ranade's generalizations or mine have a sounder basis, and whether the principle of confining one's inquiry to a certain number of years is not the only true principle in the case. Mr. Ranade himself says that some only of our graduates died immediately after taking their degree, but the majority lived till they were about thirty-five, that being their average age at the time of death. They thus lived for about ten years after they took their degree. In so taking the matter, Mr. Ranade supposes them to have left the University at the age of twenty-five. But B. A.s leave when they are about twenty or twenty-one; though M. A.s stay till they are about twenty-five. We will take twelve or thirteen as the number of years for which they lived after taking their degree. This means that the University poison, to adopt a medical phrase, takes about 12 years to operate after it has been introduced into the system. If so, in order to estimate the percentage of deaths caused by it, we should take into consideration only the number of graduates on whom it has been operating for more than twelve years, and leave out the rest. For in

the case of these latter the poison has not had its assigned time in which to operate. Mr. Ranade's procedure, therefore, of taking all graduates up to the last year must lead to fallacious results. I have excluded graduates of the last thirteen years, and therefore mine must be the correct principle. Of course since all these calculations are more or less rough, I must have excluded those of the last twelve, eleven or even ten years, instead of those of thirteen years; but the result would not have been materially different. Then again the other principle introduced by Mr. Ranade is equally based on a radical error. He states that the general health statistics give the rate of mortality to be thirty per thousand between the age limits of twenty and forty, and since the University rate exceeds this, it is unquestionable that the University kills men. Now, the University rate cannot at all be compared with the general outside rate. For this latter is arrived at by taking a certain number of men at the age of twenty, observing them till they (the same men) become forty years old, and finding how many of them have died during the time. But in arriving at the University rate Mr. Ranade has not observed the same men from the age limit of twenty to that of forty; some of his men are forty years of age, others thirty-nine, thirty-eight etc., down to twenty. To be able to compare the two rates, Mr. Ranade ought to have taken the graduates of a certain year and observe them till they became forty years old, and not taken different graduates of different ages. In the case of the general outside rate, you have the same men at different ages, while in the case of the University rate you have different men at different ages. Thus then, though of course we believe that the strain of University studies does injure men's health, the matter has not at all been proved by Mr. Justice Ranade.

But though the statistical results arrived at by Mr. Ranade are vitiated by the radical error shown above, they point in the same direction as mine; The death-rate among Parsees B. A.s is three per cent., among Gujarathis five, and Marathas 9'2, 53 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. I.]

while the rate among graduates generally is four, five and ten respectively. Mr. Ranade shirks from the obvious inference that arises. He dwells for some time on the apparent advantages which the Gujarathis enjoy as regards some of the courses in some of the faculties, and which are principally due to their smaller numbers, where, as I have observed, the operation of a law does not become manifest, quietly neglecting the fact that they are two-thirds worse than the Parsees in the B. A. list (the percentages being five and three), while in any more limited B. A. list, they are a little more than once worse; asserts that the general rates, 4, 5 and 10 are reproduced in the B. A. rates, though these are 3, 5 and 9'2, i. e. that there is no difference between the three of the Parsees here and four there; and observes in explanation of the more favourable rate in the case of the Parsees: "The general rate for the Parsees is lowered by the very large number of Parsee Graduates". What Mr. Justice Ranade means by this it is difficult to understand. Is it an arithmetical law that he wishes here to enunciate, viz., the larger the divisor, the smaller the quotient that we get? If so, what can be the use of such a statement here? He should give a social, economic, sanitary, or educational reason for it; but instead of that he gives an arithmetical reason. All this shows that the spirit in which Mr. Ranade approaches the question is anything but scientific; similarly, he says with reference to the Maratha graduate that "if these specially unfortunate deaths (60 out of 102) are excluded, the mortality rate among the Marathas would be as favourable as the Gujarathi graduates show", that is to say, if these sixty Marathas had not died, the death-rate among the Maratha Graduates would have been the same as among the Gujarathis, and if the divisor in the case of the Parsees had not been large, the Gujarathis would have been equally well off with the Parsees. This simply shows Mr. Ranade's desire to arrive at the conclusion that the Parsees were not better off than the Marathas and Gujarathis, and thus to show the groundlessness of my reasoning about the necessity

of Social reform, but it also shows that he has failed in the attempt, the facts being inexorable. And this is the case, notwithstanding that he included all the younger graduates upon whom the strain had not yet produced its effects.

The rest of Mr. Justice Ranade's address is similarly made up. He misunderstands me, makes me say what I did not mean to say, and then refutes me. For instance, while speaking on the question of the University becoming a body of men devoted to learning and carrying on original investigations and researches I said that the European Professors had not contributed to the formation of such a body, nor the Native graduates, who, if they continue to take interest in certain subjects, did it in a languid manner. Against this Mr. Ranade brings ten per cent of graduates, most of whom have confined their literary efforts to the translation of a play or two from Shakespeare, or another small English work or a Sanskrit work and to the publication of stray articles or essays in a magazine or newspaper. Can all this be by any stretch of sense called carrying on investigations and researches? Is the interest taken not languid even on Mr. Ranade's showing? I have even excused this want of devotion to learning by saying that the avocation which graduates must follow leaves them little time for literary pursuits, and proposed the institution of Fellowships. From Mr. Ranade's way of meeting the point, it would appear that Fellowships are unnecessary, since ten per cent of our graduates have already devoted themselves to learning and original research and made our Universities a body of learned men. Similarly, with reference to my remarks on the poverty of students Mr. Justice Ranade says I have evaded the difficulty. He, however, does not appear to have met it or suggested any remedies. He has only dwelt longer on the subject, and said some fine things about it. But I proceed to tell the parents that they should care more for the education of their sons than for their marriage and spend what they have got or what they Borrow on the former rather than the latter. And no one will deny that the average

Hindu parent attaches far greater importance to the marriage of his son than to his education and makes greater sacrifices for it than for the other,

In the paragraph in which Mr. Justice Ranade brings together the lessons to be derived from his discourse he puts down enforced bachelorship up to the completion of studies as the highest remedy, and uses language a great deal similar to that which I have used. This is very surprizing after the long and elaborate effort made to prove that University strain and poverty alone kill our graduates, in the course of which not the remotest allusion is made to bad social arrangements as even a partial source of the evil, or better social arrangements as calculated to avert it. There are a good many other points worthy of notice, such as the University extension question, and the proposal about a sort of an acadamy, both of which I consider thoroughly impracticable ; but the letter has already grown long and I must stop.

THE ENDS AND AIMS OF COLLEGE EDUCATION

Being the substance of an Address delivered on the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Removal of the Deccan College, Poona, to its present building. Originally published by the Cheap Literature Committee of the Theistic Association of Bombay,—1893.

On the 23rd of March 1868 the old Poona College was removed to this very commodious and beautiful building and called the Deccan College. This event you have recently conceived the idea of commemorating and I think very properly. For by being removed to this building, the old Poona College was put into a condition to realise, in a more efficient manner, the object of its existence. We should remember this event with joy, but it is not proper that the occasion should be wasted in mere froth and merriment. We should devote a portion of our time to looking back at the way we, as members of the Institution, have traversed in order to find out whether it is the right way, and if we perceive that we have gone astray, we should endeavour to place ourselves on the right way. In other words, this is an occasion when we should seriously consider whether the College has been realising the objects of its existence and if not, think how it may be made to do so better. From his superior ability and the position he occupies I believe the Principal to be the fit and proper person to address you on a matter connected with this subject today, but since the time is nigh when my connection with this College and with education generally shall cease, he has asked me to discharge the duty instead. And though I clearly feel myself to be incompetent for the task, I think I must obey.

The object of the Deccan College and similar institutions is to educate the youths of India. Various views have been Expressed as to what education consists in, but I think those which I wish to place before you will not be considered unique, The etymological sense of the word which is " to lead out",

will guide us towards the formation of a correct idea. To evoke the faculties of the mind, which, but for the education that is given in such institutions, would lie dormant and to direct their exercise so that they may efficiently serve their purpose, is thus the object of education. In Sanskrit we have the word Vinaya which has the same etymological sense and expresses the training of the feelings and faculties and also the result of the process, viz. a well-ordered or disciplined mind, good manners and humility. There is another word Samskara which means the communication of a certain shape or form to the mind like the shape which an artist gives to the material he employs in order to produce a beautiful object; or that which a mechanic gives to the quantity of matter so as to make it subserve a useful purpose. Training the mind in this way or giving it such a shape or form is the object of education. Young men have to be taught here to have clear ideas before them, to see the connection between them, and to proceed from one connection of ideas to another, that is, to proceed from one proposition to another. They have thus to be taught to reason. We know how confused the ideas of an uneducated man are, what mistakes he makes as to their connection and how incompetent he is to arrive at a correct conclusion from a certain proposition.

But this is not the only object of mental education. You may be able to form clear ideas, see their connection correctly and reason in a faultless manner, but the ideas themselves may be mistaken. The premises you start from may be wrong, and may thus render all your reasoning worthless. Another object of education, therefore, is to teach you to observe correctly, compare and criticise, and arrive at correct premises or notions.

Another object or a kindred object is to liberalise the mind; to free it from the narrowness which the antecedents of a man induce into it. Thus, for instance, a bigoted Christian thinks that there can be nothing really good in Non-Christians, and a bigoted Hindu thinks a Christian to be unclean whom it is

defilement to touch. But if by education the mind is raised above the narrow sphere of thought in which it moves, the Christian will see that the Heathen too has got a great deal of good in him and the Hindu, that it is not simply fickle fortune that has raised the European, but that he possesses virtues that deserve his admiration. To place the mind, therefore, on a high platform from which it can look at things as they are, and not with the coloured eyes of pre-possession or prejudice, is an important end to be attained by means of education.

But this does not exhaust all that is sought to be attained by the education of the mind. A young man is introduced to a variety of subjects that are likely to interest him, and these are taught to him in a manner to enable him to make one or more of these the study of his after-life, so that they may be the source of pure pleasure or profit to himself and to the community to which he belongs. Thus then the acquisition of clear ideas, and of the power of observation, comparison and criticism, the freeing of the mind from the narrowness consequent on prepossession or prejudice, and a positive knowledge of certain subjects constitute, I believe, the aim of mental education.

But after all the mind or intellect is but an instrument, and even when the instrument is good, it does not necessarily follow that he who wields it—the inner man—is himself good. The inner man is composed of a variety of feelings and desires which sway the will and from which proceeds action. We are so constituted as to perceive a graduation of worthiness among these various springs of action. The desire, for instance, of pleasure ought not to be allowed to determine a man's will in preference to truth or justice. Selfishness ought not to make us neglect the claims of compassion. A training and a discipline that will make all the springs of action fall into the relative positions assigned to them by the conscience, or the faculty of moral judgment, is the most important of the ends to be attained by education. A man has no right to be called an educated man

if he has not acquired the habit of controlling himself, and shaping his action in accordance with truth and justice or the dictates of an enlightened or cultured conscience.

Now what are the means at the disposal of Colleges such as this of attaining these ends? You are taught Logic here, which will help you to render your ideas clear and to reason correctly. But dry logic alone is insufficient, and therefore treatises on a variety of subjects, the matter contained in which is well reasoned out, are placed in your hands. Even poetry and fiction are calculated to contribute to the same end, since there also you have to observe the connection between one thought and another. You are also taught several subjects calculated to train your mind to observe, compare, and criticise; and there are books which, if you study them carefully, ought to raise your mind above all narrowness. Moreover the subjects themselves, if you approach them with an open mind, cannot fail to be interesting. The efforts recently made with partial success to introduce History, Philosophy, and Physics into your necessary B. A. course had for their object the liberalisation of the mind. As to that other end of education, which I consider by far the most important, viz. the training of the feelings and the desires, that also the course of study through which you are carried is, I believe, calculated to realise. If you study properly the literature that is placed before you of the two languages you have to take up, the end cannot but be accomplished to a certain extent at least. If the feelings of the human heart portrayed by a good poet are really appreciated by you, there cannot but spring up a desire in you to endeavour to realise those feelings in yourselves; and those works of imagination, whether novels or dramatic plays, which represent the struggle of good with evil, virtue with vice, cannot, if read and studied as they ought to be, but enlist your sympathies on the side of what is good. But more than all this, there are to guide you the living examples of some at least of your teachers who possess a high character

There are, however, it must be confessed, the adverse influences of the society in which we live and move. And to remove you as far as possible from these the idea of having residences for you within the College premises, and more recently for the Professors also, has been carried out. If by such means as this you come into closer contact with your professors and there springs up in your hearts as unfeigned admiration and reverence for them and their character, it cannot fail to produce a very healthy influence on your own character.

And there is another object of education which, though incidental, is by no means less important than those to which I have called your attention. In the College we are introduced to a civilisation and a system of thought which are greatly different from our own. When two varieties of a type present themselves to our observation, they cannot fail to evoke the spirit of comparison and criticism so as to enable us to find out what is essential to the type and what is bad. It is said that a man cannot know his own language well unless he knows another. In the same manner you cannot understand your own civilisation, cannot distinguish its good elements from its bad elements, unless you are acquainted with another. When you are acquainted only with your own manners and customs and your ways of thinking, it is but rarely that a doubt crosses your mind that there may be evil in them. Though, for instance, in the course of time institutions such as child marriage and caste have grown up among us to such an extent that their evil consequences cannot fail to strike an unprepossessed mind, they did not strike us before we became acquainted with a condition of society in which these institutions do not prevail. The effect of such education, therefore, as is given to Young Indians in Colleges such as this ought to be to enable them to compare the manners, the customs, the ideas and the institutions of the flourishing communities of Europe with our own ; and to find out the evil that there may be in the latter; and to create in us a desire to eradicate it. Though incidental, I consider this to be

a very important effect of the education we receive, For, unless the evil that there is in our society is in the first place perceived and then removed, there can be no hope that we shall ever rise. In connection with this matter, however, I may note that there are two extremes into which a man may easily fall. He may come to think that every thing in the new civilisation he is introduced to is better and so proceed to adopt it. Such a wholesale adoption, even of manners which are trifling and have no particular significance, argues a shallowness of mind. But on the other hand, not to be awakened to the evil at all argues stupidity or the absence of intellect; while to suppose and declare, out of a mistaken pride, that everything we have is good is pernicious and augurs evil for the future of our community. If a man honestly compares the condition of our society with that of any European nation such as the English, he cannot fail to realise the fact that there is much evil in it from which the other is free. And to declare, notwithstanding, that it is in every way good and requires no change is to cut off all hope of rise. It is a mistaken notion to suppose that there can be a race which will evolve all its civilisation out of its own consciousness. Just as one man learns from another, the history of the world tells us that one race learns from another. The Greeks adopted something from the Phoenicians and Egyptians, and the Romans from the Greeks; while in the civilisation of modern Europe four distinct elements are observable, the Greek, the Roman, the German and the Jewish. And we are no exception to the rule. We too in the olden times adopted a good deal from the Dravidian races, later on from the Greeks and still later from the Arabs. The very dress we wear at the present day is un-Hindu, the two dhotars only being original with us.

Now the question is whether the education we have been receiving in this and other Colleges has been successful and has produced, these several effects. That it has produced some good effects, cannot be denied. Our educated men are in many cases able to reason well. They know a great many things of which

their fathers were ignorant. And when placed in positions of power and influence they do credit to themselves. That by the employment of graduates in the Judicial Department the service has improved is an undoubted fact. But often times a doubt crosses my mind and I am reminded of the lesson that the Great Sepoy Revolt of 1857 taught us. On that occasion about 50,000 native soldiers revolted against the British Government and threw off the authority of their commanding officers. These soldiers were disciplined by the British. When they were led against powerful native Princes and chiefs, they achieved invariable success. Even if they had been led against a European foe it is not impossible that they would have been similarly successful. But all this they did, disciplined as they were, only when commanded by British Officers. As soon as they freed themselves from their authority, their discipline stood them in no stead, they became a mob, and were cut to pieces by a handful of British soldiers and in some cases even by civilians. The only small victory that the mutineers achieved was that over General Windham at Kalpee. My doubt therefore is this. May not the good qualities we educated people show when in position of power and trust be due to our continuing to be under British influence as much as to our education? And this doubt is strengthened by the manner in which these same educated natives often conduct themselves when employed in native states. And generally, whether a love of truth and probity, a sense of duty and fearless independence, are in many cases the prominent characteristics of our educated mind, is too more than questionable.

Even as regards mental education I have perceived from a perusal of several University essays and of the articles that appear in the Native press that, although we have acquired the power of correct reasoning, still the critical and comparative power which enables us to test our premises, and breadth or comprehensiveness of view are wanting. There are B. A.s and M. A.s who think the Ramtyana to be a thoroughly historical work;

who, though reasoning correctly on points of English law, are not when asked to write an essay on the development of Hindu Law, able to distinguish between the several stages that it presents, and consider e. g. the Smṛti of Yajñavalkya to be a work of the same author that promulgated the several books of Sukla Yajurveda. The difference in language does not strike them; and the fact that the law books in Sūtras are prior to those composed in Anuṣṭubh slokas they have no conception of.

As to the last effect of education that I have noticed, the fact that there has been very little of conscious improvement in Hindu society indicates that that too is by no means very perceptible. If any effect has been produced in this respect, it does not go far beyond talk, while within the last 10 years or so even the talk has been of the opposite kind, and educated men are very little disposed to acknowledge the evil that permeates their society. Moreover, the fact that we have not yet acquired the courage of our convictions argues that those convictions are very weak indeed. And the half-hearted and lethargic manner in which all our movements, political, social, religious and economical or industrial, are conducted and the fact that we do not find a succession of resolute or zealous workers in connection with them show that the new civilization with which we have come in contact has not, except in very rare cases, produced more than a skin-deep improvement in us.

If then our education has not been so effective in all these respects, the next question is what are the causes and the remedies? As to this matter I shall place myself under the guidance of a very old Sanskrit author four of whose verses are quoted by Yaska, the author of the Nirukta, himself a very ancient author; The language and the irregularity of the metre of the Slokas indicate that they belong to the period in which the Upanisads were written, i.e. to about the sixth or seventh century at least before Christ. Two of them are as follows:-

विद्या इ वै ब्रह्मणमाजगाम गोपाय मा शेषधिष्टेऽहमस्मि ।

अद्वयकायादुज्ज्वेयताय न मा ब्रह्म वीर्यवती तथा स्वाम् ॥

यमेव विद्याः श्रुत्वा ब्रह्मणः मेधाविनं ब्रह्मणोपपन्नम् ।

यस्मै न ब्रह्मोक्तमवनाह तस्मै ना ज्ञया निविषाय ब्रह्म ॥

'Knoweldge went up to a learned Brahman and said, "I am your treasure, therefore take care of me, i. e. do not waste me, do not communicate me to a scoffer who is disposed to find fault with me or you, who is not honest or sincere towards me, and who is not well-conducted. Thus alone shall I have power, i. e. be useful. Communicate me only to him whom you may know to be innocent or unsullied, to be not conceited, to be endowed with good parts, chaste, unmarried or devoted to me only, and whom you may know to be faithful or loyal to you. He alone will protect the treasure "' Before proceeding further let me remark that the poverty of results we have been complaining of is due to other causes than such as refer to yourselves. To a certain extent the University examiners and even the teachers are responsible for it. The existing condition of the Hindu Society, its thoughts and aspirations, such as they are, operate in a manner to concentrate the influence of the education we receive. Our history of the last twenty centuries, which has induced certain mental and moral characterestics in us, has also a great deal ultimately to do with the unsatisfactory nature of the result. But as I am not discussing the question in a general manner today but simply addressing you, I will mention only those shortcomings in students to which this condition of things is in a great measure to be traced. Yaska, or the author quoted by him, says that knowledge has power (**वीर्यं**) but only when communicated to one whose attitude towards it is that of honesty or sincerity (**चरुः**). That is to say, the student must be a bona fide student, seek knowledge for its own sake and appreciate it for itself; and should not resort to it simply as a means to an entirely different end. Now can we assert that this is the attitude of most of our students? Do they not, when they read the books placed in their hands, think very much more of the examination that they have to pass and the degree they have to gain than of the

knowledge itself? When you choose your optional subjects can you all say that you choose them because you like them, and not because the University examination in them is likely to be easier, or those who are appointed examiners in them are not men of rigidity and are liberal in assigning marks? Here then is an instance of what Yaska called Anrjutva or want of sincerity. When our students read the best specimens of English poetry, do they endeavour to realize the sentiment and appreciate it, and are they charmed by it? Do they not care for the syntactical collocation of the words, and for the merely dry and mechanical contents of the book, in order to be able to paraphrase any passage that may be set by the examiner and to answer questions as regards the contents? In studying history, do they care to realize the manner in which a race has progressed from barbarism to civilization, and do they study the arts and institutions of that race with any degree of sympathy? Is philosophy studied with a keen interest in the problems, concerning human nature and the principles which are in operation in human society, which it grapples with? I am afraid the examination papers in the University Calendar are more assiduously studied than the subjects themselves. If then a University degree and the worldly prospects it opens to us are all that we think of in reading our books, it is a wonder that our Vidya or education or knowledge has no Virya or power as Yaska calls it? But on reflection you will find that if you study English poetry and fiction, history and philosophy in, an appreciative manner, feel really interested in them, realise the ideas that they place before you, and learn to admire those ideas, you will do greater good to yourselves than that which a University degree will do for you. You will be a better man; life will have greater and more elevated pleasures for you; and you will be a more useful member of society. And do not for a moment suppose that by constantly placing before your mind's eye the requirements of the examinations you are the better able to pass them. He who studies a subject for itself because he is interested *in* it and wants to know as much of it as he can is

better able to stand the chances of an examination than one who studies it merely for the examination. So that a bona fide or sincere study of a subject is twice blessed. It improves your mind and heart, and enables you to pass your examination.

There is another circumstance which contributes towards this attitude of insincerity or this imperviousness to the influence of what you learn. Somehow or other, in Bengal and in our part of the country, a false race-pride has sprung up and dominates the minds of a great many persons, old as well as young. Whenever one is introduced to a good idea in European literature or philosophy there is always a desire in many young men to be able to say that the idea is not foreign to our literature and philosophy and that it dawned upon our ancestors centuries ago. People want to believe that Europe has got little or nothing which our ancestors had not. When the mind is thus prepossessed, it is of course not possible for it to place itself on a high platform and examine the literature, the history and the progress of different races with impartiality and critical fairness. Hence comes it that in handling Sanskrit literary problems our students show little critical powers and are guided by the same principles and beliefs that dominate the mind of a bigoted Pandit. The assertions of a graduate that the Ramayana contains nothing that is not historical, or that of another that all people were perfectly virtuous and happy in the time of Rama, without ever asking himself whether there was ever such a historical person as Rama, and that of a third that the religion which enjoins animal sacrifices (कर्ममार्ग) and that which includes the findings of God in the whole universe as a means to eternal bliss (ज्ञानमार्ग) were promulgated at one and the same time as simply two alternative methods of arriving at eternal bliss, suited to the tastes of two sorts of people, and that the Upanisads, the hymns of the Rgveda, and the Brahmanas were written at one and the same time, notwithstanding that the difference as regards language and, ideas is so great that to a mind not so prepossessed they cannot but appear as representing different stages in the

progress of Indian thought, show that all the European education they had received was wasted on them and that it possessed no Virya or power in their case, I ask you to reflect whether this assumption that all that is ours is good and that our ancestors were omniscient can be beneficial to us in any way. That it is perfectly untrue is plain even to a child if its mind is not enslaved. And if we obstinately stick to this belief, the result must be that the thought or civilisation of Europe will exercise no influence upon us and that we shall be what we have been,—a dormant or dead community, A student therefore should endeavour to divest himself of this false belief and keep his mind open to the influence which European thought cannot but exercise in the natural course of things.

Another qualification of a student is Apramattatva, i. e. the absence of conceit. If a student already believes that he knows much, he cannot learn much. In order that learning may be possible, it is necessary that he should know how ignorant he is. A great many students think themselves qualified to pronounce a decided opinion on any question, educational, moral or historical, as against even their teachers and men of greater experience. It will be seen that Yaska requires a student to be loyal and faithful to his teacher and to regard him as his father and mother (य आदृजत्यशितथेन कर्णाधिदुःखं कुर्यात्सुतं संग्रयच्छब्द । तं मन्येत पितरं भ्रातरं च तस्मै न द्रुष्टोक्तमश्ननाह) .

If such a relation springs up between the teacher and the taught, the latter cannot fail to be immeasurably benefited by it. If he sincerely reveres his teacher, the high character of the teacher will serve as a living example for him to copy. But if he is Asuyaka, to use Yaska's expression, i. e. disposed to find fault with him or to believe any evil about him upon the most slender evidence, the influence of that living example will be entirely lost. If any feature in the character of Indian students has from the remotest timer been most plainly visible, it is this reverence for a teacher. But somehow under the system

of education organised by our Government that reverence seems to have almost entirely disappeared, and a teacher's own pupils are not seldom his hostile critics in debate and in newspapers. I believe this is partly at least due to the non-appreciation by the pupil of the 'knowledge communicated to him by the teacher. But whatever the reason may be, the absence, of reverence is in a great many cases a fact, and a fact to be deeply deplored. You will see that Yaska places the teacher *on* the same level with the father and mother. The feeling-of reverence for these naturally springs up in the mind of a man. A feeling of reverence is one of the most ennobling features of human nature. If it is not developed in those cases where it should first develop, it will in all likelihood not be developed at all, and a reverence for truth, for moral good, and for the author of the grand and beautiful cosmos of the universe will not spring up. And what is a man who has not reverence for these? You should therefore guard yourselves very much against conceit, against the readiness to teach, before you learn, and against an irreverent spirit.

Again, we see that Yaska considers that a man's education will be fruitful when he has good natural parts. This no, doubt is true, but it is; a gift of nature or of God and we can devise no remedy if one does not possess it. Still, if the other requisites mentioned by him are realised, they can to a large extent make up for the absence of good natural parts.- He says that a man should observe strict Brahmacharya during the time he is student, and should be Yata, i. e. 'well-behaved'. Brahmacharya by usage means 'celibacy', but etymologically it means the vow of devotion to Brahman, which" might be rendered here as 'what is good and true'. This requisite therefore comes to this, that a man should devote himself entirely to knowledge during the time he is a student, should not think of enjoying pleasures and should not have a wife or the cares of the family.: This last requisite is wanting to a good many cases in which our students have to look to their family; and

their application to their studies is lessened. Here, again we can see how much we have fallen away from our old ideal, the ideal of our ancestors. In olden times when a boy was sent to a Guru or teacher, he had to remain with him for twelve or twenty-four years and think of nothing but his studies during that time. And it was after he had thus completed his studies that he was allowed to marry. At the present day we go through the ceremonies of being sent to a Guru and of returning After the completion of studies. But this last, which was performed at the end of a period of twelve or twenty-four years, is now performed on the fourth day and we have now a farce in the place of an old reality. It must not be denied that there is a tendency in our society towards improvement in this respect, and the marriage of boys is often delayed till they are twenty or twenty-one. As to close application and devotion to your books with a singleness of purpose, you can realise them if you are so minded.

Thus then, if the education you receive here is to have Virya or power, i. e., is to be fruitful in the manner described in the beginning of this address, you should endeavour to realise in yourselves these requisites mentioned by an author who flourished about 25 centuries ago. Your attitude towards knowledge should be that of sincerity, i. e. you should be a *bona fide* student and seek knowledge for its own sake because it is interesting to you, not because you are to derive any incidental benefits from it, such as a degree and good prospects in life, though of course these will be added and your single-minded devotion will be rewarded in that manner also. You should disabuse your mind of that sentiment of false patriotism with which the atmosphere of Bengal and of this side of the country is surcharged. You should keep your mind open to the influence which what is true, good and beautiful, whether it comes from a foreigner or from a native, cannot fail to exercise. You should not assume to yourselves a knowledge and experience you do not possess, and should wait until you come

to have them, and so become qualified to teach other people. Your attitude towards your teachers, as towards your father and mother, should be that of complete reverence; and that attitude will bleed in, you a reverence for what is true and good. Lastly, your application towards your studies should be close; nothing ought to draw your mind away from them; no pleasures ought to attract you. It is thus alone that the education given to you will develop your mental faculties, establish a moral order amongst the feelings of your heart, and elevate your character. And it is thus that you will be able to derive advantage from the dispensation of Providence in virtue of which we have been brought into connection with one of the foremost races, of Europe, and improve your moral, social, economic and political condition. In this way alone will you be able to raise your fallen country, and enable it to take its place in the community of nations.

THE IDEAL OF AN INDIAN SCHOLAR

FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA; BOMBAY, WEDNESDAY, 19TH JULY 1893

[At a private and informal meeting held on Sunday afternoon in honour of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D, C.I.E., the learned Sanskritist sketched the following ideal of what an Indian Scholar ought to be. In the course of his remarks he said;]

Many years ago when I first entered the Educational Department it was because I felt that the highest duty of man consisted in trying to secure the love and approbation of his fellowmen and that the teacher's calling afforded excellent opportunities for the purpose; I soon discovered, however, that it was not given to all, even of those who assiduously served their fellowmen, to secure their love and approbation, and all I aimed at instead was the satisfaction of my own conscience and the service of the Universal Lord in Whom we live, and move and have our being. When, later on, I had the good fortune to be appointed Professor of Oriental Languages, I felt I would hardly be equal to the discharge of the many and important duties which in my opinion are expected of the occupant of such a chair in India. A Professor's duty is not simply to teach, but also to learn. And a Professor of Sanskrit has an extensive field before him, the whole of which any one individual can hardly be expected to cover. In the first place, he has to be conversant with the history of Indian languages. The language of the Vedas differs from the language of the Brahmanas, which in its turn is not the language for which Panini legislated. It is generally believed that Panini's Grammar formulated a system from which later Sanskrit literature has not diverged. But it is not so. The language of the Epics is not indeed so unlike the language of Panini's Grammar as that of the Vedas is ; still the points of dissimilarity between the two are neither few nor trivial, and European scholars who, till lately, had almost exclusively confined themselves to the Vedas are now beginning to bring their comparative, elabo-

rate and scientific methods of study to bear on the later Sanskrit literature, and to discover that in it also, as in the earlier field which they have made peculiarly their own, there are stages of growth and periods of change to record and understand. But this is not all. The Pali and kindred dialects also claim the professor's attention ; these have developed literatures of their own, were derived at different stages of Sanskrit from the mixture of Sanskrit, the language of the Aryan conquerers, with the tongue of the barbarians, autochthonous or not, with whom they came in contact and whom they subdued and Aryanised; and they have given birth in turn to the Gujarati, Marathi and other languages of Modern India. The professor has thus to study the various literatures, with special reference to the history of language, the broad landmarks of which have thus been sketched too hurriedly. But this is only one branch of study he *professes* — and hardly the most important branch. These literatures embody many stages of religious belief and ceremonial practice, each of which grew out of the one preceding it. The Vedic hymns embody a religion which is not that embodied in the mass of literature styled as Brahmanas. Again there is Buddhism, especially northern Buddhism; and the religious belief and the code of morals embodied in the Mahabharata, which to all careful and unprejudiced students show strong mutual affinities. Lastly, there are Jainism and other modifications of Buddhism as well as Brahmanism, which slowly, approximated one faith to the other, until there emerged as a substitute for both and as a result of compromising and accommodating tendency, extending over centuries, *Purayic Brahmanism*.* Thirdly, the professor has to study the history of early Indian thought as a branch of inquiry distinct from the two, roughly delineated above. This, also, begins with some of the hymns of the Rgyeda. The body of literature, known as the Upanisads furnished the material for its second stage; and last come the different schools of formulated and systematised philosophies and the controversies that raged for long periods between them; The very materials for a study of this period of philosophical

controversies have yet to be discovered, collected and arranged. Lastly, the professor has to turn his attention to the political history of the country, and by deciphering and interpreting inscription which is almost the only material he has got for the purpose, to try his best to get as many events, persons: and works dated as possible. All this it is clearly impossible for any one man to study with equal attention and fullness at all points. Even the laborious Professor Weber has not been able to do so ; and some scholars have, *nolens volens*, to work as pibneers examining, classifying, and tabulating manuscripts, preparing lists of authors and the works, mentioned or referred to. in any one manuscript or author, and in a variety of ways clear the road by preparing and digesting material in order that their successors may use it with greater ease and turn it to better account. Moreover, Indian professors have to do more teaching work than their -German brethren. And being Indian born, they have a personal interest in the religious and social institutions that now prevail in the country, their past history, and the efforts that are now made to modify and reform them. As a reformer I belong to the most advanced section of the religious and social reformers of India, But my fellow-workers and fellow-thinkers of that section consider me as one of the most conservative of their number. The explanation is this. In Indian society the centrifugal tendency is, in my opinion, far too strong. The slightest -divergence of ritual, manner of life, or mode of thinking is sufficient to constitute a new caste-group which falls away from the older castes and begins life by itself; and there is hardly any -way in which these atoms can be crystallised into a new and larger whole. This conviction and the strong sense of the need of preserving historic continuity have often held me back. It is not enough that any particular reform that may be suggested is good in itself- The question that is of vital importance is, whether it can be engrafted on the existing organism of Hindu Society, -whose roots go back into the prehistoric times and which contains vestiges of all that it has at any period of its life assimilated or had to struggle against.

I am aware that this line of thought is capable of being construed to support the most uncompromising hostility to every kind of change. But I have always held that it is necessary to act as well as to deliberate and discuss and preach and enlighten, excite and exhort in all varieties of tone and manner. And whenever my lights have enabled me to recognize a clear case for action, I for one have not hesitated. If my conduct; on such occasions has dissatisfied any, I ask only to be judged according to my lights. I have always an explanation to offer as regards my attitude towards present political movements. It is not that we Indians are devoid of sympathy for our fellow-creatures. Our benevolence is active where particular individuals have to be helped. Our feelings are stirred at the sight of individual human beings in distress. But we are devoid of the sense of public duty. Our sense of wrong at public grievance is fitful and transitory. We cannot yet work with perseverance for objects that are to benefit not certain specific individuals, but the body public. The public, the body public, the country, is to us an abstraction with whose wrongs and needs we have not sufficient sympathy, whose claims on our efforts we do not adequately recognize, and whose good is not the good of any individuals in particular with whom we can speak and talk, whose gratitude we can enjoy as our reward. We are unselfish enough where help is claimed by individual distress ; but, being devoid of the sort of corporate consciousness thus described, our actions in political matters are guided on the whole by selfish and individual interests. When this is the case, it is inevitable that there should be factions instead of parties, and that personal preferences • and animosities should assert themselves and public interests be lost sight of. As long as such a state of things lasts, representative government would be an evil and not a boon. And I conclude by advising you that before asking for any political privileges, you should impartially examine whether you are fit for it, whether, in fact, there is any probability of your using it to the lasting benefit of your country.

A REVIEW OF MARTIN HAUG'S AITAREYA-BRAHMANA¹

[Originally appeared in the Native Opinion, Bombay, Febr. 28 und karoh 6, 1864, pp 99-101 und pp. 110-112; subsequently republished by Prof. A. Weber of Berlin in his Indische Studion, Vol.9 (1865), i>f>:i77ttl

It is satisfactory to know that while Europeaps have got; so many things which excite our admiration and which we are tempted to adopt we possess one at least which seems to be very attractive to them in India and which they have consequently adopted here, and that is,—our love of ease and pleasure. It is indeed wonderful that while so many good and valuable periodicals are conducted in England and so many books of real .work published every week, the English men and other, Euro-peans in this Presidency should not be able to manage a single periodical or write one book at least in a decade of years. The late Rev. Philip Anderson of Colaba was a remarkable exception. He wrote a good history of the English in Western India, and his connection with the late Bombay Quarterly Review is well known. The Review, like its projector, died an untimely death for want of contributors* Perhaps, the reason may be that Englishmen here have too much to do to be able to devote their attention to literature ; but the number of really hard working men like Mr. Ellis is infinitesimal; and even in their

1 The Aitareya Brahman am of the Rgveda, containing the earliest speculations of the Brahmanas on the meaning of the sacrificial . pray era and on the origin, performance, und sense of the rites ef the Vedio Religion ; edited, translated and explained by Martin Haug, Ph. D., Superintendent-of Sanskrit Studies in the Poona College, etc., etc., Volume I. Pp. IX, 80. 215, VI ; Sanskrit Text with Preface, introductory Essay, and the map of the Sacrificial Compound at the Soma Sacrifice; and Volume II, Pp. VII, 535: Translation with Notee; Published by the Director of Public Instruction in behalf of Government, Bombay, Govt. Central Book Depot; London, TrÜbner & Co., 60 Paternoster Row, 1863.

case the examples of Sir-George Cornwall Lewis and Mr. Gladstone find us to make any great allowance. But the Professors of our Colleges can by no means plead this excuse; for the greatest amount of work they have is about two hours a day and vacations extend, over about four months in the year. On this account, and on account of the circumstance that their profession is literary, the public has a right to expect good books from them. But they also have disappointed us. The only exception amongst them is Dr. Haug. His essays on the Parsi Religion have now been for about two years before the public, and this Edition and Translation of the Aitareya Brahmana is his second work.

The style of the Aitareya Brahmana is generally simple. But it can by no means be concluded that a translation of it is therefore an easy matter. There is indeed a very great difficulty, and such a difficulty as European scholars in Europe cannot master. To understand the Brahmana, a general knowledge of the complicated sacrificial ritual of the Brahmans is necessary. A large number of sacrificial terms occur in the book which, without such a knowledge, are liable to be totally misunderstood. There is, no doubt, Sayana's excellent commentary, in which most of these terms are explained and several of the sacrificial processes minutely described; but the great scholiast presupposes some knowledge of the ritual in his reader, and thus even with the help of his valuable work a great deal in the original remains indistinct and obscure. Dr. Haug's residence in India, therefore, gave him great advantage in this respect. He had recourse to one or two Srotriyas who had officiated as priests at some of the sacrifices which some times, though now very rarely, take place on the banks of the Krsna. They gave him a good deal of original information; and one of them performed a model sacrifice in his presence in a secluded part of his bungalow. We congratulate the Doctor on the success which thus attended his endeavours. It is indeed very difficult for a European to procure information *bit* this most holy *ari-* A Brahman breaking its

secret to a Mleccha commits a horrible and inexpressible offence against religion. But the greediness of the Deccani Brabmans is more than a match for their bigotry and superstition, and the offers of 'Dr. Haug were probably too tempting to be resisted.

With the information thus obtained and with "Sayana's Commentary, the sacrificial sQtras and the prayogas or manuals of priests, the translation of the Brahmaṇa was a matter of comparative ease. Dr. Haug, however, must have worked very hard before he was able to perform the task he had undertaken. The translation upon the whole is well executed, as might be expected. Copious notes illustrative of the text are given. They are chiefly based upon oral information and the prayogas, and now and then upon the Sūtras of Asvalayana and Hiranyakesin, and the Kauṣṇiki and Tāndya Brahmanas. No ordinary degree of perseverance must have been required to collect and bring together this mass of information. The Germans are known to be patient scholars, and Dr. Haug seems to be a favourable specimen of their class.

A knowledge of sacrifices and of the technical terms of the art is essential for the correct interpretation of a large number of hymns in the Rgveda, and of nearly the whole of the Yajus Sarfihita. It is indispensable for the accurate¹ understanding of the work of the Mimamsa divines, and useful to a student "of several schools of Philosophy. Dr. Haug, therefore, has rendered material service to the students of Sanskrit literature, especially in Europe, and is therefore entitled to their thanks.

But great as are the merits of this book; it has many blemishes. These we should gladly pass over, were it not a duty we owe to the public and to the cause of Sanskrit learning to point them out. The edition of the Sanskrit text seems to have been hastily gone through. The punctuation is in many places wrong and calculated more to bewilder than help a reader. The editor in the corrigenda states that the first 60 pages were reprinted and that the -topping from page 61 to 96 is not quite

correct. But even in the reprinted pages and those which follow p. 96, the punctuation in a number of places is wrong; though such errors are fewer in the former portion than in the latter. We will give a few instances :

Page 50 line 20 : *kirn sa yajamanasya papabhadramadriye-teti ha smaha. yo 'sya hota syaditi.* Properly, the full stop ought to be placed after this last *iti*, and even if it cannot be marked there on account of the *samdh*i of the *i* of the *a* of the following *atra*, there ought not to be a full point after *smaha*. For the meaning is, " what, can he who is Hotar do any good or evil to him ? So they (he) ask ". It is clear that the relative *yah* is connected with the correlative *sah*. By placing a full stop after *smaha*, the relative clause is separated from the correlative, which ought not to be. On referring to the translation, we find that Dr. Haug has constructed the passage as he has pointed it. But the particle *iti* in Sanskrit cuts off the connection of the clause at the end of which it is placed with what follows. The clause *yo 'sya hota syad iti*, therefore, has no connection with the following but with the preceding. Besides, it will be necessary to understand the correlative *sah* in the next sentence, while if it be taken with the preceding there is no such need. And Sayana understands the passage as we take it. His words are : *asya yajamanasya yo hota syat sa tastya papabhadra kim adriyeta.* And there is no doubt that that is the sense of the passage.

Then follows in the text : *atraivainam yatha kamayeta, tatha kuryadyam kamayeta. pranenainam vyardhayaniti etc.* Both these full-points are wrongly placed. The first ought to come after *kuryad*, and, if it cannot be printed, omitted altogether ; and the second ought to be totally dropped. The translation, However, in this case is correct, but the text, being badly pointed, is apt to confuse a learner.

Page 97, line 9. *atha yah samapayisylmah. samvatsarajnyasata.etc.* A full point is here placed between the verb

samapayisyamah and its accusative samvatsaram, which, of course, is wrong.

Page 107, line 11. tad yadiheha vo manasi bandhuti nara ityarbhavam. prathame 'hani Sarisati etc. Here it is clear that arbhayam is the accusative governed by the verb iansati; there ought not to be a full point therefore after arbhavam.

Page 106, line 3. agnir vai devata ; prathamaaharvahati; —a semicolon separating the verb from its Nominative 1 — There are several such errors, but in the thirty-six pages between 61 and 96 the stopping is positively bad..

Then there are errors of another sort, which are also calculated to mislead a reader. The Sanskrit Mss., our readers know, are written without leaving a space between two successive words. This, no doubt, renders their understanding difficult to a beginner. Dr. Haug has, in his edition, separated the words, but in several places the division is wrong and therefore apt to bewilder a reader. Some of these errors are corrected in the corrigenda, but there are others which are not noticed. We will cite a few instances.

Page 31, last line (and p. 32 first line), sa medbena nah pasunestam asat kevalena nah pasunestamasaditi. Here the first word ought to be : samedhena, that is, with the medha or sacrificial quality. For the story there mentioned is that the sacrificial quality fled from animals and took refuge in the earth. Consequently, the things produced from the earth such as rice are offered in the form of purodasa along with the animal, in order that the deficiency of the animal in the sacrificial quality may be made up.

Page 61, line 9. Sastva 'caturaksarena It ought to be: Sastva caturaksarena.

Page 62, line 19. yajnayajniya, being the name of asaman, the first part ought not to be separated from the second;

Page 66, liNe 15, sa somapithan karpti. It ought to be ; sasomapithan karoti.

Page 68, line 4. tena prati ca tia samavadata. It ought to be r te na prati cana samavadata.

Page 118, line 9. tad yatha yathamrtvija rtuyajan yajanti, The first yatha ought to be joined to the other.

Errors of this kind considerably impair the value of the edition before us. The third and a part of the founh Pancika abound with them.

We will now proceed to examine the translation. We are sorry our limits do not allow of a full discussion of its merits. Though it is, on the whole, well executed, there are unfortunately too many inaccuracies and errors to render it trustworthy throughout. We can give but a few examples.

Page 57, line 23 (Text). asau vava vavrtavah sal -etam eva tad rtisvadadhatyrtusu pratisfhapayati. Dr. Haug's translation of this passage is as follows :

Page 168, line 6-10 (Translation). The part vau of the formula vasat means the six seasons. By repeating vasatkara, the Hotar places the sacrificer in the seasons, gives Him a footing, in them.

This makes no sense, ' Because the part vau means the seasons, therefore he places the sacrificer in the seasons' is no good reasoning even according to the standard of the Aitareya, Brahmana. Besides, a little above, it is said that the part Satr means the seasons, and the reason is that the seasons are six and. sat in common language means six. Vau, therefore, cannot means the seasons here. And immediately after this, the author of the Brahmana says : " As he does to the Gods so the; Gods do to him" There must be something then in what *precedes* which is construed by the author as being done by him (the, Hotar) to the Gods; otherwise, that observation would be out

of place. The true sense is *asau* i. e. that; meaning *tñc* sun, is *vau* and *jtus* (seasons) are *sat*; therefore (-by joining the *t*Wo in the word *vaujat*) he places the sun in the seasons, gives him a firm footing in them. The connection of the observation which follows with this is clear. He (*Hotar*) gives the god Sun a firm footing among the seasons; therefore the god Sun will do a similar thing to him; i. e. give him a firm footing here in this world throughout the seasons. In Dr. Haug's translation the word *asau* is left out altogether, *sat* he takes to be the word in common language which means six, while it is here meant to be the latter part of *vausat*, and makes it an adjective of *jtavah*. Sayana takes the passage as we do, and since the translator makes no mention of his dissenting from the commentator in this case, he must have been under the impression that Sayana and he agreed. But the commentator explains it differently, whence it is clear that the Doctor did not read Sayana's explanation carefully. It is thus : *tanmantrapathenaitameva vau&bdabhidheyamadityam šat&tbdabhidheyesvrtu\$vadadhati*, i. e. by repeating that mantra (*vausat*) he places that, i. e. sun who is meant by *vau*, in the seasons which are meant by *šat*. That the word *asau* or *\$sa*, that, refers very frequently to the sun is clear from several passages of the *Brahmaija* itself (see particularly 3, 44 and 1,30).

In the translation of the tale about the bringing of Soma from the heavenly world by *gayatri*, a formula; is given which ought to be repeated by one who wishes safe passage to a friend going on a journey. That formula, according to Dr. Haug is *pra ca &<* The original (page 69, line 21, 22, Text) is : *tarn devah sarvena svastyayanen&'nvamantrayanta preti ceti ceth etad vai sarvam svastyayanam yat preti ceti ceti*. Dr. Haug's statement is in the last degree unsatisfactory; Sayana's explanation is decidedly better and very probably true. He says : *ko 'sau mantra iti* praiabda eko mantra asbdo dvitlyo mantrah. tadubhayadaria-nlrthamitiabdvayam. ubhayasamuccayartham caklradvayam, lasemena somath prapnuhi punaiupi ksemena gacheti*

Nothing on be clearer than this* The won} pra is oqe mantra (formula) and the word a another. The different words which are joined together by the rules of sathdhi in the expression preti ceti ceti are, pra iti ca a iti ca hi. The wordjiti is twice used as a demonstrative and ca, being a copulative particle, is put in twice to join pra and a. The last iti points out the whole expression and is connected with^the principal word in the sentence. The particle pra means forth and a hither. The sense of the formula pra and a is forth (^ safely) and hither (-wards safely), i. e. go and return safely. Dr. Haug makes it pra ca ca which means nothing.

Page 197, lines 12-16.

tadu punah paricakṣate yadasarveija vaco'bhiṣikto bhavati-
cvaro ha tu purayīṣah praitoriti ha smaha Satyakamo Jlbalo
yametabhir vyahrtibhir nabhisincatitivaro ha sarvamayuraitoh.
sarvamapnod vijayenetyu ha smahoddalaka Arunir yametabhir
vyahrtibhirabhisincatiti.

The full points are Dr. Haug's. The first is misplaced as we shall show. The translation (page 506, lines 9-16) is as follows :

They, again, are of Opinion that the Kṣatriya when sprinkled not under the recital of the whole mantra (i. e. with the omission of the sacred words) has power only over his former life.

Satyakdṃa, the son of Jabala, said, " I f they do not sprinkle him under the recital of these sacred words (in addition to the mantra), then he is able to go through his whole life (as much as is apportioned to him)." But Udd&bka Arugi said " He who is sprinkled under the reckal of these sacred, words obtains .everything by conquest".

Before examining this, we must premise that the author of the Brahṃaga iji describing the power, whether for good dr rtv% of a jftantflLor aiacrificial *f# dways point* out air ana-

*it°oy bet^eekthe good of «^il which k'tb resaJfandtiie mantra or ttfte;¹ In &ie first and second sentences of -die above passage as translated hy¹Dr, Haug, having power over his former life and being aMe to go through his ^Vhole life ate mentioned k&' the effects of sprinkling a Ksatriya (at the time of fcoronatioa) ^ith watefr: uhderthe recital of an incomplete iiiattra, i. e. mantra td which the sacred words bhfr bhuvah svah are not added. There is, however, ho analogy betwe&i the caftse and its effects. It would make good sense if,*nthie^Ohtrsay, k Were -said that wlien he is sprinkled uridfer the recital of an incomplete mantra, fee enjoys * an mcomplete life; i. e. as some words are clipped off from the inantra, so are some years clipped off from the life originally assigned to him V and that when he is sprinkled Under the rectical of a full mantra, i.e. the mantra with the satred words, he . fcnjoys his fulf life. And such is really the sense of the Sanskrit passage above quoted.. Or, Haug,has translated it as if the first sentence ended with praitoh and the second, with ayuraitoh, the remaining words forming a third. But this is objectionable, 'because, as abbve observed, the sense is not good ; and because, if the fist¹ sentence ended with pfai&b, theseconci would begin with iti or at least with smaha, which is never the case in Sanskrit. Again, the translator has ^understood the sense of pura 'yusah, which according to him means ' former life/ while in reality it means 'before life' (pura before and ayusah genitive sing, of ayus life) and he has not translated the word praitoh, which Etymologically means to go forth, and usually, to die. Tadu puhah paricaksate may be taken to be the first sentence; <' the second ends with the wfdrds abhisificatlti; and the remaining words af the passage is qbdteft above make up a third. If we rfxmstrueithe passage thu*, the sense Tirhich as we said appears to to be proper naturally follows. The translation dien ought to be :

Then agin they refute Satyakama, Satyafcama, the son of Jabala. said that he who is nesprinkled under thesecttitation of the

fctered words (vyahrtis, bhur etc*) is apt to die before the term of his natural life in consequence of his being sprinkled with a part only of a speech (i . e. mantra). And Uddalaka Arui?i said that he who is sprinkled under the recital of the sacred words (vyihrtis) is able to live all his life and, having conquered his enemy, gains everything. Sayana perfectly agrees with us. We refer the reader to his explanation, it being too long' to be here quoted.

We will give a few examples of another class of errors and conclude.

Transl. Page 84, lines 2-5. When the fire is carried round (the animal), the adhvaryu says to the hotar: repeat (thy mantras). The hotar then repeats etc.

Page 93, line 29. The adhvaryu now says (to the hotar) : recite the verses for Manota.

Page 95, Note 32, line 5 to 7. The Adhvaryu puts the plant on the juhu. . . . and says to the hotar: address vanaspati. He then first repeats an anuvakya.

Page 99, lines 1 to 2. The adhvaryu orders the hotar to recite the mantra appropriate to the drop (falling down)•

This is all wrong* It is not the hotar but the maitravaruna that repeats all these mantras and the anuvakySs. The hotar recites the y&jyIs only at the animal sacrifice. This will be evident from the following quotations from Asvalayana, and the Sapta-hautra-prayoga. In the Sanskrit text of the Brahm^na the name of the hotar is not at all mentioned on these occasions.

Dakṣiṣo hotrsadan&t prahvoVasthaya vedyam dart<Jam avastabhya bfflyat prai&mS cadelam (X^v. &r. Su. 3. 1), On this, Narayaoa, the commeptator says; etad uktam bhavati'; pratṣam-nayaparipathit&n. sarvin prai?in maitravaruna eva presitah-presito 'nubrOyad itl arthah 4asabdo maitravarupanukarwiarthaii. From this it is clear that the nominative to bniyat in the above, sfctra

and consequently in those that follow, in virtue of the rule of anvrtti, is maitravartinah. The word occurs in a previous sfitra from which it is brought on here, says the commentator, by the copulative particle ca.

The next two sfitras are :

Anuvakyam ca sampraise purvam praisat, i. e. before giving the praisa or order to the hotar, he should repeat the anuvakya if he has got an order (praisa from the adhvaryu). It is clear from this that the maitravaruna and not the hotar repeats the anuvakyas at the animal sacrifice for which Asvalayana is here giving rules.

Paryagni-stoka-manoto-nniyamanasuktani ca i. e. he should repeat the verses for carrying fire round (the animal), for the drops and for manota. The commentator says : evambhutamaitravarunanukarsanarthaS casabhdah, i. e. the particle ca is used in the sutra to drag on the word maitravaruna (from a preceding sutra given above). From this we see that all these mantras are repeated by the Maitravaruna.

Asv. Srau. Sutra 3, 2 dasasuktesu presito maitravaruno 'gnir hota na iti trcam paryagnaye 'nvaha, i. e. after the ten (apri verses) are repeated the Maitravaruna, when ordered, recites the triplet Agnir hota nah etc. for carrying fire round (the sacrificial animal).

Sapta-Hautra: prayagnaye kriyamapaya 'nubrfihity ukte tiṣṭhann eva maitravarunah agnir hota etc., i. e. after being told, " Repeat (mantras) for carrying fire round (the animal) ", the Maitravaruna, standing, (says) Agnir hota etc.

Stokebhyo 'nubruhity ukte tiṣṭhann eva maitravarunah, i. e. after being told " Repeat (mantras) for drops" the Maitravaruria, standing, says juṣasva etc

Atha manotayai preṣito maitravaruna aha. Maitravaruna being ordered (to repeat mantras) for Manota repeats; (tvam

After this it is needless to quote Sayana who also says that these verses (given by Dr. Haug to the Hotar) are repeated by the Maitravarupa.

The 22 nd kharuja of the 2nd pancika is thus headed in the translation (see page 120): " The Hotar has no share in the Bahis-pavamana meal. The soma libation for Mitra-Varuna to be mixed with milk." We think, there can be little doubt that Dr. Haug has misunderstood the general bearing of this khan4a. For there is no such thing as a Bahis-pavamana meal, nor is the soma-libation for Mitra-Varuria mixed with milk. We find no indications of them in Asvalayana, Sayana, or Sapta-Hautra. As to the first, all Asvalayana has got to say on it is this :

Adhvaryumukhah samanvarabdhah sarpani a tirthadesat tat stotrayopavisanty udgataram abhimukhah tan hota 'numantrayate 'traivaslno yo devanam etc., i. e. " They headed by the Adhvaryu proceed up to the tirtha and there sit down for the stotra (Bahis-pavamana) facing the Udgatar. The Hotar sitting here only (i. e, where he was sitting before) consecrates them (their act) by reciting a mantra, Yo devanam etc."

Here we do not find any mention made of the meal, where it might be expected if the meal were an enjoined rite at all; nor dp we find it before, nor after this. This mistake has arisen from a misapprehension of the sense of these words in the original: ubhayesam va esa devamanusyanam bhakso yad bahis-pavamanah. The Doctor translates them thus : " this meal in honour of the Bahiṣ-pavamana-Stotra (which is about to be performed/by the Sama-Singers) is enjoyed equally by both Gods and men * We doTnot know how the words in the original can bear this interpretation. We will give the meaning of each of them in order :, ubhayesam, of both, vai, a particle very frequently used but having no definite sense, esah that, deva-manu?yai?am, [or gods and men, bhaksah meal or something eatable, yad which, bahispavamanah, name of a stotra (per-fprjiapce of the Sama-sin^ers), The whole is this : " Of both

gods and men is that which is Bahispavamana a meal"; i.e., the Bahispavamana stotra is as it were the meal both of gods and men. The word bhaksa or meal is used here figuratively. The Bahispavamana is compared to a meal, for it gives pleasure or satisfaction to both gods and men as a meal does, Sayana perfectly agrees with us, as is clear from the following quotation : yo bahis-pavamana esa eva devanam manusyanam cobhayesam bhaksah, tena hi te sarve tripyanti; i. e. that which is Bahispavamana is itself the meal or eatable thing of both gods and ipen, for all of them ate pleased, or satisfied by its means. Sayana makes no mention of the " meal in honour of Bahispavamana," nor does Apastamba as quoted by him. Notwithstanding all this, the assurance with which note 12 (page 120) is written is surprising. Dr. Haug says there that the text which he has misconstrued " refers to the eating of caru or boiled rice by the Sama-singers before they chant".

With regard to the second error, the milk or curd, spoken of in the text as belonging to Maitra-varuna, forms one of the purodhas offered to some deities before the stotras commence. It is not mixed with Soma as Dr. Haug says in the heading and in note 16, page 122. This will be clear from the following observation of Sayana in his comment on the passage in the text': atha savaniyapurodasesuyeyam maitravarunl payasya-sti tatsadbhava Apastambena darsitah; i. e. "Among the purodhas at the savana is milk (or curd) dedicated to Maitravaruna." Apastamba has mentioned its existence amongst them. Then follows the quotation from Apastamba a part of which we give here : indraya harivate dhana indraya pusanvate karambham sarasvatyai bharatyai parivapam indraya purodasam mitravaruna-bhyam payasyam iti, i. e. dhana for Indra with Haris (horses), Karambha for Indra with Pusan and payasya i. e. curds or milk to Mitravaruna. This is also clear from the Praise and yajya given in the Sapta-Hautra, in which, along with the names of the other purodhas, payasya (curds) belonging to Maitravaruna is mentioned. The story of Khanda 22 is related to account for this

payasya given to Mitravaruna along with the other purodhas and not for its mixture with soma.

Dr. Haug's account of Svahakrtis at page 100 seems to be confused and inaccurate. We had at 'mind to discuss their nature fully ; but as we have, we are afraid, already wearied out reader with long Sanskrit quotations we forbear. We will only remark that the word Svahakrti (in the plural) ought not to be translated here by " the call Svaha " as the Doctor does (see Trans.); for all the three Sanskrit authors we have consulted¹ agree in stating that the Svahakrtis are the deities of the 11th prayaja, to whom an offering is given, not with the other ten prayaja deities but after the verses for the drops falling from vapa are repeated. The eleventh Apr! verse is used as their vajya.

Such is a specimen of the inaccuracies and errors to be found in the Edition and Translation before us. It appears clearly that Dr. Haug has not read Sayana, Asvalayana or the Sapta-Hautra-prayoga carefully. And yet he says in the preface :

" My notes are, therefore, for the most part, independent of Sayana, for I had almost as good sources as he himself had ".

But the great difference, even supposing that the materials were equally good in both cases, is that Sayana seems to have an intimate knowledge of them, while Dr. Haug has at the best only a superficial and general acquaintance, as we hope we have shown. And further :

" He (Sayana), however, does not appear to have trembled himself much with a minute study of the actual operations of the sacrificial priests, but derived all his knowledge almost entirely from sutras only ".

How he does not thus appear, we are at a loss to see. If Dr. Haug himself notwithstanding the immense help he must have derived from Sayana, and, notwithstanding that he possessed as good a source as Sayana himself, was unable to understand the

text of the Aitareya Brahmana correctly, without seeing some of the operations performed in his presence, how could it have been possible for Sayana to write such a voluminous and lucid commentary, without seeing the sacrificial rites performed and performing them himself. We believe such a minute and accurate description of several of the ceremonies as is given by him cannot be accounted for under any other supposition. He never, we apprehend, betokens an ignorance of even the details of the ritual. If Dr. Haug is led to this conclusion by Sayana's always quoting from Sutra works and never advancing anything on verbal authority such as that of priests, as he himself does, it is because it is always a sound canon of criticism in expounding a book, to produce on matters of fact the authority of standard authors on the subject. Every reader is able to estimate for himself the value of such authority ; but when what is referred to is a verbal statement which for aught one knows may be false *or* may have been misunderstood by the person who uses it, he is left helpless and has no choice but to place implicit confidence in it. Besides, a European, for whom the sacrificial ritual of the Brahmans can have no more than a passing interest, may be satisfied with the verbal statements of a priest and believe in them. But a person like Sayana, who was himself a Brahman and believed in the efficacy of the rites and held that the slightest deviation from the processes enjoined in the Sutras was fraught with evil consequences, would place no confidence in mere verbal statements, but would consult the chief authorities on the subject and acquaint himself with the actual practice as it had descended from times immemorial. Moreover, if it were necessary, we might mention that there are extant several sacrificial manuals or prayogas written by Sayana himself. We have ourselves seen one of the Caturmasya and another, of the Agnistoma Audgatra. No doubt, Sayana may be wrong in the philological interpretation of particular passages of the Brahmana, but that he betrays any ignorance of the ritual or even shows but a poor acquaintance with it, we do not believe

We beg that the point of our criticism may not be misunderstood. It is almost an intuitive belief in modern times that free discussion is indispensable for the advancement of Truth. " Truth, like a torch, the more it's shook, it shines ". Anybody who is able in howsoever small a measure to help men in separating the grain of truth from the rubbish of falsehood and does not do so is guilty of an offence against Truth itself and against mankind in general. It is with such feelings as these that we entered upon this discussion. Our object is to enable our readers, so far as we can, to form a correct estimate of the volumes before us. Very little was known about sacrifices before in Europe and also in India except to a small minority of Bhattas and Srotriyas. Dr. Haug worked hard for some years and having obtained a considerable knowledge of the ritual has translated the Aitareya Brahmana. The work will afford great help for the understanding of other Brahmanas and of some hymns in the Samhita. The Doctor has thus rendered good service to the cause of Sanskrit learning. But it is certainly to be desired that the book were freer from inaccuracies than it is and bore fewer marks of haste. If Dr. Haug studied Asvalayana ' and Sayana more carefully and gave us another edition of his work, free from such faults as we have pointed out, it would no doubt be a valuable and permanent addition to our existing resources for the study of ancient Sanskrit literature and Indian antiquities.

Having thus given our estimate of the merits and faults of the edition and translation, we will, in the next notice¹ give some account of the contents of the Aitareya Brahmana and discuss some of the questions to which they give rise.

1 [This "intention, Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar said, was not realised.--N. B. U.]

A REVIEW OF Da. GOLDSTUCKER'S " PANINI" AND
HIS THEORY ABOUT PANINI'S TECHNICAL TERMS.¹

[From the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume 6 (1877), pp. 107 ff.]

The following article on Goldstucker's Panini was published in two issues of *Native Opinion*, 21st and 28th August 1864. Appearing in a mere newspaper, it probably did not then attract the notice of scholars generally, and is now inaccessible. I am encouraged to reprint it in the *Indian Antiquary* by the suggestion by Prof. F. Keilhorn in a note to his article on the Mahabhasya (*Indian Antiquary* Volume V, p. 251). I have given it as it was, save misprints, and a remark of a personal nature omitted from the last paragraph.

²Pr. Burnell, in his recent work, *The Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians*, has adopted Prof. Goldstucker's theory about Panini's technical terms, which, as was shown by me twelve years ago is based on a misapprehension of the sense of certain passages in the Mahabhasya and Kaiyata, and, like him, is led to awkward conclusions. He gives some technical terms used by the older grammarians, which, he says, Panini does not define in accordance with the theory. Of these, however, *ekavacana*, *divavacana* and *bahuvacana* are defined in I. 4.103. Upasarga, nipata, dhatu and pratyaya Panini defines likewise, but, as observed by me in the following paper, he defines them by enumeration, or by unfolding the denotation, of the term

1 Panini, His Place in Sanskrit Literature, an Investigation of some Literary and Chronological Questions which may be settled by a study of his works,—by Theodor Goldstucker; London Trubner & Co.

2 This and the following para. were added when the Review was reprinted in the *Indian Antiquary*.—N. B. U.

instead of the connotation and in the case of dhatu in the latter way also. All Indian-grammarians so understand him, and Patanjali himself *does so*. *Dhatu* is defined in I. 3. 1. This sutra is interpreted in several ways. First, that *bhu* and others are dhatus, i. e. the name *dhatu* is given to *bhu* and others. The effect, of this, we are told in the *Mahabhasya*¹, is that these get the name from the fact of their being put in that list. Secondly, *bhu* and others which are of the nature of *va*, i. e. which show *action* are roots; and thirdly *va* and others which are of the nature of *bhu*, i. e. signify *being*, are roots. What is to be gathered from the last two is that words which show action or being are roots. This is a connotative definition. After finishing his explanation in this way, Patanjali says, " Well, then, if we have got a connotative definition now, the enumeration should not be made"², which means that the purpose of a connotative definition and enumeration is the same, viz. the explanation of a term. In the same manner the word *nipata* is explained in I, 4. 56. This is an *adhikara*, wherefore the term is to be repeated in each of the sutras that follow up to I. 4. 9 ; and the sense is that all the particles contained in these sutras are *nipatas*. ;Upsarga is defined, i. e. explained by enumeration, in I. 4. 59. As to *pratyaya*, it is defined in III 1. 1. This also is an *adhikara*, and by this *adhikara* we are told that a name is given to certain things which are set forth in the following sutras, to which the *adhikdra* extends,' Bhavisyat and Vartamana are no *samjnas*, or technical terms of Panini,— they are no more so than the words *bhuta*, *adyantana* and *paroksa*, which are also used. The same remark applies to *anta*, *pradhana* and *prayatna*, *Anusvara*, like *visarga*, is merely the name of a sound, and is not a *samjna*, the object of which in Panini's grammar is abbreviation, or to be able to state much in a short compass.

1 पाठेन धातुसहितेष्वप्यर्थः भवति ।-p. 229a.

2 यदि तर्हि लक्षणं क्रियते तेषां पाठः कर्तव्यः ।

3 अन्वयः अधिकारिणः अन्वयलक्षा क्रियते ।

Then follow terms which, according to the theory, Panini *should not* define, but as a matter of fact he *does*. Dr. Burnell gives reasons why he does, the chief of which is that Panini's new anubandhas and the pratyahara sutras rendered the definition of these terms necessary. Prof. Goldstucker's theory is that Panini does not define those terms which admit of an etymology and which are "known and settled otherwise." Now these terms have an etymology, were settled by the previous grammarians, were known before Panini, Panini uses them in the same sense, and there is no difference whatever; why, then, should he define them if the theory be true? What difference does his new system of anubandhas and the pratyahara-sutras make? He would be justified in defining them only if he used them in a different sense. But this is not the case. And if his new anubandhas make any difference, why should he not define the names of cases, prathama, dvitiya etc. where also he has got new anubandhas? There are also some terms with the definition of which his innovations have nothing to do, but still he defines them notwithstanding they were used by writers who are believed to have preceded him. Panini defines samhitā as parah samnikarsah (I . 4.109), and these are exactly the words in which Yaska explain¹ the terms. Yaska uses the terms abhyasa and abhyasta² also, and in Panini's definition of them there are no anubandhas or pratyaharas. The first of these observations will also stand against the reason advanced by Dr. Burnell for defining anunasika. Panini's definition of amantrita he considers to be no definition. I do not see why. It is as good a definition as that of guna or vrddhi. The sense of the sutra (I I . 3. 48) is, " the first case as used in addressing is called amantrita." In the definition of upadha Dr. Burnett thinks that the reason given in the Mahabhasya for the use of alah is to avoid making it apply to the indicatory letters. I do

1 P. 38,1. 2, Rothe's edition.

2 P. 40. 1. 2 from bottom; p. 41, 1 8; p. 74, 1 2; p. 83. 1. 2 from bottom; p. 94, 1.8.

not find this reason in that work. The quotation given in the footnote to support the statement means quite another thing. Its purport is this :— A question is raised whether the " alah is to be taken as an adjective to antya," The answer is " yes, it deserves to be so taken". What follows is a vartika setting forth an objection against this construction. The objection is " If alah is to be taken as an adjective to antya, there should be a prohibition against [the application of the term to] a collection of letters," i. e. in this constrnction, the sense of the sutra is " what precedes the last letter (lit. the' end in the shape of a letter) is upadha " in which case the term would apply to the two letters sa of the root *ids*. A long discussion follows, with which we have nothing to do at present. I need say. nothing more.

* * * * *

Dr. Goldstücker is undoubtedly one of the most learned, laborious, and accurate European Sanskrit scholars we have known, and the wide, and in many cases, precise knowledge he has shown of Indian grammatical literature is particularly striking to a Hindu, especially when we call to mind that he has not had the advantage of oral instruction, which is available only in India. Of course a minute knowledge of the complicated and subtle speculations of Indian grammarians can only be acquired after a hard study of at least five years and from a Pandit teacher. But much of what they have written is barren and useless, and no European Sanskritist, or Indian scholar of the new stamp, would consider it worth his while to study it. The Doctor's critical acumen, the skill with which he has brought together stray facts to illustrate and prove his point, and the success with which he has combated the opinions of several scholars command our admiration, though we are rather inclined to think he has handled some of his German friends, somewhat roughly. His book is, however, not without its weak points, and there are three or four places where it appears to us to be particularly so. It is not Our intention at present

to write an elaborate review of it, but we will notice one point which bears materially on his theory about Panini, the Indian grammatical legislator. -

At page 166, Dr. Goldstücker lays down the following four propositions:—

1 That his (Panini's) Grammar does not treat of those samjnas or conventional names which are known and settled otherwise,

2 That this term samjna must be understood in our rule to concern only such conventional names as have an etymology,

3 That it applies also to grammatical terms which admit of an etymology, but not to those which are merely grammatical symbols,

4 That such terms as *ti ghu* and *bha* were known and settled before Panini's Grammar, but that nevertheless they are, defined by Panini because they are not etymological terms.

• These four statements contain, according to Dr. Goldstücker, the principles which guided Panini in the composition of the* work and are deduced as 'conclusions from one of his Sūtras, Patanjali's Bhasya on it, and Kaiyata's gloss on the latter. Leaving these points for fuller examination at the end, let us in the first place consider if these principles are worthy of being made the basis of a stupendous grammatical superstructure, and bear an air of truthfulness about them, or if there is any external evidence to support them.

According to the first two statements, Panini does not propose to teach samjnas and such samjnas only as have an etymology. Does he then propose to teach Samjnas which are without an etymology? The "only" would show that he does propose this. 'What, then, is meant by samjnas *without* etymology? Are such samjnas as Pancalah, Varanah,, Angah which are given by the commentators as instances of this sutra and the previous one to which it refers, and Which, therefore, are the

samjnas Pinini, according to them, does not propose to teach—are these samjnas, we ask, without etymology? If they are, according to Dr. Goldstücker, Panini should teach them. If they are not, no instance can be given: of a word, existing in the language, which is a samjna without etymology. If, we bear in mind that two schools of etymology existed in India, viz, Yyutpatti-paksa, according to which all words have an etymology and Avyutpatti-paksa, according to which some have it, and some have it not, and that Panini belonged to the latter, as is asserted and believed by all sastrins, such words as Pancalah and angah are samjnas without etymology. And if this be joined with Dr. Goldstücker's statement, it will follow that Panini should teach them. But as a fact he does not, if we believe the commentators. Now with regard to the Vyutpatri-paksa, we see that the rule in question contradicts its doctrine, for according to that paksa all words, samjnas included, have etymology, while the rule makes a distinction between words *with* and *without* etymology. If we suppose, then, that Panini belonged to this paksa, and at the same time that he observed the rule given by Goldstücker, we must either suppose him to have possessed an extremely illogical mind or not to have proposed such a rule for his guidance. Upon either view of etymology, therefore, we maintain that the rule laid down in statement Nos. 1 and 2 could not have been followed by Panini. We perfectly agree with statement No. 1, if it be separated from No. 2, and not interpreted according to the sense of the word samjna. given in the latter.

"In the next two statement this rule is applied to grammatical samjnas. Such as are settled are not to be defined, but an exception is to be made in favour of such as have no etymology,, e, g. ti, ghu, bha &c. We see no reason why Panini should, select for definition, out of settled samjnas, such as have no etymologyr. For, both those with and those without etymology are settled, i. e; have a fixed meaning. The mere circumstance of some samjnas having etymology, which may *be* considered as.

the reason why they are not to be defined, is immaterial, as the presence of etymology in the one case is nearly the same thing as its absence in the other. The etymology of a technical term is not sufficient to explain its sense, and in some cases it affords no clue to it whatever. How can the etymology of the terms *bahuvrihi*, *pratyaya*, &c. enable one to understand their grammatical signification? In so far, then, as words with etymology are used in philosophical treatises in a sense different from the etymological, or from that they have in common language, they are in the same predicament as unmeaning words, such as *ti*, *ghu* &c. We see, therefore, no reason why Panini should have selected the latter for definition, and not the former.

Having laid down this theory about Panini's technical terms, Goldstücker proceeds to test its accuracy with reference to several *samjnas* which he knows were settled before Panini's time such as *pratyaya*, *prathama*, *dvitiya*, *tatpuruṣa* & c, and finds that he has not defined them as they have an etymology. He then mentions other *samjnas*, such as *karmadharaya*, *anunasika*, *hrasva*, *dirgha*, *udatta*, *anudatta* & c, and since they are defined and possess etymology, he concludes that they must have been first used by Panini himself. We cannot help thinking that there is here an instance of the fallacy of reasoning in a circle, or of the *Anyonyasraya* of Hindu logicians. In order that Dr. Goldstücker's theory may be true, it is necessary that these defined *samjnas* possessing etymology should be inventions of Panini and they are inventions of Panini • because the theory is true. Or in plainer terms, the theory is true because these defined *samjnas* are Panini's inventions, and they are Panini's inventions because the theory is true. These defined *samjnas* may have been settled before" Panini's time, in which case the doctor's theory would be false. • And in fact we have reason to believe that such *samjnas* as *hrasva*, *dirgha*, *pluta*, *udatta*, *anudatta* &c. were invented before Panini. We are sorry we have not got any treatise on *sikṣa* to refer to just now, but considering that the names for accents, and for 'long' and short

vowels must have been very early invented by grammarians, as they are the most elementary distinctions and likely to strike a lingual philosopher before many others,, and bearing also in mind that, if different terms for. these had existed before Panini they would not have been altogether lost and we should have known them, we are inclined to believe that the names in question were settled before his time. Dr. Goldstücker himself mentions one such word (**वृत्**), and is not inclined to disbelieve that there may be many more. But the supposition, he makes to save his theory that Panini used them in a sense somewhat different from that in which they were before used has, in our opinion, no basis.

We have all along used the word definition in Dr. Goldstacker's sense. He seems to understand by the term definition such a definition as is commonly given in European books,, viz. that which unfolds the connotation or comprehension of a term. But the principal object of a definition is to point out or distinguish certain things (*definitum*) from the rest, and this may be done in other ways than by unfolding the connotation. Unfolding the extension or denotation is often an easier process and may in several cases be resorted to. Even European logicians call this latter a definition, no less than the former. Sanskrit writers do not confine themselves to the former, but frequently use the latter and several other kinds. For instance, in Visvanatha Pancanana's *Muktavali* (p. 71, Asiatic Society's edition) the fallacy *anaikantika* is defined as that which is any one of *sadharana* & c, i. e. *anaikantika* is either *Sadharana*, *Asadharana* or *Anupasamharin*. The fallacy is thus defined by enumerating its several kinds.. We need not stop here to quote other instances. Any one who takes the trouble will find many in any Sanskrit philosophical treatise. What we maintain, then, is that, so far as this view of definition is concerned.(and we are convinced that that is the Hindu view), Panini *has* defined the terms *pratyaya*, *tatpuruṣa*, *bahuvrīhi* & c, which Dr. Goldstücker says he has not ; but. he has defined them by enume-

rating the several kiwis or individuals contained under them'. To Hindu writers such a definition is as good as the other, especially when the latter is difficult to give. We think Panini in defining terms by enumeration was not guided by any such rule as the learned Doctor lays down, but simply consulted his own convenience. When he found it difficult to give a connotative definition, he gave a denotative one. How difficult would it have been to give a connotative definition of *bahuvrhi*, for instance, containing as it does such compounds as उत्तरपूर्वा, संपुत्र, दण्डादृष्टि, so different from such a one as कमलनयन !

We now proceed to examine the principal evidence upon which Dr. Goldstücker's theory is based. As we said before, he quotes a sūtra of Panini, the bhāṣya on it and Kaiyata's gloss on the latter, and deduces his theory from these. When we read this portion of the book for the first time, we were surprised to find that the Doctor has not understood one of the passages correctly. The sūtra referred to is तदक्षिण्यं संज्ञायमाणात्वाद. Dr. Goldstücker's translation :— "Such matter will not be taught by me. for it falls under the category of conventional terms which are settled (and therefore do not require any rule of mine; literally " for it has the authority of a samjña or conventional term)".

This translation is generally correct. We would, however, translate it more closely, thus :— " About that no rule ought to be made or that should not be taught; for (the knowledge derived from) the meaning of conventional terms in common usage is an authority in itself". The word संज्ञा is explained by Patanjali as संज्ञानं, which again Kaiyata interprets by- संप्रत्ययः, अवयवः, i. e. knowledge obtained (from usage). In a note on that portion of the Siddhanta-Kaumudi (Cowell's edition) where this sūtra is explained, we find the following;— संज्ञानां लोकस्य हाराधीनत्वात् प्रमाणात्वाद, " samjñas — that is, usages—are here an authority or evidence."

The bhāṣya on this sūtra is as follows :— किं वा एतः कुत्रिमादिभूतदिसंज्ञास्तत्त्वमाप्यादक्षिण्यम् । तेऽप्याह । संज्ञानं संज्ञा ।

Dr. Goldstücker's translation :- "When Panini speaks of conventional terms which he will not teach because they are settled, does he mean by this expression such technical terms as *ti*, *ghu*, *bha* and the like ? No ; for samjna is here the same as samjnana understanding (i . e. a name which has a real meaning that may be traced etymologically)."

We do not see whence he gets the first portion up to "settled". If by implication, we do not think it necessary to understand anything. There is nothing even in the sutra which has the sense of the words " which he will not teach because they are settled." For, what Panini says he will not teach is that something which he has alluded to in the last sutra but one* and which we shall explain hereafter. We do not deny that this sense may be inferred from what Panini actually says. We have; however, a particular objection to the expression " are settled " if it is to be made applicable to the terms *ti*, *ghu*, *bha*, & c , and understood to mean " settled before Panini's time ". There is nothing in the original corresponding to the words enclosed in brackets in the above extract, nor is the sense deducible from any word occurring in the Sanskrit passage. There is, no doubt, the word samjnanam, but we do not know upon what authority Dr. Goldstücker renders it by " a name which has a real meaning that may be traced etymologically". Kaiyata explains it by अवगम, संप्रत्यय, as noticed above, which means ' knowing, comprehending,' as is evident from his use of the word अवगति (differing from अवगम only in the form and not in the sense of the termination) in the sentence which follows. It is this :—

तत्र यथापो दाराः सिकता वर्षा इत्युक्ते लिङ्गसंख्याविशेषावगतिरुत्पद्यमाना प्रमाणमेवं पञ्चाला वरणा इत्यादावपि :— "As when one pronounces the words आपः, वाराः, सिकताः, वर्षाः, the अवगति (knowledge or comprehension) of a particular number and gender which is produced is authority, so is it in the case of पञ्चालाः, वरणाः", &c. Our translation of the passage in question is as follows :— "Is it on account of the *authority* of (or evidence afforded by) such artificial samjnas as *ti*, *ghu*, *bha*, &c. that *that* (the thing mentioned

in a *previous sutra* alluded to before) should not be taught." "No", says he (Gonardiya—Patanjali). "Samjna is knowing, comprehending." Upon the whole, Dr. Goldstücker's translation of these two passages is not very objectionable, but they do not afford any basis for his theory, except for that portion of it which is comprehended in the first statement. But the quotation from Kaiyata is altogether misunderstood. It runs thus :—

किं वा एता इति । प्रत्यासत्तिन्यायाभ्येन प्रज्ञः । नेत्याहेति । प्रत्यासत्तेः
सामर्थ्यं बलवत् । नहि द्विगुभादिसंज्ञानां प्रमाणत्वं ध्रुवबन्धावज्ञाकस्याशिष्यत्वे हेतु-
कथयते । संबन्धाभावात् । संज्ञानामिति । अवगमः संप्रत्यय इत्यर्थः ।

And Dr. Goldstucker's translation of this is as follows :—

"The question of Patanjali is suggested by the rule of analogy. His answer is in the negative because the context itself has greater weight than (mere) analogy. Now, though such terms as *ti*, *ghu*, *bha*, and the like are settled terms, this circumstance would not have been a sufficient reason in an *etymological* work (like that of Panini) for leaving them untaught; for they have no etymology. 'Understanding (as Patanjali paraphrases *samjna*) means mentally entering into, understanding the component parts of a word [or it means the words which admit of this mental process]."

In the first sentence of this, the word *analogy* is not, we think, a correct translation of **प्रत्यासत्ति**, though it will do. "Proximity" is the word that is equivalent to it, and it ought to have been used here, for a reason which we shall presently explain. But it is the third sentence that is the most objectionable of all. We have no hesitation in saying that the translation here is totally wrong, and it is upon this misapprehension of the sense of the original that the Doctor's peculiar theory is based. We hope our readers will excuse us for the assurance. With which we speak; for we feel that no native scholar acquainted with grammatical phraseology would ever think of translating or interpreting the passage thus. As Dr. (Goldstucker translates it, he appears to connect the nouns **प्रमाणत्वं** and **अशिष्यत्वे** with the

genitive **विदुषादिसंज्ञानो**, and renders the former by "being settled " But **अशिष्यत्वे** ought really to be taken with the genitive **शुक्तबन्धावशास्त्रस्य** ; and then the translation would be " for learning **शुक्तबन्धावशास्त्र**, untaught," instead of " for leaving them (i. e. ti, ghu, bha, &c.) untaught," as the doctor translates it, **शुक्तबन्धावशास्त्र** is rendered " an etymological work," which, if One remembers what the sutra is about, he will at once see is altogether wrong. The word can by no stretch of sense mean that, **शास्त्र** means-here ' a rule', as it frequently and primarily does, and not ' a work '. Various instances may be quoted in support of this, the last pada of the verse about Unadi, **एतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु**, being one. **संबन्धावशाब्दात्** is rendered as "having no etymology, "for which, however, there is not the slightest authority. **संबन्ध** never means etymology; it means connection. Besides, from the context it is clear that the sentence cannot have the sense Dr. Goldstücker attaches to it. For, the whole subject here discussed by these several writers is this :—The last but one sutra of Panini is **ह्रस्वि शुक्तबन्धप्रतिबन्धने** (1.2. 51), which is thus explained in the Siddhanta-kaumudi :—**ह्रस्वि सति' प्रकृतिबन्धिशुक्तबन्धने स्तः । पञ्चाक्षानां निवासो जनपदः पञ्चालाः । कुरवः । अङ्गाः 1 &c**, meaning that when an elision called **ह्रस्व** takes place, the gender and number (of the noun) are like those of the base ; **पञ्चालाः** &c. are instances. This requires some explanation. In virtue of the sutra **तस्य निवासः** (IV. 2. 69) the terminative **अप्** should be added to the noun **पञ्चालाः**, for instance, when we have to form a derivative signifying " the place of residence or the country of the Pancalas ", a race of Ksatriyas (hence the above example from the Kaumudi is worded **पञ्चालानां निवासो जनपदः**). Now this termination is elided in virtue of the sutra **जनपदे ह्रस्व**, IV. 2. 81. If the termination were not dropped, the word expressing ' the country of the Pancalas' would be **पाञ्चालः**. Then the question is, when it is dropped, what should

1 **शुक्त** is explained as **प्रकृति**, because in a word the sense of the base is intimately joined to that of the **प्रत्यय** or termination (see note 70, p. 549. Cowell's edition of the Siddhanta-Kauraudi ; **प्रत्ययार्थेन नित्यसंबन्धाप्रकृत्या शुक्तमप्यप्रकृतिः**).

be the gender and number of the noun signifying the *country*? Should it be masculine and singular, as the word **जनपद** 'country'⁹ is? If so, the derived word would be **पञ्चालः**. But "No," says Panini (in the sutra **लुपि पुक्तवदः** &c.); "the gender and number should be like those of the original base," which is **पञ्चालाः**, and consequently masculine and plural. Hence the noun signifying the residence or country of the Pancalas is **पञ्चालाः**. "Now," says Panini (in the sutra **तद्विशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वाद्** I. 2. 53), "what is the use of teaching by a rule the number and gender of these?", though he himself, in conformity with the practice of former writers, has done so. "They are to be learnt from usage, which has itself an authority, just as the gender and number of **आयः** and **द्वाराः** are, and the authority of a grammarian is not required. For **पञ्चालाः**, **अङ्गाः** &c. in the plural are actually the names of certain countries, and, as such, ought to be used in the plural in deference to the existing usage and there is no necessity of a grammarians's teaching it". Upon this Patanjali raises the question, "Panini speaks of the authority (of usage in matters) of names. Are they such names as *ti*, *ghu*, *bha*, &c. which have an authority "(as used by Panini, not necessarily by any other writer)? "No," says he. Kaiyata explains why Patanjali put to himself such a question? "He was led," he says, "to it by the proximity of these artificial grammatical samjnas, or that he wanted to determine which were the samjnas meant by Panini; because if he did not do so, a reader might, on reading the sutra in question, be led to think first of them (the grammatical names) rather than of any other, on account of their proximity to or connection with, the science he is studying. In order, therefore, to avoid all such confusion he proposes the question, and answers it by saying "No". "Why not?" "(हि) Because," says Kaiyata "(**विदुषादिसंज्ञानां प्रमाणत्वम्**) the authority of the grammatical samjnas, *ti*, *ghu*, *bha*, &c. (**न हेतुरप-पद्यते**) is no reason (as the authority of samjnas in* common language such as *Pancalah** *Angah*, &c. is). Why, **पुक्तवद्व्यापशङ्कम्** [a sutra or rule expounding that when a termination is elided by

the use of the term **सुप्र**, the gender and **number are like** those of the base] (**अक्षिपत्ये**) should not be taught ? And why is it no reason ? (**संयन्थाभावाद्**) Because there is DO connection; (i. e. no connection between such samjnas as ti, ghu, &c. and **युक्तवद्भावाद्**)". This is the whole sense of the three quotations. **युक्तवद्**, i. e. like the base, is the word used by Panini in the last but one sutra (**लुपि युक्तवद्**), &c; and Kaiyata first adds the word **भाव** to it, when the whole means " the being like the base", and then the word **शास्त्रम्** a rule, and thus- the expression **युक्तवद्भावाद्-शास्त्रम्** signifies *literally* " the rule about the being like the base," and not an etymological word, as Dr. Goldstücker understands.

It will thus be apparent that Dr. Goldstücker's theory is based upon a misapprehension of a passage in Kaiyata; and, now that we have explained its true sense, and have also shown that the theory is not supported by any external evidence, it must, we think, be given up. The first of the Doctor's four propositions, if separated from the second, we agree with, as we have already intimated. Dr. Goldstücker's opinion, that the samjnas ti, ghu and bha were known before Panini's time, may be true for aught we know, but it does not at all follow from anything in the passages commented on. He was, no doubt, led to it by the expression **दिष्टुभावेत्संज्ञानां प्रमाणत्वम्**, which he renders by " such terms as ti, ghu, bha are settled terms." We would translate it as " the authority of such samjnas or terms as ti, ghu, bha, &c. " and this authority they derive from their having been used and defined by Panini. The whole grammatical literature based on his work does not admit the authority of any other person except him, his continuator and critic Katyayana and his bhasyakara. And even if we take Dr. Goldstücker's translation, the expression " are settled terms " does not necessarily mean "settled before Panini's time, or by any other person than Panini himself".

Dr. Goldstücker has also misunderstood the sense of the Sutra **प्रचानप्रत्ययार्थेष्वनर्थक्यस्याभ्यप्रमाणत्वाद्** (2. 56), which is thus

eXplained in the Siddhanta-Kaumudi प्रत्ययार्थः प्रधानमित्येवंकृतं प्रधान-
 मन्वयित्वम् इत्युक्तं । अर्थस्य लोकात् एव सिद्धेः i, e, " the saying that the
 sense of a termination is the principal sense of a word (and, that
 that of the base is Attributively joined to it) should not be
 taught Why? Because the sense [of a word] is to be
 gathered from or is established by *usage*". We do not know
 whence Dr. Goldstücker brings in the idea of a compound and
 its " principal part" in his translation. We do not think it
 necessary to enter at greater length into the explanation of the
 sutra in this place.

We must here close our remarks; our space does not admit
 of a more lengthened notice, at least for the present. We hope
 our observations will be calmly and patiently attended to by
 European Sanskritists. In several cases, though not in all,
 native students of Sanskrit have a greater right to be listened to
 than Europeans. We are also desirous that these few remarks
 should not give pain to Dr. Goldstücker, who, especially by his
 articles on our religious difficulties published in the Westminster
 Review, has shown himself to be our decided friend who sym-
 pathizes with our fallen condition and is ready to help us by his
 friendly advice in our race towards a brighter future.

MR, VINCENT SMITH'S EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA'

[FROM THE INDIAN REVIEW, MADRAS, VOL. X (1909) PP. 401ff.]

Including a few paragraphs originally omitted by the Editor of the Review and subsequently printed at the author's special desire. '

India has from time immemorial been cut up into a number of independent states, so that the expression "Political History of India" can only mean the political history of the states which, composed it. But again from remote times the king of one or, other of these states is represented to have conquered the " whole world" and performed the horse sacrifice, indicative of his-supreme or paramount power. Such an old work as the Aitareya Brahmana mentions a good many such kings. These paramount sovereigns held power for a few generations, sometimes for only one., The history of these paramount sovereignties can more appropriately be called the History of India. Such paramount sovereignties, however, did not exist at all times. The religious and literary History of India is, however, an appropriate expression at all times. For any religious literary movement started in one state extended itself immediately to the neighbouring, ones, and thence to remoter provinces, and eventually spread over the whole country. Mr. Smith does not propose to give the religious or literary history of the country; but only the political.

But what are the authorities for the political history of India? There are genealogies in the Puranas of royal dynasties that held power up to about the end of the third century of the Christian era. Then we have stray notices of some princes in the literature and whole biographies of a few. There is a chronicle of one province, Kashmir, which contains reliable history,, though there is a good, deal in the beginning which is mythical. Sanskrit literature does not contain history as a branch, of 1 study

and inquiry. The Puranas and Puranas cannot be relied upon as works of history, though there may be a historic basis or root, which, however, it is difficult to extricate from the mass of legend with which it is enveloped. The principal sources of history which are reliable are inscriptions on stone and copper, coins, architectural remains, and the accounts written by foreign writers, especially Greek, Chinese and Arabian, of the state of the country when they visited it. The information gathered from some of these sources is extremely meagre, and a special acuteness is wanted in the writer of the early history of India to piece together the different scraps of information and form a consistent whole. This, however, it is not every writer who possesses; and oftentimes wild statements are made, supported by very little or no evidence or unaccompanied by a statement of the evidence. The lay reader should guard himself against such writers.

Mr. Smith gives the histories of the paramount sovereigns that reigned from the third century before Christ to about the end of the seventh century after, and such history of independent provinces as has been worked out by scholars from the available materials. His account of Candragupta, who founded the Maurya dynasty about 322 B. C., and of his grandson, Asoka, is very good and instructive, since the materials are ample, and a good many scholars have been working over them for a number of years. It may, however, be stated that I do not quite agree with Mr. Smith as to the extent of Asoka's empire that he gives. He makes it extend over the whole of India, with the exception of the extreme south, up to Mangalore, where he places the independent country of the Satiyaputas. In my "Peep into the Early History of India" I have made his empire extend along the line connecting his inscriptions and made it include the whole of the northern India up to Kathiawad in the west and Ganjam in the east and also the portion of the table-land of the Deccan up to Mysore. I have excluded both the eastern and the western coasts, because there is no relic of the empire there

and also for another reason which may here be given. That reason is that the independent country of the Satiyaputas must be placed, not where Mr. Smith does, but a good deal further to the north ; for, we have along the westernmost portion of the Deccan table-land in the Poona district Maratha, Prabhu and Brahman families bearing the name *Satpute*, which corresponds remarkably with the Satiyaputas of the inscriptions. The independent state, therefore, of Satiyaputa very likely was situated along the Western Ghats and the Konkan coast below. Upon the whole, the sections on Asoka in Mr. Vincent Smith's book are satisfactory.

There is also very little to remark as regards anything in the sections on the Sunga and Kanvayana dynasties, except this, that I still adhere to the view that to make the Puranic chronology agree with that derived from Nahapana's date and the information available in Ptolemy's Geography it is necessary to regard the forty-five years assigned to the Kanvayanas to be comprised in the 112 assigned to the Sungas, notwithstanding the statement that Devabhuti was killed by Vasudeva ; and this supposition I still regard as fully supported by the statement in the Puranas that the Kaiivayanas were the servants of the Sungas as the Peshwas were of the Rajas of Satara. If the Sungas were entirely put an end to by the first of the Kanvas, his three successors can in no sense be called "servants of the Sungas." The Sungas, therefore, must have been reigning while the Kanvayanas were ruling just as the Rajas of Satara reigned while the Peshwas held the true power.

Mr. Smith next proceeds to notice the Andhrabhrtya dynasty. The family is known by the name of Satavahana, he says, which is correct; but it is also known, he observes, by the name of Satakarni, which occurs frequently in the genealogy. The frequency of its occurrence is by no means a reason for its being regarded as a family name any more than Henry which occurs eight times and Edward which occurs seven times is the

name of the dynasty that has been ruling over England since 1066. Satakarni is the proper name of the king who bore it. It was sometimes associated with another name but there is no indication anywhere of its having been the name of the family. A long inscription in one of the caves at Nasik on the Western Ghats contains the name of Gotamiputra Satakarni who is represented to have conquered a very large extent of territory, to have restored the "glory of Satavahana race", to have destroyed Sakas and Pahlavas and to have left no trace of the line of Khakharata. This Khakharata was Ksaharata Nahapana, whose coins are extant and whose son-in-law Usavadata, the husband of his daughter Daksamitra, caused caves to be excavated at Nasik and founded a good many other charities. Nahapana is called in the legends on his coins and in the inscriptions a Ksatrapa or Mahaksatrapa and a Raja. Gotamiputra Satakarni's son was Pulumayi, in the 19th year of whose reign the inscription describing the exploits of Gotamiputra is dated. The names of Simuka, Krsna and Satakarni, the first three princes of the dynasty, also occur in the Western Inscriptions. Similarly, princes, later than Pulumayi, of the names of Yajna-Sri-Satakarni, and Madhariputra Sakasena are mentioned. No princes of the Satavahana dynasty are mentioned between the first Satakarni and Gotamiputra Satakarni, wherefore the inference is that foreigners, whose leader was Nahapana, occupied Western Deccan in the intervening period before Gotamiputra vanquished them. In the legends of copper coins found at Kolhapur occur these words : Vasithiputasa Vilivayakurasa, Gotamiputasa Vilivayakurasa and Madhanputasa Sevalakurasa. Another Ksatrapa king named Castana is mentioned in coins and inscriptions found in Kathiawad and Malwa, and he was followed by a long series of successors. The grandson of Castana was Rudradaman, whose exploits are described in his inscription dated 72^A found at Junagad. Therein he speaks of twice having subdued Satakarni, the lord of Daksinapatha, but not having destroyed him on account of the connection with him not being remote. In an

inscription at Kanheri which is much mutilated, the wife of Vasisthiputra Satakarni is represented as the daughter of a Mahaksatrapa.

These are the facts. Let us see how Mr. Smith has concatenated them. He says the first Satavahana prince Simuka, who has been variously named as Sindhuka, Sivraka, &c, in the Puranas, could not have been the one who uprooted the Kanvas, though the Puranas expressly state it. He gives no reason for the supposition. He then takes Gotamiputra Vilivayakura to be the same king as Gotamiputra Satakarni, who was the destroyer of the race of Nahapana Kshaharata and the father of Pulumayi. This Pulumayi, he says, was the son-in-law of Rudradaman of the Junagad inscription and was twice subdued by him. The name of the daughter of Rudradaman married to Pulumayi, he says, was Daksamitra. All this is opposed to the clearest evidence available to us. The identification of Vilivayakura with Ptolemy's Baleucuros was first made by me, and it has been accepted by others and even by Mr. Vincent Smith himself. Ptolemy mentions him as ruling in Hippocura and Siri Polemeos, i. e. Pulumayi, at Paithan, while Tiasenes or Castana ruled at Ujjayini. These, therefore, since they are so mentioned by Ptolemy, must be considered as contemporaries. But Mr. Smith makes Baleucuros the father of the Pulumayi and Pulumayi as the contemporary of Rudradaman, the grandson of Castana, and not Castana himself. If Baleucuros was the father of Pulumayi, the father reigned at Hippocura and the son at Paithan and neither had anything to do with the capital of the dynasty on the lower Godavari. This is certainly, to say the least of it, curious, and it is clear that Mr. Vincent Smith has in determining the relations of these princes entirely set aside the information derived from Ptolemy. At the same time, Pulumayi cannot have been the prince subdued by Rudradaman, because the name of the prince subdued by him is expressly given as Satakarni and Pulumayi was never called Satakarni. The daughter of a Mahaksatrapa, represented in the Kanheri inscription as the queen of Vasisthiputra Satakarni, cannot

have been the wife of Pulumayi; for he was not called a Satakarni, but of Vasistiputra Catarapana Satakarni, whose name occurs, according to Bhagwanlal Indraji, in a Nanaghat inscription, Her name is. lost in the Kanheri inscription, and Daksamitra, which is given as her name by Mr. Vincent Smith, was the name of the daughter of Nahapana married to Usavadata. And it must not be forgotten that Pulumayi could not have been Rudradaman's son-in-law and could not have fought with him, as he (Pulumayi) was not his contemporary but of his grandfather Castana. Thus then, in connecting together the different pieces of information concerning these princes, Mr. Vincent Smith goes quite against the most unimpeachable evidence. Who then must have been Vilivayakura ? That name does not occur in the whole list given in the Puranas, and cannot have been borne by an Andhrabhrtya prince. The great Gotamiputra who conquered Nahapana and re-established the power of his family could not have been Vilivayakura, the ruler of Hippocura. For his name is expressly stated in the long inscription at Nasik as Satakarni, and the whole information therein given is remarkably confirmed by the hoard of about fourteen thousand coins of Nahapana, recently found in the Nasik district, more than nine thousand of which are counter-stamped with the words " Ranno Gotamiputasa Siri Satakanisa," which shows that the conqueror used the money of the vanquished monarch, but re-stamped it with his own name, Gotamiputra Satakarni. The only way of making the whole account consistent is to take Vilivayakura as viceroy, first of Vasisthiputra and then of Gotamiputra, as I have done in my " Early History of the Deccan/" - In the legends on coins it was usual to associate the name of the supreme sovereign with that of the viceroy of the particular province, as Catarapana's name is with that of Yajna Sri Satakarni in the Sopara coin and in a great many coins of the Saka princes of Arachosia and the Punjab. Thus then, the Vasisthiputra of the Kolhapur coins must have been Pulumayi, and Gotaniputra, Yajna Sri. Or, if one per-

sists in taking Vilivayakura as in apposition to Gotamiputra and Vasisthiputra, they may be regarded as princes independent of the Andhrabhrtya princes bearing those metronymics. • But this supposition is highly improbable, since the metronymics Vasisthlputra, Gotamiputra and Madhariputra occur in the inscriptions in the Poona, Thana and Nasik districts and the same three metronymics are found on the coins at Kolhapur, a place only about 130 miles from Poona. There could not have been two dynasties having the same three metronymics; at places so near each other and at about the same time. Ptolemy locates Pulumayi at Paithan, and the many traditions about Salivahana or Satavahana current in Maharastra place him at the same place. There were, therefore, two viceroyalties at least of the Andhrabhrtyas, one at Paithan and the other at Hippocura. To the former the younger princes must have been appointed, as Asoka and Agnimitra were to the viceroyalties of Taksasila and Vidisa during the life-time of their fathers. This inference is very reasonable, and yet Mr. Smith rejects it. Again, the Satakarni whom Rudradaman is represented to have twice subdued must be Yajna-Sri-Satakarni. This way of taking the whole matter is consistent throughout, and does not go against any portion of the available evidence. Mr. Vincent Smith also says that " after the destruction of Nahapana, the Local Government of the West was entrusted to one Castana, who seems to have been a Saka, and to have acted as Viceroy under the Andhra conqueror.*" What this Local Government of the West may have been it is impossible to say. For the Poona, Thana and Nasik districts were, after the destruction of Nahapana, governed by Satavahana princes and Castana, according to 'Ptolemy, ruled at Ujjayini, far away in Malwa, and his being a Saka was exactly a reason why he should not have been appointed a viceroy by the victorious Gotamiputra, who took pride in destroying sakas. This statement is repeated by Mr. Smith later on. He appears to have had too much faith in H. Oldenberg, who started the theory. I will add one other point. 'Gotamiputra's mother is

called Balasri by Mr. Vincent Smith following Dr. Buhler. I have taken her name to be Gotami, and Balasri as a compound word qualifying Gotami and characterising her as the prosperous goddess of power, Balasri is not to be found in the whole range of the Sanskrit literature as the name of a person, and Gotami is not a Gotra-name here as Dr. Bühler takes it, for it is difficult to believe that such old Gotras as those of Gotama and Vasistha were in common use in the caste to which the Satavahanas belonged. Besides if Balasri had been the proper name of the lady, her son would have been called Balasriputra and not Gotamiputra, as Gotami was her general name according to Dr. Bühler's supposition and not her proper name.

Though the Puranas represent the Andhrabhrtyas to have succeeded the Kanvayanas and the Sungas, they do not appear to have held power for any length of time in Northern India or even in the country of Magadha. Shortly after the foundation of the dynasty in about 73 B. C. northern India was disturbed by the incursions of the foreign hordes, some of which obtained a permanent footing in the country. Of these the Sakas were the most enterprising. They established themselves along the western side of the country from Tak?asila or Taxila to Kathiawad, inclusive of Mathura and Ujjayini. They extended their power even to the Deccan, dispossessing the Satavahanas of the country, but did not enjoy it for a long time. For Gotamiputra conquered Nahapana or perhaps his immediate successor, whose name, however, is not known. The eastern side of India was probably in its normal condition, that is, cut up into small states and held by many native princes.

Mr. Vincent Smith proceeds to give the history of the incursions, of these foreigners and the establishment of their power in the country ; but there are a few points in which I cannot agree with him. The princes who are generally represented as forming a Saka dynasty, notwithstanding some affinity with the Parthian race, are included by him in the

Parthian dynasty. I have shown in my "Peep" that the rule of succession among these princes, viz., Vonones, Spalirises and others was that the younger brother succeeded to the throne in preference to the son of the first occupant, and, after all the brothers had enjoyed sovereignty, it descended to the son of the eldest brother, and so on. This was the rule of succession among the Kathiawar and Ujjayini Ksatrapas, who belonged to the Saka race; and Dr. Bühler has pointed out that that rule prevailed among the Northern Ksatrapas also. This confirms the general view that Vonones and others were also Sakas. Another reason for the supposition of the racial identity of the Ksatrapas and the line of Vonones is, as pointed out by Prof. Rapson, afforded by the term *daman*, which forms either the prefix or the suffix of Ksatrapa names and which we find in such names of the princes of the latter line as Sphalgadames. Mr. Vincent Smith regards the southern and northern Ksatrapas as independent hordes of Sakas; but certainly a question ought to arise in one's mind as to why they should have assumed such an inferior title as Ksatrapa corresponding to the Persian Satrap. And the question can be answered only by regarding them as having been in the beginning viceroys of some paramount sovereigns. Such paramount sovereigns were Vonones and others. On their coins appears the title "King of Kings*" in Greek as well as Pali language. Why should not one then regard the Ksatrapas as the viceroys of those imperial sovereigns? But to the imperial Sakas European scholars have been in the habit of assigning a very early date, which cannot be harmonized with the Saka dates of the Indian Ksatrapas. I see no reason why one should adhere to the early date and have regarded one of the imperial Sakas as the founder of the Saka Era.

Mr. Vincent Smith then passes on to give the history of the Kusanas. He regards Kaniska as the immediate successor of Kadphises II., usually called Wema or Hima Kadphises. But the great difference, in the legends and emblems on the coins of Kaniska and Wema Kadphises prevents the supposition that the

former was the immediate successor of the latter. Kaniska and his successors appear to me to have formed a distinct family from that of the two Kadphises. The Kusana dynasty became extinct or sank into unimportance, according to the prevailing belief among scholars, a hundred or a hundred and fifty years before the rise of the Guptas in about 350 A. D. There is thus a gap of so many years between the two dynasties. But I have brought forward a number of reasons for believing that there was no such gap between the two dynasties and that the successors of Kaniska were in possession of North-western India up to Mathura till the Gupta prince Candragupta II. dispossessed them of it. I have thus regarded Kaniska to have begun to reign about 278 A. D., and thus shocked all European scholars. I expressed the opinion that the figures representing hundreds were omitted in the dates occurring in the inscriptions of Kaniska and his successor. But perhaps the existence of such a practice at such an early period cannot be regarded as substantiated by any positive indication. I may, therefore, modify my opinion, and say that Kaniska used an era of his own, but its initial date must be such as will make the last of his successors contemporaneous with Candragupta II., who overthrew him; that is to say, that the initial date should be about 260 A. D. The question is still open and cannot be regarded as settled until some fresh discovery gives us certain information as to Kaniska's date.

The foreign domination and the rule of native princelings were put an end to when the Imperial dynasty of the Guptas rose in the first half of the fourth century. The first prince of the family who made glorious conquests and extended his dominions over a wide extent of the country was Samudragupta. He was followed by Candragupta II., who was called Vikramaditya. He put an end to the Saka dynasty ruling over Ujjayini and also, in my opinion, to the Kusana dynasty. The famous Vikramaditya, the patron of learned men, who was called "Sakari" or "enemy of the Sakas" was in all probability Candragupta II, whose reign began-

before 388 A. D. and ended about 412 A. D. Mr. Vincent Smith's account of the Gupta dynasty is, on the whole, very satisfactory, and I need go no further into it.

About the end of the fifth century the Gupta family broke up and after some time became extinct. About that time the Huns established themselves in the country and gave it two sovereigns, Toramana and Mihirakula. Their power also soon came to an end. For about a hundred years we had no imperial sovereign, but in the first half of the seventh century we have Harsavardhana, who exercised paramount power over the whole of Northern India, but was checked effectually, when he attempted to extend it to the South of the Narmada, by Pulakesi II. of Maharastra. The itinerary of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang and Bana's Harsacarita are the chief authorities for the history of this emperor. They give us a far fuller account than such authorities as coins and short inscriptions, with which we have had to satisfy ourselves hitherto, can give. Mr. Smith's account of this emperor may also be regarded as satisfactory. He then proceeds to give a short account of some of the minor kingdoms of the subsequent centuries. In the following chapters he gives similar accounts of the kingdoms of the Deccan and of those in the extreme south. Having already exceeded my limits I will not go into them.

The history of the Kalacuri dynasty ought, in my opinion, to have been given in greater detail, since there were materials for it. That dynasty possessed an era the initial date of which is 249 A. D. and which was current in Gujarat and some parts of Maharastra also. There are some inscriptions which tend to show that that dynasty ruled over Western Deccan and a part of Gujarat after the extinction of the Satavahanas. But it was dispossessed of these provinces and driven into the interior by somebody and occupied the country of Cedi near the modern Chattisgarh. They often came into close relations with the Rasprakutas of the Deccan, but nobody has yet collected all the information and written a book on the dynasty,

I will now close this criticism with the observation that the circumstances of the case require that the writer of a history of India for the use of ordinary lay-people should give the broad, salient facts which have now been placed beyond the possibility of doubt, and, if he enters into details, they must be such as have been accepted by all scholars or are supported by unimpeachable evidence. If there are conflicting or inconsistent views about a certain matter, all these should be given, and, if they cannot be given, that matter should be entirely omitted. All the available evidence should be carefully gone into, and the facts ascertained should not be combined and connected in a manner to conflict with other equally well-known facts. No statement should be made for which there is no authority, and in all cases references should be given in the footnotes. A book written on such principles may then be recommended as a safe guide to lay-readers. It is not meant to say that 'Mr. Vincent Smith has set aside these principles—and parts of his book are unexceptionably good—but it is impossible to refrain from expressing a desire that it should be thoroughly revised in strict accordance with those principles in order that it may become a safe and useful guide to ordinary readers.

THE LATE PROFESSOR PETER PETERSON

[FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY, VOL. XX (1902), PP. XLVI ff
OF THE PROCEEDINGS]

The following is the tribute paid by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar on the occasion of a meeting called in memory of the late Professor Peterson by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on Thursday, the 7th of September 1899, under the presidentship of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy.

[The Chairman said that they had met together to place on record the Society's sense of the loss they had incurred in the death of their President, the late Dr. P. Peterson, M. A , D. SC. On behalf of the committee of the Society he asked Dr. Bhandarkar to move the resolution.

Dr. Bhandarkar then moved the following resolution :—
" That the Society place on record its sense of loss it has sustained by the death of its president, Dr. Peterson, and its testimony to his abilities, to the interest he took in its affairs, and to his great services in connection with Sanskrit literature. That a letter enclosing a copy of the Society's resolution be forwarded to Mrs. Peterson, with an expression of sympathy with her and her family."

Referring to Dr. Peterson he said :] Dr. Peterson was brought out in January 1873, to supersede me. I had been acting as Professor of Oriental Languages in the Elphinstone College for four years, from the beginning of 1867 to the end or 1872. Dr. Peterson was a young man of twenty-five and was junior to me by ten years. For fifteen years before this I had been learning and teaching Sanskrit, while Dr. Peterson could have been studying it only for about five years before. Under the ordinary operation of our sinful nature, one would expect that distrust, suspicion and jealousy would have sprung

up between us. But such feelings never for a moment took possession of his heart nor of mine, and a cordial friendship grew up between us, which was continued during the varied occurrences of the last twenty-six years, and has now terminated only by his death, which occurred a few days ago. This goodness was entirely due to the innate nobility of Dr. Peterson's nature and to the culture which his mind had undergone, as well as his desire to please and to be agreeable. He never gave himself an air of superiority, as is too often done by inferior natures. At a later period we happened to be engaged in a spirited controversy on a literary question. Such controversies between scholars often embitter their feelings against each other, and they are sometimes found not to be willing even to shake hands with each other when they chance to meet. But this was not the result of our controversy, and we were as good friends after it as before. Dr. Peterson was Professor and I his assistant and we worked harmoniously together. In September 1874, he went on a year's sick leave to Europe and, after his return, was appointed to the Deccan College as Professor for another year. In November 1876, he came back to the Elphinston College. There was a turning point in Dr. Peterson's career about the end of 1881. A Sanskrit professor is considered unworthy of his post if he does not carry on original research in Indian antiquities and Indian languages and literature in addition to his teaching work. The other professors in a college are at liberty to do or not to do anything they like, but this additional duty is imposed on Sanskrit professors. I do not complain of this, and even in these days, when there is a greater readiness to give professorships to natives, the authorities, I think, should insist that the Sanskrit professor should devote his leisure to this work. Since 1873 I had been doing work of this nature, but Dr. Kielhorn of Poona was about to retire on that occasion, and the idea had been conceived of getting out a new man from Germany to succeed him there; but since it was considered unfair that I should be passed over another time, especially after the literary

work that I had done, it was arranged that I should be made professor of Oriental Languages in the Elphinstone College and Dr. Peterson appointed professor of English literature. Had this plan succeeded, the world would not have heard of Dr. Peterson as a great scholar. But, having deliberately chosen Sanskrit studies as the work of his life, this proposal was not liked by him. He saw the members of Government and personally protested against it in a strong manner, and the result was that the orders for a new professor from Germany were countermanded by a special telegram, and I was appointed to the Deccan College and Dr. Peterson remained professor of Sanskrit in the Elphinstone College.

The Government of Bombay had for several years before been conducting a search for Sanskrit manuscripts and this work had been entrusted to Dr. Bühler, and after his departure to Dr. Keilhorn mainly and to me partially. After Dr. Keilhorn's departure Dr. Peterson claimed to be allowed a portion of it, and it was divided equally between him and me. In connection with this he went on tour several times to Gujarat and Rajputana and examined a good many of the Jain libraries in those provinces. He issued four reports as extra numbers of the Journal of this society. Two more were printed at the Government Central Press. He contributed a good many articles to the Journal of this Society, and published at various times editions of the Balakarida of the Ramayana, of Hitopadesa, of Kadambari, of Vallabhadeva's Subhasitavali and of Samgadharma's Paddhati. In his introduction to Vallabhadeva's work, he gave an alphabetical index of all the poets whose names were found alluded to in the Sanskrit literature, together with all the information that had till then been obtained about them. This work he did in conjunction with the late Pandit Durgaprasad of Jaipur. An analysis of Samgadharma's Paddhati had before been given by Professor Aufrecht, but that had only rendered the demand for the work itself keener. Samgadharma's

date is known and from that the inference is easy that poets from whose works he gives elegant extracts flourished before him. This desideratum Dr. Peterson supplied by his edition. He also published annotated editions of the Rgveda Hymns laid down for the M. A. Examination, and a handbook for the students of Veda. He edited a Buddhistic work entitled Nyaya-bhidutka in connection with the Bibliotheca Indica, of Calcutta, and an edition of a Jain work in connection with the same collection is in the press. The first two fasciculi were presented to me by him only a few days before his death. You will thus see that the original work done by Dr. Peterson since the end of 1881 has been considerable. His examination of Jaina libraries in particular has been productive of important results. His works are referred to and quoted from by all European scholars who have occasion to write on subjects touched on by him, and he is highly spoken of by them all. Professor Ernest Leumaun of Strassburg, in the notice of Dr. Böhler's life published in the recent number of the Indian Antiquary, says with reference to Dr. Peterson : " Böhler imparted his desire of discovering or uncovering all that is hidden or unknown in Jain literature to Peterson, his successor in Bombay, who has been so fortunate as to be able to enter sanctified temple libraries, which in spite of all exertions were closed to Böhler. Peterson has indeed been continuing Böhler's work in the search for manuscripts very much to his credit." Dr. Peterson has thus been able to secure for himself a very high place among European scholars. Whenever he came across a fine sentiment in a Sanskrit author he did not fail to appreciate it and often times translated it into English verse and compared it with similar sentiment an English authors or in the Christian Bible. As he appreciated all the good he found in Sanskrit literature, he appreciated also whatever good he found in Indians. He Was thus a kind and sympathetic friend of us all. About six week ago he wrote to me, telling me that he was a candidate for the Boden professorship at Oxford, and asked me

to give him a testimonial, as I had done on a former occasion when he applied for the Assistant Professorship. I intended to see him personally and speak about it and discuss his prospects at Oxford generally ; but this was not to be. After my arrival here I heard of his serious illness on Saturday and heard of his death on the following Monday, after his mortal remains had been consigned to the grave. I had thus not even the satisfaction of having followed them to their last resting-place. Dr. Peterson was our Secretary for several years, and I remember that after he assumed office he changed the appearance of these rooms and rendered them more attractive. He was also our President for three years. As he was the only scholar in Bombay who carried on original research the loss occasioned by his death cannot at least at present be made up, and not only on account of these special relations of the society to Dr. Peterson, but on account of the simple fact that he was a man who contributed to the advance of Sanskrit studies, it is but proper and fitting that this Society, the object of which is to promote such studies, should place on record its sense of the loss it has sustained by his premature death.

THE LATE MR. A. M. T. JACKSON, I. C. S.

[FROM THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, VOL. XL, 1911, I.I]

The diabolical murder of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, just as he was about to take up the joint Editorship of *this Journal*, sent a thrill of horror into the hearts of members of both the European and Indian communities throughout India. He was by nature a kind-hearted and sympathetic man, and these traits of character were observable in everything that he did both in his official and private capacity. His charities, to poor Brahmans; both of Ratnagiri and Nasik, who needed help were unstinted. I know of one such Ratnagiri Brahman, who was given some nominal work in the library of the Bombay Asiatic Society and was paid regularly a monthly allowance from his private resources. He never spoke an angry or unkind word to anybody, and his general character and conduct were saintly. He was an accurate and enthusiastic Sanskrit scholar, and his critical judgment was sound. He made original researches into the ancient history of India, and the introductory volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer* and his other papers and occasional notes contain the results of these researches. He successfully identified the cities and towns in India mentioned by Greek and Roman authors. He pointed out that the Turkomans of Central Asia settled in the western part of India and adopted Hindu civilization. He also threw very great light on the origin of the Gujars. He showed that they were a foreign race that had established a powerful kingdom over the whole of Rajputana and further to the north-east up to Kanauj* The Gujars were in power from the first quarter of the seventh to about the end of the tenth century and were constantly at war with the princes of the Calukya and Rastrakuta races that ruled over the Maratha and Kanarese countries. Mr. Jackson put forth a very original and correct idea as regards the nature of the *Puranas*, which awaited further development at his hands. His

paper on this subject has appeared' in the centenary volume of the Bombay Asiatic Society, and will well repay perusal. He has also contributed several papers to the ordinary volumes of that *Journal*. His essay on 'Method in the Study of Indian Antiquities' shows a very wide knowledge, not only of epigraphy and numismatics, but also of a number of other lines of research. This is calculated to be of great use to Indian students; and he also projected for their use a handbook to the study of Sanskrit literature and Indian Antiquities. To sound scholarship Mr. Jackson added modesty and sobriety of thought and expression,—a combination rarely met with amongst scholars. He freely and fully acknowledged all the good that he found in the writings of native Indian scholars. He often complained that his official duties left him little time for his favourite studies, and I had great hopes that after his retirement from service he would be able to apply himself to them with zeal and ardour and to throw light upon many a knotty point in Sanskrit literature and Indian Antiquities. The loss that the horrid deed of a fiendish young man inflicted on the cause of Indian research is incalculable.

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In this index the following abbreviations are used: M.=Marathi,
 H.=Hindi, Ap.=Apabhramsa, G=Gujarathi, P.=Panjabi, S.=Sindhi,
 B.=Bengali, O=Oriya, Pr.=Prakrit and Skr.-Sanskrit,

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