HISTORY OF DHARMASAstra

(Ancient and Mediæval
Religious and Civil Law)

By

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Vol. I

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
Anan. = Ånandāśrama series, Poona.
Ānan. P. = Āpastamba-dharmaśūtra.
Āp. = Āpastambaghṛyasūtra.
Āp. Dh. S. = Āpastambaghṛyasūtra.
Āp. Gr. S. = Āpastambaghṛyasūtra.
A. S. B. = Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Baud. or Bau. Dh. S. or Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyana-dharmaśūtra (Mysore edition).
Bau. Gr. S. = Baudhāyanagṛhyasūtra (Mysore edition by Dr. Shama Śāstri).
B B R A S. = Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.
Bom. H. C. R. = Bombay High Court Reports.
B. I. or B. I. S. = Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.
B. S. or BSS. = Bombay Sanskrit series.
Cat. = Catalogue.
C. O. = Calcutta Oriental Series.
D. C. = Deccan College collection of Sanskrit mss. now lodged at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.
Dh. S. = Dharmasūtra.
E. C. = Epigraphia Carnatica.
E. I. = Epigraphia Indica.
Gr. S. = Grhya-sūtra.
H. D. A.
H. A. S. L. = Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.
Hir. = Hiranayakesi-dharmasutra.
Hp. cat. or Hp. Nepal cat. = Mahamahopadhya Haraprasad Sastri's
catalogue of palmleaf and paper mss.
belonging to Durbar Library, Nepal.
I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly.
I. L. R. = India Law Reports series, Bom. standing for Bombay,
Cal. for Calcutta, All. for Allahabad and Mad. for
Madras series.
Ind. Ant. or I. A = Indian Antiquary.
I. O. cat. = Catalogue of the Sanskrit mss. at the India Office in
London (ed. by Dr. Eggeling).
JASB. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.
Jivananda Sm. = Dharmasastra-samgraha, published by Jivananda
at Calcutta in 1876 (two parts).
L. R. I. A. = Law Reports, Indian Appeals, the number of the volume
being inserted between I.. R. and I. A.
Mad. H. C. R. = Madras High Court Reports.
M. Gr. S. or Manava Gr. S. = Manava-Gṛhyasūtra.
Mit. = Mitakṣara on Yājñavalkya.
Moo. I. A. = Moore's Indian Appeals.
N. = Nāradasmṛti (ed. by Dr. Jolly).
P. Gr. S. = Pāraskaragrhyasūtra.
P. S. series = Punjab Sanskrit series.
Rg. = Ṛgveda.
R. u. S. = Recht und Sitte (by Dr. Jolly).
S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East Series.
Tai. = Taittiriya.
List of Abbreviations

Tai. S. = Taittirīya-saṃhitā.
Vāj. S. = Vājasaney-Saṃhitā.
Vas. or Vas. Dh. S. = Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra (B. S. series).
Viś. = Viśvarūpa.
Viṣṇu Dh. S. or Vi. = Viṣṇudharmasūtra (ed. by Dr. Jolly).
V. S. = Vedāntasūtra.
W. B. = West and Bühler's Digest of Hindu Law (3rd ed.).
Yāj. = Yajñavalkyasmṛti.

आ. वृ. चू. or आ. वृ. or आ. चू. चू. = आपस्तम्भयुद्धसूच.
आप. चू. चू. or आ. चू. चू. = आपस्तम्भयोगसूच.
ऐ. ब्र. = ऐंतरयाध्याय.
क्रम. = कामद्रश्यामनीतिसार.
को. = कौटिल्यस कर्मशास्त्र (Dr. Shamasastri's edition).
गो. or मो. चू. चू. = गोतमघरमसूच.
चुन. = चुनिन्दित्वयौगिनामणि.
जी. = जीतमवाचन.
ताण. = ताणिकात्ममहात्रायण.
ते. आ. = तैत्तिरिपारणक.
ते. ब्र. = तैत्तिरिपारण.
ते. सं. = तैत्तिरियसंहिता.
नि. नि. = निर्णयसतिन्ध.
पर. चू. = पराशारमाप्यसू (B. S. series).
पा. = पाणिनि' अन्तर्ध्यापी.
पु. मी. चू. = पुर्णमीमांसाचार.
प्राय. = प्रायोगिकतमप्रयोग of नीलकण्ठ.
बो. चू. = बौधयानयुद्धसूच.
बो. चू. चू. = बौधयानघरमसूच.
मद. चू. = मदनपारिजात (B. I. series).
मदु. = मदुसुभाष. 
History of Dharmaśāstra

निता. = नितात्र
मेघा. = नेघातिद्विष्म भाष्य on मनुकृति
वा. or वाण्न. = वाण्नक्षेत्रकृति
वि. विष. = विषाधिकालमणि of वाण्नकृतिमिद्र.
वि. र. = विषाधक्त्वालक ( B.I. edition ).
विभव. = विभवन on वाण्न. ( Tri. ed ).
वीर. = वीरसम्भव ( on व्यवहार ed. by Jivananda ).
व्य. म. = व्यवहारमण प्रका of नीलकण्ठ ( my edition ).
व्य. माण. = व्यवहारमाणका of जीयनवाहन.  
शरण or शारण. = शारणांगण.
सं. को. = संस्कृतकोठुम of अनन्तदेव.
सरस्वती. or ए
स. वि
स्थिर. = स्थिरचन्द्रका ( ed. by Mr. J. R. Gharpure ).
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

(N.B. Errors in printing that can be easily detected have been passed over.)

Sec. 4 pp. 12–20 The Dharmasūtra of Gautama. Mr. Batakrisna Ghose (in I. H. Q. vol. III for 1927, p. 607 ff.) has an exhaustive note on the mutual relations of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. He holds that Gautama is not the oldest extant author, that Āp. and Gautama stand in the same relation as Manu and Yājñavalkya, that Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra is not older than Āpastambadharmasūtra, that the reference to the views of some in Gautama 15. 30 may easily be to Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 21. Some of the reasons on which he relies for these views have already been examined in the body of the work. That the extant sūtra of Gautama has been in some places revised may be admitted; but that Gautama as an author on dharma preceded Āpastamba's work cannot be denied. There is nothing of chronological value so far as Gautama is concerned in Āpastamba's rejection of the view of Śvetaketu that even a married man should continue Veda-study. That Āpastamba says nothing about mixed castes is on a par with his silence as to nīyoga and the secondary sons. Āpastamba knew the lowest castes such as Čandāla and Paulkasa and Vānia (Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 2. 6). As to beef-eating allowed by Āpastamba, vide p. 45 of text and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 11 where beef-eating is not allowed to a dīkṣīta). Doctors of law were not agreed on many points of dharma and hence no certain chronological conclusion about individual authors can be drawn merely from their views on certain points. It is not correct to say as Mr. Ghose does that Āpastamba knows no fines for crimes. Āpastamba does say that in case of dispute between litigants elders were to decide, that in case of doubt they were to decide by inference or divine proof, that witnesses were to tell the truth and that if the witnesses were found to be false they were to be fined (II. 11. 29. 5–8). This shows that fines were not unheard of in Āpastamba's days and if he omits a detailed statement the reason must be sought for elsewhere.
than in his being prior to all dharmasūtras. Fines for crimes are as old as the Taittiriya Saṁhitā II. 6. 10. 2.

Sec. 9 p. 56 l. 18 read ‘note 41’ for ‘ note 46.’

Sec. 10 p. 60 ll. 25-27. After the words ‘the sūtra is in close relation to one of the oldest schools of the Yajurveda, viz. Kaṭha’ the following should be added ‘Vācaspati in his Śrāvaka kalpa alias Pitrabhaktitarāṅgini says that the sūtra of Viṣṇu is meant for students of the Kaṭhaśākha, as Viṣṇu is a sūtra-kāra of that Śākha’; यक्त्स्नि पर्वीषय पौष्ण अष्टवित्ता युग्म तथा इति विष्णुस्वताहुके तत्कशातिः परस्त तथूष्णकारत्वात् ‘ms. of पित्रभक्तिः’ in the India Office, folio 17a (I. O. cat. p. 556 No. 1730). The sūtra referred to is विष्णुस्वताहुके 86. 9.

Sec. 11 p. 71 Vide Ind. Ant. vol. 25 for 1896 pp. 147-48 for an account of the ms. of the Hārītadharmsūtra found by the late Pandit Vaman Śastri Islampurkar.

Sec. 13 p. 84 l. 10 read ‘110’ for ‘108’.

Sec. 14 The Arthasastra of Kautilya. There is a perennial stream of articles and works inspired by the Arthasastra. Some of them that appeared after this work was sent to the press and some that had appeared before but had been omitted through oversight are noticed here. Dr. Stein has a note on the word ‘suruṅgā’ occurring in the Arthasastra and its connection with the Greek word ‘syrinx’; (vide I. H. Q. vol. I. pp. 429-432) and holds that the Arthasastra must be later than the 2nd century B.C. The same scholar contributes a note on ‘Pāṇḍyakavāta’ occurring in the Arthasastra II. 11 (in I. H. Q. vol.IV p.778) and concludes from comparison with Bṛhat-saṁhitā and other works that the list of countries cannot be earlier than 6th century A.D. I am glad to note that the veteran sqvant Dr. Jolly (in ‘Zeitschrift für Indologie and Iranistik’ for 1927 pp. 216-221 ) approves of my view that the original name was Kautilya and not Kautilya. In the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskarvarman (E. I. vol. 19 p. 245, at p. 248) donees of Kautilya-gotra are mentioned. The verse in the second Act of the Mālatimadāhava of Bhavabhūti (वृष्णिप्रभावहन्त कथास्वत्व-क्रान्तामथवा कृतकयालेह: कृतिलन्यण्यात्मसाम इ) contains a hit at
the name Kautilya and his teaching. Mr. E. H. Johnston contributes in the J R A S for 1929 pp. 77-102 an article on ‘two studies in the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya,’ wherein he examines the works of Aśvaghoṣa, the Lankāvatāra and the Jātakamālā and holds that the Arthaśāstra is not much earlier than Aśvaghoṣa and not later than 250 A.D. It is gratifying to see that from the untenable position of relegating the Arthaśāstra to the 3rd century A.D., western scholars are receding to the first century of the Christian era. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar contributes an appreciative and lengthy review of Dr. Meyer’s work ‘Das altindische Buch vom Welt- &c’ in the Indian Historical Quarterly for 1928 pp. 348-383. Dr. Meyer has brought out another work ‘on Hindu Law-books and their relation with one another and with Kautilya’ (über das Wesen der altindischen Rechts- schriften &c.). This work compels admiration for the author’s patience and industry, but is seriously marred throughout by wild generalisations, perverse and startling propositions unsupported by weighty evidence. He makes Gautama the latest of the Smṛtis and Nārada one of the earliest, places Nārada several centuries before the Christian era, regards the compiler of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti as a stupid brāhmaṇa. He is blissfully ignorant of the references to Gautama occurring in the Tantravārtika, which I collected in my paper on ‘the Tantravārtika and the dharmasāstra literature’ (JBBRAS vol. I new series for 1925 pp. 66-67). He propounds the absurd theory that the Brāhmaṇas were people like gypsies roving about in bands without any morals or principles of conduct. I can agree with some of his conclusions, viz. the non-existence of a Mānavadhar- masūtra, the non-existence of a floating mass of verses on which authors of dharmasāstra could draw. Mr. Batakrishna Ghose submits Dr. Meyer’s work to a scholarly and trenchant criticism in I. H. Q. for 1928 vol. IV. pp. 570-592. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently published in a bookform his lectures on ‘some aspects of ancient Hindu polity.’ Vide I. H. Q. vol. V (1929) p. 780 for an article on ‘salari’s and allowances in Kautilya’.
History of Dharmarātra

Sect. 15 pp. 105-107 VaikhānasadharMAPRA SNA. Dr. Eggers recently published (Göttingen, 1929) his work ‘Das Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasa’, which is reviewed in JRAS for 1929 pp. 916-918.


Sec. 31 p. 154 read ‘In other places’ for ‘In another places’.

Sec. 34 pp. 170-175 Yājñavalkyaśmṛiti. Dr. Hans Losch writes a monograph on ‘Die Yājñavalkyaśmṛiti un Beitrag zur Quellen-kunde des Indischen Rechts’ (Leipzig 1927). His conclusions may be briefly summarised as follows: (I) the text of Yājñavalkya that we have and that is commented upon is not the original, but is enlarged with interpolations such as Vīnāyakaśānti and Grahaśānti (which are borrowed from Agnipurāṇa chap. 266 and 164 respectively by the compiler of Yaj. Smṛti), the section on rājadharma (which is a versified copy of ideas contained in arthāśāstra literature), verses 60-205 of the third chapter (of Yaj.). (II) the 2nd book of Yaj. (on vyavahāra) is a later addition corresponding to an older redaction of the Agnipurāṇa; (III) that the first and 3rd books of Yaj. are a recast of an ancient text which has been better preserved in the Garuḍapurāṇa. I have shown in my history of Sanskrit Poetics that the Agnipurāṇa was compiled about 900 A. D. and in this book it has been shown that the Garuḍapurāṇa must have been compiled about the same time, that it summarises Parāśara-smṛti and that it presents a text of Yaj. which is intermediate between that of Viśvarūpa and that of the Mitakṣara. Dr. Locsh’s work adduces no proofs that would shake these conclusions. I am pleased to find that Mr. Chintaharana Chakravarti holds (JASB for 1928 vol. 24 p. 467) that the nitti portion of Garuḍapurāṇa belongs to the 9th or 10th century. The indefatigable scholar Dr. Meyer appears to have criticized Dr. Losch in a monograph (vide review of it by Mr. Batakrisna Ghose in I. H. Q. for 1929 pp. 367-375). Mr. Batakrisna Ghose holds that vyavahāra did not originally form part of the Yājñavalkya
smṛti on the ground that otherwise it is very difficult to explain its absence in the Garuḍapurāṇa. But this is quite unconvincing. We have no sure criterion for judging on what bases the eclectic purāṇas (Agnipurāṇa and Garuḍapurāṇa) proceeded. But in the case of the Garuḍapurāṇa the omission of the vyavahāra section is easily explicable in several ways. The Garuḍapurāṇa was concerned more with purely religious matters and so omitted the rather secular chapter on vyavahāra. One might ask, why did the Agnipurāṇa omit the first and third kāṇḍas of Yajñavalkya if they existed in its day. One may with equal logic argue that those two kāṇḍas did not exist in the Yajñavalkya smṛti when the Agnipurāṇa was compiled.

P. 181 The late Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar outdid even Western scholars in assigning Yajñavalkya to a date not earlier than the 6th century A.D. In his work ‘Vaishnavism and Šaivism’ (p. 148) the learned doyen of modern Sanskrit studies in Western India holds that the worship of Ganeśa is a late one, as it is not mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions. The veteran scholar did not notice the points brought out in my book (such as the mention of nakṣatras from Kṛṣṇa). He is willing to assign Amarasītha to the 5th or 6th century A.D. (ibid. p. 45). The great lexicographer mentions Vināyaka and his synonyms (such as ekadanta &c), but the words Mita, Sammita that are given as the appellations of Vināyaka in Yaj are conspicuous by their absence in Amara’s lexicon. Hence the conclusion is that Amara wrote centuries after Yajavalkya and that Vināyaka worship had taken a complexion before Amara flourished that was very different from what it was in Yajavalkya’s day.

Mita and Sammita occur as names of Maruts in the Taittiriya Samhitā.

P. 186 That गजचक्रवा and व्यतीपत्त had nothing to do with ‘rāṣis’ follows from the following, ‘योगो मध्यात्मोद्भा क्षरस्यायसंस्करण’ (quoted in भवश्वलकर p. 319 as from वृहदस्मृत; अध्यात्मिकविचित्रार्थंवैचित्रतमस्तके यथा राणवारोण व्यतीपत्त: स उच्यते” quoted in प्राणिविषतत्व of रूपन्नपन as from भ्रामहः. 

P. B.
Sec. 38 pp. 213-221 Kātyāyana. Mr. Narayana Chandra Bandopadhyaya has recently published (Calcutta 1927) about 800 verses of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra culled from five nibandhas. In the Hindu Law Quarterly recently started in Bombay I am editing a reconstruction of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra (reconstructed text from twenty nibandhas, references to the places whence verses are taken, translation, notes &c.). About 300 verses have been printed in the first two issues for January and April 1930.

Sec. 38 p. 215 read ‘Manu’ for Bhṛgu in l. 11.

Sec. 39 pp. 221-223 Aṅgiras. In the 2nd Act of the Mālatimadhava (p. 104 of Bhandarkar’s edition) we have a prose quotation from Aṅgiras ‘गीताध्यायवधोऽविरस यस्यां मन्भद्रपौर्णतुजन्वस्यत्यायान्नद्वारिन्द्रेति’. In the Apastambagṛhya (I.3. 19-21) this is cited without name as the view of some ‘वस्तुशीलक्षणसंपत्तामरोगशुच्चेति। वस्तुशीलक्षणसंपत्तः धुतात्रायोग हि वत्स्याच्य। यस्यां मन्भद्रापौर्णिन्यस्यस्य- त्यायान्नद्वारिन्द्रेति’। It is not likely that Bhavabhūti who was a great scholar would commit a mistake and it is extremely probable that he had a sutra of Aṅgiras before him.

Sec. 44 pp. 226-227 Pitāmaha. Dr. Karl Scriba collected together from several nibandhas about 200 verses of Pitāmaha and published them with translation (Die Fragmente des Pitāmaha, Leipzig, 1902) on the eight constituents of karaṇa (i. e. the court of justice), fifty chalas, twenty-two wrongs (in which king acted suo motu), ordeals (162 verses) and the four kinds of ascetics.

Sec. 64 pp. 275-279 Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva. In the Madras Tri. Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. for 1919-1922 p. 4562 No. 3078 there is a ms of Bhujabalani bandha by Bhojarāja in 18 chapters on astrological matters in relation to vratas, marriage &c.

In the Krtyaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara quotations from a Krtyasamuccaya of Bhūpāla or Bhūpalasamuccaya are cited (at pp. 278, 289, 449, 461, 496 &c.). It appears that this is entirely a different work from the Rājamārtanda and the Bhujabalabhīma.

Sec. 68. p. 285, l. 20 read ‘Misarumiśra’ for ‘Harinātha’. 
Additions and Corrections

Sec. 71, pp. 294-296 *Kāmadhenu*. That Bhoja was not the author of the *Kāmadhenu* follows from the following words of the क्रयरत्नाकर (p. 156) ‘पति स्वप्नाति अद्वृयमुदीयप्रत्योक्ते-वाक्यमये भूपालकाप्तेःक्लतकरुटि हेतिसताम्.’ At p. 30 of the same work the क्रमेऽतु is spoken of as equal in authority to the Rājā (राजमुदृवर्मब्रह्म). These references show that the *Kāmadhenu* was not regarded by Caṇḍeśvara as the work of Bhūpāla (or Bhojadeva); other passages of the Kṛtyaratnākara where Gopāla, Kalpaturu, and Bhūpāla are spoken of in the same breath indicate that Gopāla was as great an authority as the Kalpaturu; and knowing as we do that Caṇḍeśvara looked upon Kāmadhenu, Kalpaturu, Pārijāta, Prakāśa and Halāyudha as his best authorities, it follows that Gopāla was the author of the *Kāmadhenu*. Vide क्रयरत्नाकर pp. 277, 443 (गोपालकप्यक्लतपारिजातेऽदुः).

Sec. 72 pp. 298-299 *Halāyudha*. There is a Ms. of a work called Paṇḍitasarvasva in the Madars Tri. cat. of Sanskrit mss. for 1919-22 p. 5165. In the manuscript itself there is no reference to the author or his parentage. It is a large work and deals with वर्णीमामान्यात्रा, दैवतिशिरिनिर्देश, उपानात, सौंच, अशोच, भाव, ज्योति:शास्त्र, विभाषादिसंस्कर, तृत, प्रायाढ्वित, प्रतिध, शीर्ष, दित्य, अमृतविचार, सादृश्यः. From the style it seems more likely that it is not the work of Halāyudha.

In the Ekādaśītattva (Jivananda vol. II p. 51) and Śuddhi- 

tattva (Jivananda vol II p. 327) Halāyudha is said to be 

the author of Saṅivatsarapradipa.

Sec. 73 pp. 301-306 *Bhavadevabhaṭṭa*.

There was another work of Bhavadevabhaṭṭa called Sam-

bandha-viveka. This work is mentioned in the Saṁskāra-

tattva (Jivananda vol I p. 890) and in the Vivāhatattva 

(vol. II p. 143).

Sec. 74 pp. 306-308 *Prakāśa*.

The Vivādaratnākara and other Ratnākaras of Caṇḍeśvara 
generally refer to Prakāśa only, but sometimes Caṇḍeśvara 
speaks of Śrūtimahārānaprakāśa e. g. on p. 326 of 

Kṛtyaratnākara we have ‘आवांसम्बद्धवाच्यप्राप्तमसांचित्रसिं- 

कलङ्कः सातिनिष्ठेशतुणैनेकोविदिन्त वर्षितिस्तुतिमहार्वमकाशकार हरि
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कल्पतरूः लिखितमयेक्षमाचारस्वादित्यं तहसुः. तस्य यस्य स्मृतिमहर्षनवप्रक्षासा एवं कालपतरु प्रारंभायमहात्मा ग्रहणे तत्सः।

Sec. 87 pp. 354-359 Hemādri.

In the Marathi Quarterly of the Bharata-itiḥaśa-saṁśodhaka-mandala, vol. X part 2 p. 84, Mr. Y. K. Deshpande quotes from a work called Bhānuvijaya of the Mahānubhāva sect passages wherein Hemādri is charged with having been won over by Turks (Mahomedans) and with having brought about the imprisonment of Bhānubhāta alias Bhāskara Kaviśvara Vyāsa (a Mahānubhāva saint) ‘जीर्णावर रणकल्पतुः। हेमाद्री तुक्ताः लामले पण सदिश्वरेष्व देवोनि चन। मंत्री पा वचनु रोकता। महानुभावी असाइविषयं। अहिता अरितं दुःशं। तुक्ताः काँटे भसे आंगवं। हेमाद्रीकर्मन्वयनि बोधिते।’

But in the absence of other corroborative evidence hardly any reliance can be placed on this charge, as it might have been levelled at Hemādri in revenge for his imprisoning a leader of a dissenting sect like that of the Mahānubhāvas.

P. 359 In the Śivadīvijāya (printed at Baroda in śaka 1817) at p. 442 Hemādrapanta (Hemādri) is credited with having brought from Lāṅkā (Ceylon) in śaka 1193 (1271-2 A.D.) the ‘Piśācca lipi’ (Moḍi script).

P. 368 l. 16 Read ‘contemplate’ for ‘complete’.

P. 398 foot note 969 Read ‘अल्लमत स्नयन्’ for ‘अल्लमत यत्नं’.
SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

Sec. 1 Meaning of dharma:

Defies exact rendering in English - In the Rgveda, used as adjective or noun - means 'upholder or supporter' in some Rgvedic passages - in most Rgveda passages means 'religious ordinances or rites' and in rare cases 'fixed principles or rules of conduct' - in Aitareya-brāhmaṇa dharma means 'whole body of religious duties' in Chāndogya-Upaniṣad dharma means 'peculiar duties of āśramas' dharma came to mean 'duties and privileges of a person as a member of the Āryan community, as member of one of the varṇas or as in a particular stage of life' - the same meaning in Taittirīya Upaniṣad (I. II.), Bhagavadgītā, Manusmṛti and other smṛtis - according to Medhātithi, dharma five-fold viz., varṇadharma, āśramadharma, varnāśramadharma, naimittikadharma, guṇadharma - this meaning of dharma taken in this work - definitions of dharma according to Jaimini, Vaiśeṣikasūtra, Hārīta, Mahābhārata and Buddhist works - subjects treated in this work, viz. sources of dharma, contents of works on dharma, their chronology.

Sec. 2 Sources of dharma:

According to Gautama, Āpastamba, Vasishtha, Manu, Yājña-valkya -- principal sources were Veda, smṛtis and custom - Vedas do not contain positive precepts on dharma, but give information incidentally - examples from Vedic literature suggesting dharmaśāstra rules.

Sec. 3 When dharmaśāstra works were first composed

It is difficult to say when composed - Nirukta (III. 4-5) exhibits controversies about inheritance and quotes a verse (śloka) from some work on dharma - Bühler's view about such verses - Gautama and Baudhāyana speak of dharmaśāstra - Baudhāyana and Āpastamba mention numerous sages on dharma - Vārtika of Kātyāyana and Jaimini speak of dharmaśāstra - Patañjali on dharmaśūtrakārās - dharmaśāstra works existed prior to Yāska or at least before 600 B.C. and in 2nd century B.C. dharmaśūtras had become authoritative - method of dealing with the whole dharmaśāstra literature followed in this
book, first dharmasūtras, then early metrical smṛtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya, later versified smṛtis, then commentaries and digests, such as the Mitakṣarā - chronology of early writers very difficult to settle - Max Müller's view that works in continuous śloka metre followed sūtra works not acceptable.

Sec. 4 Dharmasūtras:

Many of them formed part of the Kalpa and were studied in distinct sūtra-caraṇas - dharmasūtras of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana presuppose grhysūtras of their caraṇa - no dharmasūtras extant corresponding to the śruta and grhya sūtras of Āśvalāyana, Śaṅkhāyana and Mānava-Tantravārtika on what dharmasūtra was studied in what particular Vedic Śākhā - all dharmasūtras gradually became authoritative in all schools - close connection between grhyasūtras and dharmasūtras on certain topics - scope of dharmasūtras - grhya-sūtras sometimes refer to dharmasūtras - points of distinction between dharmasūtras and the other smṛtis.

Sec. 5 Dharmasūtra of Gautama:

Gautama's is the oldest extant dharmasūtra - specially studied by followers of Śāmaṇeṣa - Gautama one of the nine subdivisions of the Rāṇāyaniya school of Śāmaṇeṣa - Gautamadharmasūtra points to close connection with Śāmaṇeṣa - Gautama refers to his own previous dicta - contents of 28 chapters of Gautamadharmasūtra - the work is entirely in prose - Gautama's language agrees more with Pāṇini's rules than Āpastamba's - explanation of this - Haradatta prefers Pāṇinian readings of Gautama's text - some sūtras of Gautama quoted in the Mitakṣarā and other works not found in extant text - extent of literature known to Gautama - the only author named is Manu - the meaning of 'ācāryāḥ' whose views are cited by Gautama - earliest reference to Gautama on dharma is in Baudhāyana- dharmasūtra - Baudhāyana (III. 10) borrows chap. 19 of Gautama - close correspondence between many other sūtras of Gautama and Baudhāyana - Vasiṣṭha (4. 34 and 36) refers to views of Gautama - Vasiṣṭha's 22nd chap. is borrowed from 19th of Gautama - many sūtras the same in Gautama and Vasiṣṭha - Gautama referred to by Manu as son of Utathya - Gautama referred to by Yājñavalkya, Bhāvishyapurāṇa, Kumārila, Śaṅkaracārya, Medhātiṣṭhī - Gautama's reference to Yaṇava - probable age between 600 -
400 B.C. – Haradatta and Maskarin commented on Gautama - Asahāya also did so – śloka – Gautama and Vyḍḍha – Gautama.

Sec. 6 Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra:

Baudhāyana is a teacher of the Black Yajurveda – arrangement of Baudhāyana kalpa according to Dr. Burnell and Dr. Caland – Baudhāyanagrhya presupposes the Baudhāyanadharmanasūtra – grhya (III.9.6) speaks of pravacanakāra Kaṇva Bodhāyana and sūtrakāra Āpastamba – tarpana in Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (II. 5. 27) mentions Kaṇva Bodhāyana, Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakesin - contents of Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra – extant sūtra has not come down intact - fourth praśna probably an interpolation – third praśna also not free from doubt – Baudhāyana III. 10 taken from Gautama – Baudhāyana III. 6 agrees closely with Viṣṇudharmaśūtra 48 – Dr. Jolly thinks both borrowed from a common source – probably Viṣṇu borrows from Baudhāyana - repetitions exist even in the first two praśnas - form and structure of Baudhāyana – quotes numerous verses, even in the first two praśnas – language of Baudhāyana often departs from Paññinian standard – literature known to Baudhāyana – several authors on dharma together with their views mentioned by Baudhāyana – Asura Kapila said to be originator of āśramas-Śabara, Kumārila, Viśvarupa and Medhatithi refer to Baudhāyana dharmasūtra - home of Baudhāyana – Baudhāyana is styled pravacanakāra and Āpastamba sūtrakāra – Bühler holds that Baudhāyana was a southern teacher - age of Baudhāyana dharmasūtra – later than Gautama – Bühler’s reasons for placing Baudhāyana a century or two earlier than Āpastamba not convincing – divergences between Baudhāyana and Āpastamba – style of Baudhāyana compared with that of Āpastamba – Baudhāyana to be placed between 500-200 B.C. - numerous sūtras of Baudhāyana identical with those of Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha – Baudhāyana mentions several appellations of Ganeśa, just as Mānavagrhya does and mentions seven planets, Rāhu and Ketu – Govindasvāmin commented on Baudhāyana.

Sec. 7 Dharmaśūtra of Āpastamba:

The Āpastambakalpasūtra of the Black Yajurveda divided into 30 praśnas, dharmaśūtra constituting 28th and 29th praśnas thereof – Āpastamba is one of the five subdivisions of the Khāṇḍikeya school of Taittiṛiyaśākhā – Āpastambagrhya and dharma sūtras are composi-
tions of same author - some sūtras of the two are identical - Āp. grhyā does not treat of some topics as they are dealt with in dharma sūtra - contents of Āp. dharmsūtra - form and structure of Āp. dharmasūtra - Āp. is more archaic and un-Pāṇinian than any other dharmsūtra - many unfamiliar words in Āp. - several verses quoted in Āp. - literature known to Āp. - Āp. mentions six aṅgas of Veda and ten writers on dharma by name - Śvetaketu and Āp. - Hārīta quoted frequently by Āp. - Āp. controverts several views - striking coincidences between Gautama and Āp. - Āp. quotes a verse from Purāṇa and speaks of the view of Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa - Āpastamba and Manu - Āpastamba presupposes many rules of the Mīmāṃsā and agrees closely with Jaimini’s sūtras - age of Āp. Dh. S. - quoted by Śabara, Kumārila, Śaṁkarācārya, Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi - home and personal history of Āpastamba not known - Āp. is later than Gautama and probably Baudhāyana - his age between 600-300 B. C.- Āp. condemns niyoga, rejects secondary sons, does not admit paśāca and Prājāpatya forms of marriage - divergence between the views of Āp. and Gautama and other sūtrakāras - Haradatta’s is the only commentary extant on Āp. - Āpastamba smṛti in verse.

Sec. 8. Hiranyakesidharmasūtra:

Hiranyakesidharmasūtra forms 26th and 27th prāñas of the Hiranyakesīkalpa-Hiranyakesin’s can be hardly called an independent work, as it borrows hundreds of sūtras word for word from Āp. - a few additions made to Āp. in Hiranyakesī Dh. S. - Hiranyakesin’s readings are smoother and more classical than Āpastamba’s - arrangement of sūtras also is somewhat different in the two - com. of Mahādeva called Ujjvala on Hiranyakesin is almost the same as Haradatta’s on Āp. - Bühler thinks Mahādeva borrows from Haradatta - Mahādeva’s com. in a few places contains more matter than Haradatta’s and Mahādeva differs from Haradatta.

Sec. 9 Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra:

Different editions of Vasiṣṭha contain different numbers of chapters - Kumārila says it was specially studied by Rgvedins - explanation of this statement - nothing special in the Vasiṣṭhadharma-sūtra to connect it with Rgveda - contents of the Vasiṣṭhadharma-sūtra - style of Vasiṣṭha. Dh. S. resembles Gautama’s - many sūtras of Vasiṣṭha identical with Gautama and Baudhāyana - form of Vasiṣṭha
dharmasūtra resembles Baudhāyana dharmasūtra - Medhātithi and Mitākṣara quote from almost all chapters of extant Vasiṣṭha and so does Viśvarūpa - literature known to Vasiṣṭha - Vasiṣṭha prohibits learning language of Mlecchas - authors on dharmaśāstra named by Vasiṣṭha - Vasiṣṭha’s references to the views of Manu are made with reference to a work of Manu almost identical with the present Manusmṛti and do not compel us to formulate the existence of a Mānavadharmasūtra - Bühler wrong in taking Vas. Dh. S. 4. 8 as a quotation from Mānavadharmasūtra - Only Vas. Dh. S. 12.16 and 19.37 where Manu is quoted have no corresponding verses in the present Manusmṛti - Over forty verses are entirely common to Vas. and present Manusmṛti - conclusion that Vas. contains borrowings from the present Manusmṛti or its prototype in verse - Vas. Dh. S. 22 is same as Gautama 19 - Dr. Jolly’s view that Vas. Dh. S. 28.10-15 and 18-22 are borrowed from Viśnudharmasūtra chap. 56 and 87 or its original the Kāṭhakadharmasūtra is wrong - home of Vas. to the north of Narmada, according to Bühler - this is mere speculation - earliest reference to Vasiṣṭha as a writer on dharma is in Manu (8-140) - age of Vasiṣṭha - Vasiṣṭha’s views are ancient, pratically about secondary sons, about Dattaka son, about nīyogā and remarriage - he mentions only six forms of marriage - but in other matters differs from Gaut. or Baudh. viz. on adoption, on documents - Vas. Dh. S. between 300-100 B.C. - whether Vas. 18. 4 (Rāmaka v. l. Romaka) contains a reference to the Romans - Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha, an early compilation - there is a Brhad Vasiṣṭha and a Jyotir Vasiṣṭha - Yajñavāmin commented upon Vas. Dh. S.

**Sec. 10 Viśnudharmasūtra:**

Viṣṇu Dh. S. contains 100 chapters and yet sūtra not extensive - several chap. (40, 42, 76) contain only one sūtra and one verse - first chap. and last two are entirely in verse, the rest in mixed prose and verse - Viṣṇu Dh. S. closely connected with Kāṭhāśākha - Dr. Jolly says chap. 21, 67, 73 and 86 of Viṣṇu closely correspond with Kāṭhaka grhyā - but Viṣṇu Dh. S. is not the work of the author of Kāṭhaka grhyā - contents of Viṣṇu Dh. S. - Viṣṇu resembles Vas. Dh. S. - its peculiar feature that it professes to be revealed by God Viṣṇu - its style, easy and diffuse - work contains old H. D. C.
and new material - hundreds of sūtras are prose renderings of hundreds of verses occurring in our Manu - hypothesis of a common origin or borrowing by both from a floating mass of verses untenable - extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra borrows from Manu - Viṣṇu contains verses identical with the Bhagavadgītā and Yājñavalkya smṛti - Dr. Jolly's view that Yājñavalkya borrows his anatomical section from Viṣṇu not correct - Viṣṇu Dh. S. contains long list of tīrthas, the word Jaiva for Jupiter - those wanting in Yājñavalkya - extant Viṣṇu Dh. S. later than Manusmrīti and Yājñavalkyasmrīti - Viṣvavṛtup does not quote a single sūtra of Viṣṇu by name, though he refers to Viṣṇu (ch. 97) for orders of saṁnyāsins - Mitākṣarā quotes hardly any verse from Viṣṇu - Aparākra and Smṛticandrikā quote Viṣṇu profusely-verses were added at a late date to original sūtra - literature known to Viṣṇu Dh. S. - Viṣṇu mentions the seven days of the week, recommends the practice of sattis, speaks of pustakas, of many good and evil omens; among which the sight of yellow-robed Buddhist ascetics is included - it prohibits speech with Mlecchas and journeys to Mleccha countries, it dilates on worship of Vāsudeva - though Viṣṇu agrees in some respects with Kāṭhaka-grhya, on some points it differs from it -- date of older kernel of Viṣṇu may be 300 to 100 B.C. - additions made after 3rd century A.D. and before 7th century - some sūtras agree closely with Nārada - Brhad Viṣṇu and Vṛddha Viṣṇu and Laghu Viṣṇu - Nandapanaṇḍita's com. on the Viṣṇu Dh. S. - probably Bhuruci also commented on it.

Sec. 11 The dharmasūtra of Hārīta:

Baudhāyanā, Āpastamba and Vasīṣṭha quote Hārīta as an authority - Mr. Islampurkar secured a ms. of Hārīta-dharmasūtra at Nasik in 30 chapters - contents of that ms. - its relation to Maitrāyaṇīyaṇamītā - it mentions the Kaśmirian word "Kaphella" -- quotations in commentaries and digests show that Hārīta dealt exhaustively with the same topics that are found in other dharmasūtras - Kumiṇārīla mentions Hārīta as dharmāsstrakāra but does not assign him to any particular caraṇa as he does Āpastamba and others - notable doctrines of Hārīta - mentions worship of Ganeśa - Hārīta's verses on vyavahāra quoted in nibandhas are later than the sūtra - Laghu Hārīta and Vṛddha Hārīta - latter in verse is later than Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Kātyāyana.
Sec. 12 The dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita:

From Tantravārtika it appears that dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita was studied by Vājasaneyins - Mahābhārata (Śānti 23) contains story of brothers Śaṅkha and Likhita - Various compilations ascribed to Śaṅkha alone or Likhita alone or to both - Restoration of Dharmasūtra in Annals of Bhandarkar Institute (vol. VII, VIII) - Verse Śaṅkhasmṛti stricter than prose Śaṅkha - Likhita - com. on dharmasūtra mentioned in Kalpataru and Vivādaratnakara - doctrines of dharmasūtra similar to those of other dharmasūtras - speaks of twelve secondary sons - allows nīyoga - speaks of several ordeals - defines Āryāvarta as between Sindhu - Sauvira and Kāmpilya - Literature known to Śaṅkha Likhita - probable age between 300-100 B.C.

Sec. 13 Mānavadharmaśūtra: Did it exist?

MaxMüller and Weber responsible for the theory that the extant Manusmṛti was a recast of an ancient Mānavadharmaśūtra now lost - hardly any data for the sweeping generalisation of Max-Müller that all genuine dharmasastras are nothing but more modern texts of earlier sūtra works on kuladharma - one main plank of this theory that the continuous employment of the śloka metre was unknown in the sūtra period is now exploded - Bühl supports Max Müller's theory by some additional arguments - Vasiṣṭha IV. 5-8 on which Bühl relies not properly understood by him - Vasiṣṭha (19-37) quotes a Mānava śloka which is not in the Anuṣṭubh metre and not found in extant Manu and Bühl thinks it is taken from Mānavadharmaśūtra - Bühl's reliance on a fragment of Uṣānas which is corrupt is not worth consideration - Bühl relies on Kāmandakiyanitisāra (II. 3. and XI. 67) where Mānavas are said to hold that there are three vidyās for a king and that Manu said that king's council should consist of 12 ministers - These views not the same in extant Manu - Bühl's conclusion not correct - Kāmandaka is only paraphrasing Kaṭṭiliya - Bühl's generalisation about Mānava or Mānavaḥ without foundation - Kumārila, Śaṅkara, and Viśvarūpa all employ 'Mānava' for Manusmṛti - Bühl relies on analogy of the complete set of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana sūtras for holding that a Mānavadharmaśūtra existed - Proper explanation of Vas. Dh. S. IV. 5-8 - Bühl not right in saying that Vas. Dh. S. II. 23, 12. 16, 23. 43 either contradict Manu or find no counterpart
therein - analogy of Apastamba sūtras of no use - excepting the three carāṇas of the Black Yajurveda, no carāṇa of any Veda has a dharmasūtra attributed to the founder of that carāṇa - an explanation suggested - existing materials not sufficient to establish theory that a Māṇavadharmasūtra once existed.

Sec. 14 Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya:

First translated by Dr. Shāma Sāstri and text published in 1909 - other editions - numerous works and articles inspired by the publication of Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra - Kauṭiliya is oldest extant work on Arthaśāstra - scope of arthaśāstra and relation to dharmāśāstra - arthaśāstra an upaveda of Atharvaveda - purpose of this śāstra - rule in case of conflict between Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra - Cāṇakya, Kauṭilya and Viṣṇugupta are names of the same person - glowing tribute paid to Cāṇakya or Viṣṇugupta by Kāmadikīyanitisāra, Tantrākhāyikā, Daṇḍin - Bāṇa and Pañcatantra on Kauṭilya as author of Arthaśāstra - Brhatkathā of Guṇādhya contained his story - Mudrārākṣasa connects his name with Kuṭila - controversy as to whether Kauṭiliya can be the work of a busy minister of Candragupta Maurya - Jolly, Winternitz and Keith hold that extant work is not by the minister of Candragupta - Megasthenes' silence about Cāṇakya explained - whether the Kauṭiliya is the product of a school or of an individual author - Kauṭilya's views cited about 70 times in the work in the third person - explanation of this - Dr. Jolly wrong in his explanation of apadeśa (in XV. I) - Keith thinks that an author would not parade an uncomplimentary epithet like Kauṭiliya (derived from kuṭila) - Is the name Kauṭilya or Kauṭalya - works on gotra and pravara give various forms such as Kauṭali, Kauṭilya and Kauṭili - form, style and contents of the Kauṭiliya - a few verses interspersed in the work, generally at the end - in all 340 verses excluding mantras - some verses are certainly quotations - work abounds in numerous technical and rare words - deviations from Pāṇini - summary of contents - section on judicial administration interesting - greatest correspondence between Kauṭiliya and Yājñavalkya - some striking examples - it is Yājñavalkya that borrows - reasons - Yājñavalkya represents a far too advanced stage
of juristic principles than Kautilya - close agreement between Manusmrti and Kautilya also - but they differ on nityoga, as to nomenclature of vyavaharapadas, about heirship of mother and paternal grandmother, on remarriage of widows, divorce, gambling - Kautiliya long anterior to the extant Manusmrti - Kautilya's five references to Manavas explained - references to Svayambhuva and Pracetasa Manu contained in the Mahabharata suggest that there were two works in verse on dharma and politics attributed to these or perhaps one work containing both, subsequently recast as the extant Manusmrti - only two views ascribed to Manavas in Kautilya not found in extant Manusmrti - in the dharmasthiya section the only other authors or schools cited are Barhaspatyas and Auansasas - none of the dharmasutras of Gautama and others are anywhere quoted by name - views cited on the question as to whom a child belongs (to the begetter or to him on whose wife it is begotten) can be traced to Baudhayana, Gautama and Vasiṣṭha - views of Ācāryas cited in the Kautiliya - Kautilya later than Gautama and Āpastamba but earlier than extant Manusmrti - date of Kautilya - it is certainly not later than 2nd century A.D. and not earlier than 325 B.C. - schools named by Kautilya and also individual authors - views of Ācāryas are quoted over fifty times and Kautilya differs in each case - meaning of 'ācāryas' - literature known to Kautilya - Sanskrit official language and the work mentions guṇas of composition - Kautilya agrees with Kāmasūtra in several respects - Dr. Jolly and Prof. Keith opine that both works composed about same time - points of difference between the two works - countries and peoples mentioned by Kautilya -- silks from Cīna and blankets from Nepal - corporations of Lichchavis, Vṛjikas and others mentioned - meaning of 'rājaśabdopajīvinaḥ' (in XI-I) - best breeds of horses - Mlecchas sold or pledged children - references to Buddhists and Ājīvakas - weights to be made from stones of Magadha and Mekala - doubtful whether Kautilya knew extant text of Mahābhārata - most of the stories cited as illustrations by Kautilya occur in the Mahābhārata, but some divergence exists in the case of Janamejaya, Māṇḍavya - Kautilya's knowledge of drugs and of rasa (mercury) - references to shrines of Śiva, Skanda &c. - traditional date of 300 B.C. more likely to be correct than 3rd cen-
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tury A. D. approved of by Dr. Jolly and Winternitz - two commentaries on Kautūliya, Nayacandrikā of Mādhavayajvan and Pratipadapañcikā of Bhāṣṭrāvāmin - sūtras attributed to Cāṇakya - several nīti collections in verse ascribed to Cāṇakya are later than Kautūliya.

Sec. 15 Vaikhānasadharmasūtra:

Vaikhānasa is one of the six sūtra caraṇas of the black Yajurveda mentioned by Mahādeva in his Vaijayanti on Satyāśaḍha śrautasūtra - Vaikhānasa occurs in Gautama, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha (9.10) and Manu (6.21) - Vaikhānasadharmapraisona divided into three prāśnas - contents of the work - its age later than Gautama and Baudhāyana - names more mixed castes than even some of the verse smṛtis - devotion to Nārāyaṇa looms very large in the work - Dr. Caland's view that Manusmṛti borrows from Vaikhānasagṛhyā not correct.

Sec. 16 Atri:

Atri named in Manu (III.16) - Åtreyadharmasāstra in nine adhyāyas - summary of contents - form of Atridharmasāstra - several works styled Atri - smṛti - summary of Atrisamhitā printed by Jivananda - Atri quoted as an authority on adoption - Laghu Atri and Vṛddhātreyasmṛti - Mahābhārata (Anuśasana 65.1) quotes a verse of Atri.

Sec. 17 Uśanas:

Uśanas wrote on politics, as Kautūliya shows - Mahābhārata (Śānti 56.29-30) refers to work of Uśanas on politics - Nītiprakāśikā on Śukra as arranger of rājaśāstra - An Aūśanas dharmaśāstra in verse - contents - peculiar views of Uśanas about offspring of inter-caste marriages - several verses common to Uśanas and Manu - names the views of numerous writers on dharma - Haradatta and Smṛticandrikā knew a work of Uśanas dealing with all branches of dharma - Uśanas smṛti in verse - verses of Uśaras on vyavahāra - Sulamiti-sātra edited by Oppert.

Sec. 18 Kaṇva and Kaṇva:

Ap. Dh. S. (1.6.19) shows that Kaṇva and Kaṇva were two distinct authors - verses of Kaṇva quoted in Smṛticandrikā.
Sec. 19 Kaśyapa and Kaśyapa: ... pp. 117-118

Baudhāyana (Dh. S. I. 11.20) cites a verse in which Kaśyapa's view is contained – there was a dharmasūtra of Kaśyapa - a Kaśyapa smṛti in prose contained in Deccan College Mss. - contents thereof-Smṛticandrikā includes Kaśyapa among 18 upasmṛtis.

Sec. 20 Gārgya: ... p. 119

A sūtra work of Gārgya on dharma existed - Gārgya and Vṛddha Gārgya - a Gārgisamhitā on astronomy and astrology - Jyotir Gārgya and Brhad Gārgya.

Sec. 21 Cyavana: p. 119

Seems to have written a sūtra work on dharma.

Sec. 22 Jatūkarnya: ... pp. 119-120

A verse of Vṛddha Yājñavalkya names Jatūkarnya as a dharma śāstrakāra - quotations in verse in Mitākṣarā and later works.

Sec. 23 Devala: ... p. 120

A dharmasūtra of Devala existed once - Mitākṣarā and other works also contain quotations in verse on acāra, vyavahāra, śrāddha - this latter a later compilation - Devalasmṛti in 90 verses on purifications is also a late work - jurist Devala flourished about the same time as Brhaspati and Kātyāyana.

Sec. 24 Paithinasi: ... pp. 121-122

An ancient sūtrakāra, as Viśvarūpa quotes his sūtras - Dr. Jolly thinks he belongs to Atharvaveda - Paithinasi on satt, inheritance, on absence of untouchability under certain circumstances.

Sec. 25 Budha: ... p. 123

A sūtrakāra cited by Hemādri, Aparārka, Kalpaturu and Jīmūtavāhana - a brief compilation and not very early in age.

Sec. 26 Brhaspati: ... pp. 123-126

An ancient teacher of arthaśāstra mentioned in Kauṭīliya - Mahābhārata (Śānti 59. 80-85) credits him with compression of vast work of Brahmā on trivarga and mentions several of his views - Kāmasūtra speaks of Brhaspati as writer on artha - peculiar views of
Brhaspati according to Kautṣila - Brhaspati also wrote a prose work on vyavahāra and prāyaścitta - probably the authors of the two are different - 700 verses on vyavahāra ascribed to Brhaspati are quoted in the Mitakṣara - this is an independent work composed between 300-500 A. D. - smaller compilations in verse ascribed to Brhaspati - Bṛhaspatya Arthaśāstra edited by Dr. Thomas is a late work.

Sec. 27 Bharadvāja au Bhāradvāja: ... pp. 126-128

A śrūtasūtra and grhya of Bhāradvāja exist - Viśvarūpa's work establishes existence of a sūtra work on dharma of Bhāradvāja - there was smṛti in verse also attributed to Bhāradvāja - Kautṣiliya shows that Bhāradvāja was an ancient author on politics - some views of Bhāradvāja - Mahābhārata on Bhāradvāja - verses on vyavahāra attributed to Bhāradvāja - this probably different from work on politics.

Sec. 28 Satāta: ... pp. 128-129

A sūtra work of Satāta on dharma dealing with prāyaścitta, śraddha and ācāra must have existed - verses of Satāta quoted in Mitakṣara and other later works - this is probably different from smṛti work - several verse compilations ascribed to Satāta - Vṛddha Satāta and Bṛhat Satāta.

Sec. 29 Sumantu: ... pp. 129-131

A sūtra work on ācāra and prāyaścitta ascribed to Sumantu existed - Yājñavalkya and Parāśara do not enumerate Sumantu among expounders of dharma - Sumantu mentioned in Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata - verses from Sumantu on dharma are cited by Aparākṣa - this is a different work - numerous verses on vyavahāra quoted from Sumantu in Sarvasvativilāsa.

Sec. 30 The Smṛtis: ... pp. 131-135

Two senses of the word smṛti, viz. all orthodox ancient non-Vedic works (such as Panini's grammar, Śrūta sūtras, Mahā bhārata Manu, &c.) and (a narrower sense) dharmaśāstra - smṛti, a source of dharma according to Gautama and others - number of smṛtis is went on increasing - Yājñavalkya enumerates twenty writers of smṛtis, Parāśara 19 - Tantravārtika speaks of 18 dharmasamhitās - Catur-
Synopsis of contents

Virāṣātmatā gives views of 24 writers - a smṛti called Śat - triṁśan-
mata - Paśthiṇasi enumerates 36 and so does Aparārka - Vṛddha 
Gautama enumerates 57 - Viramitrodaya enumerates 18 smṛtis, 18 
upasmrīs and 21 more- total number of smṛtis about 100 - these 
are products of widely separated ages - some entirely in prose, some 
entirely in verse, some are mixed - chronology of smṛtis presents 
perplexing problems - two or three smṛtis go under the same name, 
c. g. Hārīṭa, Atri, Śatāṭapa - sectarian zealots fabricate certain 
smṛtis - the prefixes laghu, brhat and vṛddha applied to smṛtis - 
well-known verses are ascribed to different authors, as authors quote 
from memory.

Sec. 31 The Manusmrīti: ... pp. 135-158

Numerous editions - Manu as the father of mankind in the 
Ṛgveda and other Vedas - Manu and the deluge in Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa - Manu in the Nṛukta - Manu quoted as law-giver in Gautama, 
Āpastamba and Mahābhārata - introduction to Nāradasmṛti and 
Manu - how the Manusmrīti is narrated - four versions of Svāyambhuva śāstra according to Bhavīṣyapurāṇa - almost impossible to say 
who composed extant Manusmrīti - Bühler's theory that our Manu 
is a recast of Mānavadharmasūtra shown above to be unsustainable - 
the Mānavagrhya differs from Manusmrīti in several particulars - 
Vināyakaśānti of Mānavagrhya and tests for selecting a bride not 
contained in our Manu - Mahābhārata distinguishes between Svāya-
mbhuva Manu and Prācetasana Manu, former promulgating dharmasāstra - these two works combined in the present Manu - extant 
Manu has 12 chapters and 2694 verses - its style- contents of Manu-
smṛti - extent of literature known to Manusmrīti - the author of the 
Manusmrīti is not the first legislator - age of Manusmrīti - external 
evidence. In the Medhātithi's is first extant commentary - Viṣvaraṇa 
quotes 324 verses - Śaṅkara, Kumārila and Śabara refer to Manu - 
Bṛhaspati had the present text of Manu before him - Áśvaghoṣa in 
his Vajīṣṭhirā quotes several verses from 'Mānavadharma' some of 
which are found in our Manu - Rāmāyaṇa ( Kiśkindhā 18. 30-32 ) 
contain Yajñu VIII. 318 and 316 - Manu attained present form 
long before 2nd century B. C. - there are earlier and later strata in 
Manu - contradictitory statements as to Brāhmaṇa marrying a śūdra 
woman. Appropriate forms of marriage, about niyoga, about 
H. D. D.
flesh-eating - Bühler's conclusion is that cosmological and philosophical portions in 1st and 12th books, rules about mixed castes and duties of castes in 10th book are later additions - all additions made before 3rd century A. D. - Manusmṛiti has not suffered several recasts - quotations cited as Vyṛdha Manu and Br̄han-Manu are later than Manusmṛiti - extant Manu older than Yajñavalkya - Manu mentions Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Śakas, Pahlavas and Cinas - extant Manusmṛiti composed between 2nd century B. C. and 2nd century A. D. - relation of Mahābhārata and Manu - conflict of views between Mandlik, Hopkins and Bühler - Hopkins holds that there was a mass of floating verses ascribed to mythical Manu on which both Manusmṛiti and Mahābhārata drew - Bühler says that the floating mass of verses was not all attributed to Manu - Manu mentions stories and names that occur in the Mahābhārata but these names go into Vedic antiquities - Manu never names the Mahābhārata, while the latter often refers to 'rājadharman or śāstra of Manu' or to 'what Manu said' - Both Hopkins and Bühler hold that the Anuśāsanaparva and Śāntiparva knew a Manusmṛiti, but earlier books, whenever they speak of Manu, refer to floating mass of popular verses - this conclusion not correct final conclusion, viz., long before 4th century B. C. there was a dharmaśāstra in verse attributed to Svāyambhuva Manu, there was another work on rājadharma attributed to Pracetesa Manu, that probably there was one work, then between 200 B. C. and 200 A. D. Manusmṛiti was recast - extant Mahābhārata later than extant Manusmṛiti - influence of Manu spread to Cambodia and other countries beyond India - Manu had several commentators, Medhātithi, Govinda-rāja, Kullūka, Nārāyana, Rāghavānanda, Nandana and Bhacandra - Asahāya commented on Manu - Udayakara is another commentator and so is Dharapidhara - Nārāyana flourished between 1100-1300 A. D. - Rāghavānanda later than 1400 A. D. - Vṛ, lanu and Br̄han-Manu - explanation as to how these originate.

Sec. 32 The two Epics :

Ramāyana is relied upon as a source of dharma less frequently than the Mahābhārata - Ayodhyakāndā as a source contain disquisitions on politics - age of the epics a problem more appropriate for a separate treatise - table in where dharmaśāstra topics occur in the Mahābhārata and the Ramāyana.
Sec. 33 *The Purāṇas:*

Purāṇas as a class of literature mentioned in Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, Chāndogya Upaniṣad, Gautama Dh. S., Mahābhāṣya - extant purāṇas are recasts made of older material - some of the extant Purāṇas like Vāyu earlier than 6th century A. D. Names of principal 18 Purāṇas - 18 Upapurāṇas - Matsyapurāṇa contains much dharmaśāstra material - Agnipurāṇa contains disquisition on rājadharma and chapters 253-258 contain almost the whole of the vyavahāra section of Yajñavalkya - Garuḍapurāṇa borrows about 400 verses from ācāra and prāyaścitta sections of Yajñavalkya - chronology of Purāṇas passed over - Divergence as to the names of the principal 18 purāṇas and as to their extent - Purāṇas very valuable for study of social and religious questions as to mediaval and modern India - Padmapurāṇa divides 18 Purāṇas into three groups of sāttvika, rājasa, tāmasa and divides eighteen smṛtis also in the same way - table showing which dharmaśāstra topics are dealt with in which purāṇa.

Sec. 34 *The Yajñavalkyasmiṃti:*

Yajñavalkya, a name most illustrious among Vedic sages - stories about strained relations between Vaiśampāyana and Yajñavalkya - Yajñavalkya and Janaka in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa - Yajñavalkya, a great philosopher in the Brhadāraṇyaka - Yajñavalkya smṛti claims that the Āraṇyaka and Yogaśāstra were composed by the author of the smṛti - slight variation in the number of verses contained in Yajñavalkyasmiṃti according to Viśvarūpa, Mitākṣara and Aparārka - arrangement of verses different in Viśvarūpa and Mitākṣara, particularly in the prāyaścittakāṇḍa - readings of the two commentators also differ - Agnipurāṇa affords excellent check for consideration of text of Yajñavalkya - Readings of Agnipurāṇa compared with those of Viśvarūpa and the Mitākṣara - conclusion is that the Agnipurāṇa represents a text midway between Viśvarūpa and that of the Mitākṣara - So Agnipurāṇa represents a text of Yajñavalkya current about 900 A. D. - total number of verses on vyavahāra in the Agnipurāṇa is 315, out of which the first 31 are not taken from Yajñavalkya - almost all of these 31 taken from Nārada-Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 93) expressly says that the dharma promulgated by Yajñavalkya was imparted therein - Garuḍa (chap. 93-106
contains dharmashstra material taken from acara and prayaascitta sections of Yajnavalkya - Garuda (93-102) deals with acara and 102-106 with prayaascitta-Garudapurana omits rajadharma section of Yajnavalkya - only a few verses of Yaj. are repeated word for word, while a summary only is given of several verses - comparison of the text of the Garudapurana with Visvarupa's text and that of the Mitaksara - Garudapurana represents text intermediate between Visvarupa and Mitaksara - are there different strata in Yajnavalkya? text mainly the same from 700 a. d. and little evidence to show that the text of Yajnavalkya as we have it contains several strata - comparison of Yajnavalkyasmriti with Manusmriti - close agreement in phrasology between the two - Yajnavalkya usually tries to compress Manu's dicta - Yaj. adds Vinayakasanti and Grahasanti and ordeals, while Manu omits first two and cursorily refers to two ordeals - Yaj. silent on origin of world which we have in Manu - style of Yajnavalkya - contents of smriti - literature known to Yajnavalkyasmriti - enumerates 19 authors on dharma - close agreement between Vishnu Dh. S. and Yajnavalkya and between Kautilya and Yaj. - Manu and Yaj. differ on several points and Yaj. represents a more advanced state of thought than Manu - Manu allows brahmaça to marry sudra girl, Yaj. does not - Manu condemns niyoga, Yaj. does not - same case with gambling - Yaj. takes Vayakasanti from Manavagrhya - Yajnavalkyasmriti in intimate relation to white Yajurveda and literature appurtenant to it - Yajnavalya closely agrees with Paraskaragrhya - Dr. Jolly's theory that Yajnavalkya's work goes back to a dharmasutra of White Yajurveda without foundation - date of Yajnavalkyasmriti - Visvarupa separated from the smriti by several centuries - probable date of Yajnavalkya between 100 B. C. and 300 A. D. - Lankavatarasutra (gathas 814-811) refers to Yajnavalkyasmriti - Dr. Jolly thinks that Yaj. shows acquaintance with Greek astrology - Dr. Jacob's theory that naming of week days after planets first introduced by Greeks and borrowed by Indians - these theories untenable - Yaj. does not mention week days, but only the nine planets (in I. 296) - Yaj. does not mention the zodiacal signs - he arranges the nakshatras from Krutika to Bharani (I. 268) as the Taatiriyabrahmana does - 'susthe itdau' in Yaj. explained by Visvarupa without reference to zodiacal signs from Vedic times nakshatras divided into auspicious and inauspicious - Yajnavalkya's reference to nanakas - Yaj. regards sight of yellow-
robed people as an evil omen – Dr. Jolly's date of 400 A.D. for Yājñavalkya is far too late – there is a Vṛddha-Yāj., a Yoga-Yāj., and a Brhad-Yāj. – Yoga-Yājñavalkya existed much earlier than 800 A. D. as Vācaspatimiśra quotes a half verse from Yoga-Yāj. and Aparārka quotes profusely from him – mss. of Yoga-Yājñavalkya in Deccan College collection in 12 chapters and 495 verses and of Brhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya in 12 chapters and 920 verses – Yoga-Yājñavalkya and Brhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya of the mss. are entirely different works – several commentaries on Yājñavalkya, viz. of Viśvarūpa, Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka and Śūlapāṇi.

Sec. 35 Parāśarasamṛti:

Yāj. mentions Parāśara, but the extant Parāśarasamṛti is probably a recast of an older smṛti – Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 107) gives a summary of 39 verses of Parāśarasamṛti – From Kauṭilya it appears there was a work of Parāśara on politics - extant Parāśara in 12 chapters and 592 verses deals with ācāra and prāyaścitta alone – Parāśara, an ancient name – Parāśara mentions 19 smṛti writers – contents of the smṛti – Parāśara has peculiar views – authors cited by Parāśara – views of Manu frequently cited – several identical verses in Manu and Parāśara – age of Parāśarasamṛti between 100-500 A.D. – a Brhat-Parāśara saṁhitā in 12 chapters and 3000 verses – contents thereof – it is a late work – Vṛddha Parāśara quoted by Aparārka.

Sec. 36 The Nāradasmṛti:

Two versions of Nārada on vyavahāra, a smaller and a larger one – comp. of Asahāya as revised by Kalyāṇabhatta is contained in Dr. Jolly’s edition – Nārada not mentioned by Yāj. or Parāśara in list of expounders of dharma – three introductory chapters on judicial procedure and on sābhā, then 18 vyavahārapadas, then an appendix on theft from Nepal ms. – some difference in the names of titles between Nārada and Manu – printed Nārada contains 1028 verses – about 700 verses of Nārada quoted in Digests – Viśvarūpa’s and Medhākṣiti’s quotations from Nārada agree with printed Nārada – Agniapurāṇa chap. 253 contains thirty verses of Nāradasmṛti defining the eighteen titles from ṛṇādana to prakīrmaka in the same order – Nārada’s verses on ācāra, śraddha and prāyaścitta quoted in Smṛti Candrīśa, Hemādri – probably this is a different Nārada – form, style and metre of Nārada – Literature known to Nārada – 50 verses
Sec. 41 Karpūjini : ... p. 223

Sec. 42 Caturvimsatimata : ... p. 223-225

Embodying in 525 verses the opinions of 24 sages - contents quoted by Mitakṣarā and Aparārka, but not by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi - probably compiled about 8th or 9th century A. D. - Bhāṭṭoji commented upon it.

Sec. 43 Dakṣa : ... pp. 225-226

Mentioned by Yāj. - Viśvarūpa quotes him several times - Aparārka quotes a prose passage - contents of printed Dakṣasmṛti in 220 verses.

Sec. 44 Pitāmaha : ... pp. 226-227

Quotations from Pitāmaha occur mostly on vyavahāra, particularly ordeals - he treats of nine ordeals - 50 chalās enumerated by Pitāmaha in which king took action without a complaint - views peculiar to Pitāmaha, viz. 18 lowest castes, eight constituents of hall of justice, &c. - mentions Brhaspati - flourished between 400-700 A. D.

Sec. 45 Pulastya : ... p. 228

An expounder of dharma named in a verse of Viśha Yājñavalkya - Viśvarūpa, Mitakṣarā, Aparārka cite many verses on ālānika and śraddha - Dānaratnākara cites a prose passage - Pulastya-composed between 4th and 7th century A. D.

Sec. 46 Pracetās : ... p. 229

A dharmaśāstra writer mentioned by Parāśara, though not by Yāj. - prose and verse quotations cited by Mitakṣarā &d Aparārka - a few prose quotations in Haradatta on Gautama al Smṛticandrika - Vṛddha Pracetās and Brhat Pracetās.

Sec. 47 Prajāpatī : ... pp229-230

Prajāpati cited as authority by Baudhāyana Dh. S. ( I 4. 15 ) and Vasiṣṭha ( III. 47 &c. ) - they mean probably Manu's compilation in 198 verses ascribed to Prajāpati - Mit. and Aparāṣa and others quote Prajāpati on āśauca, prāyaścitta, śraddha, ordeals and vyavahāra.
Sec. 48 Martci : ... pp. 230–231

Quoted on ahnika, asauca, sraddha and vyavahara by Mitakṣara, Apararaka and Smrticandrikā – recommends writing as essential for sale, mortgage, gift and partition of immovables.

Sec. 49 Yama : ... pp. 231–235

Yama quoted in Vas. Dh. S. (18. 13-15 and 19. 48) – various printed compilations in verse ascribed to Yama — Brhad Yama in 5 chapters and 182 verses—Viśvarūpa and others quote about a hundred verses of Yama on all topics including vyavahara—some of these found in printed text – a few prose passages of Yama quoted by Aparāraka – Anuśasanaparva 104. 72-74 quotes gāthās of Yama – some views of Yama on vyavahāra set out - Brhad Yama, Laghu Yama and Svalpa Yama.

Sec. 50 Laugāksi : ... pp. 235–236

Mitakṣara quotes verses on asauca and prayaścitta, while Aparāraka quotes prose and verse pāssages on saṁskāras, vaiśvadeva &c.

Sec. 51 Viśvāmitra : ... p. 236

Named by Vṛddha Yājñavalkya – verses quoted on all topics except vyavahāra.

Sec. 52 Vyāsa : ... pp. 236–238

Printed compilation ascribed to Vyāsa in 250 verses – contents – about two hundred verses of Vyāsa on vyavahāra cited in Aparāraka, Smrticandrikā and other works – his doctrines closely agree with those of Nārada, Brhaspati and Kāśyapa – some of his views on vyavahāra set out – flourished between 200-500 A. D. – Aparāraka cites many verses from Vyāsa on saṁskāras, sraddha &c. – probably Vyāsa the jurist is identical with the latter – Gadya-Vyāsa, Vṛddha-Vyāsa and Brhad-Vyāsa, Mahāvyāsa and Laghu Vyāsa.

Sec. 53 Sat-triṁśan-māta : ... pp. 238–239

This was a compilation like Caturviṁśati-mata – quotations from it cited in Kalpataru, Mitakṣara, Smrticandrikā and Aparāraka – Viśvarūpa and Medhatithi do not mention it – date between 700-900 A. D. – no verse quoted from this on vyavahāra.
Sec. 54 Sanāgraha or Smrtisānāgraha: ... pp. 239-242

Quoted by Mitāksāra, Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā on several topics of dharma—quotations on vyavahāra are many and important for history of Hindu Law—views of Sanāgrahakāra and Dhāreśvara coincide in many respects and were criticized by Mitāksāra—date of Sanāgraha between 8th and 10th centuries.

Sec. 55 Saṁvarta: ... pp. 242-244

Mentioned as dharmaśastrakāra by Yāj.—cited on all topics of dharma by Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, Mitāksāra—Aparārka quotes about 200 verses—some of his views on vyavahāra—contents of printed Saṁvarta in 230 verses—Bṛhat Saṁvarta and Svalpa Saṁvarta.

Sec. 56 Hārīta: ... p. 244

Verses from Hārīta on vyavahāra deserve special treatment—some of his views set out, e.g. definition of vyavahāra, four aspects of vyavahāra, importance of writing, defects of plaint and reply, protection of long possession, when title by itself is decisive against long possession, five kinds of sureties, treatment of erring wives—his date between 400-700 A. D.

Sec. 57 Commentaries and Nibandhas: ... pp. 246-247

Dharmaśāstra literature falls into three periods, the first from 600 B. C. to 100 A. D. being the period of the dharmaśūtras and of the Manusmṛti, the 2nd from 100 A. D. to 800 A. D. of Yajñavalkya and other smṛtis and third from 700 to 1800 of commentators and authors of digests—first part of this last period contains commentaries—digests written from 11th century—no hard and fast line between commentaries and digests—these to be treated of in chronological order as far as possible.

Sec. 58 Asahāya: ... pp. 247-251

Portion of his bhaṣya on Nārada (up to verse 21 of abhyupetyāśuṣrūṣā) published by Dr. Jolly—Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa revised it—exact relationship of Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa’s revision to original not clear, but he took great liberties—Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa was encouraged by
Keśavabhāṣṭa – Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (III. 263-264) mentions Asahāya by name and quotes latter’s explanation of Gautama 22. 13. - Hāralatā of Aniruddha speaks of bhāṣya of Asahāya on Gautama – from a passage of Sarasvatīvilāsa it appears that Asahāya commented on Manu also - Medhātithi on Manu 8. 156 quotes Asahāya - Mitākṣarā mentions the views of Asahāya – date of Asahāya between 600-750 A.D. – a few views of Asahāya set out, viz. definition of dāya, succession to Śulka of a woman, succession to a childless brāhmaṇa.

Sec. 59 Bhartriyajña : ... pp. 251-252

An ancient Bhāṣyakāra mentioned by Medhātithi ( on Manu 8. 3 ) – his views cited by Trikāṇḍaṃaṇḍana – he wrote bhāṣya on Kātyāyana śrutasūtra and Pāraskara grhyasūtra – probably he commented on Gautamadharmasūtra – flourished about 800 A.D.

Sec. 60 Viśvarūpa : ... pp. 252-264

His commentary called Bālakriḍā on Yāj. published at Trivandrum - Mitākṣarā refers to it in introductory verses and on Yāj. (I. 80 and III. 24) – printed com. of Viśvarūpa on vyavāhāra portion of Yāj. is very meagre - literature referred to or quoted by Viśvarūpa - most of the quotations from Svāyambhuva found in extant Manu, but not so those ascribed to Bhṛgu – quotes prose passages of Brhaspati on vyavahāra – quotes a verse of Viśālakṣa on politics and refers to arthaśāstras of Brhaspati and Uśanas - Kautīlya not named, yet Viśvarūpa seems to have had his work before him - Viśvarūpa’s work saturated with doctrines of Pūrvamimāṁsā - quotes Śabara and Ślokavārtika - quotes his own kārikās on Yāj. I. 7. and other places – his philosophical views identical with Śaṅkaracārya’s - Dr. Jolly’s view that citations of Viśvarūpa in the Smṛticandrika on certain points not traced in the printed Bālakriḍā examined and shown to be incorrect – some citations of Viśvarūpa’s views in Grhastraratnākara and Hemādri not found in printed text of Viśvarūpa – points in which Viśvarūpa and Mitākṣarā differ set out - Viśvarūpa must have flourished between 750 and 1000 A.D. – If Viśvarūpa identical with Suresvara, pupil of Śaṅkara, then he flourished between 800-850 - reasons for identity set out - Maṇḍana and
Sureśvara not identical – Bhavabhūti and Umbeka identical, but not same as Sureśvara – a digest called Viṣvarūpānibandha by another Viṣvarūpa – a Viṣvarūpasamuccaya mentioned by Raghunandana.

Sec. 61 Bhāruci:

His views quoted by Mitākṣarā on Yāj. I. 81 and II. 124 – a Bhāruci mentioned as an ancient teacher of Viśiṣṭādvaita system by Rāmānujācārya in his Vedārthasaṅgraha – Bhāruci the philosopher is probably identical with Bhāruci the jurist – from notices in the Sarasvatīvilāsa Bhāruci seems to have commented on the Viṣṇudharmasūtra – Bhāruci and Mitākṣarā disagreed on numerous points.

Sec. 62 Śrikara:

Views of Śrikara set out – first writer to propound the view that spiritual benefit was the criterion for judging of superior rights to succession – probably a Maithila – difficult to say whether he wrote a commentary or an independent digest – flourished between 800–1050 A. D.

Sec. Medhātithi:

Wrote an extensive commentary on Manu - printed bhāṣya corrupt in 8th, 9th and 12th chapters - reference to king Madana having restored Medhātithi’s bhāṣya explained – Dr. Jolly says Medhātithi was a southerner – this is wrong – He was a northerner and probably a Kashmirian – literature known to Medhātithi – smṛtis quoted by him – mentions Asahāya, Bhatṛyajña, Yajvan, Upādhyāya, Rju, Viṣṇusvāmin - Medhātithi saturated with Pūrva-mimāṃsā – his reference to Śārīraka explained – Medhātithi and Śaṅkarācārya – peculiar views of Medhātithi set out – wrote Smṛti-viveka from which he quotes verses in his Manubhāṣya – date of Medhātithi – flourished between 825–900 A. D.

Sec. 64 Dhāresvara Bhojadeva:

Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. II. 135 and III 24) mentions, views of Dhāresvara – Dhāresvara is to be identified with king Bhojadeva of Dhrā – works on numerous branches of knowledge attributed to Bhoja of Dhrā such as on Poetics, Rājagrānḫa (on astronomy), a com. on Yogasūtras - Śuddhikaumudi of Govindaśānta mentions
Rājāmārtanda of Bhoja on srāḍḍha - Mitakṣara and Dhāreśvara disagree on several points, e.g. on the question whether ownership was known from śāstra alone, on the meaning of 'duhitaraḥ' in Yāj. - on other points the two agree - Bhūpālapaddhati or simply Bhūpāla or rāja refers to a work of Bhojadēva - Bhujabalabhima of Bhoja-rāja quoted in Tithitattva and Āhnikatattva of Raghunandana as distinct from the Rājāmārtanda - Bhoja reigned from 1000 to 1055 A.D. - Dharmapradipa of Bhoja is the work of another Bhoja, who was son of Bhāramalla and king of Āśāpura - it was written between 1400-1600 A.D.

Sec. 65 Devasvāmin:

Said by Śrātticandrīkā to have composed a digest of śrāttis - Nārāyana, commentator of Āśvalāyanagṛhya, relies on bhāṣya of Devasvāmin - he composed a digest on ācāra, vyavahāra and āśauca - Śrātticandrīkā quotes his views on the meaning of Yautaka, on the meaning of duhitaraḥ in Yāj., on Manu 9. 141 - A Devasvāmin commented on Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtras and on the Saṃkarṣakāṇḍa - difficult to say whether he is identical with the writer on dharma-śāstra - Devasvāmin flourished about 1000-1050 A.D.

Sec. 66 Jitendriya:

He is frequently quoted by Jīmūtavāhana in his three works - Jitendriya held that the wives of a person whether separated or joint succeeded to their deceased husband - no early writer other than Jīmūtavāhana cites him - flourished between 1000-1050 A.D.

Sec. 67 Bālaka:

Mentioned by Jīmūtavāhana, Šūlapāni, Raghunandana - several views of Bālaka set out - flourished before 1100 A.D.

Sec. 68 Bālārūpa:

The opinions of Bālārūpa are cited in the Śrāttisāra and Vivādacandra - also in the Vivādacintāmani - he wrote at least on vyavahāra and Kāla - Bālaka and Bālārūpa are probably identical - Bālārūpa is certainly earlier than 1250 A.D. - Vivādacandra once speaks of 'author of Bālārūpa', suggesting thereby that Bālārūpa was a work.
Sec. 69 Yogloka:

Known only from works of Jimūtavahana and Raghunandana - Jimūtavahana only rarely agrees with him and generally criticizes him and taunts him with being a logician merely - Brhad Yogloka and Svalpa Yogloka - Yogloka wrote at least on vyavahāra and Kāla - flourished between 950-1050.

Sec. 70 Vijñāneśvara:

The unique position of the Mitākṣarā on account of being esteemed as of paramount authority by British Indian courts - the several names of the Mitākṣarā - quotes a host of smṛti writers and six predecessors as authors of commentaries and digests - personal history of Vijñāneśvara - profound student of pūrvamimāṃsā - date of Vijñāneśvara - between 1070-1100 - out of many commentators of the Mitākṣarā three famous - peculiar doctrines of the Mitākṣarā - seems to have been author of Aśaucadaśaka also - several commentaries on Aśaucadaśaka by Harihara, Raghunātha and Bhaṭṭojī - Vijñāneśvara not the author of Triṃsat-ślokī - Nārāyaṇa, a pupil of Vijñāneśvara, wrote Vyavahāra-śīromāni.

Sec. 71 Kamadhenu:

An ancient digest not yet discovered - quoted by Kalpataru, Haralata, and other works - Gopāla, the author of Kamadhenu - Aulrecht's view that Śambhu is the author of Kamadhenu wrong - Śambhu is a nibandhakāra on dharma cited by Smṛticandrikā and Hemādi - Mr. Jayasval wrongly ascribes Kamadhenu to Bhoja - probable date of Kamadhenu between 1000-1100 A.D.

Sec. 72 Halāyudha:

A jurist quoted by Kalpataru, Smṛrisāra and other works - he flourished between 1000-1100 A.D. - he was probably a Maithila or a Bengal writer - Halāyudha, author of Abhidhānaratnamāla, Kavirahasya and Mṛtasaṅjivani (com. on chandah-sūtra), is different - he hailed from the Deccan and flourished between 940-995 A.D. - another Halāyudha, author of Brāhmaṇasarvasva - personal history of this Halāyudha - judge of Laksmaṇasena, king of Bengal - Halāyudha's literary activity between 1175-1200 A.D. - another Halāyudha, author of Prakāśa, commentary on the śrāddhakalpasūtra of Kātyāyana - he flourished between 1150 and 1500 A.D.
Synopsis of contents

Sec. 73 Bhavadevabhaṭṭa:

Author of Vyavahāratilaka - also of Karmānuṣṭhānapaddhati or Daśakarmapaddhati - contents of latter - another work is Prāyaś-
cittanirūpaṇa - light on personal history of Bhavadeva in inscription
at Bhuveneśvara - he was a great builder of temples and tanks -
flourished between 1050-1150 A. D. - Bhavadeva and Pradīpa - other
authors on dharmaśāstra named Bhavadeva.

Sec. 74 Prakāśa:

An ancient work on vyavahāra, dāna, śrāddha &c. - whether
an independent digest is doubtful - was probably a commentary on
Yājñavalkyasmṛti composed between 1000-1100 A. D. - Mahārṇava-
prakāśa, Smṛtimahārṇava or Mahārṇava quoted by Hemādri are all
names for the same work - probably Prakāśa and Smṛtimahārṇava-
prakāśa are identical.

Sec. 75 Pārijāta:

Several works on dharma end in Pārijāta - an ancient work
called Pārijāta quoted by Kalpataru - it dealt with at least vyavahāra,
dāna - composed between 1000-1125 A. D.

Sec. 76 Govindarāja

Wrote com. on Manusmṛti and a work called Smṛtimaṇḍji -
personal history of Govindarāja - he is not to be identified with king
Govindacandra of Benares - Kullūka frequently criticizes Govindar-
āja - contents of Smṛtimaṇḍji - date of Govindarāja between
1050-1140 A. D.

Sec. 77 The Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara:

An extensive work which exercised great influence over early
Mithila and Bengal writers - personal history of Lakṣmīdhara - work
divided into fourteen kāṇḍas - their arrangement - contents of vyava-
hāra, rājadharmā and dāna kāṇḍas - date of Kalpataru between
1100-1150 A. D. - Caṇḍeśvara borrowed extensively from Kalpataru.

Sec. 78 Jimatavahana:

He is first of the three great Bengal writers on dharmaśāstra -
only three works known, Kālaviveka, Vyavahāramātrkā and Dāya-
bhāga - these three parts of a projected digest called Dharmaratna -
object and contents of Kālaviveka - works quoted in Kālaviveka -
profound study of Pūrvamimāṃsā displayed therein - contents of
Vyavahāra-mārka - works quoted in it - Dāyabhāga most famous
of his works and of paramount authority in Bengal on Hindu Law -
contents of Dāyabhāga - doctrines peculiar to Dāyabhāga - authors
and works named in the Dāyabhāga - personal history of Jimūtavā-
hana - his date - divergent views - literary activity lies between
1090-1130 A. D. - Did Jimūtavāhana know the Mitākṣarā?

Sec. 79 Aparārka:

Wrote a voluminous commentary on Yājñavalkyasmrī -
authors and works quoted by Aparārka - studiously avoids naming
his predecessors who were writers of digests - peculiar views of
Aparārka - evidence to show that Aparārka knew the Mitākṣarā -
date of Aparārka - Srīmānticandrīkritizes Aparārka - Aparārka was
a Śilāhara prince - inscriptions of Śilāhāras - commentary written
about 1125 A. D.

Sec. 80 Pradīpa:

An independent work on vyavahāra, śṛāddha, śuddhi and other
topics - between 1100-1150 A. D.

Sec. 81 Srīvyāraḥasāra of Śrīdhera:

Contents of - personal history of Śrīdhera - authors and works
relied on as authorities - Śrīdhera probably composed another larger
work - date between 1150-1200 A. D.

Sec. 82 Aniruddha:

An early and eminent Bengal writer - wrote Hāralatā and Pi-
tṛdayitā alias Karmopadesinipaddhati - contents of Hāralatā and of
Pitṛdayitā - authors and works named in them - personal history of
Aniruddha - flourished in 3rd quarter of 12th century.

Sec. 83 Ballalasena:

Compiled at least four works, Acārasāgara, Adbhutasāgara,
Dānasāgara, Pratiṣṭhāsāgara - subjects dealt with in Dānasāgara -
Adbhutasāgara left incomplete and finished by his son Lakṣmāna-
sena - Dānasāgara valuable for checking the text of the Purāṇas -
literary activity in 3rd quarter of 13th century, as Dānasāgara was composed in 1091 - Aniruddha was guru of Ballalasena.

Sec. 84 Harihara:

A writer on vyavahāra - he flourished before 1300 A. D. - Harihara composed commentary on Pāraskaraghryasūtra - this Harihara flourished between 1150 and 1250 A. D. - whether he was pupil of Vījñānesvara - a Harihara comments on Āsaucadaśaka - jurist Harihara probably identical with bhāsyakāra of Pāraskara - several Hariharas known.

Sec. 85 Smṛticandrika of Devanyabhatṭa:

An extensive digest - printed text deals with saṁskāra, ācāra, vyavahāra, śārddha and āśauca - he wrote on prāyaścitta also - name variously written - profusely quotes Smṛtikāras, 600 verses of Kātyāyana alone on vyavahāra being quoted - authors and works named - author a southerner - contents - points in which Mitakṣarā and Smṛticandrika differ - date between 1150 and 1225 A. D. - several works named Smṛticandrika.

Sec. 86 Haradatta:

His fame high as a commentator - his Anākulā on Āpamitāgrhya, Anāvila on Āśvalayanagrhya, Mitakṣarā on Gautamadharmaśūtra, Ujjvalā on Āpamitādharmaśūtra and a com. on the Āpamitāmantrapāṭha - explains grammatical peculiarities at great length - he was a southerner - a great devotee of Śiva - tradition says Rudradatta and Haradatta are identical - Haradatta on widow's right of succession - interesting information from Haradatta - date, a difficult problem - between 1100-1300 A. D. - Haradatta, commentator of dharmaśāstra works, is identical with Haradatta, author of Padamaniśri - Haradattacārya mentioned in Bhaviṣyottarapurāna and Śivarahasya is probably the Haradattacārya cited in Sarvadarśanasamgraha - Hariharatāratamya and Caturvedatātparyasamgraha are works ascribed to Haradatta.

Sec. 87 Hemādri:

He and Mādhava the two outstanding dāksinātya writers on dharmaśāstra - his Caturvargacintamani is a huge work of an ency.
clopopædic character—projected to contain five sections—printed parts comprise vrata, dāna, śrāddha and kāla—Hemādri a profound student of Pūrvamimāṃsa—predecessors named by him—personal history of Hemādri—his connection with Yādavas of Devagiri—genealogy of the Yādavas—Caturvargacintāmaṇi composed about 1270 A. D. —com. on Śaunaka’s Prāṇavakalpa and a śrāddhalakalpa according to Kātyāyana are attributed to him—Vopadeva, a friend and a protege of Hemādri—references to Hemādri’s work in grants.

Sec. 88 Kullūkabhaṭṭa:

A famous commentator of Manuṣmṛti—he drew largely upon Medhātithi’s bhāṣya and Govindarāja—Sir William Jones on Kullūka—authors and works quoted by him—personal history—he wrote Smṛti-viveka, of which Aśaucaśāgara, Śrāddhasāgara and Vi-vādasāgara were parts—contents of Śrāddhasāgara—this is full of Pūrvamimāṃsa discussions—date of Kullūka uncertain—flourished between 1150–1300 A. D.

Sec. 89 Śrīdatta Upādhyāya:

One of the earliest nibandhakāras on dharmaśāstra from Mithilā—contents of Ācārādarśa and authors quoted therein—his Candogāh-nika—his Pitṛbhakti—authors quoted in it—his Śrāddhalakalpa—his Samayapradipa—contents of the work—flourished between 1200–1300 A. D., probably about 1275–1300 A. D.—another Śrīdattamāisṛa, a Maithila writer, who flourished towards end of 14th century.

Sec. 90 Caṇḍīśvara:

Most prominent among Maithila nibandhakāras—compiled extensive digest called Smṛtiratnakāra in seven sections on dāna, kṛtya vyavahāra, śuddhi, pūja, vivāda and grhashtha—contents of Kṛtyar- ratnakāra, Grhashharatnakāra, Dānaratnakāra, Vivādaratnakāra and other ratnakāras—he also compiled Kṛtyacintāmaṇi, the Rājaniti-ratnakāra, Dānnavyāvali and Śivavākyāvali—contents of Rājaniti-ratnakāra—he drew principally upon five viz. Kāmadhenu, Kalpataru, Paṇijāta, Prakāśa and Halāyudha—authors and works quoted—personal history of Caṇḍīśvara—genealogy—he was minister of Harisimhadeva of Mithilā and later of Bhaveśa and weighed himself against gold in 1314 A. D.—literary activity between 1314–1370 A. D.
Sec. 91 Harinātha: ... pp. 372-374

Author of a digest called Smṛtisāra - names numerous authorities - contents - flourished in first half of 14th century - several works styled Smṛtisāra.

Sec. 92 Madhavacārya: ... pp. 374-381

The most eminent of dākṣinātya writers on dharmaśāstra - two works on dharmaśāstra deserve special notice, viz. Parāśara Mādhavā and Kālanirṇaya - authors and works quoted in them - contents of Kālanirṇaya - family and personal history of Mādhavacārya - his brother Sāyaṇa - Mādhava founded Vijayanagar in 1335 A. D. - pedigree of Vijayanagar kings - the two works were composed between 1340-1360 A. D. - literary activity of Mādhava Vidyārāṇya between 1330-1385 A. D. - Mādhava Vidyārāṇya different from Mādhava mantrin who was governor of Banavase and Goa - several commentaries of Kālanirṇaya.

Sec. 93 Madanapāla and Viśvesvarabhaṭṭa: ... 381-389

Four works attributed to Madanapāla, a great patron of learning like Bhoja, viz. Madanapārijāta, Smṛtimahārṇava or Madanamaḥārṇava, Tithinirṇayasāra and Smṛtikaumudi - Madanapārijāta really composed by Viśvesvarabhaṭṭa - contents of Madanapārijāta - Mahārṇava ascribed to Māndhātā, a son of Madanapāla - principal topics of the work - Tithinirṇayasāra - Smṛtikaumudi deals with dharmas of Sudras - contents - all the above four works probably composed by Viśvesvarabhaṭṭa - Subodhini, com. on Mitākṣara by Viśvesvarabhaṭṭa is a leading authority in Benares school of Hindu Law - pedigree of Madanapāla - other works on astronomy and medicine attributed to Madanapāla - date of Madanapāla, between 1300-1400 A. D. - Madanavindanighanta composed in 1431 of Vīkrama era i. e. 1375 A. D.

Sec. 94 Madanaratna: ... pp. 389-393

An extensive digest on dharmaśāstra, variously styled - seven uddyotas of it on samaya, ācāra, vyavahāra, prāyaścitta, dāna, buddhi, śānti - contents of uddyotas on samaya, dāna, and śānti - work composed under Madanasimhadeva, son of Śaktisimhadeva - pedigree of the family - Madanasimha called together four learned men,
Ratnākara, Gopinātha, Viśvanātha and Gaṅgādhara, and entrusted composition of work to them - date of Madanaratna between 1350-1500, probably about 1425-50.

Sec. 95 Śulapāṇi:

His authority in Bengal is next only to Jimūtavāhana's - Dipakalika, commentary on Yājñavalkya, his earliest work - holds archaic views on inheritance - his Smṛtiviveka, of which fourteen parts ending in 'viveka' are known - Durgotsavaviveka is amongst his latest works - Śrāddhaviveka is his most famous work - authors and works named by him - personal history little known - exact age uncertain - flourished between 1375-1460 A.D.

Sec. 96 Rudradhora:

A Maithila writer - wrote Śrāddhaviveka, Śuddhiviveka, Vratapaddhati and Varsakṛtya, the first being the most famous of his works - flourished between 1425-1460 A.D.

Sec. 97 Misarumitra:

Wrote Vivādacandra - contents - work composed under orders of queen Lachimādevi, wife of prince Candrasimha of Mithila - flourished about 1450 A.D.

Sec. 98 Vācaspatumiśra:

The foremost nibandhakāra of Mithilā - his Vivādacintāmaṇi of paramount authority on matters of Hindu Law in Mithila - a voluminous writer - several works of his styled Cintāmaṇi on acāra, āhṇika, kṛtya, tirtha, dvaita, niti, vivāda, vyavahāra, śuddhi, śūdrācara, śrāddha - works named by him - a group of his works ends in 'nirnaya' viz. Tithinirnaya, Dvaitanirnaya, Mahādānanirnaya, Vivādanirnaya, Śuddhinnirnaya, - he also contemplated writing seven works styled Mahāpravaya on kṛtya, acāra, vivāda, vyavahāra, dāna, śuddhi and pītrajñā - other works of his - Śrāddhabalpa or Pitrbhaktitarangini his last work - personal history of Vācaspati - connected with king Bhairava and his son Rāmabhadra - genealogy of Kāmesvara kings - Vācaspati flourished between 1425-1480 A.D. - philosopher Vācaspati different.

Sec. 99 Nṛsimhaprasāda:

An encyclopædic work - divided into 12 sections called 'sāra' - the author's name variously given as Dalapati or Daladhiśa - personal
history - writers and works named - contents of the work - flourished between 1400-1510 A. D., probably about 1490 to 1510.

Sec. 100 Pratāparudradeva:

He was king of the Gajapati dynasty in Orissa and composed Sarasvatīvilāsa - pedigree and history of family - purpose and contents of Sarasvatīvilāsa - works quoted - composed between 1497-1539 A. D. - Foulke's theory about date not acceptable - the Pratāpamārtanda or Praudhapratāpamārtanda of Pratāparudradeva.

Sec. 101 Govindānanda:

Author of Dānakaumudi, Śuddhikaumudi, Śrāddhakaumudi and Varṣakriyakaumudi and a com. called Arthakaumudi on the Śuddhidipikā of Śrīnivāsa and a com. Tattvarthakaumudi on the Prāyaścitattiveka of Śūlapaṇi- literary activity between 1500-1540 A. D.

Sec. 102 Raghunandana:

Last great writer of Bengal on dharmāstātra - wrote an encyclopaedia called Smṛtitattva in 28 sections - names over 300 authors and works - 28 tattvas enumerated - other works besides these 28 - wrote also com. on Dāyabhāga - personal history - authors and works quoted - flourished between 1500-1575.

Sec. 103 Nārāyaṇabhatta:

The most famous member of the Bhaṭṭa family of Benares - personal history - born in 1513 A. D. - among his works are Antyeṣṭipaddhati, Tristhalisétu, Prayogaratna, and com. on verses of Kālamādhava - literary activity between 1540-1570 A. D. - Nārāyaṇa author of Dharmaprabhṛtti different.

Sec. 104 Toḍarānanda:

An encyclopaedia on dharma, several parts of which were called Saukhya - authors and works quoted - personal history of Toḍaramalla - he died in 1589.

Sec. 105 Nandapanḍita:

A voluminous writer on dharmāstātra - author of com. on Pārāśarasmrī and on the Mitākṣara of Vijnāneśvara - his Śrāddha-
kalpatala - his Siddhicandrika, a com. on the Šaḍaśiti - his work styled Sr̥tr̥sisindhu and a summary of it styled Tattvamuktavali - his Vaijayanti, a com. on Viṣṇudharmanāṭra - his agreements and disagreements with Mitākṣarā - Dattaka-mimāṁsā, his most famous work - it is regarded by British Indian courts and Privy Council as standard work on adoption - his views set out - personal history - he had various patrons - his thirteen works - Vaijayanti composed in 1623 A.D.

Sec. 104 Kamalākarabhaṭṭa:

Grandson of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa - personal history - composed more than 22 works on several śāstras - about a dozen works on dharmasastra, the Nirṇayasindhu, Śūdrakamalākara and Vivādatanāḍava being most famous - he meant all the works on dharmasastra to be parts of a digest called Dharmatattva - contents of Pūrtakamalākara, Śāntiratna, Vivādatanāḍava, Śūdrakamalākara and Nirṇayasindhu - the last, one of his earliest works composed in 1612 A.D. and so his literary activity lies between 1610-1650 A.D.

Sec. 107 Nilakanṭhabhaṭṭa:

Grandson of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa - personal history - his work Bhagavantabhāskara divided into twelve mayūkhas composed in honour of Bhagavantadeva, Bundella chieftain - also wrote Vyavahāratattva - estimate of his qualities as a writer - his Vyavahārāmayūkha is of paramount authority on Hindu Law in Gujerat, Bombay Island and North Konkan - his literary activity - flourished between 1610-1650 - divergence of views between the cousins Kamalākara and Nilakanṭha.

Sec. 108 The Viramitrootada of Mitramiśra:

Viramitrootada, a vast digest composed by Mitramiśra on all topics of dharmasastra - sections called prakāśas - contents of the printed prakāśas on Laksana, āhnika, vyavahāra, tīrtha, pūjā, saṁskāra, rājanīti - highly controversial work - generally follows Viṅṇāneśvara, but at times severely criticizes him - a work of high authority in Benares school of modern Hindu Law - Mitramiśra also wrote a commentary on Yājñavalkyasmrī - personal history - account
and pedigree of his patron Virasimha – meaning of title 'Viramitrodaya' – his literary activity lay in the first half of the 17th century.

Sec. 109 Anantadeva:

Composed a vast digest called Smṛtikaustubha on saṃskāra, ācāra, rājadharma, dāna, utsarga, pratiṣṭhā, tithi and sarīvatsara - Saṃskārakaustubha is most popular work - contents of Saṃskārakaustubha - portion of it on adoption called Dattakadidhiti - summary of important views on adoption - contents of Abdadidhiti and Rājadharmakaustubha - pedigree of his patron's family - Anantadeva wrote at command of Baz Bahadurcandra - Anantadeva was great-grand-son of Ekanātha, a great Marathi poet and saint - his younger brother Jivadeva - literary activity between 1645–1695.

Sec. 110 Nāgojībhaṭṭa:

His learning of an encyclopaedic character - wrote standard works on grammar, dharmāśāstra, yoga, &c. - total number of works about 30 - wrote about ten works on dharmāśāstra - personal history - his patron Rāma of the Bisen family - pedigrees of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita and Nāgoji's connection with Bhaṭṭoji - literary activity between 1700–1750 A.D.

Sec. 111 Balakṛṣṇa or Bālambhaṭṭa:

Lakṣmīmivākhyāna or Bālambhaṭṭi is a com. on the Mitakṣara of Vijnāneśvara – Bālambhaṭṭi favours latitudinarian views about the rights of women – estimate of Bālambhaṭṭi according to judicial decisions - author of Bālambhaṭṭi somewhat of an enigma - introductory verses about the authoress Lakṣmīdevi – real author Balakṛṣṇa, son of Vaidyanātha Pāyagonḍa, who was a pupil of Nāgoji-bhaṭṭa – Balakṛṣṇa also wrote Upākṛtītattva, Dharmāśāstrasāṁgraha - Vaidyanātha, the commentator of Alamkāra works, different from Vaidyanātha, Pāyagonḍa, the father of Bālambhaṭṭa – flourished between 1730–1820 A.D.

Sec. 110 Kaśinātha Upādhyaya:

Composed extensive work called Dharmasindhusāra – leading work in Deccan now on religious matters – subjects of the work –
personal history – his other works – Dharmasindhu composed in 1790-91 A.D.

Sec. 113 Jagannâtha Tarkapañcanana: ... pp. 465-466

Among digests compiled under the British the Vivâdabhâna-gârâva of Jagannâtha is the most famous – Colebrooke translated it in 1796 – topics treated of in it – Jagannâtha died in 1806.

Sec. 114 Conclusion: ... pp. 466-467

Motives actuating writers on dharmaśāstra – their contribution to culture – their defects – their admirable and useful work.
HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀTRA.

1. Meaning of Dharma.

Dharma is one of those Sanskrit words that defy all attempts at an exact rendering in English or any other tongue. That word has passed through several vicissitudes. In the hymns of the Rgveda the word appears to be used either as an adjective or a noun (in the form dharman, generally neuter) and occurs at least fifty-six times therein. It is very difficult to say what the exact meaning of the word dharma was in the most ancient period of the Vedic language. The word is clearly derived from root dhr (to uphold, to support, to nourish). In a few passages, the word appears to be used in the sense of ‘upholder or supporter or sustainer’ as in Rg. I. 187.1 and X. 92.2. In these two passages and in Rg. X. 21.3, the word dharma is clearly masculine. In all other cases, the word is either obviously in the neuter or presents a form which may be either masculine or neuter. In most cases the meaning of dharman is ‘religious ordinances or rites’ as in Rg. I. 22. 18, V. 26. 6, VIII. 43. 24, IX. 64. 1 &c. The refrain ‘tāni dharmanī prathamānyāsan’ occurs in Rg. I. 164, 43 and 50, X. 90. 16. Similarly we have the words ‘prathamā dharman’ (the primeval or first ordinances) in Rg. III. 17. 1 and X. 56. 3 and the words sanatā dharmāni (ancient ordinances) occur in Rg. III. 3. 1. In some passages this sense of ‘religious rites’ would not suit the context, e.g. in IV. 53. 34, V. 63. 75, VI. 70. 16, VII. 89. 57. In these passages the meaning seems to be ‘fixed principles or rules of conduct’. In the Vajasaneyasāṁhitā the above senses of the word dharman are found and in II. 3 and V. 27 we have the words ‘dhruvepa dharman’.

1 धिलू न द्वौ द्वौ धरयाँ द्वौ द्वौ हर्मोः दर्मोः दर्मोः दर्मोः दर्मोः दर्मोः दर्मोः दर्मोः दर्मोः दर्मोः दर्मोः दर्मोः दर्मोः दर्मोः
2 धर्माशपास्याचेपि तद्हुत्त्वाध्यात्म्या विद्येश्या वाप्योः वाप्योः
3 ले धर्माणां आस्ते जुजुज्जुटि सिद्धिर्म 
4 अर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽर्थोऽর্থ
the form ‘dharmaḥ’ (from dharma) becomes frequent, e.g. X. 29, XX. 9. The Atharvaveda contains many of those verses of the Rgveda in which the word *dharman* occurs, e.g. VI. 51. 3 (acityā chet tāva dharma yuyopima), VII. 5. 1 (Yajjñena yajñamayajanta) VII. 27. 5 (trini pada vaikrame). In XI. 9. 17 the word ‘dharmaḥ’ seems to be used in the sense of ‘merit acquired by the performance of religious rites’. In the Aitareya-brahmana, the word *dharma* seems to be used in an abstract sense, viz. ‘the whole body of religious duties’. In the Chandogya-upaniṣad 10 (2. 23) there is an important passage bearing on the meaning of the word *dharma*; there are three branches of *dharma*, one is (constituted by) sacrifice, study and charity (i.e. the stage of house-holder); the second (is constituted by) austerities (i.e. the stage of being a hermit); the third is the *brahmācārin* dwelling in the house of his teacher and himself stay with the family of his teacher till the last; all making, in the worlds of meritorious men; one who abides these attains immortality. It will be seen that in this firmly in *brahmācārin* stands for the peculiar duties of the passage the word ‘dharman’ discussion establishes how the word *astrānas*. The foregoing brief discussion of meaning and how ultimately its most prominent significance came to be ‘the privileges, duties and obligations of a man, his standard of conduct as a member of the Aryan community, as a member of one of the castes, as a person in a particular stage of life’. It is in this sense that the word seems to be used in the well-known exhortation to the pupil contained in the Taittiriya-upaniṣad (1. 11) ‘speak the truth, practise (your own) dharma &c.’ It is in the same sense that the Bhagavadgita uses the word *dharma* in the oft-quoted verse ‘svadharma nidhanam śreyah’. The word is employed in this sense in the *dharmaśastra* literature. The Manusmṛti (1. 2) tells us that the

8 करं सत्यं ततो राजा प्रमेयं भर्त्र कर्मः । पुत्रं मातायत्र द्वित्यं खल्लिमीवं च च।

9 धर्मसङ्गोऽस्मार्जितं तमसस्यायनिविधवसयायनायान्नामयेत। ऐ. मा. VII. 17; vide also a similar passage at A. Br. VIII. 13. The form *dharman* occurs in the Upaniṣads and in classical Sanskrit in Bahuvrīhi compounds, e.g. अनुनितस्यायनम् in the बुद्धार्थकोपालिनः and the *sūtra* धर्मदूलिच्छेदः केवलाद (प्र. V. 4. 124).

10 यदाय धर्मस्त्रायः व्याख्यायेन द्वारा अनौपसितं प्रथमस्त एवंति द्वितीयोऽयाचार्यं चक्रवर्तकसदान्ध्यं सर्वं तस्ते पुण्यालोकः सन्ततिः धर्मसंश्चौमृतायेत। Vide चेतुअलपृथ ती. 4. 18-20 for a discussion of this passage.
sages requested Manu to impart instruction in the dharmas of all the varnas. The Yajñavalkya-smṛti (I. 1) employs it in the same sense. In the Tantra-Vārtika11 also we are told that all the dharma-sūtras are concerned with imparting instruction in the dharmas of varnas and āstānas. Medhātithi commenting on Manu says that the expounders of śruti dilate upon dharma as five-fold, e.g., varṇadharma, āśrama-dharma, varṇāśrama-dharma, naimittikadharma (such as prayācitta) and guṇadharma (the duty of a crowned king, whether Kṣatriya or not, to protect). It is in this sense that the word dharma will be taken in this work. Numerous topics are comprehended under the title dharmasāstra, but in this work prominence will be given to works on ācāra and vyavahāra (law and administration of justice).

It would be interesting to recall a few other definitions of dharma. Jaimini13 defines dharma as ‘a desirable goal or result that is indicated by injunctive (Vedic) passages.’ The word dharma would mean such rites as are conducive to happiness and are enjoined by Vedic passages. The Vaiśeṣikasūtra14 defines dharma as ‘that from which results happiness and final beatitude.’ There are several other more or less one-sided definitions of dharma such as ‘ahīṁsā paramo dharmaḥ’ (Anuśāsanaparv 115. 1), ‘āṁśaṁsyam paramo dharmaḥ’ (Vanaparv 373. 76), ‘ācāraḥ paramo dharmaḥ’ (Manu I. 108). Harita defined dharma as ‘sruti-pramāṇaka15’ (based on revelation). In the Buddhist sacred books the word dharma has several senses. It often means the whole teaching of Buddha (S.B.E. Vol. X. p. XXXIII). Another meaning of dharma peculiar to the Buddhist system is ‘an element of existence, i.e. of matter, mind and forces16’.

The present work will deal with the sources of dharma, their contents, their chronology and other kindred matters. As the

11 ‘सेव्यतमाक्षराणि वणोधयमविवेदा विषेणवात्सात’ P. 237.
12 हिंदू on गो. ध. घ. 19. 1 and गोकुलदराज on मनु 2.25 give the same fivefold classification.
13 चौदावलिकमण्डों धम्मं | पू. मी. सू. I. 1. 2.
14 अध्यात्म धम्मम ह्यस्याश्यामम य तत्तुबुद्धिं त्यस्यान्तः स धम्मं (करशिवकृत्र). 
15 अध्यात्म धम्मम ह्यस्याश्यामम श्रुतिमाणान्तः धम्मं श्रुतिश्रुतिः ह्यवधारी वैदिकी तान्त्रिकोऽपि च | quoted by कृष्ण on मनु. 2. 1.
16 Vide Dr. Stcherbatsky’s monograph on ‘the central conception of Buddhism’ (1923) p. 73.
material is vast and the number of works is extremely large, only a few selected works and some important authors will be taken up for detailed treatment. More space will be devoted to comparatively early works.

2. Sources of Dharma.

The Gautamadharmasūtra\(^{17}\) says ‘the Veda is the source of dharma and the tradition and practice of those that know it (the Veda).’ So Apastamba\(^{18}\) says ‘the authority (for the dharmas) is the consensus of those that know dharma and the Vedas.’ Vide also the Vasisthadharma-sūtra\(^{19}\) (I.4-6). The Manusmṛti\(^{20}\) lays down five different sources of dharma ‘the whole Veda is (the foremost) source of dharma and (next) the tradition and the practice of those that know it (the Veda); and further the usages of virtuous men and self-satisfaction.’ Yajñavalkya\(^{21}\) declares the sources in a similar strain ‘the Veda, traditional lore, the usages of good men, what is agreeable to one’s self and desire born of due deliberation—this is traditionally recognised as the source of dharma.’ These passages make it clear that the principal sources of dharma were conceived to be the Vedas, the Smṛtis, and customs. The Vedas do not contain positive precepts (vidhis) on matters of dharma in a connected form; but they contain incidental references to various topics that fall under the domain of dharmasāstra as conceived in later times. Such information to be gathered from the Vedic Literature is not quite as meagre as is commonly supposed. In another place\(^{22}\) I have brought together about fifty Vedic passages that shed a flood of light on marriage, the forms of marriage, the different kinds of sons, adoption of a son, partition, inheritance, śrāddha, strīdhan. To take only a few examples. That brotherless maidens found it difficult to secure husbands is made clear by several Vedic passages.

\(^{17}\) वेदो भर्मसूत्रः। तत्त्वं च स्मृतिशिल्पः॥ गो. ध. सू. I.1-2.

\(^{18}\) भर्मसूत्रस्य: प्रामाण्य वेदोऽस्मिन्। आप. ध. सू. I.1.1.2.

\(^{19}\) तत्त्वात्मकोऽस्मिन्। तद्द्वाम शिश्ठाचार: प्रामाण्यः। शिश्ठ: पुनर्कामाल्यः

\(^{20}\) वेदोऽस्मिन्। भर्मसूत्रस्य: शिश्ठाचार: तत्त्वात्मकः। आचार्याच: साधृतामाल्यस्तुविषेषः च॥ मनु-स्मृतिः। II.6.

\(^{21}\) साधृतात्। साधृतात्। स्वस्य च प्रयामाल्यः। सम्प्रदायस्तुव्याजः। कामो भर्मसूत्रानिवृत्। स्मृतमः॥ वादः। I.7.

\(^{22}\) Vide JBBRA. vol. XXVI (1922), pp. 57-82.
'Like (a woman) growing old in her parents' house, pray to thee as Bhaga from the seat common to all'\textsuperscript{33}. Vide also Rgveda I 124. 7; IV. 5. 5 and Atharvaveda I. 17. 1 and Nirukta III. 4-5. These passages constitute the basis of the rules of the dharmaśūtras and the Yajñavalkya-smṛti against marrying a brotherless maiden\textsuperscript{34}. This bar against marrying a brotherless maiden seems to have been due to the fear that such a girl might be an appointed daughter (putriki) and that a son born of such a girl would be affiliated to his mother's father. This custom of putriki is an ancient one and is alluded to in the Rgveda, according to Yāska\textsuperscript{21}. Rgveda X. 85 is a very interesting hymn as regards marriage; verses from it are used even to this day in the marriage ritual.\textsuperscript{26} It shows that in the remote Vedic age the marriage rite resembled in essence the Brāhma form as described in the Dharmaśūtras and Manu.\textsuperscript{27} But the purchase of a bride (i.e. what is called Asura marriage in later literature) was not unknown in the Vedic age. A passage of the Maitrāyaniya-saṁhitā (I. 10. 11) is referred to in the Vasiṣṭhadharmaśūtra\textsuperscript{28} in this connection, viz. 'she who being purchased by the husband'. The Gandharva form is hinted at in the words\textsuperscript{29} 'when a bride is fine-looking and well adorned, she seeks by herself her friend among men'. The importance of the annasa son was felt even in the remote Vedic ages. 'Another (person) born of another's loins, though very pleasing, should not be taken, should not be even thought of (as to be taken in adoption)\textsuperscript{30}'. The Taṁtiriya-saṁhitā (VI. 3. 10. 5) propounds the well-known theory of the three debts\textsuperscript{31}. The story

\textsuperscript{23} अमास्यौरे विष्ठ्र: सचिय सती समानादा सदिस्यसायाये भग्नू | कथवद II. 17. 7.

\textsuperscript{24} अरूपिणिः आस्तमनिमसमानायेन; जनायः। वाजः। I. 53; vide also मन u III. 11.

\textsuperscript{25} Vide Rgveda III. 31. 1. and Nirukta III. 4.

\textsuperscript{26} e. g. the verse गृहगामिः ने सम्भुरसाय (कथवद X. 85. 36). Vide आपः गु. घ. II. 4. 14.

\textsuperscript{27} गो. घ.ः सु. IV. 4; बो. घ.ः I. 11. 2; आपः घः सुः II. 5. 11. 17; मन u III. 27.

\textsuperscript{28} वलिपाठमसूचः I. 36-37; note आपः घः सुः II. 6. 13. 11 where the word 'purchase' is tried to be explained away and also पु. भी. सु. VI. 1. 15. 'कश्चय सम्मिहात्वं लघुः.'

\textsuperscript{29} भुद्रा धुरूसा विष्ठ्रा यशुरेष्ठा: सार्था सा निम्भ चुनु जने चित्। कथवद X. 27. 12.

\textsuperscript{30} न हि प्रमानार्थः सुभोवः अन्योद्यः मनो मन्तः च। कथवद VII. 5. 8.

\textsuperscript{31} जायमानाः प्रेम भाष्याकामित्तक्षणः नायंते भाष्यायणः काविन्यः यहेन देवेन्यः प्रज्ञा पिन्यः।
of Śunaḥsepa in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (VII. 3) suggests that a son could be adopted even when there was an aurasa son. The Taittiriya-samhitā (VII. 1. 8. 1) tells the story of Atri who gave an only son in adoption to Anrva. The Kṣetrāja son of the Dharmasūtras is often referred to in the earliest Vedic literature. ‘What (sacrificer) invites you (Aśvins) in his house to a bed as a widow does a brother-in-law or a young damsel her lover’

The Taittiriya-samhitā makes it clear that a father could distribute his wealth among his sons during his own life time ‘Mann divided his property among his sons’ &c.33 Another passage of the same Samhitā seems to suggest that the eldest son took the whole of the father's wealth 'therefore people establish their eldest son with wealth'11. Even in the Vedic ages the son excluded the daughter from inheritance 'a son born of the body does not give the paternal wealth to (his) sister'15. A passage of the Taittiriya-samhitā is relied upon by ancient and modern writers on dharmasūstra for the exclusion of women in general from inheritance 'therefore women being destitute of strength take no portion and speak more weakly than even a low person'16. The Rgveda eulogises the stage of studenthood and the Satapathabrahmana speaks of the duties of the Brahmācārīn such as not partaking of wine and offering every evening a samidh to fire17.

32 की वै श्रुन्वु विशेषवृ देवरं मयं न बोधा रुपात सउरस आ। कृपेन जै भृगुरं तिरंगम । कृपेन X. 40. 2.
33 मनो पुजेयो दाहं व्यमजत। तथा सं. III. 1 9 4. This passage is relied upon by आप. ध. सु. II. 6. 14. 11 and बो. ध. सु. II. 2. 2.
34 नसमस्येत्तुषु पृथ धनेन निरवास्येलिन। न. सं. II. 5. 2. 7. This passage is referred to by आप. ध. सु. II. 6. 14. 12 and बो. ध. सु. II. 2. 5.
35 'न जामृते नायों हरिधमराक्षः' कृपेन III. 31. 2. Vide निहल त्री. 5 for explanations of this verse.
36 नसमस्येको निमित्ति आद्याद्वार्थं पपालूस उपरतितरं वदुन्म। तथा सं. VI. 5. 2. 2.
Here the portion spoken of is really that of the soma beverage. Vide बो. ध. सु. II. 2. 47 for reliance on this passage and also दृष्टि (on आप. ध. सु. II. 6. 14. 1) and सर्ववस्तिविलास (parā. 21 and 336). Vide also शनिपथमा. IV. 4. 2. 13 for a similar passage.
37 महाली चरणं पृथ्विपुरं देवानां महर्षिकमण्डम्। कृपेन X. 109. 5. The शनिपथमा. (XI. 5. 4. 18) reads 'नायजः। न महाशारी समवेंसणियता' Compare मनु II. 177.
Vide शनिपथमा. XI. 3. 3. 1 for samidh.
Taittiriya-samhita (VI.2. 8. 5) relates how Indra consigned Yatis to wolves (or dogs) and how Prajapati prescribed a Prayaścitās for him. The Śatapathabrāhmaṇa speaks of the king and the learned Brāhmaṇa as the upholder of the sacred ordinances. The Taittiriya-samhita says ‘therefore the Śūdra is not fit for sacrifice’. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa tells us that when a king or other worthy guest comes, people offer a bull or a cow. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa speaks of Vedic study as yajña and the Taittiriya-arāṇyaka enumerates the five yajñas, which are a prominent feature of the Manusmṛti. The Rgveda eulogises the gifts of a cow, horses, gold and clothes. Another passage of the Rgveda (thou art like a prapā in a desert) is relied upon by Śabara on Jaimini (I. 3. 2) and by Viśvarūpa on Yajñavalkya as ordaining the maintenance of prapās (places where water is distributed to travellers). The Rgveda condemns the selfish man who only caters for himself.

The foregoing brief discussion will make it clear that the later rules contained in the dharmasūtras and other works on dharma had their roots deep down in the most ancient Vedic tradition and that the authors of the dharmasūtras were quite justified in looking up to the Vedas as a source of dharma. But, as said above, the Vedas do not profess to be formal treatises on dharma; they contain only disconnected statements on the various aspects of dharma; we have to turn to the smṛtis for a formal and connected treatment of the topics of the dharmasūstra.
When Dharmasastra works were first composed

of Śunahṣeṣa, the important question is to find out when formal treatises on Yajurveda began to be composed. It is not possible to give a definite answer to this question. The Nirukta (III. 4-5) shows that long before Yāska heated controversies had raged on various questions of inheritance, such as the exclusion of daughters by sons and the rights of the appointed daughter (putrika). It is very likely that these discussions had found their way in formal works and were not merely confined to the meetings of the learned. The manner in which Yāska writes suggests that he is referring to works in which certain Vedas had been cited in support of particular doctrines about inheritance. It is further a remarkable thing that in connection with the topic of inheritance Yāska quotes a verse, calls it a śloka and distinguishes it from a ṛk. This makes it probable that works dealing with topics of dharma existed either composed in the śloka metre or containing ślokas. Scholars like Bühler would say that the verses were part of the floating mass of mnemonics verses, the existence of which he postulates without very convincing or cogent arguments in his Introduction to the Manusmṛti (S. B. E. vol. 25 Intro.xc). If works dealing with topics of dharma existed before Yāska, a high antiquity will have to be predicated for them. The high antiquity of works on dharma follows from other weighty considerations. It will be seen later on that the extant dharmasūtras of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba certainly belong to the period between 600 to 300 B. C. Gautama speaks of dharmaṇas and the word dharmaṇa occurs in Baudhāyana also (IV. 5.9). Baudhāyana speaks of a dharmapāṭhaka (I. 1. 9.). Besides Gautama quotes in numerous places the views of others in the words ‘ityeke’ (e.g. II. 15, II. 58, III. 1, IV. 21, VII. 23.). He refers to Manu in one place and to ‘Acāryas’ in several places (III. 36, IV. 18 and 23).

46 अछेद्याप्रियार्थ्र्यापिवः उद्देश्यति ज्येष्ठो विष्णुकायद्वयः सहयोऽखितः। । Vide S. B. E. Vol. 25, LXI (footnote) for Bühler’s view refuting Roth’s opinion that the whole discussion in the Nirukta is an interpolation.

47 तदेवतदृढ्योत्स्तेभात्रिमुनयुक्तम्। अहित्वं जस्तथास्मवस्तःस्व्यभावतिः ज्ञाताय भवति धर्मां दृष्टेऽपि विष्णुकायात्। विष्णुकायात् विष्णुकायात्। विष्णुकायात् विष्णुकायात्। विष्णुकायात्।

48 गौ. ध. स. 9.21 येव च च्यव्यस्तो वेदो धर्मशास्त्रावयवाय पुराणम्। The words पुराणम् विवर्णमिवद्रवम् in गौ. ध. स. 28.47 appear to refer to students of गौर्यादेशः।

49 श्रीमहामायानिनिद्वषाणि मनुः। गौ. ध. स. 31.7.
Baudhāyana mentions by name several writers on dharma, for him. jānghani, Kātya, Kaśyapa, Gautama, Maudgalya and Harita. tamba also cites the views of numerous sages such as those of Kānya, Kautsa, Harita and others. There is a Vārtika which speaks of Dharmāṣṭra. Jaimini speaks of the duties of a Śūdra as listed down in the dharmaśāstra. Patanjali shows that in his days dharma of sūtras existed and that their authority was very high, being next to the commandments of God. He quotes verses and dogmas that have their counterparts in the dharmaśātras. The foregoing discussion establishes that works on the dharmaśāstra existed prior to Yāska or at least prior to the period 600–300 B.C. and in the 2nd century B.C. they had attained a position of supreme authority in regulating the conduct of men.

In this book the whole of the extant literature on dharma will be dealt with as follows: - First come the dharmaśātras, some of which like those of Apastamba, Hīranyakaśin and Baudhāyana form part of a larger Sūtra collection, while there are others like those of Gautama and Vasistha which do not form part of a larger collection; some dharmaśātras like that of Viśṇu are, in their extant form, comparatively later in date than other sūtra works; some sūtra works like those of Śaṅkha-Likhita and Paitihinasi are known only from quotations. Then early metrical smṛitis like those of Manu and Yajñavalkya will be taken up for discussion; then later versified smṛitis like that of Narada; there are many smṛti works like those of Brhaspati and Kātyāyana that are known only from quotations. The two epics, the Mahābhārata and the Ramāyana, and the Purāṇas also have played a great part in the development of the Dharmaśāstra. The commentaries on the smṛitis, such as those of Viśvarupa, Medhatithi, Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka, Haradatta will be next passed.

50 धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा। विदे महामायेः  व ो. I, p. 242.

51  श्रुतिः धर्मशास्त्रं चतवाः। पौ मी. सू. VI.7.6.

52 नैवेद्यां अहारपत्रसमुपां धर्मसूत्राकार्यां: पदार्थां अपवादेन्तरसमु बायायन्तमिति। महामायेः  व ो. I, p. 115 and vol. II, p. 365. पतञजिः विदे आप. धर्माका। विदे निवाद्यलिङ्गेयां: ( vol. I, p. 14 ) for which विदे आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 20. 3 तद्यथाश्च फलं न निमित्ये छापा। गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. सू. I. 25. 25 मानस न बिक्रेताध्रयः। विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. सू. I. 25. 25 मानस न बिक्रेताध्रयः। विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. सू. I. 25. 25 मानस न बिक्रेताध्रयः। विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽयते। पतञजिः विदे आप. ध. 25 गृह्य कृत्येऽ�
in review' and then the digests on dharmas such as the works of Hemadri, Toḍaramalla, Nilakantha and others.

It is very difficult to settle the chronology of the works on dharmasāstra, particularly of the earlier ones. The present writer does not subscribe to the view of Max Müller (H. A. S. L. p. 68) and others that works in continuous Anuṣṭubh metre followed sūtra works. Our knowledge of the works of that period is so meagre that such a generalisation is most unjustifiable. Some works in the continuous śloka metre like the Manusmṛti are certainly older than the Viṣṇudharmasūtra and probably as old as, if not older than, the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra. One of the earliest extant dharmasūtras, that of Baudhāyana, contains long passages in the śloka metre, many of which are quotations and even Āpastamba has a considerable number of verses in the śloka metre. This renders it highly probable that works in the śloka metre existed before them. Besides a large literature on dharmas existed in the days of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana which has not come down to us. In the absence of that literature it is futile to dogmatise on such a point.

4. The Dharmasūtras.

It seems that originally many, though not all, of the dharmasūtras formed part of the Kalpasūtras and were studied in distinct sātracaranaś. Some of the extant dharmasūtras here and there show in unmistakable terms that they presuppose the Gṛhyasūtra of the caraṇa to which they belong. Compare Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 16 with Ap. Gr. S. I. 12 and II. 5; and Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 20 with Baud. Gr. S. II. 11. 42 (and other sūtras). The Dharmasūtras belonging to all sātracaranaś have not come down to us. There is no dharmasūtra completing the Āśvalayana Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras; no Mānavadharmasūtra has yet come to light, though the

33 Vide S. B. E. vol. II, p. 1X, but see Goldstücker’s Pāṇini (pp. 59, 60, 78) against Max Müller and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar’s Carmichael lectures for 1918, pp. 105–107.

34 अस्रिमिळ्ला परिसमूह सामिध आद्यवात् सायं प्रातर्भोधीदशम्। आप. ध. 5. I. 1. 4. 16; अस्रिमिळ्ला मागन्देर्मेघें परिसमूहाली। आप. ध. I. 12 and इधिमाहाद्या

- न...यात् दशर्णमसवच्छन्ध्य। “आप. ध. II. 5; ‘मेहकमथाकाहम’ (भो. ध. 5. II. 8. 20) refers to भो. ध. II. 11. 42; मूहकदनिनाँसात्यमण्या वालकतत्त्व दृष्टय बृद्धि (भो. ध. 5. I. 2. 16) refers to भो. ध. II. 5. 66 and other places where पल्लव is one of the वालक Trees.
Mānava Śrauta and Grhya sūtras are extant; in the same way the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta and Grhya sūtras, but no Śāṅkhāyana Govindasūtra. It is only in the case of the Āpastamba, Hiranyakāśrama, and Baudhāyana Śūtracarāṇas that we have a complete kalpa trāṇa with its three components of Śrauta, Grihya and Dharmasūtras. Tantravārtika of Kumārila contains very interesting observations the point. It tells us that Gautama (dharmaśūtra) and Gobhīka (grhyaśūtra) were studied by the Chandogas (Śaṅnavedins), Vasiṣṭha (dharmaśūtra) by the Rgvedins, the dharmaśūtra of Śāṅkha-Likhita by the followers of Vājasaneyasaṁhitā and the sūtras of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana by the followers of the Taittiriya Śākha. The Tantravārtika (p. 179) establishes it as a siddhānta (on Jaimini I. 3. 11) that all the dharma and grhya sūtras are authoritative for all Aryan people. From this it appears that although originally all śūtracarāṇas might not have possessed dharmasūtras composed by the founder of the caraya or ascribed to him, yet gradually certain dharmasūtras were specially taken over or appropriated by certain carayas. As the dharmasūtras were mostly concerned with rules about the conduct of men as members of the Aryan community and did not deal with ritual of any kind, all dharmasūtras gradually became authoritative in all schools.

The dharmasūtras were closely connected with the grhyaśūtras in subjects and topics. Most of the Grhyaśūtras treat of the sacred domestic fire, the divisions of Grhya sacrifices, the regular morning and evening oblations, sacrifices on new and full moon, sacrifices of cooked food, annual sacrifices, marriage, puññasavānavatā, jātakarma, upanyāsana and other saṁkārasthitas, rules for students and snātakas and holidays, śrāddha offerings, madhuparka. In most cases the Grhyaśūtras confine themselves principally to the various events of domestic life; they rarely give rules about the conduct of men, their rights, duties and responsibilities. The dharmasūtras also contain rules on some of the above topics such as marriage and the samskāras,

55 तत्त्रांति प. 179 ‘पुराणमानवांविद्याति धार्मिकत्वाति गृहवाचविष्टाय शुद्धिवित्तार्थातीनातीपदशोधनार्थातिर्भुवंति। तद्यथा गोतमस्वामिनिधिष्ठितं छन्दोगीर्येव परिग्रहित्ति। वालिकेऽपि वार्ता शुद्धि पिनार्थक्यों व शाक्तिबिक्ष्मिण्ये। अपस्तम्बशैवाय नि तेजसरिविव भिन्नि। एवं तत्र तत्र गृहवाचवान्नांनां दूराधिभिः विचारितीत्वम्। किं ततां तेषामध् प्रमाणात्युत सवैयम्। (on पृ. मी. छ, I. 3. 11).
History of Dharmasūtra

In review. Hemāyudha in his Brahma-sūtra and snātakas and holidays, on śrāddha and
ka. It is therefore not to be wondered at that in the
g ā-ghṛyasūtra the topics of the duties of the Brahmācārina
the house-holder, of atitīs and of śrāddha are meagrely
as compared with the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra. The dharmasūtras very rarely describe the ritual of domestic life; they merely
much upon it; their scope is wider and more ambitious; their
principal purpose is to dilate upon the rules of conduct, law and
custom. Some sūtras are common to both the Āpastamba-ghṛya
and the dharmasūtra. Sometimes the grhyasūtra appears to refer
to the dharmasūtra. There are certain points which distinguish
the dharmasūtras (the more ancient of them at least) from smrtis.
(a) Many dharmasūtras are either parts of the Kalpa belonging to
each sutracarana or are intimately connected with the grhyasūtras.
(b) The dharmasūtras sometimes betray some partiality in
their Vedic quotations for the texts of that Veda to which they
belong or in the caraṇas of which they are studied. (c) The
authors of the (older) dharmasūtras do not claim to be inspired seers
or superhuman beings, while the other smrtis such as those of
Manu and Yajñavalkya are ascribed to Gods like Brahmā. (d) The
dharmasūtras are in prose or in mixed prose and verse; the other
smrtis are in verse. (e) The language of the dharmasūtras is generally
more archaic than that of the other smrtis. (f) The dharmasūtras
do not proceed upon any orderly arrangement of topics, while the
other smrtis (even the oldest of them, viz. Manusmrīti) arrange
their contents and treat of the subjects under three principal heads
viz. avata, vyavahāra and prayāścitta. (g) Most of the dharmasūtras
are older than most of the other smrtis.

5. The Dharmasūtra of Gautama.

This has been printed several times (there is Dr. Stenzler's
dition of 1876, the Calcutta edition of 1876, the Ānandāśrama
and Āp. V. IV. 17, 15, 16,
56 e. g. Pāṇini's Dāṇḍ in ब्राह्मणस्थिति...उपदेशमिति. आप. गृ. IV. 17, 15, 16
and Āp. ध. I. 1. 2. 38.
57 e. g. the आप. गृ. गु. says ' माति विद्यावर्गस्य वधोपदेशं कालिः' (VIII. 21. 1.)
This has in view आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 16. 4-22.
58 Compare मी. ध. I. 3-4 and आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 4. 'तस्मातप्रवेश्यवेत्ते न जाकने
नियमांस्तिकमान्ति and आप. ध. सू. II 6. 13. 9 नदर्शिल्य प्रयुक्तान्ति सीद्यवर्गः.
edition with the commentary of Haradatta, and the Mysore Government edition with the bhasya of Maskari; it was translated by Bühler in S. B. E., Vol. II. with an introduction). The Anandärama edition of 1910 which is incorrect in a few places (e.g. 21. 7) has been used in this work. This dharmasūtra is, as we shall see, the oldest of those we have. The Gautama-dharmasūtra was specially studied by followers of the Sāmaveda (see note 55 above). The commentary on the Caranavyuha tells us that Gautama was one of the nine subdivisions of the Rāmāyaniya school of the Sāmaveda. A teacher Gautama is mentioned frequently in the Lātāyanaśrutasūtra (e.g. I. 3. 3 and I. 4. 17) and in the Drāhyāyanaśrauta (e.g. I. 4. 17, IX. 3. 15) of the Sāmaveda. The Gobhilagṛhya (III. 10. 6) which belongs to the Sāmaveda cites Gautama as an authority. Therefore it is not improbable that a complete Gautamasūtra embodying Śrauta, Grhya and Dharma doctrines once existed. There are other indications pointing to the close connection of the Gautama-dharmasūtra with the Sāmaveda. Chapter 26 of the dharmasūtra about Kṣicchra penance is the same, almost word for word, as the Samavidhāna69 Brāhmaṇa (I. 2, Burnell’s ed.). Among the purificatory texts (21 in number) mentioned in Gau. Dh. S. (19. 12) there are nine that are Śamans. The mention of the five utterances (‘Vyahrītas’) resembles the number in the Vyahrītsāma60 though the order is different. It is however to be noted that Gautama is a generic name. In the Kaññopaniṣad, both Naciketas (II. 4. 15, II. 5. 6) and his father (I. 1. 10) are styled Gautama. In the Chāndogyopaniṣad there is a teacher Hāridruma Gautama (IV. 4. 3).

59 There are however considerable divergences; e.g. गौ. ध. सू. 26. 10-12 are ‘ार्या हि श्रृंगत तिरस्मिया पावक्रवतीमिर्मिर्यायें हिरण्यवणां शुचयः पावका इत्याभिः । अथोद्धार्तपरमुः न मोहिनायम् &c. while the सामविधान 26.12 contains many additions. Wherever there is divergence, it is generally Gautama that amplifies the passages found in the सामविधान.

60 गौ. ध. सू. I. 52 आर्यवर्द्धानो व्याहृतयः पश्च सत्यान्तः। Again in गौ. ध. सू. 25. 8 we have पावकाः हिरण्यवणवर्गाय व्याहृतयः पश्च सत्यान्तः। while in गौ. 28. 8. the five व्याहृतिः seem to be मूः, मूः, स्वः, न्यः, तपः, सत्यः. As हिरंदु remarks the five व्याहृतिः in व्याहृतिनित्याः घुः, भुः, स्वः, सत्यः, पुरुः. The व्याहृतिः are generally declared to be seven (कृ. आ. 10. 28.1), the first three being styled महाव्याहृतिः (vide वैद्य. II. 81.)
According to Haradatta the dharmasūtra has 28 chapters. The Calcutta edition adds one chapter on Karmavipāka after chapter 19. In many places Gautama unmistakably refers to his own previous dicta; e.g. Yathoktam vā (23. 16) refers to 23. 10; 23. 26 refers to 17. 8–26; 17. 18 refers to 15. 18. The following are briefly the contents of the Gautamadharmasūtra:—1. Sources of dharma, rules about interpretation of texts, time of Upanavayana for the four varyas, the appropriate girdle, deer skin, cloth and staff for each Varna, rules about śauca and ācamana, method of approaching the teacher; 2 rules about those not invested with sacred thread, rules for the brahmacārin, control of pupils, period of study; 3 The four āśramas, the duties of brahmacārin, bhikṣu, and vaikhānasas; 4 rules about the house-holder, marriage, age at time of marriage, eight forms of marriage, sub-castes; 5 rules about sexual intercourse on marriage, the five great daily sacrifices, the rewards of gifts, madhuparka, method of honouring guests of the several castes; 6 rules about showing respect to parents, relatives (male and female) and teachers, rules of the road; 7 rules about the avocations of a brāhmaṇa, avocations for him in distress, what articles a brāhmaṇa could not sell or deal in; 8 the forty saṁskāras and the eight spiritual qualities (such as daya, forbearance &c.); 9 the observances for a snātaka and householder; 10 the peculiar duties of the four castes, the responsibilities of the king, taxation, sources of ownership, treasure-trove, guardianship of minor's wealth; 11 Rājadharmā, the qualities of the king's purobita; 12 punishments for libel, abuse, assault, hurt, adultery and rape, theft in the case of the several varṇas and rules about money-lending and usury and adverse possession, special privileges of brāhmaṇas as to punishments; payment of debts, deposits; 13 rules about witnesses, falsehoods when excusable; 14 rules of impurity on birth and death; 15 Śrāddha of five kinds, persons not fit to be invited at Śrāddha; 16 Upākarma, period of Vedic study in the year, holidays and occasions for them; 17 rules about food allowed and forbidden to Brāhmaṇas and other castes; 18 the duties of women, nīyoga and its conditions, discussion about the son born of nīyoga; 19 the causes and occasions of prāyaścitta, five things that remove sin (japa, tapas, homa, fasting, gifts), purificatory Vedic prayers, holy food for one who practises japa, various kinds of tapas and gifts, appropriate times and places for japa &c.; 20 abandoning a sinner who does not undergo prāyaścitta and the way of doing it; 21 sinners of various grades, mahāpātakas, upapātakas
&c.; 22 praṛaścittas for various sins such as *brahmahatyā*, adultery, killing a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra, cow and other animals &c.; 23 praṛaścitta for drinking wine, and nasty things, for incest and unnatural offences, and for several transgressions by brahmaśarīrin; 24 secret praṛaścittas for *mahāpātakas* and *upāpātakas*; 26 the penances called Kṛcchra and Atikṛcchra; 27 the penance called Čandra-yana; 28 partition, strīdhana, reunion, twelve kinds of sons, inheritance.

The Gautama-dharmaśūtra is written entirely in prose and it contains no verses either quoted or composed by the author himself, as is the case with the other dharmaśūtras. Here and there occur sūtras that look like portions of Anuṣṭubh verses e.g. 23. 27\(^61\). The language of Gautama agrees far more closely with the standard set up by Pāṇini than the dharmaśūtras of Baudhāyana and Āpaśāmbha. It is not very easy to account for this difference. It is obvious that commentators and generations of students that were brought up in the tradition of the Pāṇinean grammar tampered with the text and improved it in accordance with their notions of correct Sanskrit. But why this process should not have been carried out to the same extent in the case of Āpaśāmbha it is difficult to say. A conjecture may be hazarded that the Ap. Dh. S. being a well-knit component of the Āp. Kalpa and being studied as such was less liable to being tampered with than the Gautama Dh. S., which probably did not in its origin belong to any particular kalpa. The same commentator, Haradatta, explained both Gautama and Āpaśāmbha. Haradatta, who as will be seen later on, was a great grammarian, shows in several places that the current reading was ungrammatical from the Pāṇinean stand-point and that he preferred readings that were in consonance with Pāṇini’s rules\(^62\). There are still a few un-Pāṇinean words, e.g. in 1. 14 (‘dvāvitiṃśateḥ’ for dvāvitiṃ-śat’) and 9. 52 (kulaṃkula). The Tantravartika (p. 99) appears

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\(^{61}\) अनुश्वसूतिना़हितानेपि जिरात्र यानं ततः।

\(^{62}\) e.g. on म. ध. 16. 21 (क्रांत्यथं च सामशब्दं यथं) he says ‘अनुच चनुष्ठ अनुक्रुणं। अचत्तर्यादिनानेचिरत:। पश्चायंपाठथत: (i.e. क्रांत्यथं) नास्तमं रोचेत्।’ on म. ध. 25. 8 (प्रतिधिप्रवाहयनसापोषे) he says वाहनसोतिश्च पाठायम्भनं न रोचेत्। अचतुःपरि समासात्वव्यव्यस्तवः।’
to discuss the various readings in Gautama (I. 45). A few sūtras quoted from Gautama in the Mitākṣara (e.g. the sūtra ‘utpatyaiva arthsvāmitvam labhante), the Śrīmāndkā (dvayānīṣam vā pūrvajāḥ syāt) and other works are not found in the extant text. This fact along with the fact of an interpolation of one chapter makes it clear that the present text of Gautama is of somewhat doubtful authority.

The literature known to the Gautama-dharmaśāstra was extensive. Besides the Vedic saṁhitās and Brahmanas it mentions the following works: Upaniṣads (19. 13), the Vedāṅgas (8. 5 and 11. 19), Itihasa (8. 6), Purāṇa (8. 6 and 11. 19), Upaveda (11. 19), dharmaśāstra (11. 19). That he borrows a chapter from the śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa has been mentioned above. He borrows the first six sūtras of the 25th chapter from the Taittirīya Āranyaka (11.18). The śramaṇa (in Gautama III. 26) is, according to Haradatta, the Vaikhānasa-śāstra (either composed by Vikhanas or treating of the duties of hermits). Gautama refers to Anvikṣi (XI. 3). The only teacher of dharma he quotes by name in Manu (in 21. 7) who is cited for the proposition that there is no expiation for the three sins of brahmahatyā, drinking wine and violation of the bed of the gurū. Haradatta says that in the extant Manusmṛti the same propositions are laid down about brahmahatyā and surapāna (in Manu 11. 89 and 146 respectively), but that as to violation of gurutalpa a passage from the Manusmṛti has to be searched out (i.e. such a passage is not found there). From this Bühler drew the conclusion that Gautama refers to the dharmaśāstra attributed to Manu (and not to any versified Manu-smṛti). But Bühler is not right in drawing this inference. In the first place in spite of what Haradatta says there are verses in the extant Manusmṛti (XI. 104-105) which say that death is the expiation for violation of the gurū’s bed. In the second place there is nothing to show, even if Haradatta were correct, that Gautama refers only to a dharmaśāstra of Manu and not to a versified work. Besides Manu, Gautama frequently quotes certain views ascribed to the ‘Ācāryas’ (e.g. III. 35, IV. 18). What teachers are meant by the word ‘Ācāryāḥ’ (which occurs in the Nirukta, in Kauṭilya and various other works), it is difficult to say.

63 It follows from the discussion in the तत्त्रार्थिक that the ancient pāṭha in its day was ‘प्रेतगठर्षकर्णो शौचमेइच्छास्यस्य’ while the present text has ‘शौचमेइच्छस्य’. Vide बलीधरमसूत्र III. 48 which reads ‘कर्णो शौचमेइच्छास्यस्य’ etc.
Probably the word means ‘the general traditional view of most writers in that particular śāstra on a particular point.’ In numerous places Gautama refers to the views of his predecessors in the words ‘ekte’ (2.15, 40 and 56, 3.1, 4.17, 7.23 &c.) and ‘ekesām’ (28.17 and 38). This proves that Gautama was preceded by great literary activity in the sphere of dharmaśāstra. Gautama 11.28 seems to be a reminiscence of the Nirukta (II.3)64.

The earliest reference to Gautama as an author on dharma occurs in the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra. Baudhāyana discusses the authoritativeness of usages peculiar to the north or the south and quotes Gautama as saying that it is wrong to hold that certain customs must be held authoritative in certain countries (even though opposed to Vedic tradition and smṛti). This refers to G. Dh. S. 11.20. In another place Baudhāyana gives it as his view that a Brāhmaṇa, if he cannot make a living by teaching, officiating as a priest or by gifts, should earn his livelihood as a Kṣatriya and quotes the views of Gautama as opposed to this65. The extant Gautama on the other hand teaches the same view as that of Baudhāyana66. Bühler made the plausible suggestion that the sūtra in the extant Gautama is an interpolation. Govindasvāmi, the commentator of Baudhāyana, suggests that another Gautama is referred to by Baudhāyana. It is possible to suggest that in the Ms. of Gautama used by Baudhāyana the sūtra about living as a Kṣatriya did not occur and the next sūtra about living as a Vaiśya alone occurred. Chapter 19 of the Gautamadharmaśūtra which forms an introduction to prāyaścittas in Gautama seems to have been borrowed wholesale by Baudhāyana (III.10) with slight changes. That Baudhāyana borrows follows from the fact that the chapter in Baudhāyana occurs in the middle of the discussion about prāyaścittas and not as an introduction, which is the case in Gautama. Baudhāyana treats of penances in several places (II.1, III.5,10 and IV.1.4). There are besides many sūtras in both Gautama and Baudhāyana that exhibit a close correspondence, e.g.

64 ‘दृष्टो दृष्टिक्रियादलस्मानान्तरस्वयं’ The निःस्क has दृष्टो दृष्टे...दृष्टिक्रियाभ-मन्यतः?

65 अभ्यास्मयाजनमर्यादाः श्राच्चर्य कपिकाठि जीविस्मर्यादात्। नूत गौतमस्य हि श्र-चर्याः ब्राह्मणः। वृंद. ध. सू. II.2.60-70.

66 शास्नद्वाराधिनियोगं। स्वेताख्यं। पुरुषः पुरुषो गुरुः। तदलमे क्षत्रवृत्तं। तदलमे वैश्व- वृत्तः। गौ. ध. सू. 7.4-7.

M. D. 3.
Gautama III. 25-34 and Baudhāyana II. 6. 17 about Vaikhānasa, Gau. I. 3. 3 and 35 and Baud. II. 6. 29, Gau. 15. 29 and Baud. II. 8. 2, Gau. 23. 8-10 and Baud. II. 1. 12-14, Gau. 24. 2 and Baud. II. 3. 8. The Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 25 speaks of Smṛti as laying down that up to utsanyāna there is no adhikāra for homa. This probably refers to Gautama II. 1-3. The Vasiṣṭhadharmaśūtra also quotes the views of Gautama in two places (4. 34 and 36, impurity on death). The first refers to Gautama 4. 41 but the second cannot be traced in the extant Gautama. Chapter 22 of Vasiṣṭha is borrowed from the Gautamanadharmaśūtra, chapter 19. There are besides many sūtras that are the same or almost the same in Gautama and Vasiṣṭha, e. g. Gautama 3. 31-33 and Vas. 9. 1-3, Gau. 3. 26 and Vas. 9. 10, Gau. I. 44 and Vas. 3. 37, Gau. 1. 40 and Vas. 3. 38, Gau. 1. 15-16 and Vas. 3. 48, Gau. I. 28 and Vas. 3. 49, Gau. 11. 5-7 and Vas. 1. 24-26. Gautama is referred to in the Manusmṛti (III. 16) as the son of Uṇāthya. Gautama is one of the authors of dharmasūtras enumerated in Yājñavalkya (I. 5). Aparārka quotes a verse from the Bhaiṣajyapurāṇa which speaks of Gautama's prohibition about drinking. Similarly Kulluka (on Manu XI. 146) quotes a verse from the same Purāṇa which refers to Gautama 23. 2. Kumārila in his Tantravārtika quotes over a dozen sūtras from Gautama which present the same text as we have. Gautama 11. 29 and 12. 4 are quoted by Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra III. 1. 8 and I. 3. 38 respectively. Viśvarūpa in his commentary on Yājñavalkya quotes numerous sūtras from Gautama. In Medhātithi's bhāṣya on Manu the writer more frequently quoted than any other is Gautama (e. g. on Manu II. 6, VIII. 125 &c.).

The foregoing discussion about the literature known to the Gautama Dh. S. and the authors and works that mention Gautama or quote the dharmaśūtra helps us in arriving at the approximate age of the dharmaśūtra. He is separated by a long interval from the Sanaavidhāna Brahmana. He is later than Yāska and wrote at a time when Pāṇini's system was either not in existence or had not attained a pre-eminent position. The extant text was known to Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha and was in the same state long before 700 A. D. The sūtra betrays no knowledge of the onslaught delivered on Brahma-

67 प्रतिपोः सूत्राने मद्यस्य च नराधिपः | द्विजोत्सामानामेकः सतनं पौत्रादिविभः ||
भविष्यनृपाः quoted by अपरार्कः p. 1076.

nism by Buddha and his followers. He uses the term Bhikṣu (3.10) instead of the term parivrajaka that occurs in Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and other sūtra works and lays down that a bhikṣu is to stay in one place in the rains, which reminds one of the Buddhist ‘bhikkhu’ and ‘Vasso’. Gautama cites the opinion of some that Yavana is the offspring of a Kṣatriya male and a Śūdra female (4.17). It is supposed by many scholars that the Yavanas became known to the Indians only at the time of Alexander’s invasion and hence every work in which the word yavana occurs must be later than 320 B.C. Bühler (S. B. E. vol. II. Intro. i.vi.) seems to suggest that the sūtra where the word Yavana occurs in Gautama may be an interpolation. This is not a satisfactory explanation. One may ask, if Bühler believes that the Indians borrowed their alphabet centuries before Alexander from the neighbours of the Greeks, why it is improbable that the Indians may not have heard of the word Yavana centuries before Alexander and why Yavanas may not have resided in India long before that date. Taking all these things into consideration the Gautama-dharmasūtra cannot be placed later than the period between 600-400 B.C.

Haradatta wrote a learned commentary on the Gautama-dharmasūtra called Mitākṣara. For an account vide sec.87 below. In numerous places he quotes the explanations of other commentators of Gautama (e.g. 9.52; 10.12, 56, 66; 11.17; 12.32; 21.9 &c.). The bhāṣya of Maskari, son of Vāmana, is also a learned one, but may probably be later than Haradatta, since the interpretations which he quotes as given by others are found to be those of Haradatta (vide on Gaut. 12.30, 13.20-22).

Asahāya seems to have written a bhāṣya on Gautama; vide sec.59 below.

The Mitākṣara, the Smṛticandrika, Hemādri, Mādhava, and other writers quote a śloka-Gautama. Vide Parāśara-Mādhaviya, vol. I, part I, p.7. Aparārka, Hemādri and Mādhava quote Vṛddha-Gautama, while the Dattakamimāṃsā (p.72) quotes Vṛddha-Gaut. and Brhad-Gaut. side by side on the same point. These are later works. Jivānanda publishes a śruti of Vṛddha-Gautama in 22 chapters and about 1700 verses (part II, pp.497-636), where it is said that Yudhiṣṭhira asked Kṛṣṇa about the dharma of the four castes. This śruti seems to have been originally taken from the Āśvamedhikaparva of the Mahābhārata, as Mādhava and others cite
verses occurring in it as from that parva (vide Parāṣāramādhaviya vol. I, part I, pp. 108-110).

6. The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra.

This has been edited several times (text by Dr. Hultsch at Leipzig in 1884, text in the Ānandāśrama collection of smṛtis and in the Mysore Government Oriental Series in 1907 with the commentary of Govindasvāmin; translated in S. B. E., Vol. 14, with an Introduction). The Mysore edition has been used in this work. Baudhāyana is a teacher of the Kṛṣṇayajurveda. A complete set of the Baudhāyanasūtras has not yet been recovered and has not been as carefully preserved as the sūtras of Āpastamba and Hīranyakesin. Dr. Burnell arranges Baudhāyana’s sūtras into six sūtras, the Śrutasūtra in 19 prānas (probably); Karmāntasūtra in 20 adhyāyas; Dvaidhasūtra in four prānas; Gṛhyasūtra in four prānas; Dharmaśūtra in four prānas; Śulvasūtra in three adhyāyas. The commentators offer no indication as to the place originally assigned to the gṛhya, dharma and śulva sūtras in the whole collection. Dr. Caland in his monograph (A.D. 1903) ‘Über das Rituelle sūtra des Baudhāyana’ gives on p. 12 the contents of the Baudhāyanasūtra as follows: Prānas I-XXI Śranta, XXII-XXV Dvaidha, XXVI-XXVIII Karmānta; XXIX-XXXI Priyaścitta, XXXII Śulvasūtra, XXXIII-XXXV Gṛhyasūtra, XXXVI Gṛhyapraścittaha; XXXVII Gṛhyaparibhāṣā, XXXVIII-XLI Gṛhyapariśīṣṭa; XLII-XLIIV Pitṛmedha, XLV Pravara, XI.VI-XLIX Dharma. Dr. Caland edited nine prānas of the Śrutasūtra for the B. I. Series (A.D. 1904). Dr. R. Shamsastri published for the Mysore University (in 1920) the Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra with paribhāṣā, gṛhyaśeṣa, Pitṛmedhasūtra. The Gṛhyasūtra cites the view of Baudhāyana himself (I. 7). The Baudhāyana-dharma refers to the Gṛhya and presupposes it in several places (vide note 54). In the Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra (III. 9. 6) we have a reference to padakāra Atreya, Vṛtikāra Kaundinya, pravacanakāra Kaṇva Bodhāyana, and Śutrakāra Āpastamba.68a A similar passage

68a अथ दृष्टान्त: प्राचीनाशीतिनो वैश्यनाथनाय बिल्लिङ्गे तिर्थस्ये उदाहरस्यायात्रेये आस्त्र- राय पद्धकाराय कन्धेन्याय सृजितकाराय कन्धाय बंधकाराय परवृत्तकलायाय पांडवमाय सूक्ष्मकारा विवाहायाय प्रियप्रकृतिः वाजस्येयाय याहावल्लम्याय भर्तहारायायिस्वाया- घायोप्य उच्चतमोऽव्ययो वानप्रकृते्यों वंशस्येयेण एकपत्नीयः कह्यामैति. The epithets must be understood as arranged above, since elsewhere the epithet सूक्ष्मकारा is specially appropriated to आस्त्रमाय। The भर्तहारायायिस्वायाय (II. 20. 1,
occurs in the Bhāradvāja Gṛhyaśūtra. In the Baudhāyana-dharmaśūtra (II. 5. 27 Rṣitarpana) we have Kaṇva Bodhāyana, Āpastaṁba sūtrakāra and Satyāśādha Hiranyakṣiṇ one after another. These references show that Kaṇva Bodhāyana was an ancient sage when the Baudhāyana-dharmaśūtra was written and that he could not have been the author of the gṛhya or the dharma sūtras of Baudhāyana. Baudhāyana may have been a descendant of this Kaṇva Bodhāyana. This surmise is supported by Govindasvāmin who explains Baudhāyana occurring in Baudhāyanadharmaśūtra I. 3. 13, as Kāṇvāyana. In the dharmaśūtra Baudhāyana is himself cited as an authority several times (e.g. I. 4. 15 and 24, III. 5. 8, III. 6. 20). In all these places the Mysore edition reads Bodhāyana, while the Ānandāśrama reads Baudhāyana. In one or two places he is styled ‘bhagavān’ (III. 6. 20). Several explanations are offered by the commentator Govindasvāmin (on I. 3. 13). He says that it is the practice of the Ācāryas to refer to themselves in the third person (as Medhātithi says on Manu 69) or that the author of the dharmaśūtra is a pupil of Baudhāyana as the Manusmṛti is promulgated by Bṛhma, the pupil of Manu, or there was some other Baudhāyana whose works have not come down to us.

The following are the contents of the Baudhāyana-dharmaśūtra:—
Praśna 1:—Sources of dharma, who are siṣṭas, parisad, different practices of northern and southern India, countries where siṣṭas reside and where mixed castes reside, prāyaścitta for visiting countries of the latter type; 2. Studenthood for 48, 24 or 12 years, time of upanayana and the girdle, skin, staff appropriate to each caste, duties of brabmacarīna, eulogy of brabmacarya; 3. The duties of the snātaka who has completed his studies and observances but has not yet married; 4. directions about carrying the earthen jar (in the case of the snātaka); 5. bodily and mental śauca, purification of various substances, impurity on birth and death, meaning of sapinda and sakulya, rules of inheritance, purification on touching a corpse or a woman in her menses or on dog-bite, what flesh and food was

ed. by Kirste in 1889) makes this clear. It reads 'अध्याय पद्याराय ब्रह्मिनय पुरुषकाराय सुसारकाराय सत्यापाणिय भवचनकाऱ्य आचारयाय: &c. भार्तराजस्य (quoted by Dr. Caland in "Uber das Rituelle &c. p. 3. n. 2) reads 'ब्राह्मणाय भर्त्राजाय पुरुषकारायपस्तम्याय सावभ्य: सुज्ञारेष्य: &c.'

69 'प्रायोग परस्पराणां स्वरुप परापदेशान्त्रयया.'
allowed and forbidden; 6. Purification from the point of view of sacrifice, purification of clothes, ground, grass, fuel, vessels, and articles used in sacrifice; 7. Rules about the importance from the sacrificial point of view of sacrifice, of the sacrificial utensils, priests, the sacrificer and his wife, ghee, cooked offerings, the victim, soma and fires; 8. The four varyas and the sub-castes; 9. Mixed castes; 10. the duties of kings, the five great sins and punishments for them, punishments for killing birds, witnesses; 11. The eight forms of marriage, holidays; Praśna II. 1. Prāyaścittas for brahmahatyā and other great sins, prāyaścittas for a brahmacharīn violating his vow of celibacy, for marrying a sāgrotra girl, for marrying before elder brother, sins lesser than the great ones, description of such penances as Parāka, Kṛcchra, Atikṛchra; 2. Partition of heritage, larger share for the eldest, the several substitutes for an aurasa son, exclusion from inheritance, dependence of women, prāyaścitta for adultery by men and women, rules about niyoga, means of subsistence in distress, continuous duties of the householder such as Agnihatra &c.; 3. The daily duties of the householder such as bathing, ācamana, Vaiśvadeva, giving food; 4. Sandhyā; 5. Rules about the manner of bathing, of Ācamana, worship of the sun, and about the method of propitiating (‘tarpavī’) gods, sages and pitris; 6. The five great daily yajaṁas; the four castes and their duties; 7. regulations about dinner; 8. Śraddha; 9. eulogy of sons and spiritual benefit from sons; 10. rules about saumvasī; Praśna III. 1 modes of subsistence for the two kinds of householders, Salma and Yayāvara; 2 the means of subsistence called ‘Saṃnivartani’; 3. the duties of the forest hermit and his means of livelihood; 4. prāyaścitta for not observing the vows of brahmacarī or householder; 5. method of reciting Aghamarṣaya, the holiest of texts; 6. the ritual of prasītyāvāka; 7 the purificatory homa called Kūsmānda; 9. the penance called candrayāna; 9 the recital of the Vedas without taking food; 10. theories about purifications for sin, purifying things; Praśna IV. 1. prāyaścittas of various kinds viz. for eating forbidden food or drink &c.; 2. pratyāyānas and Aghamarṣaya as purifiers in case of several sins; 3. secret prāyaścittas; 4. Various Vedic texts as prāyaścittas; 5. Means of securing siddhi by means of japa, homa, iṣṭi and yantra: the penances called Kṛcchra, Ati-Kṛchra, Sāntāpana, Parāka, Cāndrayāṇa; 6 the muttering (japa) of holy texts, the iṣṭis; 7 praise of Yantras, various Vedic texts used in homa; 8 censure of those who enter on the means of siddhi out of great greed, permis-
sion to get these things done through another in certain circumstances.

The extant Dharmasutra does not appear to have come down intact. The fourth prāśna is most probably an interpolation. Most of the eight chapters of that prāśna are full of verses, the portion in prose being very small. The last three chapters (6–8) are entirely in verse. The style is quite different from that of the first two prāśnas. The first five chapters of the fourth prāśna dealing with prāyaścittas are more or less superfluous, the same subject having been dealt with in II. 1 and III. 4–10. Some of the sūtras in the earlier prāśnas are repeated verbatim in the fourth, e. g. II. 1. 33–34 and IV. 2. 10–11 (avakāṃṣi-prāyaścitta). The third prāśna also is not free from doubt. The tenth chapter of the third prāśna is as said above taken from Gautama. The sixth chapter of the third prāśna agrees very closely in phraseology with the 48th chapter of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. But it is rather difficult to say which is the borrower. Dr. Jolly (S. B. E. Vol. VII. p. XIX) is inclined to think that both borrowed from a common source. It seems more probable that Viṣṇu borrows from Baudhāyana, as the Viṣṇudharmasūtra uses the form ‘puṇita’ in place of ‘puṇatha’ (in Baud.) and as the Viṣṇu-Dharmasūtra omits all reference to Rudra (Baud. 111. 6. 12.) and omits the words “ganan paśyati, ganaḍhipatim paśyati... bl.agavan Bodhayanaḥ” (Baud 111.6. 20.). In the Mysore edition all the four prāśnas of the Dharmasūtra are divided into adhyāyas, but the MSS used by Bühler appear to have divided the first two prāśnas into kāṇḍikās and the last two into adhyāyas. There are many repetitions even in the first two prāśnas, which therefore make one rather doubtful about the authenticity of the first two prāśnas also in their entirety. For example II. 6. 11 and 31 are identical; in II. 7. 22 and II. 10. 53 the same verse (“aṣṭau grāṣa” &c.) is quoted. Such repetitions are frequent in the two last prāśnas e. g. III. 2. 16 and III. 3. 23; III. 4. 5 and III. 7. 12. Some of the quotations ascribed to Baudhāyana in the Mitāṣṭra and other works are not taken from the dharmasūtra, but from the Grhyasūtra or its supplements (e. g. the words ‘ekaṁ śākhām-adhīte śrotvīyāḥ” quoted in the Mit. on Yāj. III. 2. 4, which are cited by Hultzsch (on p. 125) are taken from the Grhyā (vide note 78 below).

The Dharmasūtra of Baudhāyana is somewhat loose in structure and is not concise. Govindasvāmin remarks (on L. 2. 19.) that
Baudhāyana does not aim at brevity. Several subjects are treated in two places and often without any logical connection with what precedes or follows. Rules of inheritance (daya-bhāga) occur in the midst of rules about prāyaścitta (in II. 2.); rules about holidays (anadhyāya) occur immediately after the eight forms of marriage and the condemnation of the sale of a daughter (I. 11). Rules about suṣṭaka occur in two places (I. 3 and II. 3. 10 ff.). Baudhāyana quotes at least 90 verses introduced by the words “athāpyudāharanti,” more than 80 being from the first two prāṇas alone. There are over two hundred other verses, about 80 of which occur in the first two prāṇas and about ten are Vedic. Some of the verses even in the first two prāṇas do not appear to be quotations e.g. I. 1. 16, II. 2. 1, II. 3. 50, II. 3. 52-54 and 56. A verse quoted is in the Vaiśāṣātha metre (IV. 3. 14); there are two verses in the Upanātī metre taken as a quotation (II. 3. 18). There are some prose quotations introduced with the words “athāpyudāharanti” (e.g. II. 4. 5 and II. 6. 30 which refers to the asura Kapila, son of Prahlāda). The language of the Baud. Dh. S. is archaic and often departs from the Pāṇinean standard. Baudhāyana employs such un-Pāṇinean forms as “grhyā” (for grhitvā in II. 5. 1), pūjya (II. 9. 5.), “adhiṣṭacchanah” (in II. 9. 9.), anayitvā (III. 3. 6), “punatha” (in III. 6. 5, probably a quotation), “tebhūṣḥ” (for taśīḥ in III. 2. 16, ā quotation). In several places Baudhāyana states opposite views and then gives his own opinion on the point, e.g. Baud. I. 5. 105-109 (about impurity on birth); II. 1. 49-51.

As regards the literature known to Baudhāyana the following points may be noted. All the four Vedas are mentioned by name in II. 5. 27 (tarpāja). He quotes very frequently the Taittiriya Saṁhitā, Tai. Brahmaṇa and the Tai. Aranyaka (in the Andhra recension). Well-known hymns of the Rgveda such as the Aghamarṣaṇa, the Puruṣasukta and also simple ‘āks’ are frequently referred to. In III. 10 (which is almost the same as Gautama 19) there is a sūtra enumerating the Upaniṣads, the Saṁhitās of all the Vedas and several sūmanas as purificatory texts. There are long quotations taken from the Śatapatha-brahmaṇa (XI. 3. 3. 1 ff and XI. 5. 6. 3) in Baud. (1.2.52 about brahmācāra and II.6. 7-9 about brahmāyajña). It is noteworthy that in the tarpāja there is an invocation of the

70 नन्तु द्विजाविश्व क्षत्रियस्य इति सूत्रायां स्वतं सततं निर्मिति सूत्रद्वायस्य । सत्यं, अर्थ हाचाचार्यो नालिव प्रन्तदात्राभिभाबो महति ।
Atharvaveda and immediately afterwards of the Atharvāngirasah. The same is found in the Baudhāyanaagrhyā also (III. 2. 9 and 22). In the Upaniṣads (Bṛhadāraṇyaka II.4.10, IV. 1.2) it is the word Atharvāngiraśah that stands for the Atharvaveda. Baudhāyana quotes a gāthā of the Bhāllavins (I. 1. 29) about the geographical limits of Āryāvarta. Vasīṣṭha adduces the same verse (I. 15) and says that it is taken from the Nidāna work of the Bhāllavins. The Nirukta also mentions a school of Vedic interpretation called Naidānāh. It is difficult to say what Nidāna works contained. Itibhāsa and Purāṇa occur in the āṭarpaṇa (II. 5. 27). The āṅgas of the Vedas occur in I. 1. 8 and the six āṅgas in II. 8. 2. Whether the word “rāhasya” in II. 8. 3 means the Aranyakas (as Govindasvāmin explains) is doubtful. Baudhāyana mentions a Vaikhānasa-śāstra in II. 6. 16, which appears to refer to the work of Vikhanas on hermits and speaks of Śrāmaṇaka (the rites prescribed by Vikhanas for initiation as hermit), just as Gautama does. Among the authors on dharma mentioned by name are: Upajānghani (II. 2. 33 for the view that only āurṣa son was to be recognised and not the other kinds of sons?1), Kātyā (I. 2. 47), Kaśyapa (or Kaśyapa in other editions, I. 11. 20 on the point that a woman bought cannot be a patni), Gautama (I. 1. 23 and II. 2. 70), Prajāpati (II. 4. 15 about failure in Sandhyopāsana, and II. 10. 71 about sannyāsa), Manu (IV. 1. 14 and IV. 2. 16), Maudgalya (II. 2. 61, about observances of a widow being restricted only to six months after her husband’s death), Harita (II. 1. 50). Baud. I. 2. 7 quotes a verse, which Vasīṣṭha ascribes to Harita (Vas. II. 6). As to Gautama, vide p. 17 above. Manu is only mentioned in the fourth praśna, the authenticity of which, as said above, is very doubtful. Baudhāyana II. 2. 16 (about the efficacy of Aghamāraṣṭhā) closely agrees with Manu XI. 260. The first reference to Manu’s teaching cannot be traced in the Manusmṛti. Prajāpati (in III. 9. 21) seems to stand for god Brahmā and not for any real or mythical writer on dharma. One remarkable piece of information contained in Baudhāyana (II. 6. 30) is that he quotes from a work (of the Brāhmaṇa class in language) a prose passage wherein the division into four āśramas is ascribed to an asura Kapila, son of Prahlāda. In II. 2. 79 Baudhāyana quotes a gāthā from the

71 One of the verses (अरमलता रक्षत तनुमन ) is referred to by शबरस्वामी on प्र. मी. शू. I. 2.13 (अपराधाति कलंथा पुजायसि ) Ṣ. H. D. 4.
dialogue between the daughter of Uṣanas and the king Vṛṣaparvan, which is nearly the same as Mahābhārata I. 78. 10 and 34. Baud. quotes the view of Acāryas (II. 6. 29) as Gautama does. In several places he refers to the views of his predecessors on dharma as "others" (ekes, apare) e. g. I. 4. 23, I. 5. 16, I. 6. 105-106, II. 5. 2. In II. 3. 18 two verses in the Upājāti metre are quoted as sung by "anna" (food). From the numerous quotations in verse cited by Baudhāyana on topics of dharma, it follows that the Dharmasūtra was preceded by a considerable number of works on dharma in verse. Bühler (SBE vol. XIV, p. XLIII) says that Vijnāneśvara was the first writer who quoted the Baud. D. S. But there are writers who flourished centuries before Vijnāneśvara that regarded Baudhāyana as a writer on dharma and either quoted his words or pointedly referred to them. Śabara in his bhaṣya on Jaimini, I. 3. 3 says that the rule in the Smṛtis about the period of Vedic study being 48 years is opposed to the Vedic injunction "one who has begot sons and whose hair are dark should consecrate the sacrificial fires." This must be regarded as referring to the words of Baudhāyana (I. 2. 1). Śabara uses the same word "Vedabrahmacarya" that Baud. employs. It is true that Gautama and Āpastamba both refer to the rule about 48 years, but they do not employ the word "veda-brahmacarya." The Tantravārtike of Kumārila says that the words of Āpastamba (II. 6. 15. 1) which seem to accept the validity of local and family usages (even though opposed to Smṛti tradition) stand refuted by the words of Baudhāyana (I. 1. 19-24) who cites only such censured usages as are opposed to Smṛti. Kumārila appears to think that Baudhāyana attacks the extant work of Āpastamba, i. e. the present Baud. is later than the present Āpastamba. It is not necessary to follow

78 स्तुत्वाने दृष्टिना से यायातः भविष्यः। अथाहितस्थानमस्य दुनोमविद्युंक्तः॥

73 शाबर’’s words are ‘अशचतविरिग्ददर्शाणि वेदवश्चर्चयेर्यार्जुन् जातपुजः’ सण्केशोभिना-
द्धीन-कस्मने विश्वारुपायो ततीतिणा’ on I. 3. 3, and again on I. 3. 4 ‘अपरस्वं प्रेष्यदबन्धनभा-
शचतविरिग्ददर्शाणि महावर्ग चरितवर्णा’. Baudhāyan’s words are अशचतविरिग्ददर्शाणि
पार्वर्ण वेदवश्चर्चयुः. Compare गो. ध. सू. 2. 52 and आ. ध. सू. I. 1. 2. 12.

74 तन्मयार्थिक p. 139 ‘आपस्थम्यवचने तु बोधयने स्तुत्तिविरिग्ददर्शार्यादापिष्ययथेय अय-
चक्षुतम निगततम्’. The words in the यी. ध. सू. (I. 1. 22) ‘नमः तस्मा वेश-
प्रामात्यभेद स्वातः’ are opposed to the words of आपस्थम्य ‘एतेन देशकुलभयो
स्वामयानात्.’
Kumārila implicitly as regards chronological details, where he is speaking of writers that flourished over a thousand years before him. But his opinion deserves weight. The Tantravārttika quotes a Smṛti passage which bears a close resemblance to Baudhāyana (II. 3. 28)\(^{75}\). In the commentary of Viśvarūpa (who as we shall see below flourished about 800 A. D.) on Yājñavalkya, Baudhāyana is quoted at least nine times in the chapter on ācāra alone. Vide Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 21, 26, 29, 53, 64, 69, 72, 79, 195 (Trivandrum edition), where Baud. I. 5. 14, I. 2. 30, I. 5. 5, I. 1. 17, IV. 1. 15, IV. 1. 18, IV. 1. 22, IV. 1. 20 and I. 5. 47 are respectively quoted. There are very few variations from the present text and the only serious variation is as regards the last (I. 5. 47) which is in prose (while Viśvarūpa quotes a verse). It is remarkable that Viśvarūpa quotes several verses from the fourth praśna, which shows that even if the fourth praśna be an interpolation, it is comparatively an ancient one. The Mit. also (on Yāj. III. 306) quotes a long passage from the fourth praśna (IV. 1. 5–11). The words of the Śākuntala\(^{76}\) that the first precept is that a girl is to be given away to a meritorious person are probably a reminiscence of Baud. IV. 1. 12. Medhātithi on Manu. V. 117 quotes Baudhāyana I. 5. 47 and on IV. 36 quotes Baud. I. 4. 2 (which is mutilated as printed). On Manu. V. 114 he says that all the rules about purification of substances are contained in Baudhāyana-smṛti. On Manu. V. 118, he quotes Baud. I. 5. 50.

About the home of Baudhāyana it is difficult to advance any positive conclusion. In modern times Baudhāyaniyas are mostly confined to the south. We know that Sāyana, the great commentator of the Vedas, was a Baudhāyaniya. A grant of Nandivarma, a Pallava, of the 9th century mentions Brāhmaṇas of the pravacana-sūtra as recipients.\(^{77}\) As Baudhāyana is called pravacanakāra in the Gṛhya-sūtras Bühler thinks (S. B. E. vol. 14 p. xlii) that the Brāhmaṇas

\(^{75}\) तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 993 ‘तथा च स्मति: । द्वारायेऽहुः दुष्के रक्मे च कुष्ठल—
\begin{center}\
हत्तादि सुपयस्त्वेऽ ।’ Baud. has ‘द्वारायुः दुष्के धायोऽक्षुकुष्ठले च.’ Compare मनु
\end{center}

IV. 36. It is probable that the तन्त्रवार्तिक combines यो. and मनु.

\(^{76}\) ‘गुणावते क्रमया प्रदेया हि नावः: किमः कल्यं: ’ शाकुन्तलः 4th Act; while Baud.
\begin{center}\
has ‘द्वारायेऽहुः दुष्के नामधिका महाचारिणि:’.
\end{center}

\(^{77}\) I. A. vol. 8, pp. 273–274.
belonged to the Baudhāyanacarana. Buhler is probably right. In the
grant most of the donees are students of the Āpastamba Sūtra. First
the Gotra, then the Sūtra and then the name of the donee are intro-
duced in the grant. Therefore as some of the donees are said to be
students of “pravacanasūtra,” it follows that “pravacana” stands
for some sūtra school. It appears that sūtra and pravacana are two
different things, whatever the latter term may mean. Baudhāya
na is called pravacana-kāra and Āpastamba is styled sūtrakāra. We are
told by the Baudhāyanā-grhysūtra78 that a Brāhmaṇa who studied
sūtra and pravacana was styled “bhrūṇā.” Bühler was inclined to
hold that Baudhāyaṇa was a southern teacher for several reasons.
Baudhāyaṇa mentions customs of the south and includes sea-faring
as a custom peculiar to the north (I. 1. 20), while in another place
he places sea-faring at the head of sins (pataniyas) lesser than the
mortal ones (II. 1. 41). Therefore it is said that he was not a nor
thern teacher. But as against this we have to remember that
Baudhāyaṇa (I. 1. 29) quotes with apparent approval a verse in
which the countries of Avanti (Ujjain), Atiga, Magadha, Surāśtri
(Kathiawar) and Dakṣiṇāpatha are declared to be the home of
mixed castes. Dakṣiṇāpatha was generally supposed to be the whole
peninsula south of the Narmadā. Baudhāyaṇa, if he was a native of
the south, would not have spoken of his country as the home of
mixed castes only, unless he put a restricted meaning on the word
Dakṣiṇāpatha (which sometimes meant in later days Mahāraṣtra).

The extant Baudhāyanadharmanāsūtra is certainly later than
Gautama, as it mentions Gautama twice by name and as one quota-
tion at least is found in the extant Gautama. Besides Baudhāyaṇa
quotes by name several teachers on dharmā, while Gautama quotes
only one, Manu. Baudhāyaṇa is far removed from the times of the
Upaniṣads. Baud. (II. 7. 15) quotes a verse which is itself an
adaptation of a passage from the Chândogya-upaniṣad. 79 He

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78 The whole passage is interesting उपनिषांमात्रः ब्रजानुभारी चेदान्तं किंचिद्वित

79 Baud. ‘अधानुपदार्थसिद्धम्—यथ.हि तृतीयश्चैव कषो मेन प्रदीप्यते। तद्वेदाणि पापानि

V.24.3. ‘तवयैःकातूलमनो नोन्य न्येनवेद धार्मि स्वेद पापान: प्रदण्ये ’ &c.
quotes Harita. It is uncertain whether the Haritadharma-sutra, a
manuscript of which was discovered by the late Vaman śastri Islam-
purkar at Nasik, is the one intended. Bühler thought that the work
of Baudhāyana was earlier than that of Āpastamba by a century or
two. His first reason was that Kāṇva Baudhāyana receives homage
in the tarpayā before Āpastamba and Hiranyakasipu and that the same
order is observed in the Baudhāyana-grhyasūtra. But this reason is
far from convincing. It may be conceded that Baudhāyana was
regarded as the oldest (or the most authoritative or respectable) of the
three schools of the Black Yajurveda. But from this it does not at
all follow that the extant dharma-sutra of the Baudhāyaniyas is earlier
than that of the Āpastambiyas. For aught we know the sūtra com-
piled for the school of Baudhāyana may be later than the sūtra
manual of the Āpastambiyas. We saw above that orthodox opinion,
represented by Kumārila, regards Baudhāyana’s work as later than
Āpastamba’s. All the three founders of the three schools are mentioned
in the Baudhāyana-grhyasūtra and dharma-sūtra. One may equally argue with
good reason that both these works knew a sūtra work of Āpastamba
and that the extant dharma-sūtra of Āpastamba is that work. Another
reason assigned for the priority of Baudhāyana’s work over Āpastam-
ba’s is that, though both have numerous sūtras that agree almost
word for word, a comparison of the views of the two writers shows
that Āpastamba lays down stricter and more puritanic (and there-
fore later) views on certain points than Baudhāyana. Gautama,
Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha mention several secondary sons, while
Āpastamba is silent about them. Gautama, Baudhāyana (II. 2. 17,
62), Vasiṣṭha and even Viṣṇu approve of the practice of uñyoga,
while Āpastamba condems it (II. 6. 13. 1–9). Gautama and
Baudhāyana (I. 11. 1) speak of eight forms of marriage, while
Āpastamba speaks of only six and omits Prajāpatya and Paśāca
(II. 5. 11. 17–20 and II. 5. 12. 1–2). Baudhāyana (II. 2. 4–6)
allowed a larger share to the eldest son on a partition, while Āpa-
stamba condemns such a procedure (II. 6. 14. 10–14). The
Baudhāyana-grhyasūtra (II. 4. 6) allows upanayana to ratbakāra,
while Āpastamba (grhya 4. 10. 1–4) does not do so (dharma-sūtra
I. 1. 1. 19). These points are hardly conclusive on the question of
date. From very ancient times there was great divergence of opinion
among the doctors of the law on most, if not on all, of these
points. There is no hard and fast rule that these doctrines were up-
held by early writers and condemned by later ones. Baudhāyana himself quotes the views of an ancient writer, Aupajānghāni, who condemned all secondary sons. The verses that Baudhāyana quotes on this point (II. 2. 14–36) are quoted by Āpastamba also but without the author’s name (Ap. II. 6. 13, 6), there being variants only in the first verse. Niyoga was allowed by Āṇu (9. 56–63) and then condemned (9. 64–68) and Bṛhaspati refers to this attitude of Āṇu (vide Kullūka on Āṇu 9. 68). Even so late a writer as Yajñavalkya (II. 131) approves of niyoga. About the rathakāra being allowed to consecrate the sacred fires there is a discussion in the sūtras of Jaimini (VI. 1. 14 ff). Vedic passages supported both methods viṣe, equal division among sons and the bestowal of a larger share on the eldest. Even Yajñavalkya (II. 118) allows a larger share to the eldest son. Therefore hardly anyone of the circumstances relied upon by Bühler as indicating a later age for Āpastamba is conclusive or convincing. The third ground for placing Baudhāyana before Āpastamba is that the style of the former is simpler and older as compared with the latter’s. That Baudhayana is simpler than Āpastamba may be admitted. But this may be due to the fact that Baudhayana has been tampered with more than Āpastamba. On the other hand Āpastamba contains more un-Pāninese forms, more uncouth constructions, more words in an archaic sense than is the case with Baudhayana. All that is almost certain about the age of the Baudhayana-dharmasūtra is that it is later than the work of Gautama, that its style, its doctrines and its general out-look on different subjects do not compel us to assign it a later date than that of the other dharmasūtras. We have adduced evidence to show that long before the days of Śabara (whose latest date cannot be later than 500 A.D.) the Baudhayana-dharmasūtra was an authoritative smṛti; it follows that the dharmasūtra must be placed somewhere between 500–200 B.C. Numerous sūtras are identical in Baudhayana and Āpastamba e.g. Ap. I. 1. 30 = Baud. I. 2. 40–41, Ap. I. 2. 6. 8–9 = Baud. I. 2. 39, Ap. I. 5. 15. 8 = Baud. I. 2. 31, Ap. I. 11. 31. 11 and 16 = Baud. II. 3. 39 and 32. There are several verses that occur in both e.g. Baud. II. 1. 42 = Ap. I. 9. 27. 11, Baud. II. 2. 34–36 = Ap. II. 6. 13. 6 (three verses condemning secondary sons), Baud. II. 10. 63 = Ap. I. 11. 9. 21. 10, Baud. II. 7. 22–23 = Ap. II. 4. 9. 13. (two verses), Baud. II. 6. 36 = Ap. II. 9. 24. 8. Besides these there are numerous Vedic quotations that are common to both. All this,
however, does not establish anything about their relative position. The Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra also has numerous quotations in common with Baud. Vide Vas. I. 15. = Baud. I. 1. 28, Vas. III. 5, 6, 11, 20, 56 = Baud. I. 1. 10, 12, 11, 8 and I. 5. 58 (respectively); Vas. 6. 20-21 = Baud. II. 7. 22-23; Vas. VIII. 17 = Baud. II. 2, 1; Vas. XI. 27-28 = Baud. II. 8. 21-22; Vas. XVI. 34 = Baud. I. 10. 35, Vas. XVII. 73 = Baud. IV. 1. 17, Vas. XVII. 86 = Baud. I. 5. 102; Vas. XXII. 10 = Baud. I. 1. 33. It is to be noted that some of these quotations (Baud. II. 8. 21-22, I. 10. 35) occur in the extant Manusmṛti also (III. 125-126 and VIII. 98). There are a few prose sūtras in Vas. that are transformed into verse in Baud. and vice versa e.g. Vas. III. 41 (prose) = Baud. I. 5. 20 (quoted as a verse), Vas. III. 57 (quoted as a verse) = Baud. I. 6. 19-20. It is not likely that one borrows from the other. There are two other possible explanations, viz. that both Baud. and Vas. (and Manu also) quote from or adapt a common source or that the three works have been tampered with and interpolations introduced at every step. The latter alternative is too sweeping as the number of verses is very large and makes all the old sūtras except that of Gautama valueless for all chronological purposes. One cannot subscribe to the view that such extensive interpolations took place as the latter theory demands. The first alternative appears more reasonable. What that common source was, whether it was a regular work in verse or whether there was a floating mass of such popular verses as Bühler holds, are questions that present very great difficulties. It is not easy to believe that there were hundreds of floating verses on dharma no body knew by whom composed, on which writers of the centuries preceding the Christian era drew for supporting their opinions. That does not sound as a very likely procedure. It is more probable that such verses were contained in a work or works now lost. 151-152

In the tarpaya, Baud. (II. 5. 21) mentions several appellations of Ganeśa, viz. Vighna, Vināyaka, Sthūla, Varada, Hastimukha, Vakratunda, Ekadanta, Lambodara. But this affords no certain clue as to date. The worship of Vināyaka is found in the Mānavagṛhya also. In the tarpaya (II. 5. 23) we have the seven planets mentioned in the order of the days of the week and also Rahu and Ketu; besides the twelve names of Viṣṇu occur in II. 5. 24. In II. 1. 44 Baud. speaks of the profession of an actor or of a teacher of dramaturgy (Nātyācārya) as an upapātaka. Several
sūtras attributed to Baudhāvana on the subject of adoption in the Dattakamimāṇsa and other later works are taken from the Baudhayananagṛhyaśeṣaśūtra (II. 6), the sūtras agreeing very closely with Vasiṣṭha (15. 1–9).

According to Burnell the oldest commentator on the Baudhayāṇa-sūtra was Bhavavāmin, whom he placed in the 8th century. The commentary of Govindavāmin on the Dharmasūtra is a learned one and is generally to the point. He appears to be a very late writer.

7. Dharmasūtra of Āpastamba.

This has been edited several times (viz., by Bühler in the Bombay Sanskrit series with large extracts from Haradatta’s commentary called Ujjvala and also at Kumbhakonam with the complete commentary of Haradatta and translated by Bühler with an introduction in S. B. E. vol. II.). The Āpastambakalpasūtra of the Taittiriya Śākha of the black Yajurveda is divided into 30 prāṇas. According to Bühler, the first 24 prāṇas contain the treatment of Śrauta sacrifices; the 25th contains paribhāṣas, pravarakhaṇḍa, and Hauraka prayers to be recited by Hotṛ priests; 26th and 27th prāṇas constitute the Gṛhyaśūtra, the 28th and 29th Dharmasūtra and the 30th prāṇa is the Śulvasūtra. Bühler seems to be slightly inaccurate here. According to Cauḍappā, who commented on the Āpastambiyasūtras in the 14th century, the Āpastambiyamantrapātha forms the 25th and 26th prāṇas of the Kalpasūtra and the Gṛhyaśūtra forms 27th prāṇa. The Śrauta-sūtra of Āpastamba was edited by Dr. Garbe in the B. I. series; the Gṛhya and Mantrapātha were edited by Dr. Winternitz. The Gṛhya with the commentary of Sudarśanārya has been edited in the Mysore Govt. Oriental series by Pandit Mahadeva Sastri (in 1893). It is divided into eight pātālas and 23 khaṇḍas. According to the Caraṇavyūha, Āpastamba (or “bha” as written in many southern mss.) is one of the five subdivisions of the Khāṇḍikiya school of the Taittiriyaśākha of the Black Yajurveda. Whether the author of the Āpastambiyasūtra Śrāuta, Gṛhya and Dharmasūtras is the same is difficult to determine. One sūtra in

80 प्राणिवर्ग प्राणिमाण्य ग्रहणमयः: प्राणिवर्गः परित्यागसमवेषाः स्वयंसनामग्रन्थिकमः।

(Dr. Winternitz’s edition of Āp. Mantrapātha p. IX). The editor further states (p. IX n. 2) that Paribhāṣas form part of the 24th prāṇa and not of the 25th, as Bühler says.
the Āpastambadharma (II. 2. 5. 17) is the same as Ap. Śrauta (III. 17. 8 and VIII. 4. 6). Oldenberg (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. XXXII) does not subscribe to Bühler’s view (S. B. E. Vol. II, pp. XIII-XIV) that the authors of the Ap. Śrauta and Dharma were identical and gives it as his own view that another person of the same school might have imitated the style of the author of the Śrauta. Whatever may be said of the identity of the authorship of the Śrauta and Dharma sūtras, the Grhya and Dharma seem to be very closely related and both seem to be the compositions of the same author. The Ap. Grhya sūtra, as compared with the Āśvalayana-grhya or Gobhilagṛhya, is extremely brief and leaves out many rules that are given in other Grhya works. For example, about the choice of a girl Ap. grhya gives only a single rule (1. 3. 19*). While it is the Dharmasūtra that tells us that the bride must not be sāgūtra nor sāpiṇḍa (Ap. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 15-16). The Ap. Grhya is silent about the forms of marriage, about holidays, about the duties of brahma- carins and such other subjects which are generally treated of in other Grhyasūtras. These subjects are dealt with in the Ap. Dh. S. and there are several places where the Dharmasūtra presupposes the existence of the Grhya and refers to it. Compare Ap. Dh. S. II. 1, 1. 10-11 82 with Ap. Gr. S. III. 7 (particularly sūtras 1, 17, 23). Vide note 54 above. Some sūtras are identical in the Grhya and Dharma, e. g. Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 38 and Grhya IV. 11. 15-16 (about the staff of Brahmacārin); Ap. Dh. S. II. 4. 8. 7 and Grhya V. 13. 19. In some cases the Grhya-sūtra itself seems to refer to the teachings of the Dharmasūtra, e. g. Grhya S. 21. 1 and Dharma II. 7. 16. 6-7. All these facts make it highly probable, if not certain, that the Grhya and Dharma sūtras were composed by the same author and that the details of certain topics were purposely omitted in the

81 बन्युपीलुङ्कमेंसुप्रेसामातमोगमुपमच्छेदित।

82 भेषुनेस्वास्थायपकः | नम्बुरीचारः पाणिन्येवत्वः। | अप. ध. चूः; | ‘अथनामालेचें स्थालापाकेन याज्ञायत।।‘ | सम्पत्ति तृत्युः शुद्धिवाएकज्ञुपुष्पिताम्। | परेषु कार्यः। | पाणिनानासीभाषाय शुद्धितद्वसतायायायायायितुः। | आप. गृ चूः | Vide also | आप. ध. चू. | II. 7. 17. 6 ‘संस्कृतुः तत्रायुः सर्वेऽः | सम्बन्धयाय शोभयाय श्रास्वाताय श्रास्वाताय श्रास्वाताय श्रास्वाताय | श्रास्वाताय मधुमण्डूरुः | and आप. गृ चू. | 8. 2. III. 4. 21. 9 ‘सर्वेऽः सम्बन्धयाय श्रास्वाताय श्रास्वाताय श्रास्वाताय श्रास्वाताय श्रास्वाताय श्रास्वाताय | उपयुत: पश्चिमनि यथा पुरुषतात् | आप. ध. चू. | II. 2. 3. 17 and | आप. गृ. | I. 2. 3. | ‘समावेशु च... कछोपदेशस्य पूज्येन् | आप. ध. चू. | II. 2. 5. 4

R. D. 5.
Grhya to avoid repetition. The Sūtrakṛtāna-Sūtra (2.1.1.2. p. 133) distinctly asserts that the author of the Dharmaśāstra and the Grhya-sūtra was the Veda.

The contents of the An-dharma-sūtra are...

The authoritative sources of dharma are the Vedas and the sages of those who know dharma; the four varnas, their precedence; definition of varna and his greatness; caste for upanayana according to the varnas and according to one's desire; upaśāstra, if proper time for upanayana is gone; he whose father, grand-father, and great-grand-father have no upanayana perform it becomes purūsa, but he can be purified, viz. sacrifice: the duties of brahma and residence with teacher for 30 years, 30; 30 years, rule of brahma; rule of brahma; illicit girl and man, etc.; about begging for food, bringing food and offering to the god. The varnas are his tapas, rules about being with and others according to vargas; giving dining to the cakkha at the end of study; rules for munāka; rules about holidays and about the time and place for Vedic study; rules about holidays apply to study of the Veda and not to the use of mantras in Vedic rites; the five great daily yajnas: to bhutas, men, gods, pitrs, and sages, honoring men of higher castes, old men, parents, brothers and sisters and others, method of inquiring about ones' health &c. according to vargas; occasions of wearing yajnopavita: times and manner of evamana; rules about forbidden and permitted food and drink; the ascension of a raja: not allowed to a Brahma except in distress; rules forbidding the sale or exchange of certain things; grave sin (upanayana) such as theft, the murder of a Brahmana or other man cause abortion, incest, drinking wine etc; other sins are not so grave, though they make the perpetrator impure; discussion of some metaphysical questions such as the knowledge of the soul, brahma, the moral faults that lead to perdition such as raja, avarice, hypocrisy &c; the virtues that lead to the highest good, such as absence of anger or avarice &c. truthfulness, tranquility; compensation for killing a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, or Śūdra and women; prāyaścitta for killing a Brahmana and an Ātreyi Brahmana woman, for killing a guru or a Śrottriya; prāyaścitta for violating the bed of a guru, for drinking wine and for theft of gold; prāyaścitattas for killing several birds, cows and bulls, and for abusing those who should not be abused, for sexual intercourse with a Śūdra woman, for taking forbidden food.
and drink &c.; rules about Kriechra for twelve nights; what constitutes theft; how one should act towards a fallen (patita) guru and mother; various opinions about prayaścita for violating guru's bed, prayaścita for a husband who has intercourse with another woman and for wife's adultery; prayaścita for killing a Brāhmaṇa (a learned brāhmaṇa); Brāhmaṇa was not to wield arms, except in self-defence against bodily injury; prayaścita for afflicting; prayaścitas for lesser sins; various views about smaraka (Vidyāśrataka, Vṛṣnidasataka and Vidyāvat-atatuka); the observances (vrata) of smatā: as regards gharma, answering calls of nature, about scandalous talk, about not seeing the rising or setting Sun, avoiding moral faults such as anger; II (praśna) the householder's observances commence on marriage (panigraha); rules of conduct for a householder about taking food and fasting, about sexual intercourse; all the castes attain unmeasured bliss by performing their duties and are re-born in conditions appropriate to their actions and by means of evil deeds are re-born in evil surroundings e. g. a Brāhmaṇa who is a thief or a murderer of a brāhmaṇa becomes Candra, a similarly guilty rajava becomes a pūrṇaka, the three higher castes should after bathing perform Vaiśvadeva, Sudras may cook food for their masters of higher castes under the supervision of yogas offerings (kliṣa) of cooked food; gresses (audha) food; other cooked food, their children, old men, sick persons and those women, and even the householder himself; no one should use food which comes at the end of Vaiśvadeva; rules of receiving gresses, such as unlearned brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śudras; an householder should always wear an upper garment or his sacred thread may serve that purpose; in the absence of a Brāhmaṇa teacher, a Brāhmaṇa may learn from a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya teacher, duties of a married man when his father comes a guest; duty of the householder to feed and to observe the eight codes laid down. In case of doubt, every one's case and its retention are needed; who is an eligible judge of honouring an elder; procedure if an elder comes to a respectable one who has concealed Sūtra, to whom will an elder make a disclosure? The six Sūtras are dependent on this...
brāhmaṇarir, householder, hermit &c.; occasions for begging are the teacher, marriage, sacrifice, maintenance of parents and avoidance of the cessation of some worthy obervance (like agnihotra); the peculiar karmans of Brāhmaṇas and the other castes; rules of war; the king to appoint a purusha skilled in dharma and art of government, who is to carry out punishments and penances; punishments including death sentence according to the gravity of the offences, but a Brāhmaṇa was not to be killed or injured or to be made a slave; rule of the road; a man of the lower caste by practising his duties rises higher and higher when re-born and a man of the higher castes goes lower by adharma; one should not marry another wife, when the first has children and is helpful in the performance of dharma; rules about marriageable girl, i.e. she must not be sagostra and sapīnda of the mother; six forms of marriage, brāhma, arā, daiva, gāndharva, āṣṭra, ṛaksasa; preference among the six; rules of conduct after marriage; sons born of wives of the same caste can perform the duties appropriate to the father’s caste and inherit parent’s property; the son of a woman who was once married or who is not married according to prescribed forms or who is not of the same caste is censured; whether the son belongs to the begetter (or to him on whose wife he is begotten); there can be no gift or sale of a child; partition during father’s lifetime and equal division; exclusion from inheritance of the impotent, lunatics and sinners; the inheritance in the absence of son goes to nearest sapīnda, then to the teacher and then to the pupil, or the daughter and ultimately to the king; the opinion of some that the largest share goes to the eldest son is opposed to the Vedas; no partition between husband and wife; usages of countries and families not to be followed if opposed to the Vedas; impurity on death of agnates, cognates &c.; gifts to be made at proper time, place and to proper person; śrāddhas; times of śrāddha; materials required at śrāddha, food (including flesh) appropriate at śrāddha; what Brāhmaṇas are to be called at śrāddha; the four āśrama; rules about purivrāj i.e. sannyasin; the duties of forest hermit; praise of the meritorious and condemnation of evil-doers; special rules about kings; founding of his capital and palace; position of the saha; extirpation of thieves; gifts of land and wealth to Brāhmaṇas; protection of people; persons exempt from taxation, such as Śrotiyas, women of all castes, students and ascetics; punishment of young men for adultery; punishment varied according as the woman wronged was Ārya or
Śūdra; punishments for abuse and for homicide; punishments for various breaches of conduct; dispute between cowherd and master; the perpetrator, the abettor and one who approves of the act are all guilty; who are to decide disputes; in case of doubt decision by inference and by divine proof (ordeals); punishment for perjury; all other dharma should be learnt, according to some, from women and people of all castes.

Each of the two praśnas of the Āpastaṃba-dharma-sūtra is divided into eleven patalas, there being 32 and 29 khaṇḍikas in the two patalas respectively. The Dharmasūtra is written in a more concise and compact style than that of Baudhāyana and has more archaic and un-Pāṇinean forms than any other extant Dharmasūtra. For example, the following are against the rules of Pāṇini; Adhāsana (for adha āsana) in I. 1. 2. 21, aglaṁśu (I. 2. 3. 22), muhūṁśca (I. 2. 8. 22), agrhyamāna (I. 4. 12. 8), sarvatopeka (for sarvata upeta) in I. 6. 19. 9, sakhm (for sakhm) in I. 7. 21. 9. Haradatta points out in many places that the current reading was un-Pāṇinean and therefore he read differently (e.g. in II. 2. 3. 2 he reads ‘viprakramaṇa’, while the current reading was ‘viprakramin’). This makes it probable that in the original text there must have been many more un-Pāṇinean forms than in the one preserved by Haradatta. There are many unfamiliar or rare words used by Apastamba, i.e. ananiyoga (I. 6. 19. 12), anāścarika (I. 8. 22. 1), Kartapatya (I. 2. 5. 3), vyupatoda and vyupajāva (‘pa’) in I. 2. 8. 15, brahmahasamstuta (I. 1. 1. 32). We meet with strange forms of certain words, such as paryānta (I. 3. 9. 21), praśāta (II. 8. 19. 3), anātyaya (I. 1. 2. 21 for anātyaya), brahmajjham (for -ojjhab) in I. 7. 21. 8, śvāvita (I. 5. 17. 37), śthevana (I. 11. 30. 19 for śthivana), acaryadāre (for -dāreṣu) in I. 2. 7. 27. Though the Ap. Dharmasūtra is mainly in prose, there are verses here and there. Some of the verses are expressly stated to be taken from other sources by being introduced with the word “udāharanti” or with “athāpyudāharanti” e.g. I. 6. 19. 13 (two ślokas from a Purāṇa), I. 6. 19. 15 (compare Manu 8. 317 and Vas. 19. 44), I. 11. 31. 1, I. 11. 32. 24, II. 4. 9. 13 (two verses, same as Baud. II. 7. 22-23), II. 7. 17. 8, II. 6. 13. 6 (three verses almost the same as in Baud. II. 2. 34-36), II. 9. 23. 4-5 (two ślokas from a Purāṇa). Besides these there are several isolated verses, most of which

83 'प्रध्येण मकारात्मकारामविष्णुपदम । नात्रावेष एवाभः । इन्धरस्त भान्दसोपपत्ति वा ।'
seem to be quotations, though not introduced with words like “udāharanti”. They are I. 4. 14. 25, I. 6. 19. 14 (the first pada of which is Manu 4. 212), I. 9. 27. 10, I. 9. 27. 11 (same as Baudh. II.1.42), II. 2. 4. 14 (compare Manu III. 101). Some of these verses are defective in metre, there being nine syllables in one anushtub pada as in I. 9. 27. 10, II. 9. 23. 4–5, II. 2. 4. 14. One of the verses is in the classical Upājāti metre (II. 7. 17. 18), while another closely approaches that metre (I. 9. 27. 11). Besides these there are a few half-verses, II. 5. 11. 5–6 (same as latter half of Vanaparva 133. 1), II. 9. 21. 10 (Manu 6. 43 has the first pada). Thus in all there are about twenty verses, of which at least six occur in Baudhāyana. Some sūtras that are printed as prose are parts of verses, e.g. I. 2. 5. 11. Besides these there are several verses in the patalas dealing with metaphysics (I. 8. 22. 4–8 and I. 9. 23. 1–3) that are pieced together largely from Upaniṣad passages. Āpastamba in several places employs the first person plural about himself, e.g. I. 1. 1. 27, I. 8. 22. 3, I. 8. 23. 4. Haradatta points out that in his day there was difference in the text as handed down in Northern and in Southern India.

Āpastamba quotes, besides the Sūtrakritas, the Brāhmaṇas very frequently (e.g., I. 1. 1. 10–11, I. 1. 3. 9, I. 1. 3. 26, I. 2. 7. 7, I. 2. 7. 11, I. 3. 10. 8). He quotes the Vaiśeṣika (I. 5. 17. 31) and the Vaiśeṣikya-brāhmaṇa (I. 4. 12. 3 on svādhyāya), he speaks of the Upaniṣads (II. 2. 5. 1), his quotations (II. 2. 3. 16–II. 2. 4. 1–9) from the Tait. Aranyaka agree, according to Bühler, with the text current in the Andhra country. He speaks of the six anīgas of the Veda (II. 4. 8. 10) and in the next sūtra enumerates Chandas, Kalpa, grammar, Jyotisha, Nirukta, Siksā, (phonetics) and Chandoviciti (metrics), which are seven (Siksā being probably intended to be included in grammar). There are passages in Āpastamba which agree with the Nirukta, e.g. the definition of ācārya

84 'अपेक्षाशाय ब्राह्मणसंग...यथा ब्राह्मण समां स्वाधयनः: स्वाधयाः प्रथमः।' आप. I. 1. 1. 27:
नराङ्गसुतम् सुतम् सुवानां द्वितीयस्य प्रथमाम्।' I. 8. 22. 3; 'अथ ब्राह्मण, अशुपादु द्वितीयस्य प्रथमाम्।' I. 8. 23. 4.

85 On the sūtra अर्थम् श्रवन्नाति (II. 7. 11. 25) he says 'उदर्श्वेतानिर्वर्णनां न पाठाति। तथा च पुनः स्वाध्ययनः.'

86 'पश्चास्त्रादिवनिनासे न अन्वये।' आप. न. त. I. 1. 1. 14; 'अल्पायं कामदुर्भावाँ माइत्यैसंविद्यायां मद्यमिनि या ' तत्क च I. 4. et 'तस्मै न ब्राह्मवाचनानि' (quoted in तिम्ब. I. 1. 5).

He quotes the view of Śvetaketu in Śvetaketu’s own words (in I. 4. 13. 20) that even a married man should every year stay with his teacher for two months to refresh his studies and gives it as his own opinion that Śvetaketu’s view is opposed to the Śāstras (the Vedas). In another place (I. 1. 4. 5-6) he speaks of Śvetaketu as an *avāra* (a person belonging to later ages) and as one who on account of the remnant of his meritorious actions done in a former life or lives was able to grasp the four Vedas in a short time. It is usual to see in this a reference to Śvetaketu in the Chāṇḍogya Upaniṣad (VI. 1. 1-2), where it is stated that Śvetaketu mastered all the Vedas in twelve years. But this identification is somewhat of doubtful value. *Aparastamba* quotes Śvetaketu as a teacher of *dharma*. The quotation from Śvetaketu given by Aparastamba has nothing corresponding to it in the Upaniṣad. Besides the Chāṇḍogya Upaniṣad appears to make a distinction between two Śvetaketu’s (in VI. 1 and VI. 8), one being called Āruṇeya and the other Āruṇi (son of Ārūṇa). Hārita, whose views are cited so frequently, is quoted by Baudhāyana (II. 1. 50) and also by Vasiṣṭha (II. 6). From the two śūtras (I. 6. 19. 3 and 7) it follows that Kāṇva and Kāṇva are two distinct writers. The Kumbhakonam edition reads Kāṇva in I. 10. 28. 1, while Bühler reads Kauṭya there. Kāṇva Baudhāyana is a teacher, whose name occurs in the *śilasāraṇa* in many works. The view ascribed to Kāṇva by Aparastamba in I. 6. 19. 7 seems to be the same as that of the Baudhāyana-dharmaṇṭra (I. 2. 198). It has been shown above that there are close parallels in thought and expression

87 क आरण्य: । य होतालिन कण्ण: । ...शुद्धा मिन्हा सोक्ष्यककुण्डकी काण्डककी । नथा पुस्करसादिः।’ आप. प. स. I. 6. 19. 2. 5 and 7. Here various views on the question as to whose food should be partaken by begging are set forth. Baudhāyana says ‘ने यहणायाः स्वकमरथः’ which tallies with शुद्धा मिन्हा &c.
between Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. In several places Āpastamba
seems to be controverting the views of Baudhāyana or similar views
held by others. Āpastamba condemns the view of giving the paternal
wealth to the eldest son as opposed to the Vedas and
explains the Vedic text (Tai. S. II. 5. 2. 7 quoted above) about
the eldest son being endowed with all wealth as a mere annuvāda and
and not a vidi (vide Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 6-13). Baudhāyana
cites both the texts of the Tai. S. about equal division among sons
and about the eldest son's larger share and seems to favour the latter
view by putting it last (II. 2. 2-7). Similarly the discussion in
Āpastamba (I. 1. 4. 5-12) about a brahmaśārin eating the leavings
(ucchiṣṭa) of his guru, provided the things are not
directly forbidden by Śruti, seems to be directed against Baudhāyana
(II. 1. 25-26). Although Āpastamba does not expressly quote
Gautama, he appears to have had before him the Gautama-dharma-
sūtra. He speaks of a smṛti (II. 6. 15. 25) that lays down that
upanayana confers adhikāra on a man for śāstric actions and that
before upanayana one is free to do anything and to eat anything.
This, as interpreted by Haradatta, refers to Gautama (II. 1) 88.
There are striking coincidences between Gautama and Āpastamba,
e.g. Gaut. I. 19 = Āp. I. 1. 1. 41 (about some teachers prescribing
the yellow robe to a brahmaśārin), Gaut. I. 3 = Āp. I. 11. 6. 13. 7
(abut the violation of dharmas by the great in former ages), Gaut.
9. 52 = Āp. I. 11. 31. 13), Gaut. 23. 9 = Āp. I. 9. 25. 2; Gaut. 16. 19
of his predecessors in the words 'eke' (I. 1. 2. 37, 38, 41: I. 1. 4;
17; I. 2. 5. 20; I. 2. 6. 4: I. 3. 9. 3: I. 3. 11. 3 &c.) and 'aparama'
(II. 6. 15. 22). It is somewhat remarkable that in many of these
cases (where 'eke' occurs), the views are those either held by
Gautama or ascribed by him also to others, e.g. Āp. I. 1. 2. 38
about the staff of a brahmaśārin refers to Gaut. I. 23; Āp. I. 1. 2. 41
is almost same as Gaut. I. 19, Āp. I. 2. 5. 20 seems to refer to Gaut.
I. 54-59, Āp. I. 3. 9. 3 (the view of some that Vedic study lasts
for four months and a half) seems to refer to Gaut. 16. 2, and Āp.
I. 3. 11. 3 (about not studying after dining at a sacrifice for deities
that are manuṣya-prakṛti) pointedly refers to Gaut. 16. 34 which
contains the word 'manuṣyayajñābhojanā'. Āpastamba twice

88 अष्ट निर्देश, साधारण, स्वतंत्र, अन्य, ध. श. I. 6. 15. 23-25; अपक्रियापदार्थ, कामपदार्थ, काममान्त, अनुतान, यो. ध. श. II. 1-2.
'quotes verses from a Purāṇa' (I. 6. 9. 13, II. 9. 23. 3) and in one place gives in prose the view of a Purāṇa (I. 10. 29. 7). 89 Āpastamba (II. 9. 24. 6) speaks of the view of a Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa (about creation of the world after a periodic dissolution). In one place Āpastamba (II. 11. 29. 11-12) says that 'the knowledge that exists (traditionally) among women and śādhas is the furthest limit of vidyā and it is said to be a supplement of the Atharvaveda.' Here he probably refers to Arthaśāstra, which according to the caraṇavyūha, is the Upaveda of the Atharvaveda. Āpastamba refers (II. 7. 16. 1) to Manu as founder of the institution of śrāddha. But this appears to be a reference to Manu, the mythical progenitor of mankind, and not to the Manusmṛti. It is noteworthy that Āpastamba (II. 7. 17. 8) quotes a verse, which is the same as Anuśāsanaparva 90. 46 ('sambhojani nāma &c.).

The Āpastambadharmasūtra stands in a peculiar relation to the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā. It is the only extant Dharmasūtra that contains many of the technical terms and doctrines of the Mīmāṃsā. He says (I. 1. 4. 8) 'a positive Vedic text is more cogent than an usage which merely leads to an inference (of its being based on a Vedic text now lost). 90 This refers to Jaimini's rule (I. 3. 3) "if there is a conflict between an express Vedic text and Smṛti, the latter is to be disregarded: but if there be no conflict an inference (may be made that the Smṛti is based upon some Śruti)." In another place Āpastamba says (I. 4. 12. 11) 'where an action is done on account of finding pleasure therefrom (i.e. from a worldly motive), there is no (inference of its being based on) Śāstra'. This is the same as Jaimini's teaching (IV. 1. 2). 91 He speaks of the

89 'यो हिन्दुस्तानिभक्तान्तर्गतम् मन्युरेद मन्यु सूक्ष्मति न तत्कर्मदृष्टि हृति पुराणे। आप. ध. सु. I. 10. 29. 7; this seems to be a summary of the verse like the one in Baudhāyana (Db. S. I. 10. 12) and Vasiṣṭha (III. 18) "स्वाध्यायिनः कुले जातं जो इत्यादिनातिहितसु । न तेन भृणादस स स्वाभासरस्त मन्युसुक्तित्व।" (Baud. has स्वाध्यायिनः कुले and भृणादस स्वाध्यायित्व).

90 'सर्वत्रीष स्त्रास्ततं नागाधिकारातः' आप. ध. सु. 'विरोधे त्वपेक्षाः प्रयासस्वति भृणादायत्' पु. मी. सु. Vide also 'विशेषाधिकार्यस्य श्रास्त्राय' आप. ध. सु. I. 11. 30. 9 for the same position.

91 'तत्र तु मीन्नुलभिथि प्रमुखिनः तथा शास्त्रायति 'आप. यस्मिनििति पुरुस्तत तस्य धिराधिकाराणाभिकतात्' पु. मी. सु. Vide also आप. ध. सु. I. 1. 4. 9-10 'तत्रस्य चापि सूचिकारायाम्। मीन्नुलभिथि' and 'भृणादायत्' पु. मी. सु. I. 3. 4.
convention (saṃsāya) of those who know Nyāya (i.e., Mīmāṃsā) that aṅgas (such as the Kalpasūtras are) cannot be designated the Vedas (which are the principal), which is clearly a reference to Pūrvvimāṁśa (I. 3. 11-14)⁹² and he says that those who know Nyāya lay down that a mere anuvāda (affirming or reciting) of what is well-known to all is not a positive rule (a vidhi), which is similar to Jaimini’s rule⁹³. The dictum of Āpastamba that the word “sale” (krayā) applied to a bride in some Vedic texts is merely figurative closely resembles Jaimini’s⁹⁴ remarks on the same point. The remark of Āpastamba that the rules of anadhyāya only apply to Vedic study and not to the recital of mantras at sacrifices corresponds to a rule in Jaimini⁹⁵ almost in the same words. These examples show that in Āpastamba’s day Mīmāṁsā doctrines had been far advanced and that works existed that dealt with Mīmāṁsā topics (Nyāyas). The correspondence in language with the Pūrvvimāṁsāsūtras is so close that one is tempted to advance the view that Āpastamba knew the extant Mīmāṁsā-sūtra or an earlier version of it that contained almost the same expressions. It cannot be said that all these passages are later interpolations. They have all been explained by Haradatta and one of the sūtras referring to Mīmāṁsā topics occurs in so early a work as the commentary of Viśvarūpa (on Yaj. I. 7) who quotes “Brāhmaṇopakā vidhayāh.” (Āp. I. 4. 12. 10). The last passage is quoted by Medhātithi also (on Manu II. 6).

The dharmasūtra of Āpastamba has been quoted from very ancient times as authoritative. Śabara in his bhāṣya on Jaimini VI. 8. 18 quotes one sūtra of Āpastamba and a paraphrase of another.⁹⁶ The Tantravārtika refers to the sūtras of Āpastamba about local and

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⁹² ‘אֶתנָּא מִצְמַמְתַּא אֲשֶׁר לְמַגַּהְתַּה יִשְׁתַּר הָעֲשָׁהוּתְא יַעֲשֵׂה יָאָל הָעֲשָׂהוּתְא,’ אָמ. א. ס. II. 4. 8. 13.


⁹⁴ תַּאֲחָא מַכַּהְתַּא סֶסְטַלִּמָא מִי צַאֲמָאָא סֶמְבַּהְתַּא,’ אָמ. א. ס. II. 6. 13. 13-12; ‘כֶּרֶתָא דֶּרֶמָאָל מִי,’ א. מ. ס. VI. 1. 15.

⁹⁵ ‘בֶּרֶתָא מַכַּהְתַּא הָעֲשָׂה הָעֲשָׂה הָלִי אֶת מַכַּהְתַּה מַכַּהְתַּא,’ אָמ. א. ס. I. 4. 15. 9; ‘בֶּרֶתָא מַכַּהְתַּא מַכַּהְתַּא מַכַּהְתַּא,’ א. מ. ס. XII. 3. 19.

family usages," about drinking wine and about the conflict between the views of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba (vide above page 26 also). Śaṅkaraçārya in his bhāṣya on Brahmaṣūtra IV. 2. 14 quotes Āpastamba I. 7. 20. 3 (about the planting of trees for fruit as a meritorious act and the collateral benefits of shade and fragrance). He also cites (on Brahmaṣūtra II. 1. 1.) about the supreme soul a half verse from Āpastamba (I. 8. 23. 2)²⁹. In his bhāṣya on Brhadāraṇyaka, he cites Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 (upāsane gurūnām &c.). The two pātalas of Āpastamba (I. 8. 22 and 23) dealing with adhyātma (philosophy) were commented upon by Śaṅkaraçārya, who, from the general style and method of the commentary (vide Trivandrum edition of the adhyātma-pātala), seems to be the same as the great acārya. Suresvara in his Vartika (I. 1. 97) on Śaṅkara’s bhāṣya on the Brhadāraṇyakopanishad quotes the sūtra about the planting of mango (Āpastamba I. 7. 20. 3)³⁹ trees. Viśvarūpa, who according to Madhava, was the same as Suresvara,¹⁰⁰ quotes (Trivandrum edition) in his commentary on Yājñavalkya (acāra and vyavahāra only) Āpastamba’s sūtras about twenty times. The quotations show that the text of Āpastamba was identical with the one printed, barring a few variations that are no more than mere slips on the part of the scribes of Mss. In his commentary on Yāj. III 237 Viśvarūpa quotes eighteen sūtras of Āpastamba (I. 9. 24. 6-23) consecutively which are the same as those in the printed text. Medhatithi quotes Āpastamba II. 5. 11. 2, II. 4. 7. 16, II. 8. 19. 20, I. 4. 14. 30-31 on Manu II. 247, III. 102, III. 273 and VIII 357 respectively and appears to refer to Āpastamba I. 4. 13. 6 (about “om”) on Manu II. 83. The Mitaksāra has several quotations and Aparārka contains

²⁹ तथातत्त्व द १३८ ‘प्रतिदिन प्रवत्स्थया | आपसम्बेद सहूल्य दुहादुहादनमार्त्यम’.
This has in view ‘एतद्दैशकाल्यां व्यवस्थाः’ आप. ध. चौ. II. 6. 15. 1; ‘शाश्वतसम्मतिसिद्धान्तवाचातुत्साहान्तेतस ‘भृगुद्रासपित्वाचारिः प्रतिस्वत्स्थमार्त्यम’.

³⁹ परमात्मान्वेष प्रतियास्तप्पम्: पाठित ‘तस्मात्काया: प्रविधि संबं तूमूल शास्त्रात्: स निबिष्य’.

¹⁰⁰ अश्रेयतत्त्वाच द्रव्यात्त्वाच आपस्यन्तरस्तुत्वाच: | केषम्बर्त्तम नित्यानामाति कर्मणाम् |
हृदयात्मकालाध्यात्मात्मात्मात्मा| आपस्या words are ‘तद्भवा अश्रेयतत्त्बे नित्याति छाया गच्छ हस्ताण्येव एवं दर्शन वर्णमाणयां अनुसरनयते’.

¹⁰⁰ Vide my article in JBBRA8 for 1922 pp. 305-306.
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about two hundred sūtras of Āpastamba, though rather in a mutilated form. But it is not necessary to refer to these and other later works in detail, since Haradatta’s commentary, as will be shown later on, was written about the time of Aparārka. Thus from the days of Śabara (500 A. D. at the latest) to 1100 A. D. we have a host of writers who vouch for the authenticity of the extant text of Āpastamba.

About the home and personal history of Āpastamba little is known. Āpastamba is not an ancient name. It does not occur in the Vedic texts. It occurs in the gaṇa “Bidādi” in Pāṇini IV. 1. 104. He speaks of himself as belonging to later ages (avara). Vide Āpastamba101 I. 2. 5. 4 and II. 6. 13. 9. In the tarpaṇya he is generally mentioned after Bodhāyana and before Satyaśādha Hiranyakṣeśin (vide note 68a above). Therefore according to tradition his school was elder or more authoritative than that of Hiranyakṣeśin. In one place Āpastamba refers to a peculiar śrāddha usage of the udicīyas (II. 7. 17. 17).102 Āpastamba must be supposed to have embodied in his work the usages of his own country. If he specially mentions the usages of a particular locality, it would follow that he did not hail from that locality. But the exact meaning of “Udicya” is doubtful. Haradatta quotes a verse of the grammarians, according to which the country north of the Śarāvati was called “Udicya”. According to the Mahārṇava quoted in the commentary on the cāṇavyāha the Āpastambīyas were to be found to the south of the Narmadā, in the south-east, that is, in Āndhra and the territory about the mouth of the Godāvari. Therefore it is natural to suppose that Āpastamba’s school had its origin in the south and probably in Āndhra. The Pallavas made land grants to Āpastambīyas. Vide I. A. vol. V. page 155.

The age of the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra can be settled within only approximate limits. It is probably later than the Gautama Dharmasūtra and also the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra and before 500 A. D. it was an authoritative smṛti work according to Śabara. Āpastamba is enumerated by Yājñavalkya as a writer on dharma (I. 5)

101 ‘तत्समादृष्टिकृतेऽर्थु न जायन्ते नियमानित्कमात्र’ and ‘तदन्तः प्रमुखान्: शीवांपरम’.
102 उदिक्ष्यवृत्तिस्वासनगतां हस्तेऽपेक्षायानयन्। on this हस्तेऽपेक्षायानयत् उदिक्ष्य अवसिष्य उदिक्ष्य वृत्तिस्वासन् धृतिराचारः.
and by Śaṅkha-Likhita. Its style and grammar (which is un-Pāninese in the extreme) entitle it to great antiquity. There is no clear reference to Buddhism and other schisms anywhere. It appears to look upon Śvetaketu as not far removed from its own epoch. It was probably written at a time when Jaimini had founded his school. Hence we shall not be far wrong if we assign it to some period between 600–300 B.C. On several points his views are opposed to those of his predecessors, e.g. he rejects secondary sons, condemns niyoga, does not admit Paisaca and Prājāpatya as valid forms of marriage (vide above page 29). There are other points also wherein Āpastamba differs from Gautama and the other sūtra-kāras. Gautama (IV. 14-17) and Baudhāyana (I. 8. 7-12) give long lists of mixed castes and Gautama includes Yavana among them. Āpastamba is silent on this point. But this has hardly any bearing on chronology. Even the Vedic works mention the Niśāda and the Pūrvaṁīṁśāsūtra has a special adhikāraṇa (VI. 1. 51) devoted to him; the Br. Upaniṣad mentions (IV. 3. 22 and 37) such castes as Cāṇḍāla, and the Gitā mentions the Śvapāka. The Āp. Śrauta speaks of the Niśāda (9. 14. 12-13). The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 1. 2. 6) mentions Cāṇḍāla, Paulkasa and Vaiṇa. Gautama (17. 30) forbids the eating of the flesh of cows and bulls, while Āp. (I. 5. 7. 30–31) seems to allow it and cites the Vājasaneyaka for support. In this connection it has to be noted that Yāsiṣṭha also has a similar sūtra (14. 46). Āp. (I. 9. 27. 10) prescribes a penance for one who practises usury and lays down that one should not eat at the usurer’s (I. 6. 18. 22), while Gautama appears to allow usury to a Brāhmaṇa as a calling if done through an agent (X. 6). Baudhāyana, on the other hand, quotes verses that condemn usury in strong language as even worse than brahmahatyā, holds that a Brāhmaṇa who is a usurer should be treated as a śūdra and allows the first two castes to practise usury only towards atheists, śūdras and such like persons (I. 5. 79–81). So these differences of Āp. from others are hardly conclusive as to his chronological position.

The commentary of Haradatta called Ujjvala-vr̥tti is the only one so far recovered. For an account of Haradatta, vide sec. 86. The Smṛticandrikā (I, page 25) quotes a passage from the bhāṣya of Āpastamba (II. 6. 15. 19-20) and (II. p. 300) quotes the explanation of the bhāṣyakāra on Āpastamba II. 6 14. 1. Both these passages
are not found in the commentary of Haradatta, though in the latter case, Haradatta holds the same view as that of the Bhāṣyakāra. Similarly the Viśramitrodaya (Vyavahāra, page 671) quotes the bhāṣyakāra of Āpastamba, but that quotation does not agree with Haradatta. Haradatta himself does not call his work bhāṣya, but vṛtti. Besides the Subodhini on the Mitākṣara (on Yāj. II. 132) quotes a passage from the Āpastambadharmavṛtti which is found in Haradatta on Āp. II. 6. 14. 1. Haradatta himself cites sometimes two or three other interpretations of the same sūtra (e.g. on Āp. I. 2. 5. 2; I. 3. 10. 6; I. 5. 15. 20; II. 2. 3. 16). So the bhāṣyakāra was probably one of his predecessors.

In Āparārka, Haradatta, Smṛticandrikā and other works there are numerous quotations in verse ascribed to Āpastamba. These quotations are concerned with topics of Āhnikā, Āraddha, and Prāyaścitta. The Smṛticandrikā (III. pp. 423 and 426) quotes a Stotrāpastamba. Haradatta on Gautama (22. 18) quotes several verses on prāyaścitta from Āpastamba. Three of these verses are found in the Āpastamba-smṛti in verse (Jivananda’s collection vol. I pp. 567–584 chap. I verses 16, 19, 31). The Smṛti printed by Jivananda contains about 207 verses in ten chapters on prāyaścitta and purifications. But the quotations from the Smṛticandrikā and Āparārka show that the verse Āpastamba was a much larger work and since they regarded the versified work as equally authoritative with the sūtra work, the versified smṛti must have been comparatively an ancient work.

8. Hiranyakesi-dharmasūtra.

The Hiranyakesi-dharmasūtra forms the 26th and 27th praṇas of the Hiranyakesi-kalpa. The Śrauta sūtra has been published by the Ānandaśrama Press (Poona). The Hiranyakesi-grhya-sūtra was edited with extracts from the commentary of Mārdatta by Dr. Kirste (Vienna, 1889). The Grhya forms the 19th and 20th praṇas of the Kalpa, each praṇa being divided into eight pātalas. The Śrauta-sūtra is largely based on the Śrauta-sūtra of Āpastamba. The Grhya-sūtra is indebted to the Grhya-sūtra of Bhāradvāja. The Dharmasūtra of Hiranyakesin can hardly be called an independent work. Hundreds of sūtras are borrowed word for word from the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra. The Dharmasūtra of Hiranyakesin is therefore the oldest voucher for the authenticity of Āpastamba’s text and is very valuable for checking the latter,
The Hiranyakesins form a sūtra-carana of the Khāṇḍikeya section of the Taṅtirītyaśākhā and were formed later than the Āpastambiya School. In a grant of the Kongu kings dated in 454 A.D. Brāhmaṇas of the Hiranyakesi School are mentioned (I. A. vol. V. page 136). According to the Mahānavas quoted in the commentary of the carana-vyūha, the Hiranyakesins were to be found in the south-west between the Sahya mountain and the ocean and near Paraśurāma (i.e. in the Konkan). There are at present many Brāhmaṇas in the Ratnagiri District who call themselves Hiranyakesins. The Dattaka-mīmāṁsā of Nanda-paṇḍita twice quotes passages from the commentary of Śabarasvāmin on the sūtra of Satyāśādha. If he was identical with the great commentator of the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā (which is almost certain), then we have unimpeachable evidence for the existence of the works of the Hiranyakesins long before the fifth century A.D.

Bühler in his second edition of the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra (1893) gave (in appendix II) the various readings of the Hiranyakesi-dharmasūtra from two MSS. I secured a modern transcript of the Hiranyakesi-dharmasūtra from the Deccan College collection (No 138 of 1881-82), which contains the text and also the commentary of Mahādeva thereon. There are 18 folios for the sūtra and 101 for the commentary. That ms. presents some readings which are not noticed by Bühler as found in the two mss. consulted by him. For example, the ms. reads "saptama āyuṣkāmamaśtame brāhmavarca- sakāmam (reversing the order of years in Āp. I. 1. 21-22), omits the words "yadi snāyat daṇḍavat plavet" (from Āp. I. 1. 2. 30.), reads "vastrānya eva vasitobhaya &c." (Āp. I. 1. 3. 9 omits vasita), reads "gurave" for "ācārya" in Āp. I. 1. 3. 31. The ms. of the Hiranyakesi-dharmasūtra contains certain additions to the sūtras of Āpastamba. For example, a sūtra "kṣāralavāṇa-mahamāṁsini ca varjayet" is added after Āp. II. 9. 22. 14, a sūtra "teśām pujā śreyasyātmanah kārya" occurs after Āp. II. 9. 25. 8, and the sūtra "sarva-dharmānām svadharmānusṭhānānīyamesu ca yuktaḥ syāt" occurs after Āp. II. 9. 25. 13. The manuscript contains a few verses, that are not found in the Āpastambadharmasūtra, introduced by the words "athāpyudāharanti" (except in one case

108 'पश्चाद् नुकऽिद्वा अर्थम् चा चालरविधा नात्से। एतत्त् मानवस्य तत्प्रथयाभाजनी-इति।' after आप. प. ३. १. ७. २१. ६: अभ्यासपि तु कृत्ते नात्से च सम्बन्धालसत्तायिनेष्य।
viz. 'putreṇa, &c.) The manuscript also omits certain sūtras found in Āp. e. g. 'vārṇajāyatām cetaraṁ varṇāiḥ' (Āp. II. 5. 11. 8), 'anyatra rāhudarsāt' (Āp. II. 7. 17. 25), 'athopanayam tata udakopasparśanam' (Āp. I. 1. 1. 36). In the case of some sūtras the readings of Hiranyakesi present a smoother and more classical Sanskrit than that of Āpastamba and are manifestly attempts to bring them in a line with the requirements of the śiṣṭas at the time when the Āpastambasūtras were taken over into the Hiranyakesi school. Hiranyakesisūtra has 'pādonam' and 'ardhonam' for 'padūnam' and 'ardhena' of Āpastamba (I. 1. 2. 13-14), 'asandarsāne' for 'asandarśe' (Āp. I. 1. 2. 29), 'aglāniḥ' for 'aglāṁsnuḥ' (Āp. I. 1. 3. 22), 'prakṣālayet' for 'prakṣālayita' (Āp. I. 1. 3. 36), 'kartrpatyam' for 'kartapatyam' (Āp. I. 2. 5. 3) 'yathāśakti' for 'śaktivyāyena' (Āp. II. 5. 12. 1). Another noticeable feature is that the arrangement of the sūtras into subsections is a good deal different in the two works. Bühler notes that from the 13th khaṇḍikā (6th paṭala) of the second praśna both the manuscripts consulted by him do not indicate the paṭalas. The Deccan College manuscript does not number them from the second paṭala in the second praśna. The number of paṭalas in the first praśna of Hiranyakesi is eight, while Āpastamba has eleven paṭalas in each of the two praśnas. The distribution of sūtras in the khaṇḍikās is therefore different in the two works. Hiranyakesi has 31 khaṇḍikās in the first praśna and 20 in the second. Besides a few of the khaṇḍikās are differently placed. The first khaṇḍikā of Hiranyakesi (first praśna) stops after Āp. I. 1. 2. 1, the third reaches up to Āp. I. 1. 4. 6; Āp. I. 8. 22 and 23 (the adhyātmaṇapaṭala) come in Hiranyakesi immediately after Āp. I. 6. 19 and are Hiranya. I. 6. 20; Āp. I. 7. 20 and 21=Hir. I. 6. 21-22; Āp. I. 9. 24 and 25. 1-4=Hir. I. 6. 23; Āp. I. 9. 25. 4-13 and I. 9. 26. 1-10=Hir. I. 7. 24; Āp. I. 9. 26. 11-14 and I. 9. 27=Hir. I. 7. 25; Āp. I. 10. 28=Hir. I. 7. 26; Āp. I. 11. 31. 1-10=Hir. I. 8. 29; Āp. I. 11. 31. 11-23=

न लेन भूषणाः नानां मनुरस्य मनुमुक्तस्ततिः इतिः which is हिरण्यकोशी I. 7. 27, 8 and oomes after आप. ध. सृजन. I. 10. 29, 7; पुनेन लोकाधिपति प्रेतिपायते दुः अथ पुनस्च प्रेत्रण नामोणि मन्त्रस्य विप्रस्य || दृढःस्तत्सनातुप्रावणि महापर्ययः \ बालवेदप्रत्यदिकारण: || after आप. II. 5. 12. 4; 'तेषुद्धार्यायं प्रक्तिः 'साधन: || which is quoted in Baudh. Dh. S. 10. 13 and Vās. III. 18 and for पुनेने और. compare सनु 9. 137.
Hir. I. 8. 30. In the second praṇa the variance in distribution of sūtras into khaṇḍikās is still greater. Besides Āp. II. 4. 8-9 are placed in Hiraṇyakesī before Āp. II. 3. 6-7 and Āp. II. 6. 13-15 before Āp. II. 5. 10-11. Sometimes a single sūtra of Āpastamba is split up into two and placed in two different khaṇḍikās, e.g. Āp. I. 9. 25. 4 is split into Hir. I. 6. 23. 31 and I. 7. 24. 1 (the portion from ‘rājānām gātvā’ being the first sūtra of Hiraṇyakesī’s 24th Khaṇḍikā).

The com. of Mahādeva Dīkṣita called Ujjvalā, is almost word for word the same as that of Haradatta’s Ujjvalā. That one has borrowed from the other admits of no doubt and Bühler thinks that Mahādeva is the borrower. But there is hardly anything to turn the scale in favour of Haradatta. Sometimes Mahādeva’s commentary contains more matter than Haradatta’s (e.g. on the sūtras ‘Saptame brahma-rcasakamam &c. ‘Upanayanam vidyārthasya śrutitāḥ’, ‘dvādaśa-varardhyam’) and sometimes Haradatta contains more explanation (e.g. on ‘tasminiṣca vidyākarmāntam &c.; on ‘nāpsu śāghamānāh snāyat’, on ‘pañisaṅkhṣubdhendakenaika &c.’). Mahādeva differs from Haradatta’s explanation of the word ‘atha’, which the former takes in the sense of ‘ānantarya or adhikāra’, while the latter takes it only in the sense of ‘ānantarya’. That Mahādeva also is an early writer follows from the fact (noted by Bühler p. 117n) that portions of his commentary are contained in the Munich Ms. of Haradatta dated Vikrama-Saṅvat 1668 (1611-12 A.D.). It is to be noted that Haradatta after saluting Gāṇeśa at the beginning of his Ujjvalā does obeisance to Mahādeva (which may mean God Śiva or the author Mahādeva if he was the gurū or father of Haradatta). Mahādeva often comments on the sūtras as found in Āpastamba and not on the readings of them as existing in the Hiraṇyakesī school; e.g. he comments on ‘padūnam’, on ‘adhāsanaśayi’ for ardhasanaśayi (the reading of the sūtra), on ‘ātmasvastyayanārthena’ (Āp. II. 5. 11. 9) for ‘svastyayanārthena’ of the ms. of Hir. The explanations of the two writers sometimes differ, as for example on ‘ācaryadhīnas syād-anyatra pataniyehbhyaḥ’ (Āp. I. 1. 2. 19104). One more circumstance that is worthy of note is that the Ujjvalā of Haradatta does not contain many quotations from Smṛtis as com-

104 Harābhuc explains ‘आचार्याधीनो भवेत्युपयुक्तानां वस्तुस्थानानां लक्षितदृष्टाचार्याधीनताः- भूषनेः’, while Mahādeva makes it a बिधि ‘आचार्याधीनतया स्थानस्मिति बिधि’.
pared with his commentary on the Gautamadharmsūtra. Although one may be inclined to hold that it is Mahādeva who borrows, it must be clearly recognized that there is hardly any positive evidence in support of such a view. There is a commentary called Vaijayanti on the Hiranyakesi-ṣrauta-sūtra. This Mahādeva is very likely identical with the Mahādeva who commented upon the dharmasūtra.


This dharmsūtra has been printed several times. The collection of Jivananda (part II, pp. 456-496) contains only 20 chapters and a portion of the 21st and so does the collection of Mr. M. N. Dutt (Calcutta 1908). The Anandāśrama collection of smṛtis (1905, pp. 187-231) and the edition of Dr. Führer in the B. S. series (1916) contain thirty chapters. According to Dr. Jolly (R. u S., p. 6) some mss. give only six or ten chapters. The Vasiṣṭhadharmsūtra with the commentary called Vidvanmodini was printed at Benares. In the following Dr. Fuhrer’s edition has been used.

Kumārila (vide note 55 above) tells us that the dharmsūtra of Vasiṣṭha was specially studied by the students of the Rgveda, but that along with other dharmsūtras it is authoritative for all carāṇas. No ṣrauta and grhyā āyās of Vasiṣṭha, if they ever existed, have come down to us. We have therefore to fall back upon one of two hypotheses, viz. either the dharmsūtra of Vasiṣṭha is the solitary remnant of a school that might have once possessed a complete kalpa or that it was composed as an independent work on dharma and was subsequently seized upon by the students of the Rgveda, who had only ṣrauta and grhyā āyās of Āśvalāyana. For reasons given elsewhere I incline to the latter view. The dharmsūtra of Vasiṣṭha cites quotations from all Vedas and beyond the name Vasiṣṭha there is hardly anything special in the dharmsūtra to connect it with the Rgveda. It is true that in the 17th chap. several verses of the Rgveda (such as I. 21. 5, I. 124. 7, V. 4. 10 which occur in sūtras, 3, 16 and 4 respectively) and several passages from the story of Śunaḥśepa in the Aitareyabrahmana are quoted by the sūtra and that several hymns of the Rgveda, such as the asyavātmya (Rg. I. 164), havispānti (Rg. X. 88), Aghamarsana (X. 190), are referred to in the 26th chap. But there is nothing remarkable in this as some of the verses and sāktas are mentioned in the Baudhāyanadharmsūtra also. Besides the Vas. Dh. S. quotes several
passages from the Taittiriyasaṁhitā (as in Vas. V. 7-9, which quotes Tai. S. II. 5. 1. 6 and Vas. XI. 48 which quotes Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5), the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, the Maitrayāṇīya-saṁhitā (in Vas. I. 37).

The contents of the Vas. Dh. S. are:— I Definition of Dharma, limits of Āryāvarta, who are sinners, the mortal sins, a brāhmaṇa can marry a girl of any of the three higher castes, six forms of marriage, the king was to regulate the conduct of people and to take the sixth part of wealth as a tax; II. The four varṇas, the greatness of acārya, before upanayana there is no authority for religious rites, the privileges and duties of the four castes, in distress a Brāhmaṇa could subsist by resorting to the calling of a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya, a Brāhmaṇa was forbidden to sell certain things, usury condemned, rates of interest allowed; III. Censure of illiterate Brāhmaṇa, rules on finding treasure-trove, who are atatāyins, when they could be killed in self-defence, who are panktipāvanaś, constitution of a parisad, rules about acamana, sauca and purification of various substances; IV. The constitution of the four castes is based upon birth and the performance of samskāras, the duties common to all castes, honouring guests, madhuparka, impurity on birth and death; V. dependence of women, rules of conduct for a rajasvāla; VI. usage is transcendental dharma, praise of acāra, rules about answering calls of nature, moral characteristics of a brāhmaṇa and the peculiar characteristics of a śūdra, censure of partaking food at the houses of śūdras, rules of etiquette and good breeding; VII the four āśramas, and the duties of a student; VIII. Duties of an householder, honouring guests, IX. rules for forest hermits; X. rules for sannyāsins; XI. six persons who deserve special honour, viz. the priest at the sacrifice, son-in-law, king, paternal and maternal uncles and a snātaka; order of precedence in serving food, guests, rules about śrāddha, times for it, the brāhmaṇas to be invited at it, rules about agnihotra, upanayana, the proper time, staff, girdle &c. for it; method of begging for alms, prāyaścitta for those whose upanayana is not performed; XII. rules of conduct for a snātaka; XIII. rules about the beginning of Vedic study, rules about holidays for Vedic studies, rules about falling at the feet of the guru and others, guiding principles in precedence as regards respect (learning, wealth, age, relationship, avocation, each prior deserving more consideration than each succeeding one), rule of the road; XIV. rules about forbidden and permitted food, rules about the flesh of certain birds and animals; XV. rules of adoption,
about excommunication of those who revile the Vedas or perform sacrifices of śūdras and for other sins; XVI. About administration of justice, king as guardian of minors, threefold pramāṇas, viz. documents, witnesses and possession; rules about adverse possession and about king’s advisers; qualifications of witnesses; perjury condoned in certain cases; XVII. praise of aurīsa son; conflicting views about kṣetraja son, viz. whether he belongs to the begetter or to him on whose wife he is begotten; twelve kinds of sons; partition between brothers, grounds of exclusion from partition, rules of niyoga, rules about grown-up unmarried girl, rules of inheritance, king as ultimate heir; XVIII. pratiloma castes such as cāndāla, no Vedic studies for śūdras or in their presence; XIX. king’s duty to protect and to punish; importance of purohita; XX. about pṛāyaścittas for various acts unknowingly or knowingly done; XXI. pṛāyaścitta for adultery by Śūdra and others with women of the Brāhmaṇa caste or for cow-killing; XXII. pṛāyaścitta for eating forbidden food and sacred texts that purify in case of sins; XXIII. penances for Brahmucārin having sexual intercourse, for drinking wine &c.; XXIV. Kṛcchra and Atikṛcchra; XXV. secret penances and penances for lesser sins; XXVI–VII. virtues of pṛāṇyāma, Vedic hymns of Gāyatrī as purifiers; XXVIII. praise of women, eulogy of Vedic mantras like aghamarśana and of gifts; XXIX. rewards of gifts, brahmucārya, tapas &c.; XXX. eulogy of dharma, truth and brāhmaṇa.

The Vas. Dh. S. resembles in several respects the other dharmasūtras described above. It contains almost the same subjects and is similarly composed in prose interspersed with verses. The Vas. Dh. S. is in style like the Gautamadhamasūtra and has many sūtras identical with or closely resembling those of the latter. Vide. p. 18 above. It has also several sūtras closely corresponding with the sūtras of Baudhāyana. Grave doubts have been entertained about the authenticity of the whole of the text of the Vas. Dh. S. as the mss. contain varying numbers of chapters from 6 to 30, and as the text is hopelessly corrupt in several places ( e. g. vide note 108 below ). The Vas. Dh. S. contains many verses which bear the impress of a comparatively late age. Chapters 25–28 are entirely in verse, while there are other chapters ( like III. 2–12, VI. 1–13, XI. 20–42 ) which contain many verses interposed between prose passages. In this respect Vasishtha’s work is on a par with Bau-
dhāyana's, in the fourth praśna of which there are chapters entirely consisting of verses. It has therefore been argued that the text of Vasiṣṭha was tampered with freely, particularly as regards the chapters at the end. But as shown below it will have to be admitted that the interpolations, whatever they may be, were made at a very early period. The Mitākṣarā quotes Vas. by name about 80 times and the quotations are taken from almost every chapter from the first to the last. For example, Mit. quotes Vas. 27. 1 on Yāj. III. 3 11, Vas. 27. 21 on Yāj. III. 324, Vas. 28. 7 on Yāj. III. 298, Vas. 28. 18, 19 and 22 on Yāj. III. 310. Even Medhātithi quotes Vasiṣṭha over twenty times. The quotations are mostly taken from the first chapter to the 21st. Only one quotation from the last few chapters (viz. 27. 16) has been found in Medhātithi (on Manu XI. 211) and that too is not quoted as Vasiṣṭha's, but is ascribed to 'others.' Viśvarūpa, who flourished about the first quarter of the 9th century quotes Vas. about thirty times in his commentary on the acāra and vyāvahāra sections of Yāj. These quotations hardly differ in any respect from the text of Dr. Führer's edition and are scattered over almost all chapters from the 1st to the 17th, six quotations being taken from chapters 3 and 17 each. In the prāyaścitta section Viśvarūpa quotes Vas. even more frequently. Besides several sūtras from the 1st, 4th, 10th and 11th chapters, he quotes here no less than 22 sūtras of the 20th chap. and 9 of the 21st. Moreover sūtras 37 and 39 of the 23rd chap. are quoted (on Yāj. III 281-282). What is more remarkable is that two verses (2-3) of the 28th chapter are ascribed to Vasiṣṭha and explained in detail (on Yāj. III. 256), while Vas. 28. 4 is quoted without the author's name. These facts make it certain that the Vas. Dh. S. contained in Viśvarūpa's day all the chapters from the first to the 23rd and also the 28th. Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya in Br. Upaniṣad (III. 5. 1) quotes Vas. X. 4 and on Br. Up. IV. 5. 15 he quotes Vas. VII. 3. The Vas. Dh. S. quotes numerous verses preceded by the words 'athāpyudāharanti,' which is the case with Baudhāyana also. Several verses occur without these words being prefixed, but most of them seem to be quotations (e.g. Vas. II. 3 which combines Manu. II.169 and 170, IV. 6 which is Manu 5. 41, VI. 6 and 8 which are Manu IV. 157 and 158). Some of these verses introduced with the words 'athāpi' &c. as well as some of those not so introduced are in the regular classical Upajāti, Upen-dravajrā or Indravijrā (vide. I. 38, X. 20 for verses with athāpi &c,
and VI. 9 and 25, X. 17, XVI. 36 for verses without them). Some of the verses are in the ancient Triṣṭubh form (e.g. VI. 3 and 30, VIII. 17, XVII. 71). In one verse (VI. 5) there are twelve letters in the first pāda and 11 in the rest. One quotation with the words "athāpi" &c. is in prose (II. 5). There are a few un-Pāṇinean forms like 'Vivadanti' in XIV. 47 (vide Pāṇini I. 3. 47). It looks as if the dharmasūtra once ended with the 24th chapter, where we have an injunction (in sūtra 6) against impairing the dharmasūtra to one who is not a son or pupil. The same sūtra occurs in Baudhāyana Dh. S. IV. 4. 9 and the succeeding sūtra is the same in both. But the words 'prāyaścitta has been described in the rahasya sections for playing false to the husband' (in Vas. V. 4) apparently refer either to chapters 25-28 (which contain rahasya penances) or to some prototype of those chapters now lost.

The Vas. Dh. S. quotes largely from the Rgveda and other Vedic Sanshitas. Among the Brāhmaṇas, the Aitareya and Śatapatha are frequently cited. The Vājasaneyaka (Vas. 12. 31 and 23. 13) and the Kaṭhaka (Vas. 12. 24 and 30. 5) are mentioned by name. The Tai. Aranyaka is quoted in Vas. 23. 23. The Upaniṣads and Vedānta occur in 22. 9. Vasiṣṭha quotes a gātha of the Bhāllavins from their Nidāna work about the extent of the home of Brāhmaṇism, which is quoted by Baudhāyana also (Dh. S. I. 1. 27). He speaks of the āṅgas of the Veda (3. 23 and 13. 7) and gives their number as six (3. 19). Itihāsa and Purāṇa are mentioned in 27. 6. The science of words (grammar), of omens and portents and of astrology and astronomy (Nākṣatravidyā) are referred to in 10. 20-21. He prohibits the learning of the language of the Mlecchas (in 6. 41). Vas. quotes a verse that states that the view holding the apramāṇya of the Vedas leads to perdition (12. 41). In Vas. II. 8-11 occurs the Vidyāsūkta in four verses that we meet with in the Nirukta (II. 4). Vasiṣṭha calls his own work dharmaśāstra (in 24. 6) and probably refers to other works on dharma in the words 'one who studies dharmas' (in 3. 19). The study of dharmaśāstra as a penance for even mortal sins is spoken of in 27. 19. Vas. quotes several authors on dharmaśāstra. He quotes a verse from Hārīta (in II. 6) which occurs in Baudhāyana also with slight variations (Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 7), though without the author's name. The two halves of this verse are almost the same as the latter halves of Manu. 2. 171-172. Bühler is therefore not quite accurate when he
says without qualification that the verse attributed to Ḫarita occurs in Manu (p. XX, S. B. E. vol. XIV). Vas. quotes Gautama twice (in 4. 35 and 37) about impurity on death, the first corresponding to Gautama (14. 41), while there is nothing in Gautama to correspond to the 2nd. Vas. quotes a verse (11. 20) which mentions Yama by name and embodies the latter's views. Vas. (18. 13-15) quotes three ślokas sung by Yama, one of which (14) is the same as Manu 4. 80 and another (15) is very similar to Manu 4. 81. Another śloka of Yama is quoted by Vas. (19. 48) which is almost the same as Manu 5. 93. From these facts and others Bühler draws the conclusion (S. B. E. vol. XIV, p. XX) that these verses were taken from the Mānavadharmaśūtra, which occupied the same position in Vasiṣṭha's day as the Manusmṛti does at present. I demur to this conclusion, which will be discussed later on in detail (under Manusmṛti). Vas. (14. 30-32) quotes ślokas of Prajāpati, the first of which mentions Yama by name. Vas. 14. 16-19 and 24-27 are quoted as ślokas of Prajāpati, three of which (14. 16, 18 and 24) are practically the same as Manu. 4. 248, 249 and 5. 127. Vas. 14. 19 contains a pada which occurs in Manu 4. 212. It is remarkable that the Vas. Dh. S. cites Vasiṣṭha himself with great reverence (as bhagavān) in 2. 50 (about the rate of interest), 24. 5 (about Kṛcchra penance), 30. 11. In numerous places the Vas. Dh. S. either refers to Manu by name or quotes the views of Manu (under the form 'iti Mānavam') or a śloka of Manu (with the words 'Mānavam ślokaam'). All these passages have an important bearing on the age of the Manusmṛti and on the supposed existence of a Mānavadharmaśūtra. They therefore deserve to be carefully examined. Vas. I. 17 is in prose (about local, family or caste usages) and summarises the views of Manu. The absence of the word 'iti' before 'abhravīn Manuḥ' and the form of the sūtra itself clearly establishes that Vas. is not directly quoting a sūtra of Manu. That sūtra is only a summary of our Manu I. 118. Vas. 3. 2 (which is preceded by the words 'Mānavam ślokaam') is Manu II. 168. And so are Vas.' 13. 16, 20. 18, which are Manu 4. 117 and 11. 151 (with very slight variations). That the latter existed in Vasiṣṭha's text is vouched for by Aparāśka (p. 1075). Vas. 4. 5 is in prose and cites the view of Manu that animals may be sacrificed only for worshipping and honouring the
manes, deities and guests 105. There is hardly anything to show that it is a direct quotation from Manu and not a summary of Manu's views. The sūtra briefly summarises the views that we find expressed in our Manu 5. 22, 32, 41 and 42 (the words of 42 'esvartheṣu paśuṁ hiṁśan' are interesting and bear a close resemblance to 'paśuṁ hiṁsyād' in Vas.). That sūtra is followed by a verse which is the same as Manu 5. 41. It is to be noted that the same verse occurs in the dharmaśūtra of Viṣṇu (51. 64) which reads 'nānyatreti kathārhcana' for 'nānyathetvabhravān Manuḥ'. This change appears to have been purposely made to keep up the impression that the Viṣṇu-Dh. S. emanated from Viṣṇu himself and so could not have borrowed from a human author. Vas. 4. 7 is very similar to Manu 5. 48. Bühler (S. B. E. Vol. 25, p. xxxi) is wrong in taking Vas. 4. 8 as a quotation from the Mānavadharmāṣṭra. There is nothing to show that it is so taken. It is more probably a quotation from or a summary of a Brāhmaṇa passage (compare a quotation in Aparārka on Yāj. 1. 109, which is similar). Vide note 46. Vas. 23.43 (where Manu is referred to as prescribing an easy penance called Śiśukrccra for children and old men) corresponds more or less with Manu 11. 211 and 219 and Vas. 26. 8 has evidently Manu 11. 260 in view. There are only two places in Vasiṣṭha where the name of Manu occurs for which it is not possible to point out a corresponding verse in the Manusmṛti. They are Vas. 12. 16 and 19 37. The latter is cited as a Mānavasloka and is in the Upajāti metre. 106 Because this is not found in our Manu, Bühler and other Western scholars seem to think that the verse is taken from the Mānavadharmāṣṭra which once existed in mixed prose and verse and is now lost. But as will be shown elsewhere this hypothesis is based, to say the least, on very slender foundations. Besides these two that are not found in our Manu, there are about forty verses that are common to the Vas. Dh. S. and the Manusmṛti and about a dozen verses which, though not strictly identical, are more or less similar. There are several prose sūtras of Vas. which correspond to the

105 विन्द्येवतिषिदधाज्यायामये मयेन हिम्यादिति मानवसः। वसिष्ठ 4. 5; वसिष्ठ 4. 8 । अथावि बाहुणावध राजस्वाय वात्यायत्व सहिक्षाणि बहुरसायि च पव्वेदस्वस्मा आतिं दिन।

106 शुल्के साप मानवं भोक्युन्द्वत्तति—न भिन्नकार्योपगतिलिङ्ग शुल्के न शिल्पवृत्तो न सिसौं न दुःसि। ्न भैरवबन्धे न हृदाण्यसे न भोविष्ये न परिजीते न बाहे। II. The v. r. (P. 305) says वसिष्ठ: शुल्के साप मानवं भोक्युन्द्वत्तति न भिन्नम् &c.
verses of Manu almost word for word. The hypothesis that
commends itself to me is that Vas. contains borrowings from the
Manusmṛti or its purer ancient original in verse.

In the words ‘द्रामाणकेनाग्निन्माद्हया’ (Vas. 9. 10), the sūtra
of Vikhanas seems to be referred to. Gautama (Dh. S. 3. 26)
contains the same words. Vasiṣṭha’s 22nd chap. is the same as
Gautama’s 19th and Baudhāyana’s tenth in the 3rd prāṣna and seems
to have been borrowed from Gautama. Vasiṣṭha refers to the
views of others in the words ‘ेके’ or ‘ान्ये’ (Vas. 1. 12, 13, 25; 4.
10; 17. 66; 20. 2). Dr. Jolly (S. B. E. vol. VII, p. xviii) thinks that
Vas. 28. 10–15 and 18–22 are borrowed from the Viśuddharmā-
sūtra chap. LVI and LXXXVII for its original the Kāṭhakadharma-
sūtra. Dr. Jolly is not right with regard to both the places.
Bühler has already pointed out his mistake as to the second passage
(S. B. E. vol. XIV p. XXII). The verses in Vas. 28. 10–15 occur
in several smṛtis (vide Śāṅkhasmṛti, 10th chap. in Jivananda’s
ed. part II. pp. 356–357 for the same verses). Besides Vas. 28. 11
occurs in Baud. Dh. S. IV. 3. 7. Hence it is hardly proper for any
scholar to make the dogmatic assertion that one particular smṛti
must have borrowed from any other. The rather very corrupt
passage in Vasiṣṭha (16. 21–23) very closely resembles a
passage of Śāṅkha, which is cited by Viśvarūpa on Yaj. I. 305 and by
the Kṛṣṇa-kalpataru (I. O. Cat. Ms. No. 852, folio 8a).

Bühler is of opinion that the home of the school to which the
Vas. Dh. S. belonged lay to the north of the Narmadā and the

107 वसिष्ठ 7. 3. ‘तेषा वेदांभवति वेदौ वेदांविवीर्णमार्घ्यचनों वसिष्ठेश्वरभावसेतु’।

108 The printed Vas. reads ‘केषाती वा राजा बेशयव गृहसत्वश्वातः गृहसत्वश्वातः गृहसत्वश्वातः’. This hardly makes any
sense. The śāstra presents a good reading (from श्राश्वातः) ‘न
gृहसत्वश्वातः श्वातः कांम् गृही राजा बेशयव इंसत्वश्वातः परिवारविश्व बोधः

H. D. 8.
Vindhya (S. B. E. vol. XIV p. XVI). When it is extremely problematical whether the Vas. Dh. S. was the product of a school, it is idle to speculate as to the home of the Vas. Dh. S. Bühler’s is no more than a mere conjecture and it is better to admit that we know nothing positive at present on the point.

The earliest work to refer to Vasiṣṭha as an authority on dharma is our Manu (8. 140), saying that Vas. allowed 1/80th of the principal as interest per month. This appears to refer to the rule in Vas. 2. 50. We saw above that Vas. borrows from the Manusmṛti, which in its turn quotes a rule of Vasiṣṭha. The explanation of this is twofold. Both the Manusmṛti and Vas. have received later additions and further it is possible that the present Vas. Dh. S. is the work of some one who had received the teachings of Vas. through a succession of teachers and disciples. Yaj. mentions (1. 4) Vasiṣṭha as a writer on dharma. The Tantravārtika as seen above (note 55) remarks that the Vas. Dh. S. was studied by Rgvedins. The same work when speaking of works on dharma puts Manu, Gautama and Vasiṣṭha in the forefront. Viṣva-rūpa, Medhātithi and other early commentators largely quote from Vas. The verse ‘agnerapatyam’ (Vas. 28. 16) occurs in the Rāgin copperplate of Tivara deva of the last quarter of the 8th century (Fleet’s Gupta Inscriptions No. 81). Therefore the existence of a work of Vasiṣṭha on dharma at least in the first centuries of the Christian era is vouched for with certainty and the authenticity of its text is supported by eminent writers from the 7th century downwards. Aparārka quotes passages from the Bhavisyapurāṇa which have in view the present text of Vas. Some of the views held by Vasiṣṭha are very ancient. For example, he speaks of the twelve secondary sons, assigns a very inferior position to the Dattaka son (17th chapter), allows niyoga (17. 56 ff) and the remarriage of child widows (17. 74); like Āpastamba he mentions only six

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108a ‘अभिषेक मनुग्रामसाधितादिगमीतः समानेश्वर्य धर्मसंहिता वर्तते। तेजाविखण्डाताम
एव भृतस्य: स्वरुपानाः। न च ध्याकरणस्य नामः समानार्थस्य।’ तत्त्वात्मासिक
on जीवित्तो I. 3. 24.

109 ‘विषेषे समास्यार्थं बहुद्वायव्योत्पन्नं। द्वाशास्यात्माब्योभी द्वाशास्यात्मापुष्पसेव।’ अप-राक्ष प. 1067 (this is कवित्व 23. 38): ‘विषेषे तथोत्क्कै वे मायविभिः सुरुषपिः। क्रमो न कथयाने तु न सुराष्ट्रः काुः जन।’ अपराये p. 1075 (this is कवित्त 20. 10).
forms of marriage (1.28-29), brahma, daiva, arsa, gandharva, ksatra and manusa. In some respects his views are different from those of early writers like Gautama and Baudhāyana. He prohibits the marriage of a Brāhmaṇa with a śudra woman (I. 25-26). Vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 8. 2 for the contrary view. He elaborates rules of adoption (15th chapter) which are not found in Gaut. or Baud. or Āpastamba. He speaks of documents as one of the three means of proof (Vas. 16. 10-15), while Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana are silent on the point, though in Gautama (13. 4) there appears to be a reference to documents. Taking all these things into consideration it may be said that Vasiṣṭha is later than Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana, but much earlier than the beginnings of the Christian era and may tentatively be assigned to the period between 300-100 B. C. It has been asserted by an eminent authority (Cambridge History of India vol. I, p. 249) that Vasiṣṭha 18. 4 (vaiṣyena brahmanyām-utpanno Rāmako bhavatītyāhuh) probably contains a reference to the Romans. This assumption is gratuitous and does not deserve serious consideration. The reading Romaka (on which the learned writer relies) is not supported by the best mss. and it is most hazardous to seize with avidity on a variant reading and to build an imposing structure of chronology thereon. The offspring of a Vaiśya male from a Brāhmaṇa woman is designated Rāmaka by Vasiṣṭha, while Gautama calls him Kṛta (4. 15) and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 7) calls such an offspring Vaidehaka; so Rāmaka has as much to do with the Romans as with Rameses. In the nibandhas there are several quotations ascribed to Vasiṣṭha which are not found in the printed Dharmasūtra. For example, Haradatta on Gaut. (22. 18) quotes a verse in the Upajāti metre which is not found in the present text. 110.

So early a writer as Viśvarūpa cites (on Yaj. I. 19) the views of a writer called Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha. The Mit. on Yaj. (II. 91) quotes the definition of a jayapatra (judgment) from Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha and on III. 20 quotes him about impurity on miscarriage. The Smṛtacandrika quotes about 20 verses from Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha on ahnika and śraddha; Bhaṭṭoji in his gloss on the Caturvimsatimāla.

110 The verse is न नालिकेरेग न शांतारैन चारि मौखन न वपशालै:। दोषाय दोष न निष्कप्येनच चाक्ञुनितिते परशु प्राप्त:॥ The same verse is quoted in नितास्तर (on वाजः III. 264) without the author's name.
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(p. 12) seems to quote a prose passage from Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha. From the above it follows that Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha was an early compilation and dealt with almost all such topics (including Vyavahāra) as are dealt with by Yaj. The Mit. also quotes a Brhad-Vasiṣṭha. The Smrticandrika (III. p. 300) quotes a few verses from a Jyotir-Vasiṣṭha. The I. O. catalogue (No. 1339 p. 392) speaks of a Vasiṣṭha-smṛti in ten adhyāyas about the religious observances and duties enjoined on devotees of Viṣṇu.

That Yajñasvāmin wrote a commentary on the Vas. Dh. S. follows from Govindasvāmin’s comment on Baudh. Dh. S. (II. 2. 51), where he quotes Vas. 21. 13 and Yajñasvāmin’s comment thereon.

10. Viṣṇudharmaśūtra.

The Viṣṇudharmaśūtra has been printed several times in India, viz. by Jivananda in his Dharmāśastrasaṅgraha (1876 part I pp. 70-176), by the Bengal Asiatic Society (1881, ed. by Dr. Jolly with extracts from the commentary Vaijayanti), by M. N. Dutt (Dharmaśāstra texts, vol. II. pp. 541-666, Calcutta, 1909) and translated by Dr. Jolly (in the S. B. E. vol. VII with an Introduction). In the present work Dr. Jolly’s edition has been used. The sūtra contains one hundred chapters. Though the number of chapters is so large, the sūtra is not very extensive. There are several chapters such as 40, 42 and 76 that contain only one sūtra and one verse. The first chapter and the last two are entirely in verse; the remaining chapters are in mixed prose and verse, the versified portion being generally at the end of each chapter. As pointed out by the Vaijayanti the sūtra is in close relation to one of the oldest schools of the Yajurveda, viz. Kātha. It also stands in a peculiar relation to the extant Manusmṛti. According to the Caranavyūha, Kātha and Cārāyanīya are two of the twelve sub-divisions of Caraka-śākhā of the Yajurveda. Dr. Jolly (S. B. E. vol. VII p. XII) says that the Viṣṇudharmaśūtra has four chapters (21, 67, 73 and 86) in common with the Kāthak-grhya (except the final parts in 21, 67, 86) and that both drew from a common source. Bühler points out (West and Bühler’s digest, 3rd ed. p. 35) that the Kāthakagrhya found in Kashmir agrees closely with the Dharmasūtra of Viṣṇu and the mantras in the latter agree with the Kāthaka recension of the Yajurveda. But the Viṣṇudharmaśūtra is not the work of the same author that composed the Kāthaka Śrauta or Grhya sūtras, nor does it appear that it formed part of the
Kāthaka Kalpa. Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 7) says that Govindarāja (12th century) in his Smṛtiṃaṇjarī cites a passage in prose from a Kāthasūtrakṛt on the penance for Brāhmaṇa murder which is wanting in our Viṣṇusmṛti (vide S. B. E. Vol. 25, p. xxi n for the passage).

The contents of the Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra are:-1. The earth being lifted out of the surging ocean by the great Boar, went to Kaśyapa to inquire as to who would support her thereafter, and was sent by him to Viṣṇu who told her that those who would follow the duties of varṇas and āśramas would be her support, whereupon the earth pressed the great God to impart to her her duties; 2. the four varṇas and their dharmas; 3. the duties of kings (rājadharmāh); 4. the Kārṣāpaṇa and smaller measures; 5. punishments for various offences; 6. debtors and creditors, rates of interest, sureties; 7. three kinds of documents; 8. witnesses; 9. general rules about ordeals; 10–14. ordeals of balance, fire, water, poison and holy water (kośa); 15. the twelve kinds of sons, exclusion from inheritance, eulogy of sons; 16. offspring of mixed marriages, and mixed castes; 17. partition, joint family and rules of inheritance to one dying sonless, re-union, stridhana; 18. partition among sons of a man from wives of different castes; 19. carrying the dead body for cremation, impurity on death, praise of Brāhmaṇas; 20. the duration of the four Yugas, Manvantara, Kalpa, Mahākalpa, passages inculcating that one should not grieve too much for the departed; 21. the rites for the dead after period of mourning, monthly śraddha, sapindikarana; 22. periods of impurity on death for sapindas, rules of conduct in mourning, impurity on birth, and rules about impurity on touching various persons and objects; 23. purification of one’s body and of various substances; 24. marriage, forms of marriage, inter-marriages, guardians for marriage; 25. the dharmas of women; 26. precedence among wives of different castes; 27. the saṁskāras, garbhādhāna and others; 28. the rules for brahmacārins; 29. eulogy of ācārya; 30. time for the starting of Vedic study and holidays; 31. father, mother and ācārya deserve the highest reverence; 32. other persons deserving of respect; 33. the three sources of sin, viz. passion, anger, greed; 34. kinds of atipātakas, deadliest sins; 35. five mahāpātakas; 36. anupātakas, that are as deadly as the mahāpātakas; 37. numerous upātakas; 38–42. other lesser sins; 43. the twenty one hells and the duration of hell torments for various sinners; 44. the various low births to which sinners are consigned for various sins; 45. the
various diseases suffered by sinners and the low pursuits they have to follow by way of retribution; 46-48. various kinds of kṛcchras (penances), sāntapana, cāndrāyaṇa, prasātiyāvaka; 49. actions prescribed for a devotee of Vāsudeva and the rewards thereof; 50. prāyaścittas for killing a brāhmaṇa and other human beings, for killing cows and other animals; 51-53. prāyaścittas for drinking wine and other forbidden substances, for theft of gold and other articles, for incest and sexual intercourse of other kinds; 54. prāyaścittas for miscellaneous acts; 55. secret penances; 56. holy hymns like Agbamarsaṇa that purge sin; 57. whose society should be avoided, Vṛāyas, unrepentant sinners, avoiding gifts; 58. the pure, variegated (mixed) and dark kinds of wealth; 59. The duties of house-holders, pākayajñās, the five daily mahāyajñas, honouring guests; 60. the daily conduct of a householder and good breeding; 61-62. rules about brushing the teeth, acamana; 63. means of livelihood for a householder, rules for guidance, good and evil omens on starting on journey, rule of the road; 64. bathing and tarpana of gods and Manes; 65-67. worship of Vāsudeva; flowers and other materials of worship, offering of food to deities and piṇḍas to ancestors and giving food to guests; 68. rules about time and manner of taking food; 69-70. sexual intercourse with wife and about sleep; 71. general rules of conduct for a snātaka; 72. value of self-restraint; 73-86. śrāddhas, the procedure of śrāddhas, aśṭākā śrāddha, the ancestors to whom śrāddha is to be offered, times of śrāddha, fruits of śrāddha on the several week days and the 27 nakṣatras and the tithis, materials for śrāddha, brāhmaṇas unfit to be invited at śrāddha, brāhmaṇas who are pānti-pāvana; countries unfit for śrāddha, tirthas, letting loose of a bull; 87-88. gifts of antelope skin, or a cow; 89. kārtika snāna; 90. eulogy of gifts of various sorts; 91-93. works of public utility such as wells, lakes, planting gardens, embankments, gifts of food, flowers &c.; difference in merit according to the recipient; 94-95. rules about forest hermit (vānaprastha); 96-97. about saṁnyāsa, anatomy of the bones, muscles, veins, arteries &c.; concentration in various ways 98-99. praise of Vāsudeva by the Earth and of Lakṣmī; 100. rewards of studying this Dharmasāstra.

The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra somewhat resembles the Dharma-sūtra of Vasiṣṭha. Like the latter it is full of verses. But one feature which is peculiar to the Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra is that it professes to be a revelation by the supreme Being. None of the other dharmas-
10. Viṣṇudharmasūtra

Sūtras so far described assume this role. The style of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra is easy and somewhat diffuse. It presents hardly any ungrammatical forms. The printed text is corrupt only in a few cases; the verses occur generally at the end of chapters. Sometimes the number of verses in a chapter is very large e.g., in chapter 20 there are 21 sūtras and 32 verses, in chapter 23 there are 24 verses, in chap. 43 there are 14, in chap. 51 there are are 20 verses. Some of the verses are in the classical Indravajrā (19. 23-24) and the Uṇājāti metres (23.61 and 59. 30) and a few are Triṣṭubhās (29. 9-10, 30. 47, 72. 77). The three Triṣṭubhās (29. 9-10, 30. 41) are three out of the four verses of the Vidyā-sūkta occurring in the Nirukta (II. 4). There is one verse (72. 6) which has eleven letters in the first pada and twelve in the remaining three.

In determining the age of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra one is confronted with a difficult problem. Some of the chapters undoubtedly contain material which is comparatively old and on a level with the ancient Dharmasūtras of Gautama and Āpastamba. Such are the chapters about rājadharma and punishments (3 and 5), the rules about twelve sons and the mixed castes (15-16), funeral rites and mourning (21 and 22). But there are very large portions of the work that bear a clear impress of a later date. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra and the Manusmṛti have at least 160 identical verses. But this is not all. There are hundreds of sūtras which are merely the prose equivalents of verses from the Manusmṛti. For example, Viṣṇu 2. 3 and Manu 2. 16, Viṣṇu 3. 4 and 6 and Manu 7. 69-70, Viṣṇu 3. 7-10 and Manu 7. 115, Viṣṇu 3. 11-15 and Manu 7. 116-117, Viṣṇu 4. 1-13 and Manu 8. 132-137, Viṣṇu 5. 4-7, and Manu 9. 237, Viṣṇu 20. 1-21, and Manu I. 67-73, Viṣṇu 51. 7-10 and Manu 4. 209-212, Viṣṇu 59. 21-25 and Manu 3. 70, Viṣṇu 62. 224 and Manu 2. 59, Viṣṇu 71. 48-52 and Manu 4. 80, and Viṣṇu 96. 14-17 and Manu 6. 46 agree almost word for word. The verses that are identical in both are found in all the chapters of the Manusmṛti from the second to the last, the largest number (about 47) occurring in the 5th and chapters eleven, two, and three respectively contributing 25, 24, and 19 verses. Therefore the question whether the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra borrows from Manu or vice versa or whether both borrow from a common original assumes very great importance. As the correspondence extends over several hundred verses of the Manusmṛti, the last hypothesis of borrowing from a common original does
not recommend itself to me. No such common source is known to have existed and to say that there were hundreds of floating popular verses whose authorship was unknown and which were drawn upon by both works appears to me to be an extremely gratuitous and unsatisfactory assumption. In my opinion it is the extant Viśnudharmasūtra that borrowed the verses ad hoc or adapted them from the Manusmṛti. There are several lines of reasoning that strengthen this hypothesis. There are some verses that are identical in both, in which the name of Manu occurs, which the Viṣṇudharmasūtra omits by making slight verbal changes. For example, Viṣṇu 23. 50 substitutes ‘tat parikirtitam’ for ‘Manu-abravit’ in Manu 5. 131 and Viṣṇu 51. 64 reads ‘nanyatreti kathāṃcana’ for Manu 5. 41 ‘nanyatretyaabravin-Manuh’ (this last occurs in Vas. 4. 6). The reason for these changes is obvious. The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra professes to be a direct revelation from Viṣṇu and it is in keeping with this assumed role that not one human author is mentioned by name in the sūtra. Therefore where the name of Manu occurred in any verse, it was purposely omitted. Another reason why the sūtra must be presumed to be the borrower is the character of the extant work itself. It is a kind of hotchpotch and contains verses that are identical with those of other works. For example, several verses of the Bhagavatgitā occur in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. Viṣṇu 20, 48-49 and 51-52 are the same as Gita 2. 13, 23, 24, 28; Viṣṇu 72. 7 and Gita 13. 14-18 are almost identical. Viṣṇu 96. 97 and the first half of 98 are the same as Gita 13. 1-2, except that in keeping with its character of a revelation to the Earth, the Viṣṇudharmasūtra substitutes ‘vasudhe’ for ‘kaunteya’ and ‘bhāvini’ for ‘bharata.’ Several verses of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti are identical with those of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. For example, Viṣṇu 6. 41 and Yāj. 2. 53, Viṣṇu 8. 38 and Yaj. II. 79, Viṣṇu 9. 33 and Yaj. 2. 97, Viṣṇu 17. 17 and Yaj. 2. 138, Viṣṇu 17. 23 (first half) and Yaj. 2. 210 (latter half), Viṣṇu 62. 9 and Yaj. 1. 21, Vi. 63. 51 and Yaj. 1. 117 are identical. Besides these there are hundreds of prose sūtras that are identical with passages of Yājñavalkya. For example, Vi. 3. 72-74 = Yaj. II. 1-4; Vi. 3. 82 = Yaj. 1. 318-320 (rules about land grants); Vi. 5. 65-69 = Yaj. II. 217-220, Vi. 5. 73 = Yaj. II. 221; Vi. 45. 3-12 = Yaj. 3. 209-211 (about diseases suffered by sinners); Vi. 60. 24 = Yaj. 1. 17; Vi. 96. 55-79 = Yaj. 3. 84-90 (about 360 bones of the body); Vi. 96. 80-88 = Yaj. 3. 100-102 (about the number of arteries, veins, muscles etc.); Vi. 96. 89-92 = Yaj. 3. 93-99. Dr. Jolly
thinks that Yājñavalkya borrows from Viṣṇu the whole of the anatomical section (vide S. B. E. vol. VII, p. XX). With great respect I differ from this opinion. There is nothing to show that the anatomical details were first given to the world by Viṣṇu. They must have first been embodied in works on medicine such as those of Caraka and Suśruta and were probably copied by Dharmasūtra writers. But if there is any borrowing between Viṣṇu and Yājñavalkya I think from the character of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra that it is the sūtra that must be regarded as borrowing from Yājñavalkya. There are several matters in the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra which are wanting in Yājñavalkya and which induce one to place the extant sūtra later than Yājñavalkya, viz. the name ‘Jaiva’ for Thursday (Vi. 78. 5), the long list of tirthas (Vi. chap. 85) which include Śriparvata and the five rivers of the south called southern Pañcanada, the importance of the conjunction of the moon and Jupiter on a full moon day (Vi. 49. 9-10), the vague definition of Āryāvarta (Vi. 84. 4). The verse in Viṣṇu 54. 33 (about half prāyāscitta for boys and old men) is ascribed to Āṅgiras by the Mitākṣara (on Yāj. III. 243).

Therefore the most probable conclusion is that the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra borrows from the Manusmṛti, Yājñavalkya and other authors. It would be too much to assume that the Manusmṛti, the Bhagavatgītā and Yājñavalkya borrow from such a comparatively unimportant work as the Viṣṇudharmasūtra.

The above conclusion is further strengthened by certain other considerations. The Manusmṛti has been quoted with utmost reverence by a host of writers from the fifth century downwards, such as Śabara, Kumārila and Śaṅkarācārya. Yājñavalkya was commented upon by Viśvarūpa in the first half of the 9th century. Viśvarūpa in his commentary quotes scores of sūtras from Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha, Śaṅkha and Hārīta. But it is significant that Viśvarūpa in his commentary on Yājñavalkya does not quote even a single sūtra of Viṣṇu by name. It is true that Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 66) says that

111 Vide चरुक, शारीरस्थान chap. 7 and युक्त, शारीरस्थान chap. 5; in the अधोग्रह-हृदय of शामत, शारीर chap. 3, we find 360 bones and 700 muscles.

112 चालुक्यवर्गस्थान प्रस्थितस्थिरे न विचारे । स नैसख्येवभिः स्थित आयोजनस्तत: परः ॥
It is to be noted that Yāj. (I. 2) lays down dharma for the country in which the black deer moves about, following Baud. I. I. 28 and Vas. I. 13.

H. De 9.
the four forms of asceticism (parivrajya) should be understood from other smrīts like those of Viṣṇu. This probably refers to chap. 97 of the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra. Medhātithi (on Manu 3. 248) quotes Viṣṇu (21. 12) and on Manu 9. 76 quotes a śūtra of Viṣṇu which I could not trace in the printed Viṣṇu. The Mitakṣarā mentions Viṣṇu about thirty times. The quotations are taken from chapters 19, 21, 22, 35-42, 50, 51, 52, 75 and 79 of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra, 18 śūtras of chap. 22 (on āsāna and kindred topics) being quoted on Yaj. III. 23, 24, 27, 29-30. But it is a remarkable fact that not one of the verses in the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra is cited as Viṣṇu’s in the Mitakṣarā. The only exception is a verse cited as Viṣṇu’s on Yaj. III. 265, which has the same purport as Viṣṇu 52. 14 (a verse) and the first pada of which is identical with that of the verse in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. A few verses that are quoted as Viṣṇu’s in the Mitakṣarā could not be traced in the extant dharmasūtra. It is not unlikely that the śūtra first contained mostly prose śūtras based on Manu and the Kāṭhakagṛhya and verses were tacked on later. Among later writers of nibandhas Aparārka quotes Viṣṇu most profusely and the Smṛticandrika also quotes Viṣṇu about 225 times.

113 सूर्यस्तरस्य विष्णुविद्या विशेषतः विश्वाबद्विद्यास्मिनः पारिश्रवणकारादं युगान्तरं।

114 The quotation is ‘अधिष्ठितं विज्ञानं राजस्त्रियुक्तं सेवतं दिग्विजयं दस्तौति न भूतायं कारति: स्वस्तं सर्वसंस्करितं।’ compare for a somewhat similar rule Vaiṣ. 17. 78.

115 वर्धाय विष्णु: द्वैतपवाहस्त्र स्वामने सत्मार्थतन्त्रित्वा। विष्णुद्वयत्र धर्मविनिक्षयपायत:। प्राप्यते सन्त: कुष्ठकलमस्तयथेऽन्तये।

116 The verse are: ओऽधी विदोलामको स्वयम् वातो विपरिपयच। quoted on Yīj. I. 195; 'अधिष्ठातु वानिगुप्तस्य वाक्योदिताः। तोर्मयथः नेवने विधिरिख्यावभगिनः।' quoted on Yīj. II. 139; 'अप्रकृतोपालनस्यदीर्घिण धनमयुः। पूर्वो तु स्वावते पौन्तः दीर्घिणका नाता।' on Yīj. II. 135; 'धातुस्तिथिता वाति धनेऽपि विमाणोदितः। यथद्विस्त प्रज्ञावाच्याति सुहुम्येऽर्थवेत्त।' on Yīj. III. 227; 'स्वयम्य विदा विदान: प्रवधोपेऽवर्षं विभिः।' on Yīj. III. 243; 'पायते वाति: तथा: स्वावते स्वावत्त्वं विभिः।' on Yīj. III. 263;
Many of the verses found in Vi. are quoted by Aparārka as Viṣṇu’s, e.g. Vi. 84. 4 on Yaj. 1. 2; 68. 46-47 on Yaj. 1. 106; 67. 33 on Yaj. 1. 107; 5. 183 on Yaj. 2. 60; 10. 9-11 on Yaj. 2. 102. But there are numerous verses quoted as Viṣṇu’s by Aparārka which are not found in the sūtra, e.g. on Yaj. I. 21, 53, 89, 100. Aparārka quotes almost whole chapters of Viṣṇu, e.g. Vi. 68 on Yaj. I. 106 and 90 on Yaj. I. 208, 70 on Yaj. I. 114. It is to be noted that Vi. 70. 17 (a verse) is quoted by Aparārka as a prose sūtra (on I. 114) with slight verbal changes. All these facts make one feel naturally sceptical about the authenticity of most of the verses in the extant Viṣṇudharmsūtra. They probably formed no part of the sūtra at the time when the Mitakṣarā was composed. At all events it cannot be gainsaid that the verses are a very late part of the sūtra.

The Viṣṇudharmsūtra contains quotations from all the Vedic sāṁhitās and from the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (as in Vi. 15. 45). It mentions the Vedāṅgas very frequently (30. 3 and 38, 28. 35, 83. 6), it speaks of Vyākaraṇa (83. 7), of itihāsa (3. 70, 30. 38, 83. 7), of Dharmāstātras (3. 70, 30. 38, 73. 16, 83. 8), of Purāṇa (3. 70, 30. 38 &c.). About the close correspondence between Baudh. III. 6 and Viṣṇu. 48 and between Vas. 28. 10-15 and 18-22 and Viṣṇu 56 and 87 vide remarks made above pp. 23, 57. The sūtra quotes several verses (called gāthās) and says they were sung by pītrās; vide 78. 52-53, 80. 14, 83. 21, 85. 65-67. They bear close resemblance to the gāthās sung by the pītras quoted in the Anuśāsana-parva 88. 11-15 and a half verse ‘eṣṭavyā bahavaḥ putrā yadyekopi Gayāṁ vraitā’ is the same in Vi. 85. 67 and Anu. 88. 14. The Viṣṇusmrī enumerates twenty one hells (43. 1-22), which are almost the same as Yājñavalkya’s (3. 222-224). It mentions the names of the seven days of the week (78. 1-7), Thursday being called Jaiva, while Yājñavalkya mentions only the seven planets (with Rāhu and Ketu) in the same order (I. 296). It recommends the practice of satt (25. 14), speaks of pustakas (18. 44, 23. 56), a word which is not used by the other dharmāsūtras so far described. It gives a long list of good and evil omens at the time of starting on a journey (63. 33-39). Among evil omens it includes the sight of yellow-robed ascetics (i.e. Buddhists probably) and Kapālikas (63. 36). It prohibits speech with Mlecchas, Antyajas (71. 59) and journeys to Mleccha countries (84. 2). It contains special directions about the worship of Vāsudeva in chap. 49
and speaks of Śvetadvipā as the reward of devotion to Vāsudeva (49. 4). Here and there, there are eulogies of Vāsudeva (1. 50-57, 65.1, 97. 10, 98 which gives one hundred names of Viṣṇu). It speaks of the four vyūhas of Vāsudeva (67. 2) and of the Varāha incarnation. It gives a vague location of Āryāvarta as a country where the four varṇas exist (84. 4). It enumerates numerous sacred places (85. 1-52), among which Śrīparvata, Saptārṣa (modern Sātara?), Godāvari and southern Paścanada deserve to be specially noted. Though it does not specifically enumerate the eighteen titles of law just as Yājñavalkya does not, yet it contains rules (in chapters 5-6) on almost all of them.

As Yājñavalkya enumerates Viṣṇu among the propounders of dharmaśāstras, it follows that a work of Viṣṇu existed in comparatively early times. What matters that work embraced it is difficult to say. It probably contained the topics found in the works of Gautama, Āpastamba and others. It may have included portions borrowed from the Kāṭhakagṛhya. When Dr. Jolly says that certain chapters of Viṣṇu agree closely with the Kāṭhakagṛhya, all that is meant is that some of the sūtras of Viṣṇu are the same or almost the same as those of the Kāṭhakagṛhya (e.g. compare Viṣṇu 21, 73 and 86 with Kāṭhakagṛhya V. 12, V. 9, and V. 3 respectively). But in all these places Viṣṇu contains more details than the Kāṭhakagṛhya. It may however be noted that in a few cases the views of the Kāṭhakagṛhya differ from those of Viṣṇu. For example, Viṣṇu (30. 1) speaks of Vedic studies for 4½ months only in the year when once they are started on the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa or Bhadrapada, while the Kāṭhakagṛhya (I. 9. 10) gives three alternatives, viz. 4½, 5 or 5½ months; Viṣṇu prescribes that the proper year for the upanayana of a kṣatriya is the 11th from conception (27. 16), while the Kāṭhaka prescribes the 9th, without specifying whether it is from conception or birth (IV. 1. 2); Viṣṇu enumerates eight forms of marriage (24. 18), while the Kāṭhaka (II. 3 and 4) speaks of only two, Brāhma and Asura, and is silent about the rest; Viṣṇu (46. 19-20) defines Sāntapana and Mahāsāntapana differently from the Kāṭhaka (I. 7. 3-4), but agrees with Yājñavalkya (III. 315-316). Here the recent Lahore edition of the Kāṭhakagṛhya by Dr. Caland has been used. As it used Kāṭhaka mantras and borrowed from the Kāṭhakagṛhya, the dharmaśātra may have been a text-book of the Kāṭhaka school and probably originated in Kashmir and Punjab which is the home
of the Kaṭhas. The date of the older portion of Viṣṇu may be placed between 300 B.C. to 100 B.C. But this is no more than a mere conjecture. It is to be noted that Kumārila does not mention the Viṣṇudharmaśāstra among the sūtras studied by particular schools. Then several centuries later on the whole of the sūtra was recast from the Vaiṣṇavite point of view and received large additions both in prose and verse. When these additions were made we have no exact means of determining. It is probable that they were not made very long before Viśvarūpa. At all events the additions were made long after the Yajñavalkyasmṛti and after the 3rd century. The mention of the week days makes the sūtra comparatively a late work. The earliest epigraphic mention of a week day is in the Eran inscription of 484 A.D. (vide Fleet's Gupta inscriptions pp. 88-89) and Varahamihira (6th century) knew the week days well. The Brahmapurāṇa (28. 55) mentions Sunday and the Padmapurāṇa mentions Thursday (Brahmakhaṇḍa chap. 11. 34). The Sūrya-siddhānta (XII. 6 and 78) speaks of the lords of days. Thus although the extant Viṣṇu-dharmaśāstra is a late recast, it contains a few doctrines that were held in ancient times. For example it allows a Brähmana to marry a girl of anyone of the four castes (24. 1) and does not inveigh against niyoga as Manu does.

A few of the sūtras agree closely with Nārada. Vide Vi. 7. 10-11 and Nārada (Ṛṇādāna verses 136-137).

The Mitakṣara quotes all the prose passages of chapters 35-42 and ascribes them to Brhadviṣṇu (on Yāj. 3. 242). Similarly on Yāj. 3. 261 it ascribes Vi. 35. 3-5 to Brhadviṣṇu. Similarly the Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 298) ascribes Vi. 17. 4 ff to Brhad-Viṣṇu. The Mitakṣara (on Yāj. 3. 267) quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Viṣṇu which summarises some sūtras of Viṣṇu 117 (50. 6 and 12-14).

In the Anandaśrama collection of smṛtis there is a Laghu-Viṣṇu-smṛti in five chapters and 114 verses dealing with the duties of the vṛyas and the four āśramas. Aparārka in his commentary on Yāj. 3. 258 quotes four verses from Laghu-Viṣṇu, which are not found in the Anandaśrama text. So Aparārka used some other work or perhaps a larger work. The Parāśara-Mādhavīya often quotes gadya-

117 The verse of बृहविष्णु 18 विष्णु नक देवेण्य गद्यवस्तु । वेदगुणरूपः पादश्च बृहविष्णु नक्तै भक्तिः ।

The sūtras are भक्त्वथा भावाणि श्रवणसंवर्तते ।

अर्थं देवेण्यं ।

तद्दर्शं शुद्धवदे ।
Viṣṇu and padya-Viṣṇu. The former from a quotation in vol. I. part 2, p. 234 seems to be the Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra itself. In the Sarasvatīvilāsa numerous sūtras of Viṣṇu with the explanations of Bhāruci thereon are quoted, which are not found in the printed Viṣṇu.\(^{118}\)

The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra was commented upon by Nandapaṇḍita, author of several works on dharmasāstra, who wrote at Benares the commentary called Vaijayanti (according to certain mss.) in 1679 (i.e. 1622–23 A.D.) of the Vikrama era. Dr. Jolly publishes extracts from this commentary in his edition of the sūtra.

From the fact that the Sarasvatīvilāsa quotes several times the sūtras of Viṣṇu with Bhāruci’s explanation, it looks probable that Bhāruci commented upon the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. For further information on Bhāruci vide sec. 61.

So far only the printed and well-known dharmasūtras have been passed under review. But there were numerous other dharmasūtras which are either now extant in rare mss. or are not yet discovered but are only to be reconstructed from quotations. It is now time to discuss them.

## II. The Dharmasūtra of Hārīta

That Hārīta was an ancient sūtrakāra on dharma is quite patent from the fact that the dharmasūtras of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha quote him as an authority (vide pp. 25, 39, 54). Āpastamba quotes Hārīta more frequently than any other author. From this it may

\(^{118}\) e.g. para 637 यथाहै भाषितोत्सविद्याल्यानानाय स्वाजळ्या पिण्डराचारिता। (Viṣṇu's sūtra seems to have been बीमणनासंहि गृहीतायाः; para 719 अनु भाषा: (on Viṣṇu's sūtra 'पिण्डराचारिता' संस्कृतानां गृहीतायाः; वेतस्तिरोवर्त्तं संस्कृतिविविधिता; para 736 अनु भाषा: निम्नोदि गृहीतात्त्विन निर्णयोऽविश्वादी (on Viṣṇu's sūtra 'भिन्नोदि गृहीतात्त्विन निर्णयोऽविश्वादी'); para 847 contains a long sūtra of Viṣṇu 'अधिको गार्त भाषां नामं वेदाक्षरसिद्धांकारणां महामायेष्ठानुसारं सर्व्वेदाविविधकथा' and para 848 contains भाषा: 's explanation of it. Vide pp. 32, 50, 165, 166, 243, 244 &c. of the recently published Mysore edition of the sāstras for sūtras of Viṣṇu which are not found in the printed text of Viṣṇu. It appears that the sāstras had a very much larger version of the sūtra before it.
be concluded that they belonged to the same Veda. The Tantravārttika (vide note 55 above) mentions Hārīta along with Gautama and other sūtrakāras on dharma. From Viśvarūpa down to the latest writers on dharmaśāstra Hārīta is most profusely quoted. From the quotations it appears that his dharmaśūtra was perhaps the most extensive of all dharmaśūtras.

The late Pandit Vanmansastri Islampurkar discovered at Nasik a ms. of the Hārīta-dharmaśūtra. It was not possible for me to make use of it for the present work. Dr. Jolly (in R. und S. pp. 8–9) gives an account of the ms. from which I give a summary. It is so faulty that an edition based on it alone cannot be thought of. The ms. contains thirty chapters. So far as the language and contents are concerned the work impresses one as ancient, but the material citations ascribed to Hārīta in later digests on court procedure and the law of crimes &c. are not found in the ms. The prose is mixed up with verses in Anuśṭubh and Trīṣṭubh metres, which are often introduced with the characteristic words “athaḥpyudāharanti” as in other dharmaśūtras. The ms. quotes ‘bhagavān Maitrāyaṇi’ and the verse “Śataḍāyo viro” which is Maitrāyaṇiya Šaṁhitā I. 7. 5. Dr. Caland points out remarkable correspondence between the citations of Hārīta and the Maitrāyaṇiya Pārīśīṣṭa and Mānavaśraddhakaṇḍa. All this tends to show that he was a sūtrakāra of the Black Yajurveda. The numerous quotations from Hārīta in Āpastamba and Baudhāyana are not however found in the ms. The ms. was found at Nasik, which is also the source of two mss. of the Maitrāyaṇiya Šaṁhitā. The Kashmirian word ‘kaphella’ is cited in Hārīta and so the Hārīta-dharmaśūtra probably originated there. Hemādri (caturvarga III. 1. p. 559) mentions a commentator (bhāṣyakāra119) of Hārīta.

From the numerous quotations from Hārīta in the nibandhas it appears that the dharmaśūtra dealt exhaustively with the same topics as are dealt with in other dharmaśūtras, viz. sources of dharma, brahmācārin of two kinds (upakurvāṇa and nāiśṭhikā), sūtata, the householder, the forest hermit, prohibitions about food, impurity

119 The sūtra of Hārīta is ‘पालकुष्य-नालिका-रोटिक-बिशु-सुपुक-वताक- मुस्तिण-कफ्रेत-भाष-मद्दर-कत्तलमणि च भाज्ञे न द्वाद्’ on which हेमाद्रि says, ‘कफ्रेतः आर्यपरिवेशः काश्त्रीयेन पसिद्ध हति द्वारितस्तुनिभाष्यकारः.’
on birth and death, śraddha, the pāṇktipāvana, general rules of conduct, the five yajñas, Vedic study and holidays, duties of kings, rules of statecraft, court procedure, the various titles of law, duties of husband and wife, various kinds of sins, prāyaścittas, expiatory prayers &c.

According to Kullūka (on Manu 2. 1) the Hārita-dharmasūtra opened with the words ‘now then we shall explain dharma; dharma is based upon revealed texts (śruti); revealed texts are of two kinds, the Vedic and the Tantric’. The quotations show that this very style was pursued in the body of the work. Aparārka (on Yāj. III. 322) quotes a sūtra in similar style about a penance ‘tulāpuruṣa’ said to have been promulgated by Śiva himself. The sūtra often introduces verses as quotations with the words “an author says thus” (evam hyāha; vide Aparārka on Yāj. I. 83, I. 154, III. 135, Vivāda-ratnakara pp. 443, 626). Numerous passages quoted as Hārita’s are identical with passages from other dharmasāstra works. The sūtra ‘Jāyāpatyorna vibhāgo vidyate’ is quoted as from Hārita by the Smṛticandrākā (II. p. 268), which is the same as Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 16. The same work quotes ‘pratyakṣavidhānād gārhasthyasya’ as from Hārita which is part of Gautama 3. 35. A verse about the enormity of usury quoted in the Smṛticandrākā (I. p. 177) as Hārita’s is almost the same as Baudhāyana (I. 5. 79) and Vasiṣṭha (2. 42). A verse about atipātakins (quoted by Aparārka on Yāj. III. 231) is the same as Viṣṇu 34. 2. Manu is mentioned by name in several verses (vide Smṛticandrākā III. p. 426, Vivāda-ratnakara p. 552-553). Two verses are cited in the Vyavahāratattva of Raghu-nandana as found in Hārita, Baudhāyana (I. 10. 30) and Manu (8. 18-19). A verse quoted by the Smṛticandrākā (II. p. 21) is almost the same as Manu 8. 95. Several times we have the words ‘Prajāpativaco yathā’ (vide Aparārka on Yāj. I. 154 and Smṛticandrākā I. p. 181). Hārita seems to have relied upon the views

120 ‘अधातो धर्म व्यास्यायम्:। शुतिमात्रांको धर्मं:। शुतिः श्रविष्या वैदिकी

121 अधातातिरिक्त नूतनकथा कर्त्य व्यास्यायम्:।

122 The verse is ‘महात्म बृहस्पति व नूतनां समर्पितम्। अविनाश्य महात्मा विश्वास

123 The verse is ‘महात्म बृहस्पति व नूतनां समर्पितम्। अविनाश्य महात्मा विश्वास

124 The verse is ‘महात्म बृहस्पति व नूतनां समर्पितम्। अविनाश्य महात्मा विश्वास

125 The verse is ‘महात्म बृहस्पति व नूतनां समर्पितम्। अविनाश्य महात्मा विश्वास
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He often quotes the views of others (eke, apare) and sometimes refutes them.

Hārīta refers to the Vedas, the Aṅgas, dharmaśāstra, metaphysics, and other branches of knowledge. The quotations do not show that he belonged to any particular Veda, as he quotes from all the Vedas promiscuously. In this connection it is worthy of note that though Kumārila mentions Hārīta as an ancient dharmaśātrakāra, he does not assign him to any particular school, while he assigns Āpastamba and Baudhāyāna to the Taittirīya school.

Some of the doctrines of Hārīta are worth noting. He speaks of eight forms of marriage, but two of them are styled Kṣatra and Mānuṣa, while Ārṣa and Prājāpatya are omitted (vide Viramitrodaya, Saṁskāraprakāśa, p. 84). Vasiṣṭha has the same nomenclature (I. 29). Hārīta speaks of two sorts of women (brahmaśādicinīs and sadyovadhās) and states that the former were entitled to have the Upanayana performed, to keep the sacred fire and to study the Vedas. He speaks of the twelve kinds of sons (vide Haradatta on Gautama 28. 32). He looks down upon the profession of an actor and forbids the employment of a Brāhmaṇa actor in any śrāddha or rite for gods. Aparārka (on Yāj. II.3332) quotes from Hārīta a lengthy passage in mixed prose and verse, where the worship of Gaṇeṣa comes in.

123 विषयत् on Yēj. I. 195. तत्त्वावलकोवलोकनेऽन्ति वाससात्। न त्वं साधारणात। साधारणं हि गात् हृदयाभायः। साधारणोपमावलोकनेऽति वाससात्। गृहः। अपरार्कः on Yēj. I. 154. आपातबुधी सत्यवेष्टित्वाचायाः। निद्रा पा., P. 704. न रूपार्कानं लोकः न पर हृदयाभायः.

124 Vide मदूच. पा., pp. 607, 706; सूतिलिक. III. p. 432, अपरार्कः on Yēj. II. 127.

125 अपरार्कः on Yēj. I. 183. बानादनान्तग्रहरीएवं तत्त्वावलकोवलोकनेऽति तत्त्वावलकोवलोकनेऽति सन्तति पुष्प शौचालेष्यासः।

126 सूतिलिक. III. p. 290. तत्त्वावलकोवलोकनेऽति तत्त्वावलकोवलोकनेऽति सन्तति पुष्प शौचालेष्यासः।

127 ततः महादार्श्यम् सत्यवेष्टितत् सत्यवेष्टितत् सत्यवेष्टितत्। न तत् महादार्श्यम् सत्यवेष्टितत्।

128 कुशीलवशील देशे विशे च वर्णित। quoted by अपरार्कः on Yēj. I. 232-234.

129 We have there the names सात्तकरकत्, कुशीलवशील, महादार्श्य, गृहचन्दन, गणालिंग. For the first two vide आनावृषादुष्च II. 14 and नारा, I. 285 ff.
A very interesting question is the relation of the verse quotations from Hārīta with the prose quotations from Hārīta. The dharmāṣṭūra was probably interspersed with verses as is the case more or less with all dharmāṣṭūras except that of Gautama. But there are numerous verses ascribed to Hārīta in the nibandhas, which are manifestly modern. Both the Mitākṣarā and Aparārka (on Yāj. I. 86) quote Hārīta’s verses eulogising the sati. The Śrīśpacandrikā (III. p. 344) quotes his verses that refer to the signs of the Zodiac. There are numerous verses containing elaborate rules of procedure, ascribed to Hārīta, which are quite foreign to the general atmosphere of the ancient dharmāṣṭūras. All such verses must be ascribed to a comparatively later date. In the Śuddhimayūkha it is said that certain verses quoted from the Mahabhārata by Hārīta are not found in several copies of the Mahābhārata.

Dr. Jolly (in 1889) collected together most of the prose and verse citations from Hārīta on the Vyāhāra section. In Jivananda’s collection, we have a Laghu-Hārīta śmṛti (I. pp. 177-193) and a Vṛddha-Hārītasmṛti (I. pp. 194-409). The former contains seven adhyāyas and about 250 verses, dealing with the duties of the four castes and the āśramas and with Yoga. The latter is professedly a Viśnupitate work, said to have been proclaimed by Hārīta to Ambariśa; it is divided into eight chapters and contains about 2600 verses, dealing with the nitya and naimittika rites of the varṇas and āśramas, the nature of the individual and supreme self and the means of attaining mokṣa. In the Ānandaśrama collection of śmrīs, Vṛddha-Hārīta is divided into eleven chapters, the first two of Jivananda’s being split up into five. The Ānandaśrama collection contains a Laghu-Hārīta-smṛti in 117 verses which is different from the Laghu-Hārīta of Jivananda. The former deals with purification from pollutions of various kinds, with prāyaścittas, rules about impurity on birth and death, śrāddha and a few rules about inheritance, partition &c.

It is noteworthy that Aparārka (on Yāj. III. 254) quotes Vṛddha-Hārīta and Hārīta, both in prose, one immediately after another.

That the Vṛddha-Hārīta in verse is comparatively a late work follows from the fact that it distinctly recites that the śmrīs of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Kātyāyana were known to it as authorities
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on rāja-dharma. Some of the quotations ascribed to Laghu-Hārīta in Aparākṣa and other works are found in the Laghu-Hārīta, e.g. the verse ‘vīnā yajñopavitena’ (Laghu-Hārīta, Anandāśrama, verse 25) is quoted by Aparākṣa on Yāj. III. 289. Some verses that are ascribed to Hārīta are found in the Laghu-Hārīta, for example, the verse ‘sānānam kṛtva tu ye’, cited by the Smṛticandrīka (I. p. 203), occurs in the Laghu-Hārīta (Anandāśrama, verse 41). It appears that several compilations were made at different times, embracing different topics of dharma and ascribed to Hārīta, probably because they were based more or less on the Hāritadharmaśūtra.

That some of the verses ascribed to Hārīta are very ancient follows from several considerations. For example, Viśvarūpa quotes (on Yāj. III. 246) a verse from Hārīta. The Sarasvativilāsa quotes from Hārīta a brief passage which appears to be a portion of a verse and Kātyāyana’s explanation thereon. It follows that long before the sixth century A. D. Hārīta existed in verse.

For Hārīta on Vyavahāra, vide sec. 56.

12. The Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita

From the Tantravārtika we learn (note 55 above) that the Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita was specially studied by the Vāja- saneyins (the followers of the white Yajurveda). The Tantravārtika also quotes a few words from that dharmasūtra which constitute an Anuṣṭubh pāda. The Mahābhārata (Śānti. chap. 23) contains the story of the two brothers Śaṅkha and Likhita. In the Śāntiparva (130. 29 and 132. 15-16) the word Śaṅkha-Likhita seems to be used in a double sense, Śaṅkha also meaning the forehead. Yājñavalīkya (1. 5) mentions Śaṅkha-Likhita among the writers on dharmaśāstra. The Parāśarasmṛti says (1. 24) that in the four ages of Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali, the ordinances of Manu, Gautama, Śaṅkha-Likhita and Parāśara are respectively of paramount authority.

130 राजधर्मांविशिष्टं विन्ध्यदृश्यम् ब्रह्माः मया। कात्यायिनेन मन्तु याहास्वलं भीमव। नास्तेन च समस्यक्षव विद्वदविद्विदेव हि। तस्मान्यत विद्वदर्या नोक्षेत्र बुद्धवसनम् (Jivanaṇda I, 4th chap. p. 265; Anandāśrama, 7th chap. 270–272).

131 वरिष्ठाब्दी केवल मेवा उक्त। एको विद्वथानो द्वित्वम् द्वितिक;। कात्यायस्तु स्तन्तु तलव व्यक्ते हि। 2nd उस्मान, p. 61 (Mysore edition).

132 तन्त्रवार्तिक, p. 139. ‘स्मार्तवार्तिकाः हि शास्त्रिकितात्मयायुप्रद–आनांव: क्षत्व–

शाखाः।'
in matters of dharma. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 248) quotes a verse from an ancient author which says that Saṅkha and Likhita pondered deeply over the dharma promulgated to the sages by Manu and drew upon the Veda also. Commentators and nibandhakāras from Viśvarūpa downwards profusely quote Saṅkha-Likhita. A considerable portion of these quotations is in prose. Hence it is quite clear that the dharmasūtra of Saṅkha-Likhita is an ancient one, that it was largely if not entirely in prose and that it was once easily accessible though it has not yet been discovered. In the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (vol. VII–VIII) I made an attempt at a reconstruction of Saṅkha-Likhita.

Jivananda (collection of smṛtis, part II., pp. 343-374) prints in 18 chapters and about 330 verses a smṛti of Saṅkha and a smṛti of Likhita in about 93 verses (part II., pp. 375-382). The Ānandāśrama collection also prints the same text of the two smṛtis. The latter also contains a Laghu-Saṅkha-smṛti in 71 verses and a Saṅkha-Likhita-smṛti in 32 verses. All these, except perhaps the Saṅkha-smṛti in 18 chapters, are late compilations. The smṛti in 18 chapters seems to have been compiled very early. About fifty verses from it are quoted by the Mitākṣarā. In the 11th and 12th chapters occur a few prose passages, one of which is quoted even by Medhātithi. The numerous prose quotations ascribed to Saṅkha-Likhita do not however occur in these smṛtis. One point deserves special notice. Comparatively early writers sometimes ascribe the same text to Saṅkha-Likhita or to Saṅkha simply. The well-known sūtra about succession to a son-less man (athāputrasya svaryātasya bhrātrgāmi dravyam &c.) is ascribed to Saṅkha by Viśvarūpa and the Mitākṣarā, but to Saṅkha-Likhita by Aparārka (on Yāj. II. 135-136). Similarly the sūtra ‘pitaryaśakte kutumbavahārān jyeṣṭhah’ &c. is ascribed to Saṅkha by Aparārka and to Saṅkha-Likhita by the Vivāda-ratnākara, Dāyatattva and Madanapārijāta. Quotations ascribed to Likhita are few and far between. Some passages are ascribed by some writers to Saṅkha and by others to Likhita. For example, a prose passage ‘Uddhṛtya parīksitabhīḥ’ &c. is ascribed to Likhita by Aparārka (on Yāj. I. 18) and to Saṅkha by Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 20) and by the Viramitrodaja (Āhnikapракāṣa p. 68). Similarly the sūtra ‘ubhābhhyāmapi hastābhhyām prātmukho deva-tirthena kuryāt’ is ascribed to Saṅkha–Likhita by the Pārasāramādha–

133 समीच्छ निपुणं धर्मसूतिको सनुभाषितस्। आचार्यायास्मादशुक्ल श्रुत्व संहितात्तत्त्वः।
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viya (I. 1. p. 352) and to Likhita by Aparārka (on Yāj. I. 101). The relation of the Śaṅkha-smṛti in verse to the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha seems to be this. The former is based upon the latter and is a versified paraphrase or adaptation of portions of the dharmasūtra. 134

The versified Śaṅkha shows a tendency towards greater strictness. The dharmasūtra allows a Brāhmaṇa to marry a woman of any of the four castes, while the verse Śaṅkha restricts him to the first three castes. 135 It is not unlikely that the dharmasūtra contained a few verses as is the case with Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha. Even so early a writer as Viśvarūpa looked upon the prose and verse portions as the composition of the same author (vide his comment on Yāj. III. 237, and Aparārka pp. 1149, 1154, 1161).

The dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita was commented upon early. Lakṣmīdhara in his Kalpataru (Ghose’s Hindu Law vol. II., p. 504) draws attention to the fact that the bhāsyakāra of Śaṅkha read a well-known sūtra as ‘sa yadye kah syāt’ instead of ‘sa yadye kapurāṇa syāt’. Lakṣmīdhara flourished between 1100-1160 A. D. as he was a minister of Govindacandra of Kanauj. The Vivādaratnākara (1314 A. D.) also cites the bhāsyakāra of Śaṅkha-Likhita. The Vivādācintāmani (p. 67) quotes from the bhāsyakāra of Śaṅkha-Likhita.

The dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita would appear, from the quotations in the nibandhas, to have closely resembled the other extant sūtras on dharma in style and contents. It embraced almost all the topics treated of in Gautama or Āpastamba. It agrees very closely with the words of Gautama and Baudhāyana in several places. 136 It is curious to note that a quotation from Śaṅkha

134 Compare द्वृत्त परिपूर्वार्थियोपसिद्धितामिनिवलितविविधिनिमित्तामिनिक्रियानिमित्तप्रकृतिभावम् (quoted as Śaṅkha’s by the वीरेश्वर, आदिकक, p. 68) with श्राद्धसमूह 9. 6

135 The तावुव (ed. of 1899, p. 210) quotes ‘भाषी: कामि: स्त्रियात्र: अपेक्ष: सर्पोऽस्मिन देवनिताः पूर्वकः। ततोतवतसातः माध्याण्यानुवृत्तेऽः’; the श्राद्धसमूह (4. 7) says ‘श्राद्धिकालं वेदितं माध्याण्यसः करितं’

136 Compare नासर्यायातिप्रियाः (quoted in वीरेश्वर, आदिकक, p. 452) with गौ. भ. 5. 38-42; ‘स्त्रयुस्तहनेऽर्पनु’ (quoted by अपराहक on गौ. I. 195) with गौ. भ. 5. 41-43; ‘न निन्द्यन्यातः नासर्यायाः’ (पतुर्वे III. 1, p. 977) with गौ. भ. 5. 15.
containing the names of writers of smṛtis cites Śaṅkha-Likhita as
authority.  

The dharmasūtra seems to have permitted niyoga, speaks of
twelve secondary sons, and did not favour (like Āpastamba)
the claims of females to succeed to males. On certain points the
dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha marks a more advanced state of opinion than
is the case with Gautama or Āpastamba. Śaṅkha speaks of several
kinds of ordeals and appears to have contained elaborate prose rules
about them (vide Aparārka on Yāj. II, 95; Sūrticandra II., p. 112,
Vīramitrodaya, p. 270). As regards partition and inheritance,
Śaṅkha-Likhita gives more detailed information than Āpastamba or
Baudhāyana. The limits of Āryāvarta stretched over wider areas
according to Śaṅkha (i.e. to the east of Sindhu-Sauvīra and to the
west of Kāmpilya) than is the case with Baudhāyana (I. i. 25)
or Vasiṣṭha (I. 8-9). The style of Śaṅkha reminds one of Kauṭilya
rather than of Gautama. The quotations hardly exhibit any ungrammatical forms. It is noteworthy that Yājñavalkya is included among
the authors of smṛtis by Śaṅkha (vide note 137 above). If it is
the extant Yājñavalkya-smṛti that is meant to be referred to, then
the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha will have to be assigned to a late date.
But this does not seem to be likely. From the fact that the Yājñavalkya-smṛti itself enumerates Śaṅkha-Likhita among ancient authors
on dharma, from the general style of the work, from the development
of the legal conceptions it presents and from its doctrines about
the rights of women, it appears almost certain that the extant Yājñavalkya-smṛti is much later than the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha.
There are close correspondences between Śaṅkha and Yājñavalkya.  

137 'सूतिष्ठेवेस्याऽऽन्नेत्र प्रेततारे मनुयमद्विबृतादिरोक्षस्यन्यात्मकाभाष्य
गीतमात्रेत्वाधिरोक्षस्यायामध्येषु लिङ्ग समानदात्राय श्रीमतेषु तोषाय अद्वितीयं' quoted in चतुर्भुजः. I. p. 527; बीरो परमापा, p. 16 and सूतिष्ठ.

138 'देव आयो गुप्तवार ... पापिनयासैयोगिन्यायो हिमवतः पश्चात्क्रिययो उदयः
परिषालितनयो राह्यमुस्तै' quoted in बीरो, परमापा, p. 57.

139 compare 'भलेना सा हमना: ' शकु quoted in चतुर्भुजः III. 2, p. 734 with वाजः I. 11; 'मुद्राकर्म यथाकलः' शकु quoted in चतुर्भुजः III. 2, p. 763
with वाजः I. 12; 'दुरान्तेःहस्तसंहस्तास्यायःस्वक्षणस्वक्षणसत्स्यतिशास्त्रितुदातः
वार्तुः ' शकु (quoted in उपनिषदः on आदः शः II. 5.11.16) with शकु I. 53.
The prose quotations from Śaṅkha-Likhita refer to the Vedāṅgas, Śaṅkhyā, Yoga, dharmaśāstra. Śaṅkha recognised eight forms of marriage. The views of Śaṅkha about the status of the offspring of mixed marriages differed from those of Baudhāyana (I. 8. 6) and Manu (X. 6) and were intermediate between the latter two.\(^{140}\) The *tarpana*\(^{141}\) (which resembles the one in Baudhāyana, though it is more elaborate) refers to the six Vedāṅgas, Bhārata (but not Māha-bhārata), to twenty writers on dharma and contains numerous details about geography, mythology, and cosmogony which are generally found in the Purāṇas. The dharmaśāstra frequently cites the opinions of others. It mentions by name the views of Prajāpati, Āṅgirasa and Uśanas (Vivādaratnakara p. 537), Pracaketa (Vivādarat. p. 557-560), Viśdha-Gautama (Madana-pārijāta pp. 701-2). The verse quotations ascribed to Śaṅkha further mention Yama, Kātyāyana, and Śaṅkha himself. But in drawing chronological conclusions it is better to leave the verse quotations out of account. The same verses are ascribed to Manu and Śaṅkha\(^{142}\) and a few sūtras closely resemble the Manusmṛti.\(^{143}\) Six identical verses occur in the Vasiṣṭha-dharmaśāstra (28. 10-15) and in the Śaṅkha-smṛti (10th chap.).

All these circumstances lead to the conclusion that the dharmaśāstra of Śaṅkha is probably later than Gautama and Apastamba but earlier than the Yājñavalkya-smṛti and so must be assigned to some date between 300 B. C. to 100 A. D.

13. *Manavadharmaśāstra*—Did it exist?

Following the orthodox view of Western Sanskrit scholars that most of the dharmaśātras are older than almost all, if not all, the metrical smṛtis, I gave the first place of honour to the dharmaśāstras of Gautama and others. But my own views differ to a great extent from those of the orthodox school of Sanskritists represented by Max Müller and Bühler. It is high time to state here my views about

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140 'माधवेन सतिश्रावणमुपन्नो सतिश्र एव मवति 'शक्त quoted in मितान्त्रिक on Yṣ. I. 91.
142 The verse भाषायों वे कुर्छति in चर्चवं III. 1. 112 is मनु. 2. 36; 'बृत्तका-ARYAPRASO SUTRAMS उपवयाच्यां उस्वते', quoted in रत्निष्ठि I. p. 34. is मनु. II. 141.
143 हुँ गृहाती राजवत्स सूतवै वर्गांक्ते श्रुति 'quoted in परा. मा. I. 2., p. 96. Compare मनु 3. 44.
the existence of a Mānavā-dharma-sūtra supposed to be the original of our extant Manu.

Some western scholars, particularly Max Müller and Weber, started the ingenious theory that the extant Manusmṛti was a recast or remodelling of an ancient Mānavadharmasūtra. Max Müller went so far as to enunciate the bold generalisation "There can be no doubt, however, that all the genuine dharma-sāstras which we possess now, are without any exception nothing but more modern texts of earlier sūtra works on kuladharas belonging originally to certain Vedic caraṇas" (H. A. S. L. pp. 134-135). For this sweeping generalisation there were very few data when it was made, as is admitted by Bühlner. This theory of Max Müller was as hasty, as unfounded and as uncritical as several other theories of his such as that about the renaissance of Sanskrit Literature in the early centuries of the Christian era, about the absence of the art of writing in India before Pāṇini and about the uniform employment of the śloka for literary purposes in his so-called sūtra period and earlier. Western Scholars had to give up such theories before the stern logic of facts, but they have tenaciously clung to the theory about the Manusmṛti being a recast of the Mānavadharmasūtra. One of the main planks of Max Müller's edifice was the now exploded theory about the non-employment of the anuṣṭubh during the sūtra period (which he tentatively placed between 600 B. C.–200 B. C.) for continuous composition. In spite of the fact that one of the main planks has totally collapsed Bühlner makes strenuous efforts to rehabilitate Max Müller's theory by additional a priori arguments (S. B. E. vol. 25, pp. xviii–xxiii and xxxi–xxxix). The main points brought forward by Bühlner are:–(1) The Vasiṣṭha Dh. S. (IV. 5–8) contains four sūtras, the first of which is 'The Mānava says that one may kill an animal only in honouring the Manes, gods and guests.' There follow two verses and a passage in prose with iiti at the end. Bühlner argues that all the four sūtras are quotations and as the extant Manusmṛti is in verse, they must be regarded as taken from the Mānavadharmasūtra. (II) There are other quotations in Vasiṣṭha attributed to Manu which either contradict the present Manusmṛti or have no counterpart in the latter. Bühlner draws special attention to the fact that Vasiṣṭha (19. 37) quotes a Mānavan śloka which is not in the anuṣṭubh metre and which has nothing corresponding to it in the extant Manusmṛti.
A fragment of Uṣanas quotes an opinion of Manu about impurity, which is in prose. Bühler himself points out that here one ms. reads ‘Sumantuh’ for ‘Manuḥ’. Therefore this argument is of very little use in establishing the existence of a Mānavadharmasūtra. Besides, it is possible that the mutilated passage is not a quotation at all, but a mere summary of Manu’s views. There is no ‘itī’ at the end to show that it is a quotation. (IV) Kāmandakiya-nitisāra (II. 3) says that according to the Mānavas the vidyas to be studied by a king are three, viz. the three Vedas, Vārtā, and Dāṇḍaniti and that what is called Ānvikṣikī is but a branch of triyā; while the Manusmṛti (7. 43) appears to regard the four as distinct vidyas. Kāmandaka (XI. 67) says that Manu prescribed that the council of ministers should consist of twelve; while Manu (7. 54) says that the ‘sacivas’ should be seven or eight. Bühler therefore argues that Kāmandaka has in mind the Mānavadharmasūtra and not the Manusmṛti and on the word ‘Mānavāḥ’ makes the following observations: ‘It is a very common practice of Indian authors to refer in this manner to the books restricted to special schools. But I know of no case where the doctrines of the Mānavadharmasūtra or of any other work, which is destined for all Aryans and acknowledged as authoritative by all, are cited in the same or similar way’ (S. B. E. vol. 25, p. XXXVIII). In the first place it has to be noted that Kāmandaka is only paraphrasing the words of Kauṭilya in the above two places. Further it is note-

144 In No. 644 of Viṭāmarbag (I) in the Deccan College there is a fragment of Uṣanas where we read उत्सुस्त्... (gap) मनुशाः। बाले देशान्तरस्य चानिष्केचे च वर्णये (!) अनान्तकृमिप्रवचनेऽवृत्तते च सयः वीचम्। The words बाले देशान्तरस्य occur in Manu 5. 78 in the same connection. For the rest, compare Manu 5. 93 and 95. We must probably read देशान्तरस्य च साक्षिकेः। No. 191 of A 1881-82 is another fragment of Uṣanas which contains the same passage, Bühler’s ms. read सयः शौचार्यपतियांशाचिन्निनिन्दिताषांषां सह संबसेवञ्ज शाचि निषिद्धितां। He proposes शौचकृतिः।

145 The words of the मनुस्मृति are शौचियस्यस्वयं विद्या दुःपनीतिः च शाम्तीत। आम्बीपीर्वी काशियाम वातार्म्याय चोक्ता।

146 Kāmanṭaka says ‘व्राह्मोशित मनुः प्रायः पोमोशित व्राह्मोनिः। उसमा विस्तिरितित माध्यमां महत्त्वमहत्त्वम्।

147 ‘सर्व वाताव्रुद्धनीतिभोज्यते मनवावः। शर्म्परीप्रवाह द्राश्चर्मचात्याय शौचियस्य नानाश्रितीत। गोमोशित वाहिक्याः। भक्तिदर्शनस्य च निर्विच्छिद्धताः। करितिः।

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worthy that Kāmandaka employs the word ‘Manuḥ’ while Kauṭilya uses the word ‘Mānavah’ (about the number of ministers). Therefore according to the Kāmandakiyanitisāra there was no difference between the two, viz. the words ‘Manuḥ’ and ‘Mānavah’ denoted the same thing, a work. What Bühler means by his emphasis on the word ‘Mānavah’ is not quite clear. Early writers like Kumārila and Viśvarūpa employ the word ‘Mānavam’ with reference to the Manuṃśrī just as they use the word Vasiṣṭham to denote the Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (vide Tantra-vārtika pp. 80, 115, 642 and Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 245 and 257). Saṅkara in his bhāṣya on Br. Upaniṣad I. 4. 17 applies the word ‘mānava’ to the Manuṃśrī ‘mānave ca sarvā pravṛttih kāmahetukyeveti’ (referring to Manu II. 4). Besides, there is hardly any conflict between the views of the Mānavas and the Manuṃśrī on the point of the number of the vidyās. The Mānavas knew that Ānvikṣiki was counted as a fourth vidyā but said that it was really comprehended in the study of the Vedas. The Manuṃśrī only lays down from whom the vidyās were to be learnt. As regards the number of ministers, we cannot afford to forget that the Manuṃśrī (7. 60) allows more ministers than seven or eight. Another explanation also is possible. In the final remodelling of the Manuṃśrī from its original in verse it is not unlikely that a few changes were made. (V) On the strength of the preservation of the complete set of the sūtra works of Āpastamba on śrauta, grhya and dharma (also of Baudhāyana and Hiranyakesīn), it is urged that the Mānava caraya had a sūtra on dharma. The Mānavaśrautasūtra (parts 1–5 edited by Dr. Knaurer and the chayana by Miss Gelder at Leipzig in 1921) and the Mānava-grhyasūtra (edited by Dr. Knaurer in 1897 and recently in the Gaikwad Oriental Series) are extant. Bühler admits (S. B. E. vol. 25, p. XXXVIII) that the main pillars of his arguments are the quotations ascribed to Manu in the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra.

The four sūtras of Vasiṣṭha (IV. 5–8) which are the sheet anchor of Bühler’s argument have been dealt with above under Vasiṣṭha (pp. 53–56). If, as Bühler says, the four sūtras are one quotation, since ‘iti’ occurs at the end of the 8th sūtra, then we have here a quotation within a quotation, as ‘iti’ occurs also in sūtra 5. But this would be absurd. Besides sūtra 8 is really summarised from some Brahmāṇa passage, as indicated above. The proper construction of the four
sūtras is as follows:—The fifth sūtra merely summarises the views of the Manusmṛti to be gathered from Manu V. 41 and 48. The word ‘Mānavam’ stands for the Manusmṛti just as it does in the Tantravārtika and in Viśvarūpa. Then the two verses of Manu are quoted. In the 8th sūtra a Brāhmaṇa passage is cited in support of the position that sacrificing an animal is not ‘killing’ (that leads to sin).

As regards the few quotations which cannot be found in the extant Manusmṛti the following points deserve consideration. The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra contains numerous verses identical with those of the Manusmṛti. Most of the quotations attributed to Manu are found in the Manusmṛti. Hence even if a few quotations are not found in our Manu, we cannot at once jump to the conclusion that Vasiṣṭha had before him not the Manusmṛti, but the Mānavadharmasūtra. Besides Bühler is not right in saying that Vasiṣṭha 11. 23, 12. 16 and 23. 43 either contradict or find no counterpart in our Manu (S. B. E. vol. 25 p. XXXIV). Vasiṣṭha 11. 23 corresponds with Manu 3. 245-246. None of the three contradict anything contained in the Manusmṛti. Vasiṣṭha 23. 43 (about Śiśukṛcchra) has nothing corresponding to it word for word in our Manu, but it seems to be an echo of Manu 11. 211. In Vasiṣṭha 12. 16 (paryagnikaraṇam

148 'प्राकृतसंस्कारात्मकभाविति स्वत्वयानानामति स्थितिं। माहेश्वरे मनु: माहु उत्कण्ठो-व्याप्तः। । विसेत् 11. 23. Should we not read स्ववशयानाम, which would correspond to the word दूसरात्मः in Manu? मनु: reads 'असांस्कृतसारावलम्बिनि स्ववशयानामः। उत्कण्ठो भागेष्ये माहु दूसरात्मः।' 11. 245. The close correspondence between Vas. and Manu in ideas and phraseology should be specially marked.

149 विसेत् (23. 43) 'अहं: पालरहितकम्भकम्भायचितां। अहं: परास्तर्यं तद्यते स्वरुपः। माहु: 11. 245. 'वच्चे पालरहितकम्भयाचितम्। चोधे परे च नासविलालवावप्तिः कर्त्तृ प्रिय:।। It would be noticed that the शिष्यचार्य comes to one-third of the प्राजापतिचर्चा, as the शिष्यचार्य (न: 11. 218) is a milder edition of the चार्य (न: 11. 218) is a milder edition of the चार्य. The अपार्श्व for minors and women was one half or one third of that for adult males (vide भी. भ. घ. II. 1. 51. and आत्मसंस्कृति verse 33). वै. च. घ. (II. 1. 65) describes the four day’s observance as the कुक्षा for women, minors and old men. याज्ञ. III. 319 calls it पादर्श्वसः.'
hy-etan-manurāha Prajāpatiḥ) there is nothing that contradicts Ṛṣi Manu; that half and the preceding verses bear a close correspondence to Baudhāyana Dh. S. I. 4. 2. Similarly Bühler’s argument about Māṇava śloka in the Tristubh metre is not quite sound. The text of Vasiṣṭha is far from satisfactory. On the non-occurrence of that verse or a corresponding śloka in our Manu no superstructure can be built. Vasiṣṭha quotes (4. 37) a sūtra or opinion of Gautama which is not found in the extant Gautamadharma-śūtra. Verses ascribed to Vasiṣṭha in the nibandhas are not found in the printed text of Vasiṣṭha (vide n. 108 above.)

The analogy of the works of the schools of Āpastamba and others can furnish no proof. There are on the other hand weighty grounds for discarding that analogy altogether. It is a remarkable fact that excepting the three carānas (of the Black Yajurveda) of Āpastamba, Baudhāyana and Hiranyakesin that arose and flourished in the southern portion of India, no carāna of any of the other Vedas has an extant dharma-śūtra ascribed to the founder of the sūtra-carāna. An explanation is suggested in the following lines. The Brāhmaṇas in southern India were in the very early days of their colonisation surrounded by an alien culture and by alien customs. It was necessary therefore to formulate distinctly the rules of general conduct for the Aryan community in southern India, that studied the Black Yajurveda. The same necessity did not exist in northern India, where the members of the sūtra-carānas knew their ordinary every day duties very well, and were more or less a homogeneous community with the same ideals and culture. Therefore in the beginning when manuals of śrauta and grhyya ceremonies were first composed, it was not thought necessary to compose set treatises on dharma for each carāna. Some of the rules of conduct were embodied in the grhyya sūtras because they were germane to the subjects treated of in them (such as the duties of Brahmācārins and householders, holidays etc.). Works, however, dealing with the general usages prevalent among the Aryan community in various parts of northern India must have been composed early enough. When the knowledge of the existence of the complete set of the sūtra works in the Āpastamba and other carānas of the Yajurveda in southern India permeated to northern and central India, the leaders of the carānas cast about for a set of works that would complete the works of their carānas and bring
them in a line with those of Āpastamba and others. Therefore the various carayas seized upon several dharmasūtras and adopted them in their schools for study. This must have occurred at a comparatively early date. For Kumārila, as we saw above, enlightens us as to what dharmasūtras were specially studied in which Vedic schools. The fact that, though Gautama and Vasiṣṭha are said to have been specially studied by the students of the Sāmaveda and the Ṛgveda respectively, there is hardly anything in these dharmasūtras that specially connects them with the two Vedas affords some corroboration of the above hypothesis. This assimilation of independent dharmasūtras into individual satracarāṇas probably took place before or in the first centuries of the Christian era. Śabara (on Jaimini I. 3.4) seems to make fun of the dharmasūtras when he says that the direction to observe brahmacarya for forty-eight years was a device of those who wanted to hide their impotence (Gautama 2. 52, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 11-12, Baudh. Dh. S. I. 2. 1. speak of brahmacarya for 48 years). This shows that these dharmasūtras could not have been regarded as very authoritative by all early writers. Jaimini I. 3.11 (according to Śabara) denies the independent authority of Kalpasūtras. It appears that the Mānava school, which according to the caranavyūha was a subdivision of the Maitrāyaṇīya, dwindled in numbers very early. Kumārila, who was a most learned and profound student of the various branches of Sanskrit literature, nowhere mentioned the Mānavadharmasūtra as studied by followers of the Black Yajurveda, though he mentions Baudhāyana and Āpastamba as studied by them. He places the Manusmṛti even higher than the Gautamādharmsūtra and betrays no knowledge of the existence of the Mānavadharmasūtra. Viśvarūpa who is generally identified with Suresvara, the pupil of Śaṅkara, remarks that the Mānava-carāṇa is not existent (or found).

The foregoing discussion will, it is hoped, induce every impartial critic to endorse the conclusion that on the materials so far available the theory that the Mānavadharmasūtra once existed and that the extant Manusmṛti is a recast of that sūtra must be held not proved.

14. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya

This epoch-making work was first published by Dr. Shamasastri in 1909 in the Mysore Sanskrit Series and was also translated by him. Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri of Trivandrum has published the work...
with his own commentary called Śrīmūla. Dr. Jolly and Dr. Schmidt edited the text with a valuable introduction and the commentary, called Nayacakrandikā, of Mādhavayajvan on portions of the text in the Punjab Sanskrit series at Lahore. In this work the edition of 1919 by Dr. Shamasastri has been used. This work has given rise to frequent and furious controversies about its authorship, its authenticity and its age and it cannot be said that we have heard the last of this din of controversy. Moreover this work has inspired besides numerous articles in journals several monographs, some of which have somewhat high sounding titles, such as Narendranath Law’s ‘Studies in Ancient Indian Polity,’ Dr. P. Banerji’s ‘Public Administration in Ancient India,’ Ghosal’s ‘History of Hindu Political Theories,’ Majumdar’s ‘Corporate Life in Ancient India,’ Benoy Kumar Sarkar’s ‘Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus,’ Jayasval’s ‘Hindu Polity,’ Prof. S. V. Visvanathan’s ‘International Law in Ancient India (1925).’ It is not possible to discuss at great length all the problems about Kauṭilya here. Only a brief statement can be attempted. For fuller study reference may be made to the following works and papers:—Hillebrandt’s ‘über das Kauṭilyaśāstra und Verwandtes’ (Breslau 1908), ZDMG vol. 67, pp. 49-96 (Dr. Jolly), ZDMG vol. 68, pp. 345-359 and vol. 69, p. 369 ff.; JRAS 1916, pp. 130-137 (Prof. Keith), I. A. for 1918, pp. 157-161 and pp. 187-195 (Dr. Jacobi translated by Dr. Sukthankar), Dr. Kalidas Nag’s ‘Les Théories Diplomatiques de l’Inde ancienne et l’Arthaśāstra’ (Paris 1923) and its translation in ‘Journal of Indian History’ vol. V, Dr. Otto Stein’s ‘Megasthenes und Kauṭilya’ (Vienna 1922), K. V. Rangasvami Ayyangar’s lectures on Ancient Indian Polity (Madras 1916), Dr. Winternitz in Calcutta Review 1924 and in his history of Indian Literature (vol. III, pp. 509-524), I. A. for 1924, pp. 128-136 and 141-146 (Dr. Jacobi translated by Prof. Utgikar); Dr. Johann J. Meyer’s ‘Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben das Arthaśāstra des Kauṭilya’ (Leipzig, 1925) and Prof. N. C. Bandopadhyaya’s exposition of the social ideal and political theory of Kauṭilya. The Indian Antiquary for 1925 (pp. 175 and 201) gives an exhaustive bibliography on the date of Kauṭilya.

The Kauṭilya is the oldest extant work on Arthaśāstra. Though Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra are often contradistinguished on account of the difference of the two śāstras in ideals and in the
methods adopted to reach them, Arthaśāstra is really a branch of Dharmaśāstra as the former deals with the responsibilities of kings for whom rules are laid down in many treatises on dharma.  

For this reason and the further reason that the Kauṭiliya contains two sections (called dharmaśāstra and kaṇṭakāśodhana) on the administration of justice, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭiliya deserves careful consideration in this work. According to the Caranaṃvīṣa of Śaunaka, Arthaśāstra is an Upaveda of Atharvaveda. The purpose of this Śastra as stated in the Kauṭiliya itself is 'to prescribe means for securing and preserving (power over) the earth'. Yājñavalkya distinctly states (II. 21) that in case of conflict between Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, the rule is that the former prevails. Nārada also (I. 39) says the same thing. From comparatively ancient times Cāṇakya alīs Kauṭiliya or Viṣṇugupta has been credited with the composition of a work on Arthaśāstra. The Kāmandakiṣṇitāsāra pays a glowing tribute of praise to Viṣṇugupta, who, singlehanded, brought about the downfall of Nanda, bestowed the earth on Candragupta and distilled from the ocean of Arthśāstra the quintessence, his work on politics. Kāmandaka further tells us that he looked upon Viṣṇugupta as his gurum. The Tantrākhyāyikā (H. O. S. vol. 14) which is certainly not later than 300 A. D. pays homage to Cāṇakya the Great as one of the authors of treatises on Politics. Daṇḍin in his Daśakumāraṇacarita

151 'पर्मसामान्तगर्भेऽव राजनितिविद्यानमार्थशास्त्राधिकव विक्षितस्य' सिद्धे on Yēk. II. 21.
152 तत्तथा: प्रविद्या भाषापालनपालित: शास्त्रनिर्देशितम्। कौ, 15.1. So also the very first sentence is 'प्रविद्या लघवे पाठने च यात्त्वयथाशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्य: भस्मधविन्तानि मायशेन्नानि सहृदयमिदमथशास्त्रं हस्तम्।'
153 अर्थशास्त्रात् बलवदन्तिप्रधानोऽस्मिनं विक्षितम्।
154 च विषाणिनः स्त्राद्विज्ञानं शास्त्रां शास्त्रां कुदालिप्तम्।
155 विश्वाध्यायात्वें स्वयंविद्यावृत्तेऽपि पुपात मूलत: श्रीमान् सुपर्व नन्देन्नित:।
156 'विषाणांस्य एवतः हर्य नो वृद्धिस्यम्।' काम् II. 6: 'चतुर्व एव लग्य ते हर्य वृद्धिस्यम्।' काद्विलीपी I. 2.
157 सन्ते बाह्यसत्यहुयक्ष्यते भरताय प्रत्यक्षय सत्याय। चाणक्याय च महते नमोन्तु नृत्तांश्च कुलेभ।। verse 2.
(section VIII, p. 131, 2nd edition B. S. Series) says that the teacher Viṣṇugupta compressed Daṇḍaniti for the sake of the Maurya king into six thousand ślokas and quotes passages from Cāṇakya.\[155] Bāna associates the work of Kauṭilya with harsh and cruel expedients.\[159] The Pañcatantra identifies Cāṇakya and Viṣṇugupta and speaks of Cāṇakya as the author of Arthaśāstra (vide part I. p. 2 ed. by Kielhorn part II. p. 65 and part III. 50 ed. by Bühler). Kauṭilya figures very largely in the Purāṇas (vide Pargiter’s ‘dynasties of the Kali age’ pp. 69-70 and Viṣṇupurāṇa 4. 24. 26-28). He has a prominent place in the Brhatkathā of Guṇādhya, as appears from the works of Kṛṣṇendrā and Somadeva. The Mrčhhaṅkara (I. 39 B. S. series) refers to Cāṇakya. The Mudrārakṣasā identified Cāṇakya and Kauṭilya and suggests the derivation of the latter name from ‘Kutila’ (crooked).\[160] Some of the above items of information are supported by the personal references contained in the Arthaśāstra itself. At the end of the first chapter of the first adhikarana, Kauṭilya is said to be the author of the Śāstra and at the end of the 10th chapter of the second adhikarana Kauṭilya is said to have laid down the rules for royal edicts for the sake of the king.\[161] The last verse\[162] tells us that he who impatiently wrested the earth from the Nanda king composed the work and after the colophon a verse tell us that seeing the differing interpretations of bhāṣyakāras on the Arthaśāstra, Viṣṇugupta himself composed the sūtra and the bhāṣya.

The first question that arises for consideration is the authenticity of the work, that is, the question whether it can be the work of the

\[155\] ‘यावर्तिकणीमार्च्यविषणुगुप्तमोर्षिधस्मेहः न्योक्षस्तः संख्यासी V: दशकुमारो VIII; सत्यमहाचाणक्यः ‘विचारणानुवर्तिनवन्नार्थाविपि भयः सूपु। द्विषिणा अवि तद्भव- वाहिष्ठना क्रेयक्ष्भेयः’ दशकुमार VIII. Compare कौटिल्य V. 4 verses at the end.

\[159\] ‘येवामिन्दरशास्त्रमेविचारणा कौटिल्यशाश्वमणाद्व्र गः कादम्बरी p. 109 (Peterson).

\[160\] कौटिल्य: कुलिनमातः स एष घेन कौघायो प्रसमभवति नन्वयः। मुद्रारक्षस I.

\[161\] मुद्रारक्षः तपश्चांतिनिर्निर्भयः। कौटिल्येन हर्त शाखेऽविषणुस्ममधितस्य। कौटिल्य I. 1। सर्वशास्त्रश्चतुर्मय विशणुपुरस्य। कौटिल्येन नरेण्याय शास- तथा विषणुस्य। कौटिल्य II. 10.

\[162\] नेन शाखेऽ च शाखेऽ च नन्दराजगता च मूः। अमितायुधनामस्य तेन शाश्वातः क्रमः। प्रभु विवर्तिकणी बदुभ्या शाखेणु माध्यकारणाय। नवनेव विषणुस्मादार्थ शुचं च माध्यं च।
famous minister of Candragupta Maurya, who was a contemporary of Alexander, and who must therefore have flourished about 320 B.C. This question very largely depends upon the age of the work. But other considerations, more or less of a subjective character and depending upon the absence of certain things from the Kauṭiliya, must be dealt with first. Jolly, Keith and Winternitz hold that the extant Kauṭiliya is not the work of the Maurya minister. One argument, viz. that a person like Cāṇakya who had to build a vast empire such as that of Candragupta and who was bent down with the cares of the empire could not have found time to write such a work, may be brushed aside as entirely futile, being a purely subjective argument. Some persons may say that he could have found time, just as Sāyaṇa and Mādhava could find in later days, to write such a work in the midst of all cares, while others may deny the possibility of such a thing. Similarly most of the arguments from the silence of the Kauṭiliya are also quite unconvincing and lead to no certain and universally acceptable conclusion. The non-mention of Pātaliputra or of the empire of Candragupta is of very little use in deciding the question of the authenticity of the work. The argument of Stein and Winternitz that in Megasthenes' account of India no great person named Cāṇakya or Kauṭiliya appears and that the former's account of the condition of India does not tally with that presented by the Kauṭiliya is of very little weight. We have no means for finding out what proficiency Megasthenes had acquired in the languages of India so as to be able to hold conversation with all sorts and conditions of men. Besides it is well known that Megasthenes' writings have been handed down in a fragmentary state and that he often spins his own yarns. Megasthenes declares the Indians to be unacquainted with writing. But no Western scholar would now subscribe to the view that writing was unknown in India about 320 B.C. Dr. Jolly himself has to remark that the idealising tendency in Megasthenes greatly impairs the trustworthiness of his statements (p. 40, Introduction to Kauṭiliya). This question of the authenticity of the work is bound up with the question whether it can be the work of an individual author or whether it is the product of a school. Hillebrandt vehemently argues that it is the product of a school and Jacobi as vehemently repudiates that hypothesis. The great stumbling block according to many scholars in the way of regarding Kauṭiliya as the author of the work is the fact that the views of Kauṭiliya are cited by name about 80 times in the work
itself almost always in opposition to the views of other teachers. But there is nothing specially to be wondered at in this. In order to avoid looking too egotistic, ancient authors generally put their own views in the third person as said by early writers like Medhātithi and Viśvarūpa.\textsuperscript{163} It has to be admitted that the first person singular also is used by ancient writers, though rarely.\textsuperscript{164} Jacobi (I. A. for 1918 p. 188) and Keith are both wrong in thinking that the view of Kauṭilya is criticized by Bhāradvāja in V. 6. Kauṭilya states his position first and then mentions the view of his predecessor.\textsuperscript{165} Dr. Jolly (Intro. to Kauṭiliya p. 44) is wrong in his explanation of Apadeśa (in XV. i.\textsuperscript{166}). That word is applied to passages which mean ‘this or that author says this or that,’ and the Kauṭiliya cites from his own work a case of the statement of various views on a certain point. These words do not at all indicate that according to the Arthaśāstra Kauṭiliya was a stranger. Keith thinks (J. R. A. S. 1916 p. 135) that as Kauṭiliya is derived from Kutila, an author will not cite his own views under such an epithet. It is not unlikely that Čaṇakya acquired the epithet Kauṭiliya on account of his methods in dealing with the Nandas and that as he did so from no purely selfish motives but for ridding the country of such tyrants as the Nandas are represented to have been, he might have come to relish the name given to him by the people. It has to be noted in this connection that many of the writers quoted in the Kauṭiliya bear nicknames (such as Piṣuna, Vatavyādhi, Kaṇapadanta). This leads to the question as to whether the name is Kauṭiliya or Kauṭalya. Hillebrandt seems to imply that all mss. employ the first form, while Pandit T. Ganapatiasstri says his mss. support the latter form though in the first few pages he prints Kauṭiliya. Mss. of the Kādambari, the Pañcatantra and other works support the form Kauṭiliya and the Mudrārākṣasa does the same by pointedly hinting at the etymology.

\textsuperscript{163} 'प्रायेण यम्भकाराः स्वमन्ते परापदेशेन बुद्धे मेष्यालिपि; on यात्रा. I. 2 विशेषां sāy
कि तु भवावते परोपकृत्याः निर्देशने स्वमर्मार्थानिषेधाः ।'.

\textsuperscript{164} यात्रक sāy 'तात्विचे समामगति ... तत्समागरी' निर्देश VII. 13; vide यात्रा.

I. 56. (न तन्मम मर्म यष्टमात् &c.) and II. 133.

\textsuperscript{165} एवमक्रमाणगताः कारोषग्रितिः कौतिल्यः। नैवमिति भारद्वः।

\textsuperscript{166} एवमसाहायेवदेशः । 'मन्निपरिषद्व ग्राह्यामाहत्यानु कुञ्जिति मानवाः बोध्यापि बाह्रेष्यण्यः,

स्पत्या; स्वाभाविकति कौतिल्यः। हृति.
A com. on the Kāmandakīyanitisāra styles the Kauṭiliya as Kūṭalabhāṣya and Kūṭala is said to be a gotra. The form Kauṭalya is said to occur in an inscription at Ganesar in Dholka dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1291 (i.e. 1234-35 A.D.). Vide Indian Historical Quarterly vol. I. p. 786. It is very difficult to decide between the rival claims of the two forms, but it appears that the form of the name, Kauṭalya, is due to a later attempt to solve the difficulty of an author parading his views as those of a man nicknamed "crooked". Whether Kūṭala or Kauṭalya was known as a gotra ṛṣi in ancient times is extremely doubtful. Neither the Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra (Uttarāṣṭāka, 6th chap., 10th Kaṇḍikā) nor the Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra (24. 5-10) mentions Kūṭala among the several gotra groups. In later works on gotras, we find the name in several forms. In the Pravaradāpana of Kamālākara Kauṭali is said to be one of the Jāmadagnya-Vatsa group of the Bhrūgus (p. 156, edited by P. Chentsalrāo, Mysore) and Kauṭiliya is assigned to the Vaski group of the Bhrūgus (p. 158). The Pravaramāñjari enumerates the Kauṭiliyas (p. 32, of the edition by P. Chentsalrāo, Mysore) among the Vaski group of the Bhrūgus, also among the Śāradvanta group of the Gautamas, a branch of the Āṅgirasas, (p. 161) and Kauṭili as one of the Bhrūgus (p. 42). We have to remember that so early a writer as Kāmandaka (who was well known to Bhavabhūtī and Vāmana's Kāvyālāṅkārasūtrasuṣṭī) who is assigned to the third century A.D., and the Tantrākhyāyika distinctly assign a work on politics to the minister of Candra Gupta. No weighty arguments have been advanced so far why this tradition vouched for so early should be disregarded. Keith finds it impossible that in the words 'six thousand ślokas' used by Daṇḍin the word śloka could mean a unit (in prose) of 32 letters. But Daṇḍin is evidently repeating the words that occur in the Arthasastra itself at the end of the first chapter.167

Before proceeding to discuss the age of the Kauṭiliya, it is advisable to say a few words on the form, style and contents of the work. The work is divided into 15 adhikaranās, 150 chapters, 180 topics and contains 6000 ślokas (i.e. units of 32 letters). The work is in prose interspersed with a few verses. Each chapter has

167 शास्त्रमुद्रेः पञ्चदशधिकरणानि सप्तसदयम्यायार्थं सारांनिमित्तकरणानि पञ्चरश्च- सहक्षणार्थः। These words of the Kauṭiliya must mean 6000 units of 32 letters and nothing else.
at the end at least one verse and sometimes more. A few verses occur also in the midst of some chapters as in I. 8, I. 15, II. 10, II. 24, V. 6, VII. 5, VII. 6, VII. 9, VII. 13, X. 3, XIII. 4. There are about 340 verses excluding mantras. Almost all these verses are in the Anuṣṭubh metre, only eight verses being in the classical Indravajrā or Upajāti metres (in II. 9, II. 10 and X. 3). In our utter ignorance about the literature on Arthaśāstra prior to Kauṭilya it is impossible to say how many of these verses are borrowed and how many are of his own composition. There can be no doubt that some of these verses were composed by him (e.g. the two verses in I. 10, where the views of Ācāryas are given, and the words 'etat Kauṭilya-darśanam' occur). It appears that some verses are clearly quotations. For example, the verse 'nāśya guhyam' at the end of I. 15, and the verse 'saṁvatsareṇa patati' at the end of IV. 7 are Manu 7. 105 and 2. 180 respectively. The last occurs in Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 62 and also in Vas. I. 22. The two verses in the Upajāti metre in X. 3 'yāṁ yajñasaṅghaṁ' and 'navaṁ śarāvam' occur respectively in the Parāśaradharmāśāstra (chap. III. p. 12 of Jivananda, part II) and in the Pratijñā (IV. 3). It is noteworthy that they are introduced with the words 'apiha ślaukau bhavataḥ' and follow a quotation from or summary of a Vedic passage. Twelve verses in VII. 9 are introduced with the words 'tatraitad bhavati' and may be quotations. A few of the verses bear a close resemblance to verses of other works; e.g. the verse 'prṣṭaḥ prīyahitam brūyāt' (in V. 4) which is very similar to Manu. 4. 138.

In some cases he connects verses with his own words, e.g. the words 'kurvataśca' with 'nāśya guhyam' (at the end of I. 15) and the last verse of II. 25. The style of the Kauṭilya is simple and direct. It is not concise like that of the Vedānta or Vyākaraṇa sūtras. It resembles the dharmasūtras of Gautama, Hārita and Śaṅkha-Likhita, but is not as archaic as that of Āpastamba. According to the commentaries the several headings of the prakaraṇas are sūtras and the contents of them the bhāṣya (vide Nayacakrakā pp. 137, 143-44 &c., edited by Dr. Jolly). It abounds in numerous technical and rare terms. It is generally in

168 The manner in which the sātrēvaka brings in this verse does not show that it is the author's own. The verse is preceded by the words svavastuv

śabdam: and is probably put in as a weighty utterance from some ancient source.
accordance with Pāṇini's grammar, though such un-Pāṇinean words as 'pāpiṣṭhatama' (in VII. 11) rarely occur. It employs the word 'avyaya' in the masculine (II. 10), while Pāṇini (I. 1. 37) employs 'avyayam'.

The whole work on account of its careful arrangement of topics and unity of design impresses one as the product of a single brilliant mind. The Kauṭiliya sheds such valuable light on the social, economic, political and religious life of ancient India and contains information on so many topics that it is not possible to convey any idea of its contents in a brief summary. The subjects of the fifteen adhikaranas are:—I. the discipline of the king, sciences to be learnt by him, the place of Ānvikṣikī and politics, qualifications of ministers and purohita and their temptations, the institution of spies, council meetings, ambassadors, protection of princes, duties towards harem, king's personal safety; II. about superintendents of various state departments, founding villages, pastures and forests, forts, duties of the chamberlain (sannidhātā), the commissioner for revenues from forts, country, mines, forests, roads &c.; accountant-general's office; embezzlement of public funds; royal edicts; examination of precious stones for the treasury and mines; superintendent of gold (i.e. of coins issued from the mints); superintendent of store-house (of agricultural produce &c.), of commerce, of forests, of arms, of weights and measures, of tolls, of weaving, of liquor houses, of slaughter houses, of prostitutes, of shipping, of cows and horses, of the capital and cities; III. Administration of justice, rules of procedure, forms of marriage, duties of married couples, strīdhana, twelve kinds of sons; other titles of law; IV. removal of thorns, protection of artisans, merchants, remedies against national calamities such as fires, floods, pestilence, famines, demons, tigers, snakes, etc.; suppression of those who live by foul means; detection of juvenile crime; arrest of criminals on suspicion, accidental or violent deaths, torture to extort confessions; protection of all kinds of state departments; fines in lieu of cutting off of limbs, sentence of death with or without torture; intercourse with maidens; punishment of fine for various wrongs; V. conduct of courtiers, award of punishment for treason, replenishing of treasury in case of emergency; salaries of state servants, qualifications of courtiers, consolidation of royal power; VI. constitution of the mandala, seven elements of sovereignty, qualities of king, peace and arduous work
as the source of prosperity; sixfold royal policy; threefold *sakti*; VII. circle of states is the field for the employment of the six lines of policy; the six *gunas* (samādhi, war, neutrality, marching, taking shelter and dvaidhībhāva); causes leading to the dwindling and disloyalty of armies; combination of states; samādhi for the acquisition of a friend, gold or land; an enemy in the rear; recouping of lost strength; a neutral king and a circle of states; VIII. about *vyasanas* (vices and misfortunes) of the several elements of sovereignty; troubles of the king and the kingdom; troubles of men and of the army; IX. work of an invader, proper time for invasion, recruitment of the army, accoutrements, internal and external trouble, disaffection; traitors, enemies and their allies; X. about war; encamping the army, march of the army, battle-fields, work of infantry, cavalry, elephants &c.; array of troops for battle in various formations; XI. concerning corporations and guilds; XII. concerning a powerful enemy; sending an envoy; intrigues, spies with weapons, fire and poison and destruction of stores and granaries; capture of the enemy by stratagems; final victory; XIII. capture of forts; sowing dissensions; enticing of king by stratagem; spies in a siege; restoring peace in a conquered country; XIV secret means, strategems for killing an enemy, producing illusive appearances; medicines and incantations; XV division of this work into sections and their illustrations.

It would be interesting to say a few words separately on the chapter about judicial administration. Dr. Jolly has collected together the passages of the Kauṭiliya on judicial administration that bear a very close resemblance to the several works on ancient Indian Law (vide Z. D. M. G. vol. 67, pp. 51-90). It will be seen therefrom that there is the greatest correspondence between the Kauṭiliya and Yajñavalkya. It is no doubt true that many passages from Manu and Nārada agree closely with those of the Kauṭiliya but not to the same extent as those of Yajñavalkya. A few striking examples are quoted below.\(^{169}\) The question then arises whether there is

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\(^{169}\) अभियुक्तः क न प्रत्येकु समीति अन्यत्र कल्हसाहसरसापेशसमावेशः | न च चामिचुवेद्धि योंगोऽहि | कौ. III. 1; अभियोगमहिभिः नेवं प्रत्येकोऽजमेऽहि | कौ. III. 2; कुमद्वीर्योऽहि च सहस्त्रुचिल || पाल. II. 8-10; (b) प्रतिरोधकल्हसाहसरसापेशसमावेशः | कौ. III. 2; कुमद्वीर्योऽहि च स्यायो संग्रामिकोऽहि | पाल. II 147; (c) सोदशक्तिसांनाशत्रत्रकाण्डः पितृन || योऽहि द्वापरभिः | कौ. III. 5; अनेकप्रतिकाण्डः तु पितृन || भागकल्पः | पाल. II. 170;
borrowing and if so who the borrower is. The agreement in phraseology is so close that it must be regarded as a case of borrowing and in my opinion it is the Yājñāvalkyaśāstra that borrows. The reasons are many. Yājñāvalkya represents on numerous points of law a very great advance upon the doctrines of Kauṭilya. Kauṭilya does not contain distinct directions upon the four stages of a law suit (plaint, reply, proof and judgment) nor upon the threefold aspects of proof (documents, witnesses, prescription). Yājñāvalkya goes into all these matters. The Kauṭilya does not recognise the widow or mother as heir to a sonless man; Yājñāvalkya does so. Kauṭilya does not mention the bandhus as heirs; he hardly says anything about re-union. The Kauṭilya divides the stridhana of a woman dying during her husband’s lifetime among her sons and daughters, while Yāj. prefers the daughters to the sons. It is not necessary to multiply examples. It goes without saying that Yājñāvalkya represents a far too advanced stage of juristic principles than the Kauṭilya and so must be later than the latter by several centuries. The Kauṭilya agrees very closely with Manu also, but considerations of space prevent me from going into the points of agreement. There are however numerous fundamental points on which Manu and the Kauṭilya disagree.

Kauṭilya allows niyoga even in the case of Brāhmaṇas (last verse of III. 6 and at the end of I. 17 about kings). Manu first speaks of Niyoga and then condemns it (vide 9. 57-63 and 9. 64-68). As Brhaspati refers to this fact in Manu’s work, it appears that the

\[(d)\text{ नारायणहृदयाय स्वामी ज्ञानमेव वाहितुं। देशकालातिपत्ती वा स्वयं गृहीतोपहरस्। कै. III. 16;} नारायणहृदयाय हतारं वाहितुं। देशकालातिपत्ती च गृहीता स्वयं-मयेव॥ याह॥ इ. II. 169; (०) वानसपथवितिवद्विचारिणामाचार्यिनिवयादिवससमान-तीत्वाय रिक्तधमाजः। कै. III. 16; वानसपथवितिवद्विचारिणाः रिक्तधागमः। कमेणाचार्यांसिद्धधमानेवविकतीथिनः॥ याह॥ II. 137.

170 But see ‘अपिन्त्रनि विबकामिनुद्वर्यः सह जीवनः पुनर्धिरजं’ कै. III. 5. This contains a reference to reunion.

171 जीवाति मन्त्रि मन्त्रायाम्। पुनः दुहितरश् श्लीयनं विभेदेन। अपुजायस्तु दुहितस्तु। तद्भावे सत्यं अप्य अस्य नितावेन। कै. III. 2। अपास्य नितावेन सि तावेन। दुहिताय श्रुताय श्रुतपिरः। दुहिताय सूर्या। चेष्टेनुस पितागामि तत्॥ याह॥ II. 145.

172 उपस्तिति’s word are ‘उकोऽन्तो चुतुः विनिविषः स्वपनेव तु’, vide कुछक on मनु 9. 68 for the whole quotation.
passages condemning nitya were put in probably earlier than the first centuries of the Christian era. Though Kautilya speaks of almost the same 18 titles as those in Manu (8.4-7) almost under the same names, there is a slight difference. Manu has no such title as Prakrityaka. Kautilya speaks of upanidhi and extends the same rules to Niksepa, while Manu speaks of the title as Niksepa. The ancient dharma-sutras do not give the technical names of the eighteen titles of law, though some of them do occur therein. Vak-parusya and danadaparusya occur in G. Dh. S. (12.1) and Vas. (17.61). Baud. seems to have known the term 'Strisangraha' (Dh. S. II. 2.54). Steya occurs in all. Gautama speaks of nidhi (Dh. S. 12.39). Manu positively says (9.155) that the son of any member of the first three varnas from a Sudra woman does not inherit his father's wealth (though the preceding verses 151-154 seem to lay down different rules), while Kautilya allows such a son a share when there are sons born to a Brahmana from wives of higher castes or one third when he has no other sons (III. 6). Manu expressly mentions the mother and paternal grandmother as heirs (9.217), while Kautilya appears to ignore them. Manu prohibits the remarriage of widows (V.161-165), while Kautilya allows not only widows to remarry, but also wives whose husbands have not been heard of for a year or more according to circumstances (III. 4). Kautilya allows a wife to desert her husband, if the latter is of a bad character, has become a traitor to the king, endangers her life or has become an outcaste or impotent (last verse of III. 2). Kautilya further seems to have allowed divorce which is unknown to any other known lawgiver, but he bases it only on the ground of mutual hatred and says that a marriage in the approved forms cannot be dissolved (III. 3). Manu is very harsh upon gamblers and asks the king to suppress gambling and banish gamblers (9.221-224), while Kautilya only brings gambling under the control of the king for the purpose of detecting thieves &c. (III. 20). Manu first allows a Brahmana to marry even a Sudra woman and then condemns such a thing (III. 13-19), while Kautilya does not condemn such unions. These divergences and others lead us to conclude

173 नीतिवर्तते पारदेशः वा मस्थितो राजाकिलिविषाः। पाणामिहिता पतितस्वायत्या क्षीरोदिति वा पयित।। कृ०।

174 अनेकायं भूतमार्गस्य द्वितीय मार्गं। महायात्म भर्तौ। परस्य द्वेषांमोहः। अतोष्टो धर्मशास्त्रं निर्मिति। कृ०।
that the Kautūliya is much older than the extant Manusmṛti, which is in many matters carried away by puritanic zeal, while its older portion is more in harmony with the spirit of the Kautūliya. Therefore the Kautūliya is long anterior to the time when the extant Manusmṛti took its present form. The Kautūliya refers to the opinion of the Mānavas in five places. Two of the views ascribed to the Mānavas by Kautūliya are the same as those which Kāmandaka (II. 3 and XI. 67) ascribes to Manu. According to the Mānavas, the vidyās to be studied by a prince were three, viz. trayī, vārtā and dānḍanīti, what is called ānvikṣikī being but a branch of trayī; and the council of ministers was to consist of twelve. The Manusmṛti (7. 43) appears to regard the vidyās as four and lays down (7. 54) that the Council should consist of seven or eight sacīvas. Bühler and others on account of this difference in the views of the Mānavas and the Manusmṛti thought that Kautūliya was referring to the Mānvdharmasūtra. In my humble opinion the evidence for the existence of a Mānvdharmasūtra is practically nil, as detailed above in section 13. From the references to Svāyaṁbhūva Manu and Prācetas Manu contained in the Mahābhārata, particularly in the Śānti and Anuśāsana parvans it appears that there were two works in verse on dharma and politics attributed to these two or there was one work containing both. These works were subsequently recast as the Manusmṛti. It is therefore that some difference is noticed between the views ascribed to the Mānavas and the extant Manusmṛti. Besides there is no real conflict in the matter of vidyās. The Manusmṛti does not positively say that the vidyās are four and not three; it simply says from whom trayī and the other three are to be learnt. The Manusmṛti (in 7. 60) allows more ministers than seven or eight. It is possible that in recasting several changes were made. The third opinion of the Mānavas quoted by Kautūliya is about the fine to be imposed upon officers of the state occasioning loss of revenue (II. 7). The other two views of the Mānavas quoted are concerned with the fine to be imposed on false witnesses and for forcible seizure of jewels175 &c. It must be admitted that in the extant Manusmṛti there is nothing exactly corresponding with these views. But from this fact no one conclusion alone can be drawn. There may be a mistake in quoting, or there may be inter-

175 [Footnotes: ज्ञाता यथा ज्ञातास्य मूलानुसार दृष्टं द्वितीय वाक्याति मानवा:। कौ. III. 11।
'रत्ना रत्नान्यो रत्नान्यो साध्वशो मूलकामो दुष्कल इति मानव।। कौ. III. 17।
]
polations, it may be that some of the verses in the original *Manu-
ṃṛti* have dropped out or that Kauṭilya is quoting not the *Manu-
ṃṛti* itself, but the views of works based on or explanatory of *Manu.*
It is noteworthy that *Bṛhaspati* contains a verse very similar to
the views on sāhasa attributed to the Mānavas. We shall see below
that Bṛhaspati's work was more or less a supplement of *Manu.* The
only authors or schools, besides the Mānavas, cited by name in the
dharmasthiya section are the Bārhaspatyas and the Auśanasas. It is
remarkable that the well-known and ancient Dharmasūtrakāras like
Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha, Hārīta are nowhere
quoted by name. It is noteworthy that in the dharmasthiya section
Kauṭilya several times quotes the views of ācāryas and of some others
under the word ""apare". Some of these views correspond closely
with the discussions in the ancient dharmasūtras. One of these is
the question as to whom the child belongs, to the begetter or to
him on whose wife it is begotten. Kauṭilya first quotes the view
of the ācāryas that it belongs to the husband of the mother of
the child, then says that some hold that it belongs to the
begetter, while Kauṭilya holds that it belongs to both. It is
not be noted here that both Baud. and Āp. say that according to
the Brāhmaṇas the sons belong to the begetter, while Vasiṣṭha says
there is a dispute on the point, both views being supported by
ancient authorities. Gautama speaks of both views and at last (18. 13
"advayorva") seems to come to the same conclusion as Kauṭilya. It
is not unlikely that Kauṭilya has in mind this discussion in the
Dharmasūtras and also in *Manu* (9. 48-54 where the view is that
the child belongs to the husband of the woman). Some of the
other views attributed to ācāryas are that a woman could visit the
houses of her husband's relations, of prosperous men, of village head-
men, of female ascetics &c. (III. 4); that very poor men could
divide even waterpots at a partition (III. 5); that the master who did
not employ a servant ready to work according to agreement had to

176 व्रजेन्द्र पाहनलिनी देविम्बरणे तथा। यापेय चरोयं वृष्मण्यं मुल्यसागा द्वाय। वृहस्पति
*quoted in* जयधरसाथूर्याः उपस्थित.

177 प्रत्येक ब्रजेन्द्र स्वभावमात्रम् स्वधिशिष्टमात्राः। नाति भवति वर्ष रेवतांश्रवङ्क्तमात्रवरी।
निष्ठासमसामुलसबिलिविश्वस्तमा। कृति III. 7. Compare श्री. प्र. 18. 9-13. श्री.
प्र. तु। II. 2. 34-36; आप. प्र. तु। II. 6. 23. 3-8 (where *the* *the* ""स्वस्तमा"
करते) विश्रामायम् (क्रममा) विश्वस्तमा भविष्यति।
pay the wages agreed upon as if the work had been finished (compare Viṣṇu V. 157); he who forcibly confined a man or woman or who by force released another from imprisonment was to be fined between 500 and 1000 (III. 17); that disputes of a remote date shall not be complained of and that he who is the first to complain wins, since one mans (to court) as one cannot bear the pain (III. 19); that in a complaint by one gambler against another, the successful party has to pay the fine called pūrvasāhāsa and the defeated party the fine called madhyāsāhāsa (III. 20).

The foregoing discussion about the dharmasthālya section shows that in the sphere of the administration of justice, Kauṭilya is far in advance of the dharmaśūtras of Gauṇama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana and so is much later than these (though in certain matters such as the rights of women to succeed to males he closely agrees with Gauṇama and Āpastamba), while he is earlier than the extant Manusmṛti (though not earlier than the oldest kernel of the Manusmṛti) and very much earlier than Yājñavalkya.

The question of the date of the Kauṭilya can be settled only approximately and for that we have to rely only on the internal evidence. The external evidence does not carry us far; we can only say that the Kauṭilya is certainly not later than the 2nd century A. D., since Kāmandaka, the Tantrākhyāyikā, and Bana, speak of it with admiration. No one claims it to be earlier than 300 B. C. Even Keith who assigns it a late date and cannot place it earlier than 100 B. C. at the most has to admit (J. R. A. S. 1916, p. 135) that for a precise date we have no real ground.

The Kauṭilya quotes five schools by name: Mānavāḥ (five times), Bārhaspatyāḥ (6 times), Auṣanasāḥ (7 times), Pāraśarāḥ (4 times), Āmbhiyāḥ (once) and the following individual authors; Kātyāyana (1), Kinnjalka (1), Kaunapadanta (4), Ghoṭakamukha (1), (Dirgha) Cārāyaṇa (1), Pāraśara (2), Piṣuna (6), Piṣunaputra (1), Bāhudantiputra (1), Bhāradvāja (7, once as Kaniṅka Bhāradvāja), Vātavyādhi (5), Viśalakṣa (6). He either differs from all these authors or they differ from each other in all the places where they are cited. All the individual authors that are cited only once occur on the same page (except Bāhudantiputra). He quotes the views of ācārya over fifty times and in each case differs from them. "Ācārya" means the ancient authors on the śāstra
collectively. Even the Nirukta quotes certain views as those of acâryas. Kauṭilya is cited about 80 times. The Kâmasûtra of Vûtsyâyana mentions a Ghoṭakamukha and a Çārêyana. Whether they are identical with the authors cited by Kauṭilya is extremely doubtful. The Mahâbhârata mentions among writers on Dânãntiti the following who occur in the Kauṭiliya also:—Brhaspati, Manu; Bhâradvâja, Viśâlakṣa, Sukra (the same as Uṣanas) and Indra (probably Kauṭilya's Bãhudantiputra), whose abridgment of Brahmana's work is called Bãhudantaka in the Sûntiparva (chap. 59).

According to the Nâyacandrikâ, Piśuna, Bhâradvâja, Kauṇapadanta and Vûtsavyâdhi stand for Nârada, Dronâcârya, Bhûma and Uddhava respectively (pp. 73, 69, 74, 91).

The Mahâbhârata mentions other writers on politics, viz. Gaurâsîras, Kaśyapa, Utathya, Vâmadeva, Vasuhoma, Kâmanda, (Sûntiparva 123. 11) and a few others which are not found in the Kauṭiliya.

The Kauṭiliya knows the four Vedas, the charms and incantations of the Atharvan, the six anâgas, includes under itihása, Purânas, Dharmasâstra and Arthaâsâstra; it knows the Sânkhya, Yoga and Lokâyata schools of thought. It mentions Mauhûrtikas, Kârtântikas (astrologers), Jupiter and Venus. It refers to dhâtu-sâstra (Metallurgy). Sanskrit was the official language and in the Sàsanâdhikâra it mentions such guṇas of composition as màdhurya, audârya, spaṣṭatva, which show the beginnings of the Alâmkâra sâstra. There is nothing to wonder at in this. In the second century A. D. we have the inscription of Rudradâman, which enumerates the guṇas of Kâvyâ. The Kauṭiliya does not mention edicts on stone or copper. It refers to Vaiṣikakalâjñâna (II. 27). The Kauṭiliya closely agrees with the Kâmasûtra in several respects, and the two works contain several identical passages (such as the list of kings that fell victims to intrigues and about triûarga). Keith argues from this that the Kauṭiliya and the Kâmasûtra are not separated by a long interval and that it is a late work. Dr. Jolly also is of the same opinion (p. 24 Intro. to Arthaâsâstra). If the Kâmasûtra held up the Kauṭiliya as its model, then the two works would certainly look very much alike. There are points of difference

\footnote{178 लोकायत occurs in the महाभारत on वर्णका ताल्लुक (P. VII. 3. 45). Vide Kielhorn vol. III., pp. 325-326.}
between the two works, e. g. they differ in their attitude towards flesh-eating and the Kāmasūtra speaks of planetary influence and lagna, while the Kauṭiliya is silent on these points and only condemns in general terms the consulting of stars. We must note here that the Kauṭiliya (IX. 4) speaks of consulting naksatras, which were known from the earliest Vedic period and some of which were looked upon as auspicious for sacrificial purposes even in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (S. B. E. vol. 44, pp. 1-2) and the Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras. The Kauṭiliya follows the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa in the system of a yuga of five satvatsaras, in prescribing two intercalary months in a yuga and in saying that at the end of one ayana the variation between the length of the day or the night comes to six muhūrtas (vide II. 20). Keith argues that the ślokas in the Kauṭiliya are more classical than even those of the Rāmāyaṇa and that it contains correct Triṣṭubh stanzas which are wanting in the Brhaddevatā (a work of the 4th century B. C.). But this argument can produce no impression on those scholars who ascribe the Rāmāyaṇa to the 5th century B. C. or earlier. Nor is the date of the Brhaddevatā beyond the pale of discussion. There is no consensus of opinion among scholars as to the exact time when classical ślokas and correct Triṣṭubh first came into vogue. It is to be noted that the Kauṭiliya defines pada as varṇasaṅghātā and not as in Pāṇini (sup-tiṇantam padam).

Among the countries and peoples frequently mentioned by Kauṭiliya, several are interesting. He speaks of silks from the land of the Cinas179 and blankets from Nepal. Keith says that the name Cina being derived from the Thsin dynasty in China (which began its rule in 247 B. C.) this would show that the Kauṭiliya could not have been composed about 300 B. C. No one however knows how the word Cina was derived and besides as Keith admits the passage may be an interpolation. He speaks of the Sangha of the Vṛṣṇis (1. 6) and the Śreṇis (corporations) of Kṣatriyas in the countries of Kāmbojha and Surāṣṭra that lived by vārtā (agriculture and trade) and by the profession of fighting and the corporations of the Licchśīvika, Vṛjika, Mallaka, Madraka, Kukura, and the Kurupaścalas that live on the title ‘rāja’ (XI. 1). Some of these tribes such as the Licchavis, Vṛjī (Vajjīs in Pāli) and Mallas are well-known from ancient Buddhist works. What is meant by ‘rājaśabdopajīvīḥ’

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179 तथा द्रोषें विनयमूनिजा व्याकरश्यातां। कौ. II. 11.
is not quite clear. It probably means that the organisation of the Lischavis and others was on democratic lines and that there was very keen competition for the honour of being elected the chief or president of those corporations, the latter being designated ‘raja’. The Nāyacandrīkā explains that they bear the proud designation of ‘raja’ but are penniless (and so can be easily employed in military service as mercenaries). We are told that the breed of horses from Kambhoja, Sindhu, Āraṭṭa and Vanāyu was the best and that Bahlika, Pāpeya, Sauvira and Taitala breeds were of middle quality. The Kauṭiliya speaks of Mlecha tribes and tells us that among them one’s own children could be sold or pledged without incurring punishment (III. 13).

There is hardly any distinctive reference to things Buddhist except one passage (III. 20) where a fine of one hundred (panas) is prescribed for him who invited to dinners in honour of gods or Manes a Buddhist (Śākya), an Ajivaka, a śūdra ascetic. This shows that the work was written at a time when Buddhism was yet not a widespread religion and had not secured an honourable place among the people. The Ajivika was a well-known sect in ancient India, said to have been founded by Makkhali Gosāla (vide V. A. Smith’s Aśoka, pp. 134, 198 of edition of 1909, I. A. 1912, p. 286, ‘Dialogues of Buddha’ I, p. 71, n. 1, Journal of Bihar & Orissa Society, 1926, pp. 53-62). Aśoka bestowed some caves on them. Kauṭiliya says that weights should be made of iron or of stones from Magadha and Mekala (country near the sources of the Narmadā).

It is extremely doubtful whether the Kauṭiliya knew the extant text of the Mahābhārata. Most of the stories used as illustrations in the Kauṭiliya occur in the Mahābhārata (e.g. Aila, Duryodhana, Haihaya Arjuna, Vatāpi, Agastya, Ambariṣa, Suyātra i.e. Nala). But in some cases there is slight divergence between the two works, e.g. Janamejaya is said to have perished through having attacked Brahmaṇas in anger, while the Mahābhārata (XII. 150) gives a different version; Kauṭiliya says (IV. 8) that Māndavya, though not a thief, declared...
himself to be a thief while the Mahābhārata (I. 107. 9) says that he spoke nothing; Kauṭilya mentions Jayatsena as the opponent of Nala (VIII. 3) in gambling, while the Mahābhārata gives his name as Puṣkara; the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa do not know that a Jāmdagnya ruled long as a king. Kauṭilya seems to have known the Purāṇas. He says (III. 7) that sūta and māgadha of the Purāṇas are quite different from members of the mixed castes called sūta and māgadha and includes Purāṇa (I. 5) among the subjects of royal study grouped under the head of itihāsa.

Kauṭilya exhibits a wonderful knowledge of herbs and drugs and Dr. Jolly thinks that his Materia Medica is more extensive than even Suśruta's. But the dates of Caraka and Suśruta are far from being settled and no approximately certain conclusion can be drawn from the drugs mentioned in the Kauṭilya. Kauṭilya speaks of 'rasada' (one who administers mercurial poison) and prescribes banishment for those who trade in or administer 'rasa' for money in order to do away with a person secretly (IV. 4.). In II. 13 he speaks of gold that is 'rasa-viddhā' (amalgamated with mercury) and in II. 12 of liquids containing gold (rasāḥ Kañcanikāḥ) and of Hing-guluka. Dr. Jolly thinks that this knowledge of metallurgy and alchemy is of Graeco-Syriac origin and so the Kauṭilya is a work of the third century A.D.

It is of great importance to note that Kauṭilya lays down (II.4) that in the midst of the fort were to be constructed the temples of Śiva, Vaiśrāvana, the Aśvins, Lakṣmī and Madirā (Durgā?) and niches were to be set apart for Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta and Vaijayanta and that the tutelary deities of the gates were to be Brahmā, Indra, Yama and Senāpati (i.e. Skanda). We know from the Mahābhāṣya (Kiernhorn Vol. II. p. 429) on Pāṇini (V. 3. 99 'jivikārthe cāpanye') that the Mauryas set up images out of greed for money and that in its day images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha were worshipped.

183. समयाचिन्तनसयुतः जागरणयो जिनेन्द्रज्ञः। अम्बरीभवेय नाथामो हृद्यार्थां चैव मही। नस्योः। I. 6.
184. दीर्घिषः काव्यसः खृष्टी माधविन्य महाबलाधिरोपत।
185. 'अपन्न इच्छापरेते नवेद्ये न लिखिति। श्रवणे: रक्षानु विशाश्च इति। विषये: कारणान। तबैव इच्छालोगीभिः सकलिन्त। मनोकामना न ध्याय। वास्तवानि: संबंधिते पुनर्भूलाभात् मनोकामित। काव्याय।
The foregoing discussion clearly shows that the Kauṭiliya has certainly an ancient atmosphere about it, and that all that has so far been gathered from it agrees with its traditional date of 300 B.C. and no cogent arguments have been yet brought forward that would compel us to assign it a date later than the above by six centuries.

Two commentaries on the Kauṭiliya have been brought to light so far, one composed by Bhṛṭasvāmin being called Pratipadaṇḍikā and the other the Nayacandrikā of Madhavayajvan. Both are fragments. The first was published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (1925-1926, vol. XI and XII) by Messrs. K. P. Jayasval and A. Banerji-sastri. The com. is incomplete and begins with the 8th adhyāya of the 2nd adhikaraṇa and reaches up to the 36th adhyāya of the adhikaraṇa. The commentary on the whole work must have been very extensive, as the portion already printed on a part of the 2nd adhikaraṇa alone occupies 214 pages. This commentary quotes the explanations of previous commentators in the words 'anye', 'apare'. It quotes several ślokas of Bṛhaspati on the blemishes of diamonds and on prakāśa-taskaras. The commentary Nayacandrikā contained in Dr. Jolly's edition (Lahore) also is incomplete and begins with the 7th adhyāya of the 7th adhikaraṇa and breaks off in the 4th adhyāya of the 12th adhikaraṇa. It also refers to the views of its predecessors in the words 'kecit' &c. (vide pp. 35, 61, 62, 104, 115, 131, 191). It discusses various readings (pp. 136, 183, 188, 193 &c.).

Dr. Shamasastri includes in his edition 571 sūtras attributed to Cāṇakya. Their relation to the Kauṭiliya is a subject which requires careful investigation. In my own opinion they are later than the Kauṭiliya. It would be beyond the scope of this work to enter into details. Vide Dr. Jacobi's article in Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. III., pp. 669-676.

There are several nīti collections attributed to Cāṇakya and published several times in different parts of India. All of them are later than the Kauṭiliya and are compilations of maxims and fine sayings. One of them the Cāṇakya-rājanitiśāstra (published in Calcutta Oriental series, 1921, 2nd edition) contains 660 verses and was compiled under Bhojarāja. Several other compilations pass under the names Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, Laghu-Cāṇakya &c. All these are passed over here from considerations of space and utility.
15. Vaikhānasa-dharma-praśna

This work has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series by Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri (1913).

Mahadeva in his commentary called Vaijayanti (Anandāśrama ed.) on the Satyasāḍha Śrautasūtra speaks of six Śrauta sūtras of the Black Yajurveda, viz. Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba, Hiranyakesin, Vadhūla and Vaikhānasa, and frequently cites passages from the Vaikhānasa-śrautasūtra. In the Caranaavyūha of Śaunaka, Vadhūla and Vaikhānasa are not mentioned. But that Vaikhānasa was a very ancient writer follows from the references contained in the ancient dharma works. In Gautama the word 'Vaikhānasa' occurs (Dh. S. III. 2) as the name for the order of forest hermits (vānaprastha) and in another sūtra (III. 26) he lays down that fire was to be consecrated according to the Śrāmanaka, which latter is explained by Haradatta as Vaikhānasa Śāstra. Baudhāyana (Dh. S. II. 6. 17) has the same sūtra and defines a Vaikhānasa as one who follows the rules of conduct laid down in Vaikhānasa Śāstra (Dh. S. II. 6. 16). The Vasiṣṭha Dh. S. (9. 10) also has the same sūtra as Gautama (Dh. S. III. 26). The Manusmṛti (VI. 21) speaks of the Vānaprastha as one who abides by the views of Vaikhānasa (Vaikhānasamāte sthitah).

The Vaikhānasadharma-praśna is divided into three praśnas, each praśna being subdivided into khaṇḍas. There are in all 41 khaṇḍas. The work is a small one. The contents of the work are: 1. the four varnas and their privileges, and the four āśramas; duties of brahma-carin; four kinds of brahma-carins; duties of the household; four kinds of grha-stha, vāraṇavīti (subsisting by agriculture); śālina, yāyāvara and ghorācarika; forest anchorites; vānaprasthas are either sapatnikā (accompanied by their wives) or apatnikā (not so accompanied); Sapatnikā are of four sorts, Audumbara, Vairiṅca, Vālakhiliya and Phena; apatnikā Vānaprasthas; of four kinds of bhikṣus, viz. kuticaka, bahuḍaka, haṁsa and paramahaṁsa; sakāma (performed with desire of worldly gain) and niṣkāma (not so performed) karma; prayṛtti and nivrṛtti; three kinds of

186 'वायणेन (वायणेन) अभिभाषय' गो. च. स. 3. 26 and गो. च. स. II. 6. 17.
187 गोविष्णुसामी, the commentator of Baud. says 'वेदान्तसादिप तत्ताक्षर हृदय। विवेकानन्द प्रकटे वेदान्तसाधारण। तत्र द्विः वेदस्पर्शस्वात्मिका दीने प्रवर्त्ता हस्ताभ्यम् सत्तुदानारा।' H. D. 14.
Yogins and their subdivisions; II. the details of the śramaṇaka rites of the vānaprastha (khaṇḍas 1-4); duties of the forest hermit; details of joining the order of saṃnyāsins (khaṇḍas 6-8); age for saṃnyāsa (above seventy or when childless or widower); every day duties and observances of saṃnyāsins; about acamana and Saṅdhya; saluting (abhivadana) of all relatives, male and female; holidays for study (anadhyaṇa); bath and Brahmayajña; rules about taking food; forbidden and permitted food; III. rules of conduct for grhastha (khaṇḍas 1-3), rules of the road; purification of golden and other metallic things; purification of other things; about vānaprastha; bhikṣu; burial of a saṃnyāsin; Nārāyaṇabali on the death of a saṃnyāsin, tarpaya in the case of saṃnyāsins with twelve names of Viṣṇu, Keśava &c. and with water; anuloma and pratiloma; the intermediate castes; Vṛatya, their origin; name and means of subsistence (khaṇḍas 11-15).

The Vāikhānasadhammapraṇa appears by its style and its contents to be a work of comparatively later date than the dharmasūtras of Gautama and Baudhāyana. It is probably a recast of older materials. It contains the names of more mixed castes than the dharmasūtras and than even some of the later smṛtis. The present work seems to have been either written or retouched by a devotee of Viṣṇu. Faith in and devotion to Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa loom very large here (I. 5. 5 nārāyaṇa-parāyaṇā, I. 7. 6 and 9; II. 4-5 bhaktyā Viṣṇuṁ dhyāyan, III. 7. 3 Nārāyaṇaparamī brahmeti śrutāṁ, III. 9. 3 Viṣṇorālayapārśve). It speaks of the eight anāgas of Yoga (I. 10. 9), of the Āyurveda with its eight anāgas and of some treatise on evil spirits (bhūtatantra III. 12. 7). It refers to the views of some in the word ‘eke’ (I. 7. 4. and II. 9. 10). It speaks of the Śrāmaṇaka fire (in I. 6. 2 and I. 7. 3-4). It does not allow saṃnyāsa to Kṣatriyas (I. 11. 11). Vikhanas is cited as an authority (II. 5. 9 and III. 15. 14).

Bühler found a ms. of the Vāikhānasasūtra, consisting of a grhyya in seven praṇas, three praṇas of dharma (the same as described above) and a fourth on pravaras. In the grhyya a reference to Buddhavāra occurs (R. and S. p. 9). Dr. Caland in his paper on Vaikhānasa-sūtra holds that the Manusmṛti borrows from Vaikhānasagrhyya and that the author of the latter was saturated with the idiom of Dravidian languages (vide Prof. Keith’s review in Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, 1927, p. 623). Dr. Caland’s
view about Manu is entirely wrong as will appear from the section on Manu. Vide Th. Bloch in ‘über das Grhya-und Dharmasûtra der Vaikhânasa’ (Lipzig, 1896).

Other Sûtra Works on Dharma.

It will be proper to say a few words about some other sūtra works on dharma that are only available in mss. or are to be reconstructed from quotations in the digests. It is by no means to be supposed that these works that will be spoken of here were composed as early as those of Gautama, Āpastamba and others or were composed before the extant Manu and Yajñavalkya. But as the chronology of all ancient works on dharma is somewhat in a nebulous state, it is best to treat here of all works written in the sūtra style, even though in individual cases they may really belong to a later age than the works composed entirely in verse. They will be taken up in alphabetical order (Sanskrit).

16. Atri

That Atri was an ancient writer on dharma follows from a reference to him in Manu (III. 16) as holding the view that a dvijati taking as wife a śudra woman became fallen (patita). In the Deccan College collection there are several mss. (Nos. 185–187 of A 1881-82) of the Ātreyyadharmaśāstra in nine adhyāyas. They treat of gifts, prayers (jāpya) and tapas by which men are freed from all sins. Some of the chapters are in mixed prose and verse. The first three chapters are entirely in verse and some of the verses (such as ekākṣaraṁ param brahma) occur in the Manusmṛti. The fourth opens with a long sūtra, which, in style, resembles later bhāṣyas and commentaries. The 5th also is in verse and contains several verses found in Vāsiṣṭha (Dh. S. 28. 1, 4, 6). The sixth speaks of the specially holy hymns and verses of the Veda. Some of the verses here are the same as Vasiṣṭha (28. 10-11). The seventh refers to secret praśaṇcitās and the very first sūtra after the opening words speaks of several non-Aryan tribes such as the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāṃ-

188 अष्टीपाोपश्चिमान्ती यथविषयकरक्षतानानिम्य (१) पतितानां बहुः कदाचिन्मानुस्य भवति पद्धतिचिन्हायुगपतितारथ सरीराय जायते। तथा। अनून्तवधि सहौं ब्राह्मणकुष्ठी एव।

189 अभ्यासो रहस्यानि व्यास्यप्रायम्। न नमन्तरकृतांगु-गाम्भिरस्म-पापकाश्चब्रह्मोत्सरीणोत्सरणोत्सरणो-गीणाश्रय-शक-शवन-नामस्व-बाहुस्व-स्व-विविश-श्व-पारसे-वीलावददीनां। (१) भूख्तता पतःपुव्वति चन्द्रावगामने सहमोजने रहस्यरहस्यपक्षां आकाशपति चरोत्।
bhojas, Bálhikas, Khašas, Vangas and Pāraša (Persians?) &c. It is to be noted that the same sūtra (with slight variations) is quoted as Atri's by Aparārka (on Yāj. III. 266 p. 1123). The 7th and 8th chapters are in mixed prose and verse. The 9th is in verse and speaks of Yoga and its āngas. It refers to the fact that Śīśupāla, son of Damaghośa, because in his hatred of Govinda he always thought of the latter, went to heaven. The same sūtra work is noticed in I. O. Cat., pp. 380-81, Nos. 1305 and 1306.

There are several works styled Atri-smṛti or saṁhitā in the mss. One of them is in six chapters on secret prāyaścittas, gifts, pitṛmedha and ācāra (vide I. O. Cat., p. 381, No. 1308). There is another work styled Atrisaṁhitā printed in Jivananda's collection (part I. pp. 13-46). It contains about 400 verses and deals with the following topics:—importance of honouring gūru, duties of four castes; purifications of several malas; virtues of Brāhmaṇas such as saúca, anastūya; definition of īśa and pārta, ten yamas and niyamas; importance of sons; adopted sons, prāyaścittas for taking forbidden food or drink and for other transgressions, impurity on birth and death; cāndrayaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Sāntapana; gifts; purifications from avoidable contacts with rajasvala &c; Śrāddha and the Brāhmaṇas to be invited for it.

In this work Atri is himself cited as an authority. Other authors and works quoted are: Āpastamba (p. 30), Yama (p. 41), Vyāsa (p. 24), Śaṅkha (pp. 22, 35), Śātātapa (p. 35). The Vedānta, Śaṅkhyā, Yoga, Purāṇas, Bhāgavatāh (p. 45) are mentioned. It contains (on p. 14) the verse 'sadyaḥ patati maṁsena' which is found in Vasiṣṭha Dh. S. (2. 27) with the words 'athāpyudāharanti'. There are other verses also which occur elsewhere e.g. 'atha cemantravid' occurs in Vasiṣṭha II. 20, 'tryahāḥ sāyaṁ tryahāṁ prātaḥ' (p. 23) is also Manu XI. 211. On p. 26 occur the words 'atāpyudāharanti' and so what follows is a quotation. On p. 32 there are three verses in another metre.

Atri's verse about adoption 190 is quoted as the first authority on adoption in the Dattakamimāṁsa. He mentions the seven antyajas to be the washerman, the shoemaker, nāta, buraḍa, kaivarta

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190 अत्योज्य कर्त्तरः पुष्कलसिद्धिः सदा। विष्णुदवक्षिणात्यख्योत्तेष्यसस्मात्स्वसस्मातः।। अभि p. 17.
(fisherman), meda, and bhilla (p. 29). He further says that there is no question of untouchability in fairs, marriage seasons, in Vedic sacrifices and in all festivals. He says that Brāhmaṇas from Magadha, Mathurā and three other places are not honoured (at a śrāddha) though as learned as Brhaspati.\footnote{192}

The work mentions the signs of the Zodiac, Kanyā and the Scorpion (p. 43), and hence was not composed before the first centuries of the Christian era.

In Jivananda there is a Laghu-Atri (part I, pp. 1-12) in 6 chapters and about 120 verses, dealing with the means of being freed from sins (such as prāṇāyāma, sacred formula, gifts &c.), with purifications from impurity on death and birth, with gifts. It mentions Manu. In the fourth chapter there are about ten lines in prose. There are numerous verses that occur also in the Vasistha-dharmanītra, e.g. Vas. 26. 8-9 and 16-18 occur on p. 3; Vas. 28. 11-16 occur on pp. 4-5. It is difficult to say who the borrower is.

There is a Viḍḍhatreyasmṛti in Jivananda (part I. pp. 47-59) in five chapters and about 140 verses. This closely resembles the Laghu-Atri-smṛti described above. In the commencement both have the same six verses beginning with ‘bhagavan kena dānena’ and the works have many verses in common. In the fourth chapter of both the same prose passages occur.

Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (III. 257) quotes two verses from Atri on prāyaścitta which are found in none of the three works described above.\footnote{193}

In the Mahābhārata (Anuśasana 65. 1) Atri is credited with the view that those who make a gift of gold give (practically) all

\footnote{191} देशयांशाखुवेत्रहृ दासमकरणापच | उदसेषु च सतेषु सूक्ष्माः दिब्ये च सिद्धिः || p. 33.

\footnote{192} मागणो माधुरस्वतव्रता | कृतकाव्याम | पद्मा बिमा न पुस्तकम् | सशास्त्रसि काँदी || (p. 45). What is कपाट ? Should we read कृतकाव्याम (residents of the countries of कपाट and अप?)?

\footnote{193} The verses are मुख्या तु मतिहोत्तमः सहायतानामकाव्यः | श्राणात्वर्ग चारंकाव्यं | विग्रहम श्रास्त्राशन || चित्तवनम चतुर्षरो वेदं वेदं विशेषत : | मृदला सुखम् | मिथिलात स्त्रात सामाज्यमं चरेत ||
objects. This bears a close resemblance to two verses that occur in 
Laghvatri (Jivananda part I. p. 5) and Vṛddhātri (part I. p. 51).194

17. Uśanas.

That Uśanas wrote a work on politics follows from several circum-
stances. The Kauṭiliya quotes the Auśanasāḥ seven times. It is 
almost certainly referring to a work. That work contained direc-
tions on the administration of justice also, as Kauṭiliya speaks of 
Auśanasāsa method of partition (in allowing a tenth additional share 
to the eldest son, III. 6), as Auśanasāḥ prescribed fines in cases 
where witnesses proved stupid &c. (III. 11) and fines for forcible 
seizure of jewels &c. (III. 17). The Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva195 
(chap. 56, 29-30 and 57. 3) refers to a work on politics by Uśanas 
and quotes three verses, the last being found in Sābhā 55. 14. In 
other places also we have a Nitiśāstra ascribed to Bhārgava (Śānti 
210. 20) and certain verses are ascribed to him (Śānti 57, 40-41 
and 139, 70-71). Vide also Anuśāsana 39, 8-9 and Sābhā 62. 11-12. 
The Nitiaprakāśikā of Janamejaya refers to a succession of teachers of 
politics from Brahmā down to Janamejaya and says that Śukra was

194 स्वर्तन्त्र कामान्त्र व्याप्तिः के व्याप्तिः काँचनम्। इत्येव भवाबाचेन् वितामहस्तुपासीत्।
अनुपासन 65. 1. The verses in the two Atris are अर्घेरे, एवं अद्यतनम् स्वर्गा रूपीयती। स्वर्गसिद्धिः गावः। लोकाष्ठयस्तेन सावित्र्य देवता यः काँचन गां च महीं च ब्रह्माः।
सर्वं शेषे महानामालमानान रूपम्। भट्टकारसिद्धीतथैव सार्वमानान रूपम्।
The first verse occurs in Vas. 23. 16, in Vanaparva 200. 28, in the Rajim plate of Tivaradeva (Fleet's Gupta inscriptions No. 81).

195 लोको चापनसा गीतिः पुरा तात महर्षिणा। तौ निथयोह भदराय व्याकायमानान नूप।
उपाय शाख्मायानात्मापि बेदान्तमर्गम्। निवृत्तियाल्पस्तमर्गप्रन्ता नावाद्वयः। विनयमानां धर्मं हि भाविनेत्रस्त्र हर्मान्तिः। न तैन धर्मं स शापाय्युस्त्त मनुमृत्तिः।
शास्तिनिज्ञ 56. 28-30: भवानुभुताना चाल शक्कास्मिन् विशापिते। तद्विशिष्यनन्तर राजस्त 
गदनस्त निथयोह मे न॥ नान्लते यो भूमिः सर्वो बनानाविच। राजस्त चाविन्दाऽर 
शाश्वत चाभायान्तिनम्। शास्ति 57. 2-3: त्योक्तियां पुरा गीतो भागिण महामानम्। 
आत्माते रामचारिते नूपरि भाँति भारत॥ राजस्त धर्मं विन्दूस्त ततो भागी ततो 
थामान्। राजनयासां लोकस्त कुऽतो भागिण कुऽतो धामान्। शास्ति 57. 40-41: निनमय 
श्वायर्षशेषो विपश्या बुद्धिसिद्धोऽदः॥ उस्मा चेष गाये द्वे महादायायामिषुरा 
शास्ति 139. 70.
one of those who abridged the enormous extent of rajastra.\footnote{196} The Mudrārākṣasa (I. p. 71 Telang’s ed.) also speaks of Auṣanasī Daṇḍanitī. Viśvarūpa (on Yaj. I. 307) asks the king to appoint ministers in accordance with the views propounded in the śāstras of Bṛhaspati and Uṣanas and quotes a long passage in prose from Bṛhaspati in which the śāstras of Manu, Bṛhaspati and Uṣanas are joined together. This work on politics probably contained verses also. Medhātithi on Manu (7. 15) quotes two verses speaking of eight activities of a king.\footnote{196a} So also on Manu 8. 50 Medhātithi cites from Uṣanas the words ‘prakṛtīnām balam rājā,’ which are an Anuṣṭubh pada. This sūtra work on politics by Uṣanas has not yet been discovered. The Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa says that Kāvyā Uṣanas was the purohita of the Asuras (7. 5. 20).

In the Deccan College collection there are two mss. of an Auṣanasī-dharmaśāstra in prose with a few verses, viṣṇ. No. 644 of Visrambag (i) and No. 191 of A 1881–82. The first contains only two folios (2 and 4) and the available portion begins in the midst of the 2nd chapter. In the second ms. also the first folio is wanting and there are gaps in the fourth chapter. It is noteworthy that the second folio of the second ms. begins just at the beginning of the 2nd folio of the first. The work is a brief one (8 folios) in seven adhyāyas. Their contents are:—II. impurity on birth and death; purification of certain things in certain ways such as with water, ashes &c.; III. the four varṇas and the mixed castes such as Rathakāra, Ambaṭha, Sūta, Ugra, Māgadha &c, the Vrātyas; IV. no bodily injury to be done to Brāhmaṇa; prāyaścittas for killing a Brāhmaṇa or a man of the other varṇas and for other Mahāpātakas, prāyaścitta for eating

\footnote{196} Bhṛga Mahīśvar: śkaṇḍavēṇṇa: pāchātīsō maṇu: I śruti śāstra śukaśṛṇava mahīśvar: I bṛhaśāstra bhagavana maṇi: I ete hi rājashrākṣaṇa phalana: pratham: I laktārājākshīm bhṛga rājashrākṣas mahāmati: I pārthaśrīvaśa bhṛgaśrīvaśa śrīvaśa śrīvaśa sāṁtīśayā chaṣāya: I It is further said that Skanda, Indra, Pṛcetasa Manu, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Bhrāravāṣa, Gaurasiras and Veda-Vyūṣa abridged respectively to 25000, 10000, 6000, 3000, 1000, 700, 500 and 300 adhyāyas and that Janamejaya abridged even the last.

\footnote{196a} Aṣṭauṣṭa va bhīṣṇauva c ūrdvauṣṭu ca swāya kṣetraśvā nṛyā eva: I pānī kṣetayeva bhīṣṇuna kṣetraśvā eva: I bṛhan kṣetraśvā: sarva yognīya evānātika vyādā: I abhyasēva bhrāravā prāyaścittasya: I These are quoted also by kṣetra on Manuv VII. 154.
the flesh of certain animals and for eating certain plants like garlic, prāyāscita for adultery; discussion whether a Brāhmaṇa could marry a śūdra woman; prāyāscitas for killing various beasts and birds; fourteen vidyās; V. śrāddhakalpa; what Brāhmaṇas are pankti-pvavana; details of śrāddha, food and flesh at śrāddha; who are unfit to be invited at śrāddha; VI. what things a Brāhmaṇa could not sell; VII. punishments for the Mahāpātakas; what are pure things at all times. Some of the views of the Ausānasa-dharmaśāstra are worth special notice. The son of a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya from a wife of the varṇa immediately next to it belonged to the caste of the father. 197 No sin or punishment attached to one if one killed an atatayi armed Brāhmaṇa. The fourteen vidyās are said to be the six angas and the four Vedas, Mimāṃsā, Nyāya, dharmaśāstra and Purāṇa. 198

The work very often quotes the views of others with the words 'eke'; for example it says 'the impurity on birth is ten nights for the parents of the child, but according to some only for the mother.' 199 The son of a Brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman is called paraśava, but according to some he is nisāda. The whole of the portion in the ms. about the mixed castes bears a very close resemblance to Baudhāyana (Dh. S. I. 9) except in a few particulars. 200 At the end of all chapters from the second (except the third) there are verses and also in the midst. There are verses introduced with the words 'there is a śloka on this point' (bhartvi cātra ślokaḥ) or with the words 'api codaharanti'.
There are about 45 verses in the work, the 7th and last chapter being almost entirely in verse. As the mss. are corrupt and full of gaps, it is often difficult to find out whether a particular passage is prose or verse. In several verses the words ‘Manur abravid’ occur and in one place ‘tan manor anuśasanam’. The latter closely agrees with Manu. Several verses are common to Manu and Uśanas. The verse ‘gurutalpe bhagah kāryah’ (Manu 9. 237) occurs in the ms. So also the verse ‘yena yena cidañgena’ occurs in both. The words of Manu (V. 78) ‘bale desantarasthe’ are expressly quoted with the words ‘Manur-aḥa’. There are many other verses which, though not cited expressly as from a particular author, are found in other ancient works. For example, the verse ‘āpah śuddhā bhūmi-gatāḥ’ is Manu 5. 128 and Baudh. Dh. S. I. 5. 57. The half verse ‘kāruhastāḥ śucir nityam’ is Manu 5. 126 and Baudh. Dh. S. I. 5. 48. The verse ‘yadekaratreyā karoti pāpam’ occurs in Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 27. 11) and Baudh. Dh. S. II. 1. 42. The verse ‘tryaham prātasya tryaham naktaṃ’ is Manu XI. 211. It is a remarkable fact that some of the verses in this dharmaśūtra agree closely with the verses in the Uśanas-smṛti in verse, published by Jivananda, e.g. the verse ‘dattvā tu Vedānayaartham’ occurs on p. 525 and the verse ‘niman-tritastu yo vipro adhvānam samprapadyate’ on p. 527. Even the prose passages bear a close resemblance to the versified smṛti on many points, e.g. the prose passages about the duration of the satisfaction of the Manes by the offerings of the flesh of various animals occur almost in the same words in the versified smṛti of Uśanas (Jivananda, part I, p. 522).

The Auśanas-dharmaśūtra contains several passages in prose which are the same as some verses in Manu. The śūtra

201 The ms. reads ‘bhuṣyaṇaḥ samanaḥ brahmaṇaḥ (prefix.) brahmaṇaḥ (prefix.) mahābhūtah. 2 while manu (8.124) is thus ... dvandva

202 The ms. reads ḍhanu ḍhanu (prefix) ḍhanu (prefix) mahābhūtah. 2 the last pāda is thus.

203 The ms. has (in chap. II) rahuṣa kīṣṭaṇa sūrkṣaṇa. 1 grhastha kālpatarne pārśvaḥ. 1

204 The ms. has with (prefix) bhūṣaṇa (prefix) parśvaḥ (prefix) parśvaḥ (prefix) parśvaḥ. 1 compare manu I. 92. 2o. 38. I. 8. 49 and 3. 48.

H. Dh. 155.
quotes in one place the divergent views of Vasiṣṭha. The view of Vasiṣṭha (as quoted in the ms.) is that a Brāhmaṇa could marry a śūdra woman. The view of Vasiṣṭha in the printed text of Vasiṣṭha (I. 24) a Brāhmaṇa is allowed to marry girls of the three higher castes only. It is possible that the ancient reading of Vasiṣṭha’s text was “catasraḥ” (as quoted in the Auṣanasa) which was changed into “tisraḥ”. The passage reminds us of Manu III. 16 (Śūdravedi patatyaṭreḥ), but the views ascribed to Śaunaka and Gautama in the ms. differ from those ascribed to them in Manu. In another passage Vasiṣṭha’s views seem to be quoted.

From quotations in Haradatta’s commentary on Gautama and from the Śruti Candrika it appears that they had access to a sūtra work of Uśanas dealing with all branches of dharma, viz., acāra, vyavahāra and prāyaścitta. For example, the Śruti Candrika quotes prose passages of Uśanas on anadhāya (I. p. 59), on dantadāvanā (I. p. 106) and Haradatta quotes a prose passage on anadhāya (on Āp. D. S. I. 3, 10, 1) and a prose passage on the fine for a kṣatriya abusing a śūdra (on Gau. D. S. 12, 10) and on Niyoga (on Gau. D. S. 18, 5). These passages are not found in the ms. But there are others that are found. For example, the Śruti Candrika quotes two passages, which occur in the ms. It

204 The ms. (chap. IV) has Pata neglected. The words of Ṛgveda: “Vasistha:” (Vālaṃ: ?) Bhavishyottari: “Vasishtha:” (chap. 4); compare Vasishtha 12, 23, and Manu XI. 67 and 173. The reading “Vasishtha:” also is explicable. “Vasishtha may stand for Manu.

205 The passages are “tathā Gomroadakṣamhitamajjñāṇaṃ kṣamāṃ ēvāṃ śraddhā” (chap. V, about śraddhā) and “ākṣaraśāmāryānākṣatantrahṛdayakṣamhitāṃ” (III, p. 409 and p. 411).
appears therefore that the mss. either contain a portion only of the complete Auśanas-dharma-sūtra or an independent sūtra work. The former alternative looks more probable. The foregoing discussion has shown that the sūtra work is later than the dharmasūtras of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha and also than the Manusmṛti, which it probably knew in a very ancient version slightly differing from the extant one.

In Jīvananda’s collection of smṛtis there is an Auśanas-dharmaśāstra in 51 verses (part I. pp. 497–501). It deals with mixed castes and their avocations, such as sūta, māgadha, cāndāla, śvapaca, pulinda &c. The same work occurs in the Ānandāśrama collection, pp. 46–48. The Mit. (on Yāj. 1. 94) remarks that the means of livelihood for the mixed castes should be sought for in the works of Uśanas and Manu.207 It is probably this smṛti that is meant. Kullūka on Manu X. 49 says that the sale of hides and working on hides were the means of livelihood for Dhigvāṇas according to the Auśanas.

In the same collection (part I. pp. 501–554) there is another smṛti ascribed to Uśanas in 9 chapters and about 600 verses. It treats of Upanayana, daily observances like ācamana, Vedic study, occasions of anadhyāya, the dharmas of snātaka; śrāddha, proper Brāhmaṇas for śrāddha, impurity on birth and death, rites after death, prāyaścittas for the mortal sins and lesser sins.

This smṛti quotes Uśanas himself, also Manu, Bhrigu (Bhrigu-putra III), Prajāpati and speaks of dharmasūtras, Purāṇas, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta, Pāncarātras, Kāpālikas and Pāṣupatas. Numerous verses from the Manusmṛti are found in it (e.g. Manu II. 42, 49, 50, 125) occur in the first chapter alone. There is a brief prose passage towards the end of the 9th chapter. It speaks of Kāpālikas, Pāṣupatas and atheists together (p. 525).

None of these smṛtis in verse contains the passages in verse on vyaṇvāhara ascribed to Uśanas that occur in the Mitākṣarā, Smṛti-candrikā and other works.

The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 260) and Aparārka (e.g. p. 158, 192, 255) contain prose passages ascribed to Uśanas and the same works contain numerous verses ascribed to Uśanas most of which are not
found in the two smṛtis in Jivananda. Some of the verses in Aparārka ascribed to Uśanas are found in the Auśanasasmrī (e.g., Aparārka p. 418 ‘kuryād-aharāh śrāddham’ is Jivananda I. p. 521).

In other cases the verses quoted from Uśanas in Aparārka, though not quite identical, bear a very close resemblance (e.g. the four verses in Aparārka p. 450 closely resemble Jivananda I. p. 525 and have some verses in common).

Among the views on Vyavahāra quoted from Uśanas are some interesting ones. It was he who said that a son was not bound to pay his father’s debt, if it was a fine or unpaid toll or what is not vyāvahārika.208 He holds that even blind, deaf or old men, women, minors could be witnesses in charges of sahāsa (Aparārka p. 671). He is quoted also on ordeals, on svāmipālavīvāda and on steya.

A work styled Śukranītisāra was edited by Oppert (Madras 1882) and by Jivananda (Cal. 1892) and translated by Benoy Kumar Sarkar in S. B. H. Series. That work is a very interesting one, but is comparatively of a late date.

18. Kaṇva and Kaṇva

From the Āp. Dh. S. it appears that Kaṇva and Kaṇva were two distinct writers on dharma. In I. 6. 19. 2 Āpastamba starts the question as to the persons, food at whose house was permitted. He states various views on that point and says that Kaṇva was of opinion that food may be taken at anybody’s house provided the latter offered it with a request (I. 6. 19. 3) and that the opinion of Eka, Kuṇika, Kaṇva, Kutsa and Puṣkarasādi (I. 6. 19. 7) was that only that food that was offered by a pure and religious man should be partaken. In another place (I. 10. 28. 1) Āpastamba gives it as the opinion of Kautsa, Hārīta, Kaṇva and Puṣkarasādi that a man became a thief if in any case whatever he appropriates another’s belongings. The Kumbhakonam edition of Pandit Halasyanatha reads Kaṇva for Kaṇva.

Kaṇva is quoted a few times in the Smṛticandrika on Āhinika (daily duties) and śrāddha. One of these quotations is in prose (I. p. 97).209 Haradatta in his commentary on Gautama cites

208 तुष्णो वा दुष्क्रेष्ठो वा शुल्के तपेष्यपर्यथा न। न दानस्य तु पुष्पोऽयम् ययम् न व्यावहारिकम् ॥

209 अभावे नवेदिनितावराजानासि व्यावहर्ष वाङ्क्ष्येऽर्थिनीविधयोऽवोदेवाम्मोऽन्ये।
verses of Kaṇva in several places (e. g. Gautama Dh. S. 21. 3, 23. 4 and 11). The first verse bears a close resemblance to Manu XI. 180 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 62. Kaṇva is quoted in the Ācārmayūkha and the Śrāddha-mayūkha.

The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 58) quotes a verse of Kaṇva on the length of the stay of a samnyāsin in a village or town. On Yāj. III. 260 the Mit. quotes a verse of Kaṇva stating the pṛayaścittā for a Brāhmaṇa having intercourse with the Kṣatriya wife of his teacher.

In the Madras Govt. Oriental Library there is a ms. of Kaṇva (vol. V, p. 1929 No. 2624).

19 Kāśyapa and Kāśyapa.

Baudhāyana (Dh. S. I. 11. 20) cites a verse which contains the view of Kāśyapa that a woman who is bought cannot be a patni and that she is not authorised to take part in religious (daiva) rites or rites for the Manes. This verse is ascribed to Kātyāyana in the Sṛṣṭicandrikā (I. p. 87). The Vanaparva quotes gāthis of Kāśyapa on forbearance (29. 35-40). Whether Kāśyapa and Kāśyapa are two different writers of dharmaśūtras it is rather difficult to say. Probably they are identical. It appears that the dharmaśūtra of Kāśyapa comprised all the usual topics of dharmaśūtras, such as daily duties, śrāddha, āsauca, pṛayaścittā. This sūtra has been quoted by all eminent writers from Viśvarūpa downwards. Viśvarūpa quotes Kāśyapa (in prose) on the pṛayaścittā for contact with candālas and for killing a cow when the sinner is a Brāhmaṇa or a member of another caste. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 23) quotes a prose passage from Kāśyapa on freedom from impurity on death.
The quotations in the Smṛticandrīka on śraddha and śraddha are all in verse. Haradatta on Gautama (22, 18) quotes a sūtra on the praṇaśīcā for govadha,\textsuperscript{115} which is also quoted by Viśvarūpa. Haradatta (on Gaut. 23, 26) quotes a very long sūtra on the praṇaśīcā for eating several things and doing several forbidden acts.\textsuperscript{116} Haradatta (on Āp. Dh. S. II. 6, 13, 2) quotes several verses mentioning the seven kinds of punarbhūs. The Hāralatā quotes a sūtra from Kaśyapa on āśauca. Aparārka quotes several sūtras and a few verses under both names Kaśyapa and Kaśyapa (vide Yāj. I. 64, III. 265, I. 222-25, III. 251, 288, 290, 292 for verses).

In the Deccan College collection there are two mss. (No. 200 of 1884-87 and No. 122 of A. 1881-82) which contain a Kaśyapā-smrī in prose (4 folios having 8 lines on each side). It begins ‘āthātā Kaśyapīyān grha sthadharman vyākhyāyāmāh’. It deals with the duties of householders, with praṇaśīcās for doing mischief to wells, dikes, ponds, temples and houses of Brāhmaṇas, for killing a cow and other beasts and birds, with rules on mourning after death and impurity on birth, with praṇaśīcās for eating garlic and other similar things, with the five mortal sins, with praṇaśīcās when such portents as earthquakes, lightning flashes occur, or for such accidental occurrences as the breaking of the milk pot, with purification of vessels of wood, metals, with the visible physical sins of sins committed in previous lives, with the seven punarbhūs.

In this work some of the sūtras quoted as Kaśyapa’s in the commentaries are found, (e.g. the quotation No. 216 ‘laśuna’ &c. above). So also the verses about punarbhūs of seven kinds quoted by Haradatta are found in the mss. In this smṛti, Kaśyapa is frequently cited as an authority.

It is to be noted that Kaśyapa is not mentioned by Yāj. as one of the dharmaśāstra-prayojakas, though Parāsara (chap. I) mentions Kaśyapa dharmaḥ. The Smṛticandrīka (I. p. 1) and the Sarasvatīvilāsa (p. 13) speak of 18 Upasmrīs in which Kaśyapa’s is included.

\textsuperscript{115} गा इन्द्रा तत्त्ववा परितृते यस्य गोहाराचित्रस्वस्त्यायी नित्यं पश्चग्रह्यायाः।
\textsuperscript{116} क्षणपदहयुगं मनकुटमभणे नेहः चुकपनेद्यावच्चित्तोत्योगनोनमस्तत्यमवर्णोत्योगुभावने वेयं पायथ्येत्यं ब्राह्मणयो निधेय पदहयुगिनिरिनित्यं प्रायत्तायेत्यं दिविष गता वन मायपणुं गात्रो न धृतरते तस्मन्देश्वरि घातात् ब्रह्माणनास्ते तत्त्ववा तिष्ठन पुनसंसारवर्त्ति।
20. Gārgya

Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 4-5) quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya in which Gārgya is enumerated among the expounders of Dharma (dharmanātāraḥ). He quotes two sūtras, one from Gārgya (on Yāj. I. 72\textsuperscript{17}) and the other from Vṛddha-Gārgya\textsuperscript{18} (on Yāj. I. 195). Therefore it seems that a sūtra work of Gārgya on dharma did exist. The Mit. (e.g. on Yāj. III. 326), Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā quote several verses of Gārgya on āhnika, śrāddha and praśaccīta. Parāśara also mentions Gārgya among writers on dharma. Aparārka contains (pp. 124, 190, 368, 544) verses from Gārgya on topics of dharma. It seems that the two writers are identical. Aparārka also quotes several verses from Gārgya of astronomical import (e.g. p. 547 on the nomenclature of the months as Caitra in connection with the signs of the zodiac). This was probably an independent work. Fragments of a Gārgya-saṁhitā on astronomy and astrology have been recovered and it contains valuable historical information (vide Kern’s preface to Brhat-saṁhitā pp. 33-40 and Mr. Jayaswal in JBORS. vol. 14, p. 397 ff.). A Jyotir-Gārgya and a Brhad-Gārgya are quoted in the Smṛticandrikā. The Nityācārapradīpa (p. 20, BIS) mentions Garga and Gārgya separately as smṛtikāras.

21. Cyavana

The Mit., Aparārka and other works cite several sūtras and some verses from Cyavana. Aparārka quotes a very long prose passage from Cyavana (on Yāj. I. 207) about the procedure of making the gift of a cow and about the muntras to be recited in that ceremony. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 30) and Aparārka both cite a sūtra of Cyavana on the praśaccīta for coming in contact with a dog, a śvapāka, a corpse, smoke from a funeral pyre, wine, wine-vessel &c. Aparārka cites prose passages of Cyavana on the praśaccīta for killing a cow (on Yāj. III. 264-265), for touching, carrying or burning the corpse of one who commits suicide (on Yāj. III. 292), on the method of the purification of houses, vessels, articles of food when touched by cāṇḍālas (on the same verse).

22. Jātukarpya

Viśvarūpa on (Yāj. I. 4-5) quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya in which Jātukarpya is mentioned as an expounder of

\textsuperscript{17} भृजस्याय प्रसिद्धमतिवर्गां ।
\textsuperscript{18} अनेकोद्वे बालारिते मुतिसमे ।
The name is variously written as Jātukarni or Jātukarnya or as Jātukarna. The Smṛticandrika quotes a passage from Āṅgiras in which Jātukarnya is enumerated among writers of Upasmṛtis. Viśvarūpa quotes prose passages from Jātukarnya a number of times. On Yāj. I. 1, he gives a sūtra about "pratilomas"; on Yāj. I. 2 there is a sūtra saying that a pupil should not all of a sudden put a question to his teacher in an assembly of people, on Yāj. I. 29 about a Kṣatriya and Vaiśya wearing an Upavita of hemp and wool when initiated for sacrifice, on Yāj. I. 37 as to the age when a Brāhmaṇa became a vrātya, about the prohibition of marrying another wife of a different caste when one has already married a savarṇa wife (on Yāj. I. 79), about the time for śrāddhas (on Yāj. I. 215). These quotations show that Jātukarnya composed a sūtra work on ācāra and śrāddha, which was comparatively ancient. The quotations of Jātukarnya in Mitākṣarā Haradatta, Aparārka, and later writers are in verse and so it appears that by that time the work had been lost or forgotten. Aparārka (p. 423) quotes a verse of Jātukarnya which refers to the zodiacal sign Virgo. This would place the verse Jātukarnya not very much earlier than the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

23. Devala

In the Mit. there are several prose passages quoted from Devala, e.g. on Yāj. I. 120 there is a sūtra on the dharmas of the śūdra and the avocations open to him; on Yāj. I. 128 there is a sūtra dividing householders into Yāyāvara and Śālīna and describing each of them. In Aparārka and the Smṛticandrika there are several

219 सूयासों धर्मव्यक्त उत्तमा भविष्यत:।

निधानं सौभांमाणं वेदु एव दि श्रावति॥

नाराः: पुजहो गार्भ: पुजस्व: श्रेष्ठक: कनु:।

शैवाय्योऽव जातुर्कणों बिन्यानिः: भितमहे।॥

220 ‘परस्तःमहाद्वारसतिविनं’; ‘नामोपासनाये गुरुं पुजस्व’; ‘दीर्घश्रो चेद्यजन्यवेदं’

शास्त्रिकेये क्षुद्यानासु:।

‘द्विगुणं गायत्रीनिर्विक्रम भासु: भास्व:’

‘सर्वस्या हतावशी नामाश्वस्तत्तत्त्वस्मागातिनासु:’

‘अथ भासुपर्रसे सर्वाश्वविनासु:।

वनस्य एव वा सामविविवस्तिवासु:’।

221 तानि च देवोकोणि। धृशुत्को दिस्मनासु: भागवतं कर्षणांविवेचनं कर्षणपुहं- स्मरनारोहुद्यमर्यादातिरिक्तमणामुत्त्वमात्मान्तवामात्माणि ॥

222 वनस्य दि देवसः। द्विगुणों गुरों भागवतः: वानिः।

तवोर्वर्णः: वर्ष: भागवतं-स्यामान्तिरिक्तमणामुत्त्वमात्माणि ॥

प्रकृतिभिर्भिष्टाः: वावशुद्धमात्म्यभागवतुकों

कोकुशस्वरी बालीं हति।
prose quotations from Devala. On Yāj. III. 58 Aparārka quotes a long prose passage on the rules of conduct for a yati; on Yāj. III. 109 Aparārka cites a very long passage, in which Śaṅkhya and Yoga are defined, reference is made to extensive Tantras on the two systems and a brief résumé is given of the Śaṅkhya system, which greatly resembles the Tattvasamāsa. On Yāj. III. 227 Aparārka has a prose quotation from Devala about pasitas. In the Śrītīcandrika (I. p. 63) there is a lengthy passage from Devala on the daily duties of the brahmačarin, a sūtra (I. p. 52) is quoted about brahmaçarya for 48 years and in another place there is a prose passage about the wife’s duties.233

In the Mit., in Haradatta, Aparārka and the Śrītīcandiṅkā there are numerous quotations in verse from Devala on ācāra, vyavahāra, śrāddha, prāyaścitta and other topics. That seems to have been an independent work. In the Ānandāśrama collection of Smṛtīs there is a Devalasmrīti in 90 verses dealing with purification and prāyaścittas for contact with Mleñcchas. This appears to be a late compilation. Some of the verses contained therein are ascribed to other authors, e. g. verses 17–22 are ascribed to Āpastamba by Aparārka (on Yāj. III. p. 1200) and verses 30–31 are ascribed by the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 290) and Aparārka to Viṣṇu.

The Mahābhārata ascribes the view to Devala that in man there are three jyotis, viz. offspring, karma, and learning.234

Aparārka and the Śrītīcandiṅkā cite verses from Devala on partition, inheritance, on woman’s power over stridhana. These show that Devala, the jurist, flourished about the same time as the great jurists Brhaspati and Kātyāyana.

24. Paithīnasi

Though not enumerated in Yājñavalkya, Paithīnasi seems to have been a comparatively ancient sūtrakāra on dharma. On Yāj. III. 262 Viṣvarūpa quotes a sūtra of Paithīnasi on the prāyaścitta for killing a cow. Dr. Jolly (R. und S. p. 12) following Dr. Caland (Ahnencult &c. pp. 99, 109) thinks that Paithīnasi belongs to the Atharvaveda as the prose quotations on śrāddha agree with the ritual of

233 पार्श्वपुरुष संस्कर्षयाय सांख्यमाध्यायैति।
234 भैषज्यवेदीपुढ़ दृष्टि में देशलोकवीदी। अधिष्ठान कर्म विषय च वत्स। वृद्धाप्रविठतां। तत् अस्त तदभावनम्।

[Notes and references]
the Atharvans. The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 53) quotes a sūtra of Paithinasi to the effect that a person should marry a girl who is beyond the third degree on the mother's side and beyond the fifth on the father's side. On Yāj. III. 17 the Mit. quotes two sūtras relating to impurity on death. The Śrīntīcandrika, Aparārka, Haradatta and other writers quote numerous sūtras of Paithinasi. The Śrīntīcandrika has a prose quotation on the duties of women. In another place the Śrīntīcandrika (II. p. 263) cites a sūtra on partition. Aparārka (p. 112) quotes two verses of Paithinasi recommending the practice of sāti to women of all castes except Brāhmaṇa women. Aparārka (p. 239) quotes a sūtra saying that the food of astrologers, bell-makers and grāmakūtas is poison. Aparārka quotes (on p. 744) a sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhitā and Paithinasi about inheritance to a deceased sonless man. Aparārka quotes another important prose passage "the wealth of (a heirless) śrotiya goes to the pariṣad and not to the king, the king should not appropriate the wealth of temples and guilds, deposits and the wealth of minors and women." Then the sūtra quotes a verse on the same topic, which seems to refer to Manu 9.194 in the word 'of sixfold origin' (sadāgama). Another sūtra quoted by Aparārka (p. 754) says 'when an appointed daughter dies, her husband does not take her wealth; if she be issueless, her mother or mother-in-law should receive it.' Aparārka quotes a verse of Paithinasi (p. 921) at the time of marriage, famines, sacrifices, fairs and pilgrimages there is no impurity due to birth or death.

225 लिङ्गां च पशुमायः पशुमाय च पतिता हुति च पैठिनसिना &c.
226 नित्यानि नित्यपर्वादि च वेतनविख्यात साधारणाः। साधिः च असाधिः भधिष्ठिः भधिष्ठिः क्रृता वर्ष्या ध्यायेत्रमकुण्डलिः।
227 सूक्ष्मचयरी गृहदुर्गतात्ततारूणि न भार्वित न कल्प नोपवातः। पतिशश्वयायेव भ्रात्राः मुच्छिताः परमां गतिः॥ स्मृतिंधरू II. p. 252.
228 सूक्ष्मच विभूज्यानां दायायेश्वराय समी विभागः|
229 सानव्यािक्षिप्ते कालान्त्वेत्र विषम । The word ṣामकृत (a village officer) is well known from inscriptions.
230 अथानी त्वय्यस्तथां भात्मानां तदनुभो मातापितां हस्तेः पति व जयेऽः।
231 परिवृत्तानि वा भौतिकद्रव्यवमानि न रजनादिरुपानास्थिति न निष्टेऽपनितिर्प्रायमानां न छायेऽपि। एवं त्वां न तत्त्वां श्रीपनि रजुः तथा बालीक्रिः। नागाः: पदायपं विपश्चात्तुर्भुर्मेत्रां रूपमेऽवनसृ॥। This whole passage is ascribed to श्रुत्व in सि. r, p. 598.
25. Budha

This sūtrakāra is not mentioned by Yāj. nor by Parāśara. He is very rarely cited. Aparārka on Yāj. i. 4-5, Kalpataru (quoted in Vira-mitrodaya, Paribhāṣā p. 16), Hemādri, Jīmūta-vāhana's Kalaviveka are probably the earliest writers to mention him. In the Deccan College Collection there are two mss. of a Budha-dharma-sāstra in prose (No. 507 of 1881-82 and No. 145 of 1895-1902, 2 folios). The work is very brief and speaks of upanayana, marriage, eight forms of marriage, the samśārās from garbhādhāna to Upanayana, the five daily great yajñas, śrāddha, pākyayajñas, haviryañjas, somayāga, the means of subsistence for a Brāhmaṇa, the duties of Vaiśyas and Śudras, the orders of forest hermits and sannyāsins, removal of thorns by the king, administration of justice, king's duties.

The work does not produce the impression of being early. It is in the nature of a summary of larger works on dharma. All quotations in Hemādri cited from Budha are not found in the mss.

26. Brhaspati

That Brhaspati was an ancient teacher of Arthaśāstra follows from the Kautūliya, wherein the Bṛhaspatayas are cited six times. In the Mahābhārata (Śānti, chap. 59. 80-85) Brhaspati is said to have compressed into 3000 chapters the work on dharma, artha and kāma composed by Brahmā. The Vanaprava (32. 61) speaks of Brhaspati-niti. The Mahābhārata several times cites verses (gathas or ślokas) said to have been sung by Brhaspati (vide Śānti. 23. 25, 56. 38-39, 57. 6-7). 

252 चतुर्विंशी (दानकाण्ड p. 527) says "आदिश्रव्याच दुधेंवत्सतोमाममपतिवदुहासातात् - पेठिनिष्ठागृहस्थनिष्ठायानिष्ठतत्वसहस्पुन्तस्यपुद्मफुठकु ऋषियस्वाक्षर्याणि ब्रह्मणम्."

253 The Budha sūtra opens as follows:—अथ ते युधिष्ठिराः व्यासायामाः। यशोभुस्वस्थापनो धर्मे। गम्याते महाणो वस्त्रन्त्र आतमानुपायेऽति । एकादशे ग्नातियो ग्रीष्मे । द्राक्षे वेदो विनाश। नेष्टाङ्गान्त्वयेषुप्रस्वर्तानि धार्येऽति । तथा। 

254 भूषितार्किनः निगितार्थे सर्वो बिलाङ्गात्मिनिः। राजान: चातिरोद्दार्या महाणां चाप्रवासिनः॥ शालिनि. 23. 15. This verse (with the reading हूषिनि) parasmih सूति: सर्वं &c.) is ascribed by शालिकपर्म 57. 3. to Uṣṇas; vide note 195 above. बाहुस्तये च
also Śānti. 58. 13-16, 69. 23-24. The Anuśasana (39. 10-11) speaks of the Arthaśāstra composed by Brhaspati and others. In some of these places there are distinct references to a śāstra or mata of Brhaspati and sections of his work are referred to (as e.g. rājañhikāra). The Śāntiparva (170. 12) describes how a king could, according to Brhaspati’s views, secure his goal in four ways. In the Vanarparva (150. 29) men are said to be upheld by the nayās proclaimed by Brhaspati and Uśanas. Vide also Sahā 50. 9, 55. 6, 73. 7-8, Udyoga 33. 71-72, 55. 66. The Kāmasūtra repeats the tradition that Brhma composed a work in one hundred thousand chapters on dharma, artha and kama and that Brhaspati dealt with a portion of that work, viz. on artha. Vide note 196 above. Aśvaghoṣa (Buddhacarita I. 46) speaks of the rājaśāstra of Śūkra and Brhaspati. According to the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya some of the special views of Brhaspati’s school were that there were only two vidyās for kings viz. vartā and daṇḍanīti and that the council of ministers should comprise 16 members. According to Kāmandaka and the Pañcatantra (II. 41) ‘aviśvāsa’ was the sheet-anchor of royal policy according to Brhaspati. The Yaśastilaka (p. 13) says that the niti of Brhaspati had no place for Gods. The commentary on the Nītivākyāmṛta gives the first verse of Brhaspati. Viśvarūpa contains several prose quotations which from their context must have been taken from Brhaspati about the qualifications of a senapati, prathīrā, dūta, &c. It is somewhat strange that in this quotation the mantrin is required to be deeply conversant with the śāstras of Manu, Brhaspati and Uśanas. For similar prose quotations, vide

शास्त्रे श्लोकों निगरितः पुरा।... शब्दामाण नूष्य नित्यं नाचं परिवीण्णनः।। इति बन्ता गाजस्य चिर्प्रभावान्तः।। शास्त्रं 56. 38-39।। सहस्रो द्वि राज्याः उस्तः।। श्लोकः पुरातनः।। राजाविधिको राजनेन बुद्धस्वरितमेव पुरा || गुरौर्वस्वामितमस्य काय्रीकायप्रमाणानः।। ोवधारासुलस्य दृष्ट्यो मयावति शास्त्रं।। शास्त्रं 57. 6-7।

135 ब्रम्हवेदी प्रयोरस्विधस्वतितत्रे यथा।। पारम्पर्यं तथा।। दृश्यं कार्यं मेत्यामिति प्रभो।। शास्त्रे 170. 12।।

136 भजन्ति: भजनः सुध्रा तात्स्त्रितिनिवर्गानु: तिर्थस्य शास्त्रमण्यायानाः वत्ससही-जाधों मोक्षाः।। तत्वेकेदासेऽन्मुः स्वायत्वः धमाखिकारिकं पृथक्कृ चकार।। बुद्धस्वामित्वोपर्वार्थकन्तः।। 5-7।

137 बुद्धस्वामित्व इद्येवव्यामातः।।

137 पाश्चा चावेन मनसा मण्याभिः सर्वः मुनिसु।। नालिकाश्च महाबामि मृगविना मुखात्म इति।।
Viśvarūpa on Yaj. I. 323, II. 154. That Brhaspati also wrote a sūtra work on vyavahāra and other topics of dharma follows from the quotations contained in Viśvarūpa and Haradatta. For example, Viśvarūpa cites a prose passage from Brhaspati (on Yaj. II. 38) about the duty of the king to restore property stolen from his subjects if he could not recover it from the thief, about the rising scale of the rates of interest according to the castes, about the debts of a deceased man being payable by those who took his wealth, by his wife or by his son, about a surety being made to pay when the principal died, about the illegitimate son of a śudra getting a share on his father’s death and about his taking the whole estate with the king’s permission if there were no legitimate issue of the śudra. Haradatta on Gautama 22. 18 quotes a prose passage from Brhaspati on the prāyaścitta for killing a cow. These quotations establish that Brhaspati wrote a sūtra work on dharma also (i.e. at least on vyavahāra and prāyaścitta). Viśvarūpa also quotes a few verses from Brhaspati on vyavahāra and prāyaścitta and in one place at least indicates that the verse he attributes to Brhaspati occurred in the same work in which a prose passage quoted by him occurred. From this it follows that the sūtra work of Brhaspati on dharma contained verses also in Viśvarūpa’s time. Whether the two works on arthaśāstra and dharma were composed by the same Brhaspati cannot be determined. It looks probable that they were composed by different authors. Yaj. (I. 4–5) mentions Brhaspati among the expounders of dharma. He is probably referring to the sūtra work on dharma disclosed by quotations from Viśvarūpa.

238 तथा श्रुतस्य: ‘योरापदहृतु तु सर्वम्योहित्रिष्ठानीयतं। अतःनम्न हस्यकोशाय। अद्वृत्तचोरोऽविण्ति स्पतू॥’ यथा। II. 38; तथा श्रुतस्य:—पादोपपाताव गमनेते—नरेशात्—हर्षित यथा। II. 39; श्रुतस्य: धन्यकीर्तिपुष्पाणि पुज्यमाव वर्णोत्तर—माहस्य कुम्भोद्योगिणि सिद्धान्ताम्। यथा। II. 47; तथा श्रुतस्य:—उपस्थते सत्यास्यात्मयु पुनं मतिसूद्देश्य्: हर्षित। यथा। II. 55; तथा श्रुतस्य:—‘कार्यवाद श्रुद्धारोपणस्य बालवर्ग समायामं प्रेते पितरि बुझू: श्रुद्धारोपणस्य सरिता।’ हर्षित। II. 138.

239 यथा। III. 262 बिच्छिन्न महा यथा—"श्रुतस्य: "श्रुतस्य: तु हस्यकोशाय, गोष्टी तहस्यातिपात—पुष्थते। श्रीराज्य च श्रीद्रव्यमच् हनोरी च। II” तथेऽत्र गायत्री दुहसाहें &c. (two verses). तथेऽत्र त्वेच्यावच्यः। हस्यकोशाय पश्चाहि काव्यार्थम् यथा—पादकाव्यो गोष्टी बलित। ... हस्यकोशाय भोजणीय श्रुतिवन्त्याय बुझेत्।" हर्षित। The words हस्यकोशाय पश्चाहि काव्यार्थम्: are attributed to हस्यस्य: by हर्षित: also.
In the Mitt and other commentaries and nibandhas over seven hundred verses on vyavaha and a few hundred more on acara and prayasa-citta are cited from Brhaspati. That seems to have been an independent work composed between 300 and 500 A.D., which will be discussed later on (vide sec. 37).

In Jivananda's collection (part I. pp. 644-651) and in the Anandaarana collection there is a Brhaspatismriti in 80 verses in which Brhaspati is represented as instructing Indra about gifts. Several mss. in the Deccan College Collection contain this smrthi, but in an abridged form in 70 and 49 verses (No. 130 of 1884-86 and No. 147 of 1895-1902). Vide also I. O. cat. p. 386 No. 1324, 1325-1328. Apararra quotes (p. 1225) verse 7 of this smrthi (in verse) and the Dnaratnakara quotes verses 6 and 7 as from Dnana-Brhaspati.

The Barhaspatya Arthasastra edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas (Lahore, 1921) is a later work and does not deserve more than a passing notice. In six chapters it deals with the conduct, duties, studies of kings, omens, rules of policy &c.

27. Bharadvaja and Bharadvaja

There is a Sruta sutra and a Grhya sutra attributed to Bharadvaja. The Ms. of the sruta in the Bombay University Library contains nine prasnas and a portion of the 10th and begins 'darşapaurnamāsau vyākhyāsyāmaḥ'. It quotes Álekhā and Áśmarathya frequently. The Grhya has been edited by J. W. Salomons. It appears from quotations in Viśvarūpa and other early commentators that a sutra work on dharma attributed to Bharadvaja or Bharadvaja was in existence. The forms Bharadvaja and Bharadvaja probably refer to the same work. On Yaj. (I. 15) Viśvarūpa quotes a prose passage from Bharadvaja prohibiting the learning of mlecha tongues and calling upon the preceptor to teach his pupil pure words, observance of Saṁdhyā and the kindling of fire; 239a on Yaj. I. 32 Bharadvaja is quoted as prescribing a penance for even thinking of causing harm to beings; 239b on Yaj. I. 185 a lengthy sutra of Bharadvaja on the purification of certain things is quoted, wherein is cited the view of some that boys are purified by a mere bath.

239a तथा च भारद्वज:—न भ्रेष्ठंमार्यं हि दिव्या- तदा। अन्तःस्थित्यदर्श्यं सामुद्रभुं निर्दूपानदानाः ।

239b तथा च भारद्वज:—‘तस्नस्तमा शान्तिः सात्राणवादानांतत्तथे’ हि त्वा ।
when touched by *anyajas*; 240 on Yaj. I. 236 a prose passage of Bharadvaja forbids in śrāddhas the use of certain cereals as food. 241 Aparārka quotes a long prose passage (p. 1155) from Bharadvaja in connection with the prāyaścitta for cessation of grhya fires for various periods.

In the Smṛticandrika, in Haradatta and in several other works verses of Bhāradvāja are quoted, which appear to be taken from a smṛti in verse.

That Bhāradvāja was an ancient writer on arthaśāstra follows from the Kauṭiliya, wherein the views of Bhāradvāja are cited seven times and of Kanśika Bhāradvāja once. Some of the views of Bhāradvāja as described in the Kauṭiliya are that a king should choose his ministers from amongst his fellow-students, that the king should consider his line of policy alone in secret, that the princes should be punished secretly when they manifest no love for the king their father, that the minister should set one prince against another when the king is on his death-bed, that when calamities befall the king and the minister, the former is the lesser of two evils, that one should bow down before the strong. This last view occurs in the Mahābhārata in the same words. 242 The Śāntiparva (chap. 140) contains a dialogue between Bhāradvāja and king Śatruṣṭiṣaya of Sauvira in which daṇḍa is said to be the most pre-eminent among the expedients. The same parva (chap. 58. 3) mentions Bhāradvāja in a list of writers on rājaśāstra. The Yaśastilaka 243 (4th Āśvāsa p. 100, Nirṇayasāgara ed.) quotes two verses of Bhāradvāja from his treatise on the topic of the six guṇas. This shows that Bhāradvāja's work on politics was available in the 10th century and contained verses (probably intermixed with prose).

240 वहुः मार्द्वजः—‘त शौचं श्यामासनकंतमसत्रायानसत्रायानाधोपधानकशिपुकुम्भकुश्रवशाप्यमणिन्द्रतिलिङ्गसरसोपणांमैत्रियानां च कात्यायाः लुणपपालद्रासाः कुसमारणामन्यतः।

241 नाङ्कझुकुख्यवाच विद्वानिन न दुष्णाः—प्रति भा र्द्वजः।

242 कौटिल्य सा (१२. १) हंसस्य हि स प्रणमति यो बलीयतो नमति—प्रति भार्द्वजः। शासितवर्ग ६७. ११. हस 'हंसाय स प्रणमते नमते यो बलीयते।' 243 अपशोपेष हि सतासस्तरां प्रमणेन च तथा सर्वेष्वन्यिनिहरुत्त्वर्षेय च काराणात। बिमाणानावृत्त मान्याणां विस्तारानां च घातनात। प्रजानां जायते होये सृगतेश्वराः। क्षयः। प्रति कप्रियामदनामाति पाद्युपपालद्रासाः भार्द्वजः।
The Parāśara-Mādhavīya (vol. III. p. 231) quotes a verse of Bharadvāja which divides a pledge into four varieties. A few quotations from Bharadvāja on matters of vyavahāra are cited in other works. For example, the Sarasvati-vilāsa cites a verse of Bharadvāja that a compromise, an exchange and a partition, if fair and equal, could be annulled only for ten days, but could be annulled till the 9th year, if unfair. It appears that the verses of Bharadvāja on vyavahāra are taken from a work other than the ancient work on politics.

28. Śātātapa

Śātātapa is enumerated among the expounders of dharma by Yāj. (I. 4-5) and by Parāśara. Viśvarūpa, Haradatta and Aparārka quote several prose passages of Śātātapa on prāyaścitta. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 236) tells us that Śātātapa spoke of only eight upapātakas and that without dealing with śrāddha as a principal topic he spoke of some of the subsidiary details of śrāddha. The latter passage quoted from Śātātapa is a half verse. So Viśvarūpa had a prose work of Śātātapa before him, mixed with verses. Haradatta on Gaut. (Dh. S. 22. 18) quotes a prose passage of Śātātapa about the penance for killing a cow. In the Mit., the Smṛticandrika and other works numerous verses of Śātātapa are quoted on ācāra and śrāddha. This work of Śātātapa in verse is most probably a different one from the sūtra work. It appears that there are several smṛtis ascribed to Śātātapa. In Jivananda’s collection there is a smṛti of Śātātapa called Karmavipāka in six chapters and about 231 verses. Its contents are: certain diseases are concomitants of certain sins; gifts of land, cows &c.; eulogy of Brāhmaṇas; penances for killing a Brāhmaṇa, a cow &c., penances for drinking wine, for incest and forbidden sexual intercourse of various sorts, for thefts; rites for those who meet with violent and accidental death. The last verse declares that the Smṛti was promulgated by Śātātapa to his pupil Sarbhaṅga. It is a late production. It prescribes the reading of the Harivarṇa (II. 30) as a penance for infanticide.

244 सम्रिष्ठ परिचित्विभागशशमा समा यदि। आदशाई निर्तेत बिषमे नवशालात।
सरसस्रीविस्तार पप. 514, 3820।

245 बष्मा शातातपः भाद्रभुस्तिच नदितामुतपणामै–विना पक्षोपयतेन गम्बियंशु समाहतेत्।
विश्वपूर्वेऽवाल्षे I. 4-5।
28. Šātātapa

No. 1362 of the I. O. catalogue (and cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. V. pp. 1994-96) is a Šātātapa-smṛti in twelve chapters dealing with prāyaścittas for mahāpātakas, prāyaścittas for injuries to various beings, marriage, vaiśvadeva, śrāddha, piṭṭarpāṇa, rules about taking one’s dinner, prāyaścitta for dogbites and similar matters; impurity on birth and death, rules of conduct (ācāra).

No. 1361 of the I.O. catalogue is a treatise in mixed prose and verse on prāyaścittas for the Mahāpātakas and Upapātakas. Several verses of Manu (such as III. 8, 11, 171) occur therein. It contains 139 verses. In Mitra’s Notices (II. p. 4) there is a ms. called Karmavipāka in 87 chapters and 2376 verses, of which the work in Jivananda’s collection seems to be a part or abridgment.

Apaṭārka in several places quotes the views of Šātātapa immediately followed by quotations from Vṛddha-Šātātapa or vice versa (e.g. on Yaj. I. 190, on III. 292 p. 1195 and p. 1201).

No. 205 of A. 1882-83 of the Deccan College Collection is a Vṛddha-Šātātapa smṛti in 64 verses on prāyaścittas for doing various things, on śrāddha, on washing the teeth. I. O. Cat. No. 1360 p. 398 is a Vṛddha-Šātātapa-smṛti in 97 verses on defilement and purifications. The Anandāśrama collection contains a Vṛddha-Šātātapa smṛti in 68 verses (pp. 232-235) on prāyaścittas, purification from various defilements and other miscellaneous matters. There are two prose passages therein.

Hemādri mentions a Vṛddha-Šātātapa along with several other smṛtikārās (vide note 232 above). In the Vyavahāramārka of Jimūtavāhana (p. 305) Vṛddha-Šātātapa is cited on the six kinds of uttara (defendant’s reply). This shows that Vṛddha-Šātātapa wrote on Vyavahāra also.

The Mit. (on Yaj. III. 290) cites a Brhat-Šātātapa.

Hemādri (III. 1. 801) speaks of a bhāṣyakāra of Vṛddha-Šātātapa.

29. Sumantu.

From Viśvarūpa, Haradatta and Aparārka it follows that Sumantu composed a sūtra work on dharma, particularly on ācāra and prāyaścitta. Viśvarūpa quotes prose passages from Sumantu on upapātakas.

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246 इत्यादितत्वधर्मानु च पुरुषकृत्तानिनिर्देशार्थविकृतां न गुरुपरामी।
247 एवं सुमन्तस्य ‘स्त्रीलक्ष्मीस्यधीर्मान्योष्ण गमनं नाशकं सम्पव्यंतं क्षत्रियशेषगृहतत्संप्रिय-स्थिरितिकर्मज्ञतां मतित्वमन्यकृष्टिमुपपातकां च हृति। विषयं याज्ञ. III. 230-236.

M. D. 174.
on prāyaścitta for Brahmana-murder (on Yāj. III. 237), for drinking wine (on Yāj. III. 250), for theft of gold (on Yāj. III 252), for incest (on Yāj. III. 253-54), for killing a cow and about ātātāyin (on Yāj. III. 261). In one quotation from Sumantu cited by Viśvarūpa the views of ācāryas and of Āṅgirasa are mentioned. The prāyaścittas for Brahmana-murder and for killing a cow contained in Viśvarūpa occur in Haradatta (on Gaut. 22. 13 and 18). Most of the quotations cited by Viśvarūpa occur in Aparārka also. The Haralatā (p. 68) quotes sūtras of Sumantu on āśauca. One well-known sūtra of Sumantu is ‘no prāyaścitta (or blame) is incurred by killing an ātātāyin, except cows and brāhmaṇas’. Aparārka quotes sūtras from Sumantu condemning marriage with maternal uncle’s or paternal aunt’s daughter and recommending the abandonment of a young wife in certain circumstances. In the Sarvasvatvilāsa a prose passage of Sumantu is cited on the seven constituents of rājya.

These quotations from Viśvarūpa and others establish that a prose work on dharma by Sumantu existed early enough. It appears however that the work was not a very ancient one. Neither Yajñavalkya nor Parāśara mentions Sumantu among the propounders of dharma. On the other hand the name of Sumantu is an ancient one. In the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (XII. 6. 75 and 7. 1) Sumantu is said to have been a pupil of Jaimini and a promulogizer of the Atharvaveda. Vide Śāntiparva 341. 19 for Sumantu and other pupils of Vyāsa. In the daily tarpaṇa the name of Sumantu occurs along with Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana, Paila.
Numerous verses on dharma are also cited from Sumantu by Aparārka, the Śrīvatsanādrīkā and other works. This may probably be a different work from the sūtra work of Sumantu. In one verse of Sumantu (Aparārka on Yāj. I. 223) occur the words ‘Śāṅkhasya vacanāṁ yathā’ and in another (Aparārka on Yāj. I. 217-218) the Kanyā sign of the zodiac is referred to.

It is remarkable that the Mit. and Aparārka contain no verses of Sumantu on vyavahāra. The Sarasvatī-vilāsa is rich in quotations from Sumantu on vyavahāra. A compromise, exchange or partition, if fair, could be annulled up to the tenth day, but if unfair up to the 9th year (vide note 244 above). ‘If even as much as a mālys went from the buyer to the seller, that would support the sale of the land (sold) just as a small dose of poison permeates the whole body and when no purchase-money is paid or only a portion is paid, then the purchase is called avadkraya and is liable to be set aside if the price is not paid in (good time).’ Sumantu prescribes a fine for selling and purchasing land without the consent of the neighbouring members of the family and says that in case of pre-emption, the neighbours on the east are preferred to all and those on the south come last.\(^{252}\) Sumantu defines a mortgage by conditional sale (called ‘uktābhākhraya’) and a sale for arrears of revenue by the king’s orders (called ājnākhraya).\(^{253}\)

30. The Śrītis

The word śrīti is used in two senses. It is applied to all ancient orthodox non-Vedic works such as Pāṇini’s grammar, to the śrauta, grhyas and dharma sūtras, to the Mahābhārata, to Manu, Yājñavalkya and others. In a narrower sense śrīti and dharma-

251 श्रास्त्रालिन्स भूषण क्षेत्रविधितार्न स्थितम्। भाग्यार्थसे सकलं भूमिः कयोऽस्मि विधयतथा॥
अर्थद्वृत्तार्नं संक्षयावस्मृयस्। अर्थाणां निघत्तेत् यदि काले न दीयने॥
सर्वति। प्र. 321.

252 हाद्वारविधिनुःभावात् सवपरस्थानात्तद्विनाम्। कथाविधियकविनारी तस्यामें द्रष्टायत॥
सर्वति। प्र. 333: ‘ततुःसामसतासनिधे माती दियतलसता। उद्दृच्छी च मातीची च
ससबाये तु दृष्टिस्म।’ प्र. 323.

253 किष्किष्कु स्थ्रान्यायात् कार्यै दायः प्रचारमचि त्रोण केहरिष्यति
यो केश:। स उक्तिम् त्रयमक केवकलोकयनंदत। सर्वति। प्र. 324: मूलस्य
पादस्य च भूष्यम्यामके शिरोत्त्थित्स। मूल्यं तद्वामसेतु। श्रीत्रं समाहिताः॥
तत्। भिषोगात्। केशु परती भृत्तान्यात। प्र. 323.
śāstra are synonyms, as Manu says. The word smṛti occurs in Tāttviriya Āraṇyaka (I. 2) Gautama (Dh. S. I. 2) and Vasiṣṭha (Dh. S. I. 4) speak of smṛti as one of the sources of dharma. Ap. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 25) employs the word smṛti and has in view Gautama’s dharmasūtra according to Haradatta. In the Purva-mimāṁsā-sūtra the word smṛti occurs (vide VI. 8. 23 and XII. 4. 42). In the Vedāntasūtras the word smṛti is employed in a wide sense, in one place as referring even to the Sāṅkhya system. In that work the word is used according to Śaṅkara with reference to the Mahābhārata or the Manusmṛti (Vedāntasūtra II. 3. 47, III. 1. 14 and 21, IV. 2. 14).

In ancient times the number of smṛtis (i.e. works on dharma-śāstra) must have been very small. Gautama mentions by name no smṛtikāra except Manu, though he speaks of dharmaśāstras (XI. 19). Baudhāyana names seven (besides himself) authors on dharma, viz. Aupajanghāni, Kātyā, Kāśyapa, Gautama, Prajāpati, Maudgalyā and Hārīta. Vasiṣṭha names only five authors, Gautama, Prajāpati, Manu, Yama, and Hārīta. Āpastamba mentions a large number, viz. ten, some of whom like Eka, Kuṇika and Puṣkaraśādi are no more than mere names to us. Manu speaks of only six (besides himself) viz. Atri, the son of Utathya, Bhṛgu, Vasiṣṭha, Vaikhānas (or rather Vikhanas) and Śaunaka. But in all these works the writers are mentioned only casually and there is no regular enumeration or list of writers on dharma in one place. Aparārka quotes (p. 7) a sūtra of Gautama (not found in the printed G. Dh. S.) in which sixteen authors of dharmaśāstras including himself are enumerated. The same sūtra with slight variations is ascribed to Śaṅkha-Likhita in the Viramitrodaha (Paribhāṣā-prakāśa p. 16). Yājñavalkya is probably the earliest writer who enumerated in one place (I. 4-5) twenty expounders of dharma (including himself and counting Śaṅkha and Likhita as two distinct persons). It will be noticed that Yāj. omits Baudhāyana. Parāśara also gives a list of 19 expounders of dharma (excluding

254 बुद्धित्व वेदो विद्विषो धर्मशास्त्रं से स्त्रीति: हि मनु II. 10.
255 समूदेत्वा व्यासः भाषणानां। पु. मी. स्. XII. 4. 42 (refers to आचरण)।
256 सुधोधनः प्रार्थ्यवृद्धिः इति चेन्द्रयमुनियन्त्रयकाशोधनस्वरूपः वेदाश्रयसुय II. 1. 1.
257 अन्तः गोतमः। स्त्रीतिमवाशाश्च तेषां प्राप्तारी मनुविद्विषाध्रिषोविद्विषाध्रिष्कुट्सत्तुशन- आप्सत्वमैतंरवच्चवृद्धिकालिकायस्त्रोषितेति स्वाशाश्चालत्यपेततो योगाभिकामः।
himself), but his list differs slightly from that of Yāj. Parāśara omits Brhaspati, Yama, and Vyāsa and adds Kāśyapa, Gārgya and Pracetās. The Tantra-vārttika (p. 125) of Kumārila speaks of eighteen dharmasāṁhitās. Viśvarūpa quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñāvalkya, who adds ten names to the list of Yājñāvalkya (vide note 219 above). The Caturvīṁśatimata is a work which professes to give the views of 24 sages on dharma-sātras, viz. all those listed by Yāj. (except Kātyāyana and Likhitā) and six more, viz. Gārgya Nārada, Baudhāyana, Vatsa, Viśvāmitra, Saṅkha (Saṅkhya-yānā?). Āṅgiras as quoted in the Śmrīcandrīkā (I. p. 1), Hemadri (Dānakhaṇḍa p. 528), the Sarasvatīvilāsa (p. 13) and other works mention Upasmrīs.559 There is a smṛti called Śatārīśvāsan-mata quoted by the Mit., Aparārka and other works. Paithināsi as quoted in the Šmrīcandrīkā, the Saṁskāramayūkha and other works enumerates 36 smṛtīs.560 Aparārka says that the Bhāvisyatpurāṇa speaks of 36 smṛtīs and his enumeration of them is slightly different from that of Paithināsi.561 The Vṛddhagautamasmṛti (Jivananda part II, pp. 498-499) gives a list of 57 dharma-sātras. The Prayoga-pārijāta as quoted in the Vīramitrodhā enumerates 18.

258 बकारे धर्मसांहारणां मनुभिमययणोद्विषरा:। वसिद्हससुवंसत्त्रातिरपत्तराः। आपस्तोर्षणोऽपि। काययनामहुसति। गोतमः शाङ्खितिसाय जनरतोविधंतथा। ब्रह्म. I. 4-5 (Trivandrum ed.). The Mit. reads the two verses differently though the names are the same.

259 नारदः पुरोहिता गाययः पुरस्तथः सौरकः कुतः। बोधयानो जातुयणयो विभामितः पिनयः।। जायालिनिंक्षे जातुयणयक्तः तनयः। ब्रह्म: सन्तकामार्य भाषनमांजस्ततः। व्र्मः।। काययनामहुब्यय जातुयणयः कथितः। बोधयानन्य कावयत्र विभामित्वयः।॥ पैदिनिषः श्रवणेऽवस्तुप्रतिभिषाययः॥ quoted as from पौरोपारिनाल

260 तेषां मनुभिमययणगोतमायुक्तोऽयोऽयः। वसिद्हससुवंसत्त्रातिरपत्तराः। विभामितः। पत्तनमः।। जायालिनिः। पौरोत्त्रस्तु॥

261 ताथा मनुविनिःशयनमदात्रिकोऽवस्तुमुहुत्ययणसत्यसिद्धिस्ततष्टिरस्तिवेणुसिद्धिस्ततष्टिरस्तिवेणुसिद्धिस्ततष्टिरस्तिवेणुसिद्धिस्ततष्टिरस्तिवेणुसिद्धिस्ततष्टिरस्ति। पौरोपारिनाल॥
principal smṛtis, 18 upasmr̥tis and 21 other smṛtkāras. If all the smṛtis cited in the later nibandhas such as the Nirṇayasindhu, the Mayūkhas of Nilakaṇṭha and the Viramitrodaya be taken into account, the number of smṛtis will be found to be about 100.

The smṛtis thus relied upon are the products of different and and widely separated ages. Some of them are entirely in prose or in mixed prose and verse, while the large majority are in verse. A few of them are very ancient and were composed centuries before the Christian era. Such are the dharmasūrras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, and the Manusmṛti. Some were composed in the first centuries of the Christian era such as the smṛtis of Yājñavalkya, Parāśara, Nārada. Most of the smṛtis other than the above fall between the period from 400 A.D. to 1000 A.D. The chronology of all these smṛtis presents perplexing problems. Some of the metrical smṛtis are remouldings of older sūtras as in the case of Saṅkha. There are sometimes as many as two or three different smṛtis going under the same name, e.g. Śatātapa, Hārita, Atri. Then the confusion is worse confounded by the fabrications of sectarian zeal, such as the Hārittasmṛti which is full of Viṣṇuvaite teachings. There are several works going under the names of well-known smṛtkāras with the prefixes Vṛddha, Bhṛhat, Laghu. In many cases the works going under these names are different from the smṛtis that are without these prefixes and this differentiation took place at a very early date in certain cases, for example, so early a writer as Viśvarūpa distinguishes between Yājñavalkya and Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya, Gārgya and Vṛddha-Gārgya. Similarly Viśvarūpa quotes (on Yāj. I. 69) Vṛddha-Manu and (on Yāj. I. 19) Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha, which latter probably was different from the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra, as the latter does not contain the details given.

The 18 principal smṛtis according to the pravṛddhapārahītā are : मनु, ब्रह्म- भस्मि, दृश्यम, गोतम, यम, अक्षरः, श्रोति, सन्तस, शातालं, पराशर, संवर, दुर्ग- नस, शंक्; विचित्र, अच्छ, विष्णु, आपस्तम्भ, हारीत. The upasmr̥tis have been enumerated above (in n.259). The other 21 smṛtis are : बसितो गार्दवेश्व कुम- स्कुभ प्रतितम्। विष्णु: काश्चार्जिनि: सत्यनाम गाम्ये देवूः। जनविभोरिक्रमाः। पुलस्य: पुलः: कुन्तु। आच्छादः कृष्णः मरीचिष्वः एवः च। पारस्कर्म- धर्मशस्त्रो वेदवापस्तेष च। हस्ते स्मृतिकृतां दृष्टिनिर्देशयति॥ श्रीरूप, परिनामाश् p. 18.
by Viśvarūpa. In some cases the works designated Vṛddha or Brhat are larger and in all cases later than the works without those prefixes. For example, Parāśara and Brhat-Parāśara (Jivananda part II. pp. 55-310), Gautama and Vṛddha-Gautama (Jivananda part II. pp. 497-638). Some of the works with the prefix Vṛddha are versified compilations of prose works, e.g. Mit. on Yāj. III. 267 quotes a verse from Vṛddha-Viṣṇu which is merely the versified equivalent of Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra chap. 50. 6, 12-14. It appears that sometimes the same work is cited with the prefix Vṛddha or Brhat, e.g. the Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 quotes a passage from Brhadviṣṇu which is the same as the Viṣṇudharmasūtra 17. 4-7.

As most of the writers of digests quote from memory and had recourse to mss. and not to standard editions, even well known verses are ascribed to different authors in different works. The verses ‘bhrātrṇām-aprajāḥ’ &c. which are quoted as Nārada’s (Nārada 16.25-26) in the Vyavahāramayūkha are attributed to Śaṅkha in the Madanapārijāta (p. 680). The three verses about bandhus are ascribed to Baudhāyana by Mādhava and to Vṛddhaśātātapa by the Madanapārijāta (p. 674).

In spite of all these drawbacks, an attempt will be made in the following pages to arrange some of the leading versified smṛtis in chronological order beginning from the Manusmṛti.

All these smṛtis are not equal in authority. Most of them are obscure and are only rarely cited by ancient commentators. Exclusive of the dharmasūtras hardly a dozen smṛtis have found commentators. If we are to judge of the authority of a smṛti by the commentaries thereon, then the Manusmṛti stands pre-eminent. Next to it is the Yājñavalkya smṛti.

31. The Manusmṛti

So many editions of this work have been published in India since 1813 (when the Manusmṛti was first published at Calcutta), that it is not possible to name them. In this work the Nirṇaya-sāgara edition with the commentary of Kullūka has been used throughout. Another edition of Manu well known on this side of India is that of the late V. N. Mandlik who published several com-

263 वृद्धासिद्धिवेयेमय सवे सोमभित्रितु विशेष. Vide वसिष्ठब्र. द. III. 64-68 for the five तीर्थस on one’s land.
mentaries such as those of Medhātithi, Govindarāja and others. The Manuśmṛti has been translated into English several times. The best known translation is that of Dr. Bühler in the S. B. E. series (vol. 25). Dr. Bühler also added an exhaustive and very scholarly introduction to his translation and dealt with numerous problems connected with the Manuśmṛti.

In the Rgveda Manu is spoken of as the father of mankind (Rg. I. 80. 16, I. 114. 2, II. 33. 13) and a Vedic poet prays that he may not be led away from the ancestral path of Manu. Another Vedic bard says that Manu was the first to offer sacrifice (Rg. X. 63. 7). In the Taśtirīya Saṃhitā and the Taṇḍya-mahā-brāhmaṇa it is said ‘whatever Manu said is medicine.’ Taśtirīya-Saṃhitā (II. 1. 5. 6) also says that mankind is Manu’s (Mānavyo hi prajāḥ). In the Taśtirīya Saṃhitā (III. 1. 9. 4-5) and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (V. 14) we have the story of Manu dividing his wealth among his sons and of the exclusion of his son Nābhanediṣṭha. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 216) gives us the story of Manu and the deluge. In the Nirukta (chap. III) there is a discussion about the rights of sons and daughters. One of the views there propounded is that children of both sexes take their father’s wealth and a ḍka and śloka are cited in support of that position. The śloka refers to the opinion of Manu Svāyambhuvya. It is noteworthy that that śloka is opposed to a rik, which means that the śloka is not Śruti but is Smṛti. So before Yāṣka wrote there were smṛti texts in verse in which Manu was spoken of as a lawgiver. We have seen how Gautama and Vasiṣṭha quote the views of Manu and how Āpastamba connects Manu with the promulgation of śrāddhas (II. 7. 16. 1 ). The Mahābhārata in numerous places speaks of Manu, sometimes as Manu simply, sometimes as Svāyambhuva Manu (Śānti 21. 12) and also as Pracetas Manu (Śānti 57. 43). In the Mahābhārata (Śānti, chap. 336. 38-46) we are told how the supreme being composed a hundred thousand ślokas.
31. The Manusmṛti

on dharma, how Manu Svāyambhūva promulgated those dharmas and how Uśanas and Brhaspati composed śāstras based on the work of Manu Svāyambhūva.\(^{267}\) In another place the account is slightly different and Manu does not figure therein. Śanti-parva (chap. 59, 80-85) describes how the original work of Brahmā on the three, Dharma, Artha, and Kāma, in 10000 chapters was successively reduced to 10000, 5000, 3000 and 1000 chap. respectively by Viṣālakṣa, Indra, Bahudantaka, Brhaspati and Kāvyā (Uśanas). The prose introduction to the Nārada-smṛti says that Manu composed in 1000 ślokas, 1080 chap. and 24 prakaraṇas a Dharmaśāstra and imparted it to Nārada, who abridged it into 12000 verses and taught it to Maṅkaṇḍeya, who in his turn compressed it into 8000 ślokas and passed it on to Sumati Bhārgava, who again reduced it to 4000 ślokas. The Nārada-smṛti then gives the first verse\(^{268}\) of that work which is a combination of the extant Manu I. 5-6 and says that vyayahāra was the 9th prakaraṇa out of 24 in the original work of Manu. It will be noticed how this version differs from that of the Mahābhārata wherein Nārada is altogether ignored. The extant Manusmṛti (I. 32-33) narrates how from Brahmā sprang Virāj, who produced Manu, from whom were born the sages including Bhṛgu and Nārada, how Brahmā taught the śāstra to Manu, who in his turn imparted it to the ten sages (I. 58), how some great sages approached Manu and sought instruction in the dharmas of the vṛyas and the intermediate castes and how Manu told them that his pupil Bhṛgu would impart to them the śāstra (I. 59-60). This appearance is kept up throughout the work. The sages interrupts Bhṛgu’s discourse in several places (as in V. 1-2 and XII. 1-2). Manu is said to be omniscient (II. 7) and Manu is mentioned by name dozens of times in the work with the words “Manu-ṛāhā” (IX. 158, X. 78 etc.), or “Manu-abravid” or “Manor-anusāsanam”.

\(^{267}\) अथनुसार तत्त्वार्थश्: पुरुषवाचः। क्यें ततसाहि हि श्लोकानिन्द्र्यपुत्राचार्। \(\text{loke-}
\) 

\(^{268}\) तत्रार्ज्जव: स्तोत्रः। आत्मबन्धम् तनोभूतं न प्राप्तचिन्ता। \(\text{स्त्रत्सम्-}

E. D. 18.
(VIII. 139, 279, IX. 239, etc.). That the introductory words in
the Nārada-śrītī are not spurious or a later addition follows from
the remark of Medhātithi that, according to the Nāradasmrī, Prajāpati
composed a work in 100000 ślokas which was abridged by Manu
and others. 269 No one should take very seriously these varying
accounts even in the Mahābhārata and in the Nāradasmrī, as they are
intended to glorify some particular text or texts. According to the
Bhaviṣya-purāṇa as quoted in Hemādri, the Saṁskāra-mayūkha and
other works, there were four versions of the Svayambhūva śāstra
composed by Bhṛgu, Nārada, Brhaspati and Āṅgiras. 270 So early a
writer as Viśvarūpa cites verses from Manusmrī as those of Svayambhū
(vide com. on Yāj. II. 73, 74, 83, 85, where Manu 8. 68,
70–71, 380 and 105–6 are respectively quoted as Svayambhū’s), while
quotations from Bhṛgu cited by Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 187 and 252)
are not found in the Manusmrī. In the same way most of the
verses quoted from Bhṛgu by Aparārka are not found in the Manu-
smrī. One verse which Aparārka quotes from Bhṛgu (on Yāj. II. 96)
speaks of the view contained therein as that of Manu. 271

It is almost impossible to say who composed the Manusmrī.
It goes without saying that the mythical Manu, progenitor of
mankind even in the Rgveda, could not have composed it. What
motives could have induced the unknown author to palm it off in
the name of the mythical Manu and to suppress his identity it is
difficult to say. One motive may have been to invest the work
with a halo of antiquity and authoritativeness. Bühler following
Max Müller says (SBE vol. 25 p. XVIII) that the Manusmrī
is based on or is a recast of an ancient dharmaśātra, viz. that of the
Mānavacarana. The question whether the Mānavadharmaśātra
existed has been discussed above (sec. 13, pp. 79–85). Bühler himself
candidly admits (SBE vol. 25, p. XXIII) that the recovery of the
writings of the Mānavas has not only not furnished any facts in support
of the alleged relation between the Mānavadharmaśātra and the

269 Nāradasmrī समर्थि । शतसाहिस्त्र प्रत्यः । मन्त्रपातिना इतः । स मन्त्रादिभिः क्रमेय शङ्कित
| इति । मेधातिथिः on मनु I. 58.

270 भार्गवीय नारदीया च बाईक्षुपार्विकिरस्वप्त । स्वाम्यमतिः शास्त्रमतः सङ्क्षिता
| मनातः ॥ चतुर्ग्रंह ४ । दृष्टिकोण p. 528, संस्कारसूचना p. 2.

271 बृह गरेशु दिब्यगच्छ अनिभुजयि चततः । कार्येष्वाक्षेत्री नाविशा त्वं भेजित्वा ॥
| अपराकः.
Manusmṛti, but on the contrary has raised difficulties as the doctrines of the Mānavagṛhyasūtra (edited by Dr. Knauer) differ very considerably from those of the Manusmṛti. To take only a few examples, Mānava Gr. S. II. 12. 1-2 are opposed to Manu 3. 1; Mānava Gr. S. I. 4. 7 to Manu 4. 95; Mānava Gr. S. I. 20. 1 to Manu 2. 34; Mānava Gr. S. I. 21. 1 to Manu 2. 35; Mānava Gr. S. I. 22. 1 to Manu 2. 36; Mānava Gr. S. II. 12. 1-2 to Manu 3. 84-86. Besides there is nothing in our Manu corresponding to the Vināyakaśānti in the Mānavagṛhya (II. 14) nor to the tests for selecting a bride prescribed in Mānava Gr. S. I. 7. 9, which corresponds to Āśvalāyana Gr. S. I. 5. 5-6. Dr. Caland points out (R. und S. p. 17) that though single verses of the Manusmṛti tally with the Śrāddhakalpa of the Mānava School, yet the descriptions of funeral rites widely differ in the two works. There are no doubt some parallels as pointed out by Bradke (in ZDMG, vol. 36, pp. 417-477). There is one circumstance about the authorship of the Manusmṛti that deserves to be noted. The Mahābhārata seems to distinguish between Svāyambhuva Manu and Prācetas Manu. The former is said to be the promulgator of dharmaśāstra and the latter of arthaśāstra (or politics). For example Śānti 21. 12 speaks of Svāyambhuva Manu and Śānti 57-43 and 58-2 speak of Prācetas as an author on rājaśāstra or rājadharma. In some places Manu alone without any epithet is associated with rājadharma or arthavidya. It is not unlikely that originally there were two distinct works, one on dharma and the other on arthaśāstra attributed to Manu. When the Kauṭilya speaks of the Mānavas, he probably refers to the work on politics attributed to Prācetas Manu. It is extremely doubtful whether Rājaśekhara, when he mentions the several views on the number of vidyās (including that of the Mānavas that they were three), had the Arthaśāstra of the Mānavas before him or only copied a passage from Kauṭilya (vide Kāvyamimamsā p. 4). It is not unlikely that the work on dharma attributed to Manu may have contained general directions on the duties of kings. It is therefore (i.e. because there were two different works on dharma and arthaśāstra attributed to Manu) that the views ascribed to the Mānavas by the Kauṭilya are not found word for word in the extant Manusmṛti. One may

272 अब्धीयोज्यां जातिकृतां भे मनुस्मर्ति । वनस्थिः 35. 21; वेदं पदविः वेदार्थव्यस्तिः
प मनुस्मर्ति॥ ब्राह्मणस्तिः 7. 1.
hazard the conjecture that the author of the Manusmrî, whoever he might have been, combined in his work the information contained in the two works on dharma and arthastra and supplanted both the earlier works and that this result had not been either accomplished at the time when the Kauśîlyâ was composed or was then quite recent. In the extant Manusmrî, the work is ascribed to Svaâyabhûva Manu and then six other Manus of whom Prâcetasa is not one are enumerated (I. 62).

The extant Manusmrî is divided into twelve adhyâyas and contains 2694 ślokas. Dr. Jolly's edition (published in 1895) prepared after collating numerous mss. and printed editions contains only one śloka more. The Manusmrî is written in a simple and flowing style. It generally agrees with Pâṇini's system, though it contains some deviations from it as in the verse 'sâkṣinaḥ santi metyuktâ' (8. 57). The foregoing pages have sufficiently shown how it agrees closely with the doctrines contained in the Dharmasastras of Gautama, Baudhâyana, Ápastamba. We have also seen how numerous verses are common to the dharmasastras of Vasiśtha and Viṣṇu and the Manusmrî. The Kauśîlyâ also exhibits remarkable agreement with the Manusmrî in phraseology and doctrines. What conclusions are to be drawn from this will be discussed later on. Some verses are repeated, e. g. V. 164–165 are the same as IX. 30 and 29. The contents of the Manusmrî may be briefly summarised as follows:--(I) Sages approach Manu for instruction in the dharmas of the varṇas; Manu describes the creation of the world from the self-existent God more or less in the Sânkhya manner; the creation of Virâj, of Manu from Virâj, of ten sages from Manu; creation of various beings, men, beasts, birds etc.; Brahmâ imparts dharmasastra to Manu, who teaches the sages; Manu bids Bhṛgu to instruct the sages in dharma; six other Manus sprang from Svaâyabhûva Manu; units of time from nimesa to year, the four yugas and

273 Compare अलबद्धावासार्थो लघुस्वरूपार्थि रक्षतिविविधानि च। कोटिल्य (I. 4) with मन्तु ७. 101 अलबद्धमिविद्वृवतं लघुस्वरूपार्थि रक्षते। सचमुच विविधानि निलबुधः प्रवृवद् पालिते रक्षिते सचमुच विविधानि निलबुधः प्रवृवद् पालिते रक्षिते कोटिल्य (I. 4) with मन्तु ७. 162 निलबुधवालकः सचमुच विविधानि निलबुधः प्रवृवद् पालिते रक्षिते कोटिल्य (III. 1) with मन्तु ८. 55 असंसारायो रक्षिते सचमुच विविधानि निलबुधः प्रवृवद् पालिते रक्षिते कोटिल्य (III. 17) with मन्तु ८. 339 निलबुधवालकः सचमुच विविधानि निलबुधः प्रवृवद् पालिते रक्षिते कोटिल्य (III. 17) with मन्तु ८. 339
their twilights; one thousand yugas equal a day of Brahmā; extent of Manvantara, pralaya; successive decline of dharma in the four yugas; different dharmas and goals in the four yugas; the special privileges and duties of the four varṇas; eulogy of Brahmaṇas and of the śastra of Manu; acāra is the highest dharma; table of contents of the whole śastra; (II) definition of dharma, sources of dharma are Veda, smṛti, acāra of the good, one's own satisfaction; who has adhikara for this āstṛa; limits of Brahmāvarta, Brahmārśideśa, Madhyadesa, Aryāvarta; why saṃskāras are necessary; such saṃskāras as jāta-karma, nāmadheya, chuḍākarma, upanayana; the proper time of upanayana for the varṇas, the proper girdle, sacred thread, staff and skin for the Brahmacāri of the three varṇas; duties of the Brahmacāri and his code of conduct; (III) Brahmacarya for 36, 18, 9 years; saṃavartana; marriage; marriageable girl; brāhmaṇa could marry a girl of any of the four varṇas; eight forms of marriage defined; which form suited to which caste; duties of husband and wife; eulogy of women; the five daily yajñās; praise of the status of householder; honouring guests; madhuparka; śrāddhas; who should not be invited at śrāddhas; (IV) mode of life and means of subsistence for a house-holder, the code of conduct for a snātaka; occasions for cessation from study; rules about prohibited and permissible food and drink; (V) what vegetables and meat are allowed; period of impurity on death and birth; definition of sapindā and samanodaka; purification from contact with various substances in various ways; duties of wife and widow; (VI) when one should become a a forest hermit; his mode of life; parivrājaka and his duties; eulogy of arhas; (VII) rājadharman, eulogy of danda (the power to punish); the four vidyās for a king; the ten vīces of kings due to kāma and eight due to krodha; constitution of council of ministers; qualities of a data; forts and capital; purohita and superintendents of various departments; code of war; the four expedients, sama, dāna, bheda, and danda; hierarchy of officers from the village headman upwards; rules about taxation; the constitution of a circle of twelve kings; the six guṇas, peace, a state of war, march against an enemy, āsana, taking shelter and dvaidha; duties of victor; (VIII) king's duty to look to the administration of justice; the 18 titles of law; the king and judge; other persons as judges; constitution of sabhā, king's duty to look after minors, widows, helpless people; treasure trove; king's duty to restore stolen wealth; creditor's means of recovering his debt; grounds on which the claimant
may fail in his suit; qualifications of witnesses; who were not proper persons as witnesses; oaths; fines for false witnesses; methods of corporal punishment; Brāhmaṇa to be free from corporal punishment; weights and measures; lowest, middling and highest fines; rates of interest; pledges; adverse possession does not affect a pledge, boundary, minor’s estate, deposit, king's estate etc.; rule of damduspāt; sureties; what debts of the father the son was not liable to pay; fraud and force vitiated all transactions; sale by one not the owner; title and possession; partnership; resumption of gift; non-payment of wages; violation of conventions; rescission of sale; dispute between owner and herdsman; pastures round villages; boundary disputes; abuse, libel and slander; assault and battery and mischief; whipping only on the back; theft; sāhasa i.e. offences in which force and hurt are an element, such as robbery, homicide etc.; right of private defence; when even a Brāhmaṇa may be killed; adultery and rape; no sentence of death, but of transportation for a Brāhmaṇa; parents, wife, children must not be forsaken; tolls and monopolies; seven kinds of dasas; (IX) legal duties of husband and wife, censure of women; eulogy of chastity; to whom does the child belong, to the begetter or to him on whose wife it is begotten; niyoga described and condemned; supercession of the first wife when allowed; age of marriage; partition, its time, eldest son’s special share; putrika; daughter’s son; adopted son; rights of Brāhmaṇa’s son from a śūdra wife; twelve kinds of sonship; to whom pīṇḍas are offered; nearest sapīṇḍa succeeds; sakulya, teacher and pupils as heirs; king ultimate heir except as to Brāhmaṇa's wealth; varieties of strīdhana; succession to strīdhana; grounds of exclusion from inheritance; property not liable to partition; gains of learning; reunion; mother and grandmother as heirs; impartible property; gambling and prize fighting must be suppressed by the king; the five great sins; prāyaścittas for them; open and secret thieves; jails; the seven aṅgas of a kingdom; duties of Vaiśya and Śūdra; (X) Brāhmaṇa alone to teach; mixed castes; mlecchas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas; rules of conduct common to all; privileges and duties of the four varnas; modes of subsistence for a Brāhmaṇa in adversity; what articles should not be sold by Brāhmaṇa; seven proper modes of acquisition and the means of livelihood; (XI) eulogy of gifts; different views about prāyaścitta; various seen results, diseases and bodily defects due to sins in former lives; five mortal sins and prāyaścittas for them; upāpātakas and prāyaścittas
for them; pṛayaścittas like Śāntapana, Parākā, Cāndrāyana; holy mantras for removing sin; (XII) disquisition on karma; kṣetrajña, bhūtātma, jīva; tortures of hell; the three guṇas, sātvā, rajās and tāmas; what brings about niḥśreyasa; knowledge of the self is the highest means of bliss; pravṛtta and nivṛtta karma; the latter is karma done without an eye to reward; eulogy of Vedas; place of tarka; śīstas and pariṣad; reward of studying the Māṇava śāstra.

The extent of the literature known to Manu was considerable. He mentions the three Vedas and the Atharvaveda is spoken of as the Atharvāṅgiras Śruti (XI. 33). He refers to Āranyaka (IV. 123). The Vedāṅgas are said to be six (III. 185) and they are often referred to without stating the number (II. 141, IV. 98). He speaks of dharmaśāstra (II. 10) and also knew many dharmaśāstras (III. 232). By dharmaṇīthaka (XII. 111) he probably means one who has studied dharmaśāstras. He mentions several authors on dharmaśāstra, viz. Atri, the son of Utathya (i.e. Gautama according to commentators), Bhṛgu and Śāunaṅka (all these in III. 16), Vasiṣṭha (on the rate of interest in VIII. 140 which agrees with Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra II. 50), Vaikhaṇasamata (in VI. 21). He mentions Ākhyaṅas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas and Khilas (III. 232). He speaks of brahma as described in the Vedānta (in VI. 83 and 94) and is probably thinking of the Upaniṣads. That he knew some generally accepted works opposed to the teaching of the Vedas is quite clear from his reference to ‘Vedabāhyah smṛtayah’ (XII. 95). He is probably referring to the writing of the Baudhas, Jainas and others. He speaks of heretics and their guilds (IV. 30 and 61). He refers to atheism and calumny of the Vedas (IV. 163) and of various tongues spoken among men (IV. 332). He frequently refers to the views of others in the words “kcca”, “apare”, “anye” (as in III. 261, X. 70, IX. 32).

Numerous interesting and difficult problems are connected with the Manusmṛti. Bühler in his elaborate introduction (SBE vol. 25) exhaustively deals with these problems. It is not possible to go at great length into those questions here. A separate volume would be required to deal with the problems raised by Bühler and to examine the arguments of Bühler, Hopkins and others who have written on them. Only a brief discussion of some of these problems can be attempted.
Bühler takes considerable pains to refute the claims of Manu to be regarded as the first legislator (S. B. E. vol. 25 pp. XXIII-XXX). But no serious refutation of the claim is really needed. The very extent of the literature known to the Manusmṛti and the mention of several writers on dharmaśāstra by name are sufficient to negative that claim.

Bühler devotes a great deal of space to the consideration of the question as to what circumstances led to the substitution of a universally binding Mānava-dharmaśāstra for the manuals of the Vedic schools (S. B. E. vol. 25 pp. XLVI-LVI) and as to why the special law schools selected just the Mānavadharmaśātra among the large number of similar works for the basis of their studies (ibid. pp. LVII-LXV). Bühler then considers the question how the Mānavadharmaśātra was converted into the present Manusmṛti. Bühler concedes that the last is a problem of great difficulty and admits of an approximate solution only. The discussion of all these questions by Bühler is extremely thought-provoking and brilliant in many places, though it must be said with great respect that the arguments are often à priori and savour more or less of special pleading. As I question the very foundation of Bühler’s edifice (viz. the actual existence of a Mānava-dharmaśātra), it would be futile for me to enter into a discussion of the problems referred to above.

I shall now address myself to the discussion of the age of the Manusmṛti from external and internal evidence. That question is bound up with other problems, viz. whether there are earlier and later strata in the extant Manusmṛti, whether the Manusmṛti was recast several times or once only, what relations exists between the Manusmṛti and the Mahābhārata.

First the external evidence may be taken up. The bhāṣya of Medhātithi is the earliest extant commentary on the Manusmṛti and was composed about 900 A. D. as will be shown later on (sec. 36). The text commented upon by Medhātithi was the same (barring a few various readings) as the one we now possess. Therefore long before 900 A. D. the Manusmṛti was the same as now. Viśvarūpa in his commentary on Yāj. quotes over two hundred verses of the Manusmṛti either wholly or in part from all the twelve chapters beginning with the very first verse. The text that Viṣvarūpa had before him was the same as the present Manusmṛti and the verses
were arranged in the same order as at present. Visvarūpa quotes eight verses (Manu XI. 108-115) from Manu (on Yaj. III. 262).

Śaṅkarācārya in his Vedāntasūtra-bhāṣya quotes the Manusmṛti very frequently. For example, he quotes Manu I. 5 and 21 (on V. S. I. 3. 28), I. 27 (on V. S. IV. 2. 6), II. 87 (on V. S. III. 4. 38), X. 4 and 126 (on V. S. I. 3. 36), XII. 91 and 105-6 (on V. S. II. 1 and 11). In his bhāṣya on the Br. U. he quotes Manu dozens of times and calls the Manusmṛti274 ‘Mānavam’ (on Br. U. I. 4. 17). He looks upon the Manusmṛti as one of the authorities on which the author of the Vedāntasūtra relies.275

The Tantravārtika of Kumārila stands in a special relation to the Manusmṛti. Vide J B B R A S for 1925 pp. 98-100. He places Manu at the head of all śruti, even higher than the dharma-sūtra of Gautama. He cites numerous quotations from the first chapter of the Manusmṛti to the last. He looks upon all parts of the extant Manusmṛti as equally authoritative and regards the Manusmṛti as the highest authority on matters of dharma. The Mṛcchakāṭika276 (9. 39) refers to the ordinance of Manu that a Brāhmaṇa sinner was not to be sentenced to death, but was to be banished. An inscription of the Valabhi king Dharasena dated in the year 252 of the Valabhi era (i.e. 571 A. D.) speaks of a king as one who obeyed the rules composed by Manu277 (I. A. vol. 8. p. 303 = Gupta Inscriptions p. 165). Vide also I. A. vol. IV. p. 105 where the same words occur in an inscription from Valabhi dated 216 of the Valabhi era (i.e. 535 A. D.). Śabaravāmin, the bhāṣyakāra of Jaimini’s sūtras, who cannot be placed later than 500 A. D. and may be a few centuries earlier still, says ‘Manu and others have given

274 मानवे च सर्वं प्रवृत्तिः कामद्वृत्तमेव वेदिति. Vide मनु. II. 4.

275 On the sūtra स्मारति च (वदानसूचना III. 1. 14) Śaṅkara adds ‘मनुवर्गमूलताः

शिशा’.

276 अर्थ हि पालकी विव म दयो मनुरमणीति. राष्ट्राद्विगुण निवर्धो विचरोरसैंः सह II.

Compare मनु 8. 380 न जातु माक्षरण मयालस्यपपिपिः स्थितम् इ राष्ट्यदेव बहुत

क्षुर्य्यसम्भवन्मात्रास्तम II. The words राष्ट्र and अक्षय occurring in both may

particularly be noted.

277 मन्याद्विगुणिनिवर्धारी भाषानकाराः.

By D. 19.
instruction and quotes a verse as a smṛti passage which is practically the same as Manu IX. 416 and similar to Udyoga-parva. Aparārka and Kullūka point out how the Bhavisyapurāṇa expounds passages of the Manusmṛti (vide Kullūka on Manu XI. 72, 73, 100 and Aparārka pp. 1071, 1076). It will be shown below that Bṛhaspati must have composed his work before 500 A.D. Bṛhaspati says that the Manusmṛti occupies a pre-eminent position because it correctly represents the sense of the Veda and that a smṛti which is in conflict with Manu is not esteemed. Bṛhaspati in numerous places pointedly refers to the present text of the Manusmṛti. One such quotation about niyoga has been cited above (note 172). Bṛhaspati says “Manu has spoken of quantities (units of weights) beginning from the mote in the sun-beam to the kārṣapana.” This is obviously a reference to Manu 8. 132-136. Bṛhaspati says “Manu enumerated thirteen sons and just as in the absence of clarified butter, oil is a substitute, so in the absence of an aurasa son or a pusrīka, the eleven kinds of son are a substitute.” This has in view Manu 9. 158-160, 180, 127-130, whereas Manu speaks of the twelve sons, out of whom eleven are substitutes and

278 उपदिश्वमत्तत्र मन्थाः on पूर्णपरमास इ. 1. 2 (vol. I. p. 4).

279 एवं च स्मरति। भार्या दासत्र पुष्प निधिना: सर्वे एव नै। यत्रे समविग्रहितं ब्रत्ते नै

280 On मनु XI. 73 कुन्दक says ‘मनुस्मृतकेष लिखिताः यथा व्याख्याने (न 1)भविष्यपुराणे’, on मनु XI. 100 ‘अत एव मन्थ्यव्यासानपरे भविष्यपुराणे’.

281 वेदार्थोपनिषद्वृत्तावभागम् तु मनुस्मृतोऽ मन्थ्यविवरिता च स्मृतिः स न प्रशस्ते II

282 संवध्या त्रिकमत्नमोदुः मनुना समुद्देहुः। कार्याणयात्सता स बहवे बियोऽवियो बियो तथा II

283 पुनर्ज्ञ्योद्व नांक मनु न च तुर्येऽ। संतानकारायं तेषांमोरः पुष्पिका यथा II

(quoted by अपराक्ष on Y8i. II. 21 and by कुन्दक on मनु I. 1, who adds one more verse from वुहस्तति, तावत्कासाणि श्रीमन्ते तत्कासाणिणि च। यथार्थः

(quoted by अपराक्ष on याज्ञा. II. 99 and by the सुधितो (य. p. 211)).
advocates that a sonless man should appoint a daughter (putrika, who then is the 13th kind of son). In another place Brhaspati declares "Manu forbade gambling as it destroys truth, purity and wealth; but others allowed it provided a share was given to the king (in the gains of gambling)." This very aptly describes the attitude of Manu (9.224) and of Yaj. (II.201-203). Brhaspati says "If a man kills a cow with a weapon &c., he should perform the penance laid down by Manu, but if he kills a cow by forcible restraint, then he should perform the penance laid down by Angiras or Apastamba." The reference is to Manu XI.108-115, Apastamba Dh. S. I. 9.26.1 and Angirasa verse 27 (Jivananda, part I p.556).

In one place Brhaspati seems to criticise Manu (9.219) when he says "those who declared clothes and other things to be impartmental have not considered the position that the wealth of the rich may consist of clothes and ornaments." In another place Brhaspati says "Bhrigu spoke of sale without ownership after deposit; listen to it attentively, I shall speak of it with more details." This keeps in view Manu 8.4 and clearly shows that Brhaspati was well aware of Bhrigu's connection with the extant Manusmrti. Angiras as quoted in the Sruticandrika (I.p.7) speaks of the dharmastra of Manu. In the Vajrasuci of Asvaghosa (ed.by Weber) several verses are quoted as from the 'Manavadharmas' which occur in the extant Manusmrti, though it must be admitted that there are others that

284 बृहस्पति अनुमोदितत् दिनमायिकम्। तत्त्ववर्तीमयेः संवर्धनम्। साधिता साधिते कार्य संवर्धिताभिः।। It is striking that Bhraspati uses the word Samscharaka in II.203.

285 व्याहृतीमयेः भेषजे तेषाम् विषारितम्। धनं भवेन्द्रस्वभावं व्याहृतिमयेः।। quoted by the Vidyartha of Bhadr.

286 निषेधानुगतर्थे प्रोक्तम् भूगोलमार्थिकम्।। भूयतं तं दयनेन साधितं वहीमन्नम्॥ निषेधालाकार प.100. The words of मन्त्र are तेषामात्मसाताणामानन्तमानिक्षिप्तकरः.

287 6. उक्त हि मानवे घरम्-सयः पति मस्य लक्ष्यः लघुणं या। व्याहृतिमयेः भवति बालम्। श्रीरविकासाः॥ (this is मनु X.98); उक्त हि मानवे घरम्। व्याहृतिमयेः भवति बालम्। श्रीरविकासाः॥ (this is मनु III.19); उक्त हि मानवे घरम्। अच्छी चतुरो वेदान्त शास्त्रापल्लवम्। नास्ति। शुद्धायतिमयेः भाषां याग्ये सत्च। सरसं द्वादशं ज्ञानम् चरी-ज्ञानम् गुहर॥। मन: सामाजिकम्य स्वेच्छाय मनुम्नकृत॥ (this cannot be traced in the extant Manusmrti); इह हि मानसर्वेश्चितम्। अर्णाकर्म-
do not occur. In the Rāmāyana also there are verses cited as from Manu which occur in the extant Manusmṛti; vide Kīṣkindhā 18.30-32 (Gujarati Press, 1915-1920) where two verses are quoted as ‘sung by Manu’ which correspond to Manusmṛti VIII. 318 and 316 respectively.

The foregoing discussion of the external evidence shows that writers from the 2nd century onwards (if not earlier) looked upon the extant Manusmṛti as the most authoritative smṛti. This position it could not have attained unless several centuries intervened between it and these writers. Therefore it must be presumed that the Manusmṛti had attained its present form at least before the 2nd century A.D. Even the Mahābhāṣya contains a verse which is Manusmṛti II. 120.²⁸⁸ But as the verse occurs also in the Anuśāsana (104. 64-65) no chronological conclusion can be drawn therefrom. The Pratimāntaka (after V. 8) speaks of “mānaviyadharmaśāstra” and “Prācetasa śrāddhakalpa,” but as it is in controversy whether that work can be ascribed to the ancient Bhāsa, this reference will serve no useful purpose.

The next question is whether the Manusmṛti contains earlier and later strata. There can be no doubt on this point. On numerous points the Manusmṛti contains conflicting doctrines. In Manu III. 12-13 a Brāhmaṇa is allowed to have a śudra woman as wife, while in III. 14-19 it is emphatically asserted that a śudra woman cannot be the wife of a Brāhmaṇa and heavy disabilities are prescribed for him who breaks the injunction. In III. 23-26 there are contradictory statements about the appropriate forms of marriage for the several castes. In one breath Manu seems to permit nitya (9. 59-63) and immediately afterwards he strongly reprobrates it (9. 64-69). The lengthy discussion on flesh-eating in Manu V. 27-56 discloses different mentalities. At several places the work seems even to recommend flesh-eating in sacrifice, śrāddhas and madhuparka (V. 31-32, 35, 39, 41), while elsewhere it recommends total abstinence from meat on all occasions whatever (V. 48-50). In

²⁸⁸ अन्य प्राणा तुम्हारामति समुद्र: स्थविर आपति || पत्नीधामाधित्याघामा पुनःसामान्यिद्वङ्के || महाभाष्य vol. III, p. 58. This verse occurs also in the Uddoṣaṇa (58.1).
one śloka (Manu II. 145) the father is said to be equal to a hundred acāryas, while in the next verse the acārya is said to be superior to the father. In V. 1 Bhṛgu is said to have sprung from fire, while in I. 35 he is said to be one of the ten sons of Manu Svāyambhuva. Vide also IX. 32-56.

Bühler devotes considerable space to this question (SBE vol. 25. pp. LXVI-LXXIII). He arrives at the conclusion that the cosmological and philosophical portions in the first and 12th books, the philosophical disquisition in II. 89-100, the classifications of pitaraḥ in III. 193-201, the means of subsistence for Brāhmaṇa in IV. 1-24, verses 1-4 of the fifth book, the rules about mixed castes (X. 1-74) and the duties of castes that are repeated in X. 101-131 were put in when the work was versified from the Mānavadharmasūtra. Though one may not agree with all the details of Bühler’s examination and with his theory about the versification of the Mānavadharmasūtra, it may be admitted that most of the passages pointed out by him have rather the flavour of comparative modernism about them. My own position is that the original Manusmṛti in verse had certain additions made in order to bring it in a line with the change in the general attitude of people on several points such as those of flesh-eating, niyoga &c. But all these additions must have been made long before the 3rd A. D., as the quotations from Brhaspati and others show.

Another problem is whether the Manusmṛti has undergone several recasts. This does not seem likely and the evidence adduced in support of the theory that the Manusmṛti suffered several recasts is quite inadequate for the purpose. The occurrence of several conflicting passages can as well be explained on the theory of a single recast and it has also to be borne in mind, as Bühler points out, that Sanskrit writers down to the most recent times are in the habit of placing side by side conflicting opinions without actually preferring a particular view to others. The tradition of the Nāradasmṛti that the śāstra of Manu was successively abridged by Nārada, Mārkaṇḍeya and Sumati Bhārgava is, as has been observed above, not worth much, since it is merely intended to glorify Nārada’s work. The other traditions given above either ignore Nārada altogether or assign him a secondary position. The present Manusmṛti is put into the mouth of Bhṛgu. Nārada’s smṛti is clearly based upon Manu, though the former diverges from the latter on many points. Brhaspati
generally takes Manu as his text and amplifies the dicta of the Manusmṛti (as the verses quoted above in notes 281-86 show) and so his work may by analogy be regarded as a Vārtika on Manu, as Dr. Jolly puts it. Āṅgiras also looks upon Manusmṛti as most authoritive. It is therefore that the Pauranic account (note 270 above) regards Bhrigu and other works as the redactions of the original Manusmṛti. The quotations cited from Vṛddha-Manu and Brhan-Manu do not establish that the original Manusmṛti underwent many recasts. Quotations cited under these names are later than the Manusmṛti. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 69) quotes the views of Vṛddha-Manu on nyōga, who allows it only to śūdras. The Mitāķṣarā quotes a verse from Vṛddha-Manu about the widow of a sonless man being entitled to all her husband’s wealth, while Manu is silent on that point. 289 The Mitāķṣarā quotes a verse from Brhan-Manu also (on Yāj. III. 20). Mādhava quotes a verse from Brhan-Manu about sapinda and samāṇodaka relationship which are expansions of Manu 290 (V. 60). The fact that many quotations ascribed to Manu in several works are not found in the extant Manusmṛti is explicable in several ways and not only by the theory of several recasts. For one thing the authors quoting from memory may be found tripping. For example, in an inscription of the Badami Calukyas of the 7th century two verses that occur in most grants of lands are ascribed to Manu, but are not found in the extant Manusmṛti. 291 No one can for a moment doubt that the extant Manusmṛti was an authoritive work in the 7th century. Therefore there is hardly any reliable evidence to support the theory that the Manusmṛti suffered several recasts.

Turning now to the internal evidence, the extant Manusmṛti seems to be much older than Yājñavalkya, since the rules of judicial procedure are incomplete and awkward in Manu as compared with Yāj., since there is no reference to documents as evidence in Manu,

289 अपुष्टा धर्मेन सत्ताः पालक्यानि शोष स्थिता् । पालियेव द्रासत्विषेण फलमेव लोभित । ष। 
मिर्तां यासाः II. 135.

290 तदुक्तं गृहमभुग्ना—साधिता तु पुष्टे सामे विनिवृत्ते । समानोदकभावस्तु निषेधत्ता- शतुरौशाद । जगन्नामस्नीतीर्थ तत्सर गौत्रमुखः ॥ पराशरमधवी ॥ vol. III, part 2, p. 538.

291 मनुगैत्यं भौक्षयुद्धब्रह्मस्तम्—यवनिष्ठैः गृहक राजभि: सगराभिः । and स्वार्यां 
परवर्ता वा चो हृदेन वसुमध्रम् ॥ &c. I. A. vol. VIII. p. 97,
as ordeals are not treated of in Manu, as legal definitions are almost absent in Manu, while frequent in Yāj. and as Manu is silent about the widow’s rights, while Yāj. gives her the first place among the heirs of a sonless man. So the Manusmṛti will have to be placed some centuries earlier than the third century A. D., the latest date to which the Yājñavalkya smṛti can be assigned with any show of reason. In X. 44 Manu mentions the Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Śakas, Pahlavas and Cinas\(^{292}\) and in X. 48 Medas and Andhras. This shows that the extant Manusmṛti could not be much earlier than the 3rd century B. C. The Yona, Kāmboja and Gāndhāra people are mentioned in the 5th rock edict of Asoka. Manu forbids Brāhmaṇas to dwell in the kingdom of a Śūdra (IV. 61) and condemns the appointment of a śūdra as a judge (VIII. 20-21). The former is possibly a reference to the Mauryas, though one cannot be certain of it. Mr. Jayaswal (Calcutta Weekly Notes, vol. 15, p. CCC) goes too far in supposing that in the word ‘senāpatya’ occurring in Manu (XII. 100) there is a reference to Senāpati Pusyamitra. The extant Manusmṛti in its arrangement and doctrines is much in advance of the ancient dharmasūtras, such as those of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. Taking all these things into consideration Bühler (S B E vol. 25 p. CXVII) was certainly right in saying that the extant Manusmṛti was composed between the second century B. C and 2nd century A. D. But the question of the date when the original Manusmṛti to which additions were made between the 2nd century B. C. and 2nd century A. D. was composed presents very great difficulties. That question is largely bound up with the relation of the Mahābhārata to the Manusmṛti.

This question is an extremely intricate one. The late V. N. Mandlik (Intro. to the Vyavahāramayūkha XLVII) held that the Manusmṛti borrowed from the Mahābhārata. Bühler after an elaborate examination of the question (S B E vol 25, pp. LXXIV-XCVIII) came to the conclusion that it was indisputable that the 12th and 13th parvans of the Mahābhārata knew a Mānavadharmasāstra which was closely connected with but not identical with the present Manusmṛti. Bühler expresses himself very cautiously and it seems to me that the great scholar was unduly prepossessed

\(^{292}\) सौदर्शनाकृतिपश्चिम: काम्बोज्याश्चति: वकाः। पार्वतः पञ्चवागिनाः किरताद्वृद्वः।

लिंगः II
in favour of the Mahābhārata as against the Manuṣmṛti. Bühler somewhat contradicts himself when he says that the author of the epic only knew the dharmasūtras (SBE vol. 25, p. XC VIII). Hopkins (Great Epic of India p. 21-22) seems inclined to hold that the 13th book which alone, according to him, recognises the sāstra declared by Manu, knew the present Manuṣmṛti, though the earlier books cannot be held to have known a sāstra of Manu even when they employ such expressions as “Manu said.” He thinks that there was a floating mass of verses containing philosophical and other lore attributed to the mythical Manu on which the earlier books of the Mahābhārata and the Manuṣmṛti both drew and that the matter that is common to both works was not borrowed from any systematic treatise. Bühler accepts this view with the slight modification that the floating mass of verses was not all attributed to Manu (SBE vol. 25 p. XC). Before giving my individual views on this vexed question as against the array of such eminent scholars as Bühler and Hopkins some facts must be clearly set forth. The Mahābhārata is nowhere mentioned by name in the Manuṣmṛti though the word “ityāśā” (in the plural) occurs in Manu (III. 232). The Manuṣmṛti mentions many historical and legendary personages, about most of whom the Mahābhārata contains similar stories. The following are the persons so mentioned in the Manuṣmṛti. Áṅgirasa (in II. 151-152, addressing his elders as ‘putrakā ś’), Agastya (V 22, in connection with sacrificing animals), Vena, Nahuṣa, Sudās Pajavana and Nimi (all in VII. 41, coming to grief through insolence), Prthu, Manu, Kubera and the son of Gāḍhi (VII. 42, benefiting by their good conduct), Vasiṣṭha (in VIII. 110, taking an oath before king Pajavana), Vatsa (in VIII. 116, undergoing fire ordeal), Akṣamā and Sāraṅgi (in IX. 23, though of low birth respectively were united to Vasiṣṭha and Mandaṇā), Dakṣa (in IX. 128-129, gave his daughters to Dharma, Kāśyapa and Soma), Ajīgarta (in X, 105, who was ready to sacrifice his own son), Vāmādeva (in X, 106, desired dog’s flesh to save his life), Bharad-vāja (in X. 107. who accepted the gift of many cows), Viśvāmitra (in X. 108, who took from a cāṇḍāla’s hand a dog’s leg). Prthu is also mentioned (in IX. 44) as the husband of the earth and in IX. 314 Brāhmaṇas are credited with having made fire all-devourer, the ocean undrinkable and the waning (pthetical) moon to wax. Most of the names mentioned here go far back into Vedic antiquities.
For example, Vasiṣṭha’s oath occurs in Rgveda (VII. 104. 15) and the Brhaddevata (VI. 32-34), Ajīgarta figures in the Aitareya-brähmana (VII. 16) and Āṅgirasa’s story occurs in the Tāṇḍya-mahā-brähmana (13. 3. 24). Besides the Manusmṛti does not say that the stories are taken from the great epic. The Mahābhārata also was not the first to originate these stories but is only a storehouse and encyclopaedia of the numerous popular traditions that were current in ancient India. When our Manu (9. 227) says that gambling was seen to have produced in former ages deep-rooted enmities, it is unnecessary to suppose that there is a reference to the Mahābhārata, for from Vedic times the evil effects of gambling were known (vide Rgveda X. 34) and even the Mahābhārata contains the same verse (Udyoga 37. 19), though this fact was not noticed by Bühler. On the other hand there are numerous passages in the Mahābhārata scattered over almost all the parvans, where occur such expressions as, ‘Manur-ābravid,’ ‘the rājadharmas of Manu,’ ‘the śastra of Manu’ etc. Some of these passages agree with the extant Manusmṛti, while some do not. Besides there are hundreds of verses in the Mahābhārata that are identical with the verses of the Manusmṛti, though they are not expressly attributed to Manu. Dr. Bühler says that in the Vana, Śānti and Anuśāsana parvans alone he could identify either wholly or partly 260 verses with those of our Manu. What then is the conclusion? Prima facie it should be, on account of all these abovementioned facts, against the Mahābhārata and in favour of the Manusmṛti being the earlier of the two. Hopkins at all events holds that the Anuśāsana-parva knew a Manusmṛti essentially the same as we have now. Bühler expresses himself more cautiously and says that the Śānti and Anuśāsana parvans knew a Mānava-dharmaśāstra closely connected with the extant one, though not identical. Both are agreed that the earlier books when they speak of Manu are either referring to the Mānava-dharmaśūtra or to the floating mass of popular verses, but not to our Manu.

We must now closely examine the data. The Anuśāsana-parva distinctly speaks of ‘a śastra declared by Manu.’

293 नाया मुरीय वरि वानुभायो अल्सि &c.
294 सनुमानिष्ठिः शारौ वान्यारि कुस्थाल्पि अनू. 47. 35.

H. D. 20.
are quoted two ślokas 'sung by Manu in his own dharmas,' one of which is identical with Manu²⁹⁵ (9. 321). In another place the Śāntiparva speaks of the 'rājadharmas of Prācetasā Manu 'and quotes two verses therefrom.²⁹⁶ In the Dronāparva (7. 1) 'Mānavī artha-
vidyā ' is referred to (vide note 272 above) and in Vanaraparva the rājadharmas as proclaimed by Manu are referred to (vide note 272 above). In another places, the words 'Manu Svāyambhūva said' occur (e.g. Śānti 21. 12, Anuśāsana 114. 12, Vanaraparva 180. 34-35, Ādiparva 73. 9, 120. 32-36, Udyoga 37. 1-6). In most cases the words 'Manu said occur' without the appellation 'Svāyambhūva' or 'Prācetasā' (e.g. Śānti 78. 31, 88. 14-16, 121. 10-12, 152. 14, 152. 30, 266. 5; Anuśāsana 44. 18 and 23, 65. 1 and 3, 67. 19, 68. 31, 88. 4, 115. 52-53; Vanaraparva 32. 39, Udyogaparva 40. 9-10, Ādiparva 41. 31, 74. 39). The words 'Manor-anuśāsanam' occur in a few cases as in Anuśāsana 61. 34-35. Hopkins says that the words 'the śāstra of Manu ' occur only in the Anuśāsana-parva and so only that parvan knew the Manusmṛti, while in the other parvans we have the expression 'Manu said,' and therefore these other books did not know the Manusmṛti but are only referring to floating verses attributed to the mythical Manu. This, however, is not a reasonable conclusion. The words 'śāstra of Manu ' occur only once even in the Anuśāsana, while in about ten places in the same parvan we come across only the words 'Manu said'. If the words 'Manu said' in the Anuśāsana indicate in the Anuśāsana a reference to the extant Manusmṛti, there is no cogent reason why the same words in other parvans should not be regarded as referring to the Manusmṛti. Besides in the Śāntiparva also we meet with the words 'Dharmas or rājadharmas of Manu ' and in Ādiparva the word 'dharma-darśane' (120. 32). That is obviously a reference to some work of Manu. Hopkins further says (Great Epic of India, p. 21) that all the

²⁹⁵ मनुना चेत राजेन्द्र गौतेन श्वेतोकी महत्मना। चेमेवै चेतौ कौरव्य हुदि तौ करुणाहिः॥
अनुस्मयेभिषितः क्षत्रयमध्यो लोकमुन्न्नितम्। तेषां सर्वं तेजः स्मानु जोिति
शाम्यात। अयो इत्ति यद्वायमस्मिन वारि हन्यते। भो च हस्यियो द्रष्टि तदा
कीर्तिते ते चचः॥ शालित। 56. 23-25.

²⁹⁶ प्राचीनसेन मनुना श्वेतोकी चेमलुदाहिनो। राज्यशेतु राजेस्त्र तापिनक्तमनः। श्रुण।
पदेसातुपूर्णो। ज्ञातदिनो नामिनियांम्यशि। अनस्काराराष्ट्रमधयान्मुन्नितपिनेव।
अर्धसिन्हं। राजानमं भास्या चाहियास्यादिनीसि। धानकामं च गोपालेन वनकामं च नापितम्॥
शालित। 57. 43-45.
express citations of Manu in the Anuśāsana, except one, agree very closely with our Manu, while in the other parvams the citations agree only up to one-third or one-half. In the first place I demur to the latter statement. The agreements of the citations in the other books are as close and almost as frequent as in the Anuśāsana, e.g. excepting Śānti 21. 12 and 57. 43-45 all citations of Manu therein, referred to above, agree closely with Manu 7. 89, 9. 225-26, 9. 17-19 and 27, 6. 33 and 81, 11. 259-60, 5. 43 and 45 and 48-49. The same is the case with the few citations of Manu in the Vanaparva. Bühler says that the Mahābhārata knew only of the dharmasūtras. But there is positively not one express citation attributed by name to the well-known writers of dharmasūtras, such as Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Vasiṣṭha or Śaṅkha-Likhita. That the Mahābhārata knew several dharmāstras is clear from over a dozen references to dharmāstras, often in the plural (e.g. Śānti 167. 4, 298. 40, 341. 74; Anuśāsana 19. 89, 45. 17-20, Vanaparva 207. 83, 293. 35, 313. 105; Ādiparva 3. 32 and 77 etc.). The only place where a sūtra-kāra is cited on matters of dharma is Anu. 19. 6; but no name is mentioned. Hastiṣūtra, Aśvasūtra are mentioned in Sabhā 5. 20, but no dharmaśūtra or Nitisūtra occurs any where. On the other hand Bühler is not prepared to admit that the views expressly attributed to Manu in the Mahābhārata are taken from a treatise and refers them to a floating mass of verses the authorship of which was unknown and was fathered upon the mythical Manu. Distrust of ancient Indian authors could go no further. Bühler’s assumptions are, to say the least, gratuitous and are prompted by his unwillingness to assign an early date to a versified smṛti of Manu. Not only are there identical verses in Manu and the Mahābhārata, but some verses of the latter (e.g. Udyoga 35. 31 and Śānti 111. 66) occur in the Nāradasmṛti (pp. 103 and 26 respectively). In my humble opinion the following seems to be the relation of the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti. I must state frankly that it is a mere theory, a conjecture which may be taken for what it is worth. Long before the 4th century B.C., there was a work on Dharmāśāstra composed by or attributed to Svāyambhuva Manu. This work was most probably in verse. There was also another work on Rājadharma attributed to Prācetāsana Manu, which also was prior to the

\[397\text{अनुसारः बिंचे हवेचे सुचकारे भववस्यात्। अनु १९. ६; compare मनु ९. १८}\]

\[397\text{निरितिक्षणा हमस्स्थात्का स्वावलंभिते रिधिते।} \]
4th century B.C. It is not unlikely that instead of there being two works there was one comprehensive work embodying rules on dharma as well as politics. There is one circumstance that points in this direction. The Mahābhārata quotes a saying (vacana) of Prācetasa which is almost the same as our Manu398 (3. 54). It is to these works (or work) that Yāska, Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Kautiliya refer whenever they cite the opinions of Manu or the Mānas. The Mahābhārata also (particularly in the earlier portions) probably refers to the same. This work was the original kernel of the present Manusmṛti. Then between 2nd century B.C. and 2nd century A.D. the Manusmṛti was finally recast, probably by Bṛghu. That work must have compressed the older works in some cases and expanded it in others. This hypothesis would explain why some of the verses and views quoted as Manu's occur in the extant Manusmṛti and why some do not.299 In my opinion the extant Mahābhārata is later than the extant Manusmṛti. When Nārada mentions the tradition that Sumati Bhārgava compressed the vast work of Manu into 4000 verses, he is somewhat obscurely hinting at the truth. The extant Manusmṛti contains only about 2700 verses. Nārada probably arrives at the larger figure by including the verses attributed to Vṛddha-Manu and Bṛhan-Manu. The influence of the Manusmṛti spread even beyond the confines of India. In A. Bergaigne's 'Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campê et du Cambodge' (p. 423) we have an inscription in which occur verses,299a one of which is identical with Manu (II. 136) and the other is a summary of Manu (III. 77-80).

298 भाषेःसघ सवर्म वीरीयति वुरा०:। वर्षाः क्षिप्रादस्तो ज्ञातों न स विक्रयः।
अहं तत्कृर्माणामानुक्षेत्रवत ्ति तत्र ॥ अनुभाषान. 46. 1-2.

299 It is to be noted that so early a writer as शास्त्रस्व स्व in his तत्त्वसंस्करः
(कारिका 3584. G. O. S.) expressly attributes the verse (पुरायं मानवो धर्मं: नाथो वेदार्थिकितितम:।
आज्ञासिद्धां चावति न हत्तिक्ष्यानि श्रेष्ठभिः।) to मनु which was not commented upon by शेषाभिषेकनि and later commentators. शास्त्रस्व स्व flourished about 750 A. D. I. e. a century earlier than शेषाभिषेकनि.

299a अयाधिकृतत्व गृहस्थलि माननीयो यस्युध्यं। अम्भागतगुणानि च परा विधेयति:
मानवमुः। बिचृं बन्युर्यय: कर्म विदा सत्वति प्रभवी। एतालि मानवस्थानालि गरीवो
यथायुज्यवस्तु॥. The latter is मनु II. 136 and the former summarises मनु III. 77-80.
The Burmese are governed in modern times by the dhammapada, which are based on Manu. Vide Dr. Forchhammer's essay on the sources and development of Burmese Law (1885, Rangoon). Dr. E. C. G. Jonker (Leyden 1885) wrote a dissertation on an old Javanese lawbook compared with Indian sources of law like the Manusmṛti (which is still used as a lawbook in the island of Bali).

Manu had numerous commentators. As to Medhātithi, Govindarāja and Kullūka, vide below sections 63, 76, 88. Besides these Nārāyaṇa, Rāghavānanda, Nandana and Rāmacandra also wrote commentaries on Manu. Mr. Mandlik published all these commentaries. Dr. Jolly published (in 1885 for Bengal Asiatic Society) extracts from all these commentaries (except Kullūka's and Rāmacandra's) and from an anonymous Kashmirian commentary on the first three chapters. Asahāya seems to have written a commentary on Manu (vide below section 58). The Vivādaratnakara quotes a commentary on Manu by Udayakara (pp. 455, 560, 583, 590). The same work seems to suggest that Bhāguri wrote a commentary on Manu. For the predecessors of Medhātithi vide sec. 63. Kullūka on Manu 8. 184 tells us that Bhojadeva arranged the four verses of Manu 8. 181-184 in a particular manner and therefore suggests that Bhojadeva probably commented on Manu. He also names a commentator Dharanidhara, on Manu 2. 83 and says that he was later than Medhātithi. He is also referred to elsewhere by Kullūka (on Manu 4. 50).

The commentator Nārāyaṇa is certainly earlier than 1600 A.D. as his commentary is cited by Bhaṭṭoji in his commentary on the Caturvimśatimātaka (vide p. 61 of the Benares Sanskrit Series edition, 1907). A ms. of Nārāyaṇa's commentary was written in 1497 A.D. and he appears to have been quoted by Rāyanukūṭa in 1431 A.D. (Jolly in R. und. S. p. 31). He is later than Govindarāja and flourished between 1100 and 1300 A.D. Rāghavānanda mentions by name Medhātithi, Govindarāja, Nārāyaṇa, and Kullūka and so is later than about 1400 A.D. When Nandana flourished it is difficult to say. But he is a late writer. There are several other commentators.

300 On मनु 8. 198 the विवादरत्नकर (p. 104) remarks कल्पतक्रान्तम् अपसरस-नेन स्वाभिन्: सक्रास्मानमभिन्तनाषिः अपसर: स न विद्यते परव तथा। एतस्य भागुरिभादिविद्विदिकाराणमनुमत्तमिवादः।
mentioned in the catalogues of mss. who may be passed over for want of space.

Viśvarūpa (on Yaj. I. 69), the Mitākṣara, the Smṛticandrika, the Parāśaramādhaviya and other works quote dozens of verses from Vṛddha-Manu on abhika, vyavahāra, and prayāścitta. The Mitākṣara (on Yaj. III. 20) and other works cite a few verses from Brāhan-Manu. No independent works going under these names have yet been unearthed. Those works, if they ever existed independently, appear to have been later than our Manu. For example, our Manu is silent about the widow's right to inherit to her husband, but Vṛddha-Manu recognises the right of a chaste widow to take the entire wealth of her husband (Mit. on Yaj. II. 136); similarly Brāhan-Manu (according to the Mit.) seems to refer to Manu's view about the meaning of 'samānodaka' (Manu 5. 60) and modifies it. It is not unlikely that those verses which were not recognised as Manu's by ancient commentators like Medhātithi and were yet found in the mss. of the Manusmṛti were regarded as Vṛddha- or Brāhan-Manu.

32. The Two Epics

The two epics, particularly the Mahābhārata, contain in numerous places passages bearing on dharmaśāstra and are relied upon as authoritative Smṛtis in later works. The Mahābhārata is styled a dharmaśāstra in the Adiparva (2. 83).

The Rāmāyaṇa is pre-eminently a kāvyā; yet on account of its noble ideals it was almost as popular as the Mahābhārata and is relied upon as a source of dharma in the nibandhas though much less frequently than the other great epic. The Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa (canto 100) and the Aranyakāṇḍa (33) contain disquisitions on politics and state administration. The Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 57) quotes the well-known verse of the Rāmāyaṇa (Sundara 59. 31) about cessation of study on the first day of a month. The Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 193 and III. p. 416) quotes two verses on tarpāṇa and śraddhā from the Rāmāyaṇa. The Hāralatā (pp. 64 and 152) quotes...
verse from the Rāmāyāṇa. Aparārka on Yāj. III. 8-10 quotes four verses from the Rāmāyāṇa on sorrow for the dead.

For considerations of space it is impossible to enter into any discussion as to the age of these two epics, as to the earlier and later strata in them and other allied questions. These questions are passed over here as more appropriate to separate treatises on the epics. The following works will give some idea of the problems connected with these two great heirlooms of Indian antiquity:—Das Mahābhārata seine Entstehung, sein Inhalt, seine Form, by Oldenberg (Göttingen, 1922); Das Mahābhārata als Epos und Rechtsbuch, by Dahlmann (Berlin 1895); Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahābhārata by Holtzmann (Kiel, 1892-94); Mahābhārata, a criticism by Mr. C. V. Vaidya (1903); das Rāmāyāṇa, Geschichte und Inhalt, by Dr. Jacobi (Bonn 1893); The Riddle of the Rāmāyāṇa by Mr. C. V. Vaidya (1906, Bombay).

In these pages the Bombay oblong edition of the Mahābhārata with the com. of Nilakantha has been used.

In the following table an attempt is made, though not exhaustive, to indicate where dharmaśāstra topics occur in the Mahābhārata.

<table>
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<td>Arājaka (evils of anarchy)</td>
<td>Śanti 67.</td>
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<td>Āśrama-dharma</td>
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<td>Tirīthas—Vanaparva 82 ff, Anuśasana 25-26, Śalya 35-54.</td>
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<td>Śanti 76-78.</td>
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<td>Bhakṣyābhakṣya</td>
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<td>Rajaniti—Sabhā 5, Vana 150, Udyoga 33-34, Śanti 59-130 and 298, Āśramavāsika 5-7.</td>
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<td>Varnadharmā—Śanti 60 and 297, mixed castes—Śanti 65, 297 and Anu. 48-49.</td>
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<td>Śraddha—Strīparva 26-27, Anu. 87-95.</td>
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</table>
The following table will give some idea of the topics of dharmāśāstra that are dwelt upon in the Rāmāyaṇa, though briefly. The Gujarati Press Edition (1915-20) is referred to—

| Abhiseka—Ayodhya | 15, | 40 (10-14) |
| Yuddha 128. |  | 41 (1-6) |
| Arajaka—Ayodhya | 67, |  |
| Yuddha 17-18 and | 63. |  |
| Patakas—Kiśkindhā | 17 (36-37), |  |
| 18 (22-23) &c. |  |  |
| Śraddha—Ayodhya | 77 |  |
| Rajadharma—Bala 7, | 103 |  |
| Ayodhya 100, | 111 (104-120) |  |
| Āranya* 6 (11-14) | Satyapraśaṁsā—Ayodhya 109. |  |
| 9 (2-9) | Stridharma—Ayodhya 24, 26-27, |  |
| 33 | 29, 39, 117-18. |  |

33. The Purāṇas.

The Purāṇas as a class of literature existed from very ancient times. Tāl. Ār. (II. 10) speaks of "Brahmāṇas, Itihasas, Purāṇas, and Nārāyaṇis gāthās." In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (VII. 1. 2 and 4) "itihaśa-purāṇa" is spoken of as the fifth Veda and the Brhadāraṇyaka (IV. 1. 2) speaks of "Ithās and Purāṇa." The Gau-tama Dā. S. (8. 6 and 11. 19) refers to "itihaśa" and "Purāṇa." It is not unlikely that there was originally a single work called Purāṇa. The words of the Matsya that in former ages there was a single Purāṇa probably embody a tradition that has a substratum of truth. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (vol. I. page 9) speaks of Purāṇa in the singular. The Āp. Dā. S. quotes the views of a Purāṇa, twice cites two verses from a Purāṇa, and summarizes the view of a Bhavisyā-purāṇa. The quotations show that the Purāṇa or

303 भाषानादितिः न पुराणस्य गतानाथयां नारायणस्यः &c.
304 पुराणमेतेववादीत वदं कत्वलेश्वरम् मत्स्यपुराण चाप. 53 (Anandaśāstra ed.).
305 यो हिराममुक्तिः हृदिः मन्युष यथुपूर्णति न नसिन्दु होष हति पुरुष्येऽ&n
ा अप. 4. च. I. 10. 29. 7; अथ पुराणे भोक्तादुहारति। उपयोगिन्तिः। भोज्यो मे। व्यासालिपिः दुःक्लकारणम्। न तस्य विशेषं निर्दितं द्रव्यम् पथम च। न च हर्व 'हर्षत्वम' शास्त्रप्रमं खोजः। होष हति। अप. 4. च. I. 6. 19. 13; अथ पुराणेऽ भोक्तादुहारति। अशास्त्रावलिक्ष्णी। च प्राणार्थिनिर्धारितम्। दुःक्लकारणम्। प्राणार्थिनि शास्त्रार्थिनि। च प्राणार्थिनिर्धारितम्। उपयोगिन्तिः। व्यासालिपिः। पञ्चां तत्त्वस्य हि कल्पते। अप. 4. 4. II. 9. 33. 8; भूम्बले। विन्दुप्यान्य। निर्दिति हः प्रक्षेपयोऽभासितिः। अप. 4. 4. II. 9. 34. 6.
Purāṇas contained verses and were composed in a somewhat archaic language. The extant Purāṇas are recasts made of the ancient Purāṇas during the first centuries of the Christian era, when there was a revival and restatement of the ancient Brahmanical religion, philosophy and literature after the onslaughts of Buddhism and Jainism had abated in their strength and fury. The Mahābhārata (Vana. 191. 16) speaks of the Purāṇa promulgated by Vāyu (i.e. the Vāyupurāṇa). Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita refers to the recitation of the Vāyupurāṇa. Kumārilabhaṭṭa in his Tantravārtika (vide J. B. B. R. A. S. for 1925, p. 122) refers to the subjects dealt with by many of the extant purāṇas and quotes passages that occur in the Viṣṇu and Mārkandeya purāṇas. Thus it is clear that at any rate some of the extant purāṇas, if not all, are much earlier than the 6th century A.D.

The orthodox number of the principal purāṇas is 18 and there are 18 Upapurāṇas also. There is considerable divergence about the names of the 18 principal purāṇas. For example, the Matsya-purāṇa (chap. 53) enumerates them as follows:—Brāhma, Padma, Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Bhāgavata, Nārada, Mārkandeya, Agneya, Bhavisya, Brahmacāvarta, Liṅga, Varāha, Skanda, Vāmana, Kūrma, Matsya, Garūda and Brahmana. The Viṣṇu-purāṇa (3.6) on the other hand omits Vāyu from the above list and adds Śaiva. The Sarasvatīvilāsa (p. 14) follows the Viṣṇu-purāṇa. Vide Bhāgavata-purāṇa XII. 13. 4-8 and commentary thereon for the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas.

Among comparatively early commentators and writers of digests, it is Aparārka, Ballālasena and Hemādri that quote most profusely from the purāṇas as sources of dharma. We saw above (p. 146) that Kullūka describes passages of the Bhāvīṣya-purāṇa as glosses on Manu. The Matsya-purāṇa is pre-eminent a work containing much dharmaśāstra material. For example, chapters 16-22 deal with śrāddha, chapters 55-57 and 59-82 with vratas, chap. 54, 83, 278 with gifts, chap. 93 with sāntis, chap. 102 with tīrthas. Similarly in chapters 216-243 the Matsya speaks of rājadharma. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (in III, chap. 8-16) contains a good deal of information on the duties of the varnas and aśramas, nitya and naimittika acts, good manners for a householder, the five great yajñas, Jātakarma and other saṃskāras, impu-
dharma, e.g. chap. 24 gives the qualifications of state officers, chap. 65-72 speak of raja-dharma, expedients of policy, punishments, 73-74 deal with prayaścittas, 75 with impurity on death and birth, 79 with purification of dravyas, 80-81 with the four varnas and mixed castes, 60 with various purely legal matters. The Agnipurāṇa also in chapters 220-225, 227, 233-242 contains a disquisition on raja-dharma. Almost the whole of the vyavahāra section in the Yajñavalkyasmṛti occurs in chapters 253-258 of the Agnipurāṇa (Ānandaśrama edition) and many verses in chap. 253 are identical with verses of the Nārada-smṛti. The Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 93-106) contains about 400 verses that are taken from the first and third sections of Yajñavalkya though not in the same order.

The chronology of the purāṇas is, like that of the epics, a subject full of perplexing problems and is hence passed over here.

The annexed table will give an idea as to what topics of dharmasastra are dealt with in the principal purāṇas.

The constitution of the original text of the purāṇas is a Herculean task which has not yet been attempted. Not only is there difference of opinion among the purāṇas about the names of the 18 Mahā-Purāṇas, but there is divergence as regards the extent of the several purāṇas. For example, the commentator Viṣṇucitta of the Viṣṇupurāṇa says (on III. 6. 20-22) that the extent of the Viṣṇupurāṇa is variously given at 8000, 9000, 10000, 22000, 24000, but that he comments on a text of 6000 ślokas only. The Agnipurāṇa (272. 10-11) says that it contains 12000 ślokas, while the Bhāgavata (XII. 13), the Brahmavaivarta, the Padma (ādi. 62) say that it contains 15400 ślokas and the Skanda (V. 3) and the Matsya 53 give the extent of the Agni as 16000. The Kūrma, according to the Bhāgavata contains 17000, according to the Matsya 18000 and only 8000 according to the Agni (272. 19). Though there is a remarkable continuity in India as to religious thoughts and practices, yet the popular religion of modern Hindus is pre-eminently purānic. The purāṇas contain thousands of ślokas on dharmasastra matters, they are a rich mine awaiting exploration by careful students of social and religious questions and shed a flood of light on the development of religious beliefs and practices in medieval and modern India. Therefore the re-constitution of the text of the purāṇas is a problem which will have to be tackled in the near future. Besides the several
purāṇas, eighteen Upapurāṇas also are enumerated in some of the Purāṇas. Vide Garuḍa (223. 17 ff), Skanda (V. 3. chap. I. 45–62 and VII. I. chap. 2), Padma (Pātalakhaṇḍa chap. 111. 95–98) and Matsya (53. 59 ff) for Upapurāṇas.105a Besides the Mahāpurāṇas and Upapurāṇas, there are other works of the purāṇa class such as Gaṇeśa, Maudgalya, Devi, Kalki &c. The Padmapurāṇa (Uttarakhaṇḍa chap. 263) divides the 18 purāṇas into three groups, sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa, and says that the Viṣṇu, Nārada, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Padma, and Varāha are sāttvika. The Matsya (53) also speaks of this division. The Liṅgapurāṇa (39. 63-66) speaks of the twenty expounders of dharma just as Yajñavalkya does and quotes the two verses in the form in which the Mit. presents them (and not Viśvarūpa), while the Padma (Uttarakhaṇḍa 263. 86–89) divides the eighteen smṛtis into three groups of sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa.105b It would be quite clear to any reader of the purāṇas and the smṛtis that most of the former in their extant form are later than the smṛtis of Manu, Yajñavalkya, Parāśara, Nārada &c.

The following table will give some idea as to how the eighteen principal purāṇas are rich in dharmaśāstra material. Besides the eighteen principal purāṇas, the Kālikā-purāṇa (Veṅkaṭeśvara press ed.) and the Saura-purāṇa (Ānandāśrama ed.) have been drawn upon. The Ānandāśrama edition of the Agni and Padma, the Nirṇayasāgara edition (1905) of the Bhāgavata, the Poona edition (1870 Jagadhitacechu Press) of the Matsya have been referred to here and the Veṅkaṭeśvara editions of all the other purāṇas.

105a अन्यायांपूराणानि सुनिमिका नानीलिपिविषयपरम्॥
नृतीयं स्कान्तुं (नामः) सुहिर्दु कुमारेण सु भविष्यम्
चतुर्यं शिवशङ्कर्ण्यं स्वामस्मिन्धराभिविषयम्॥
बुधस्मरसक्मिवं नारायणकमः चरस्मि
कारिकं वामनं चे मेते
तथेनेनसेवतिम्॥
महामातां गर्भं चाथाध्यक्षक्षेत्रम्
माहेंद्रं तथा समासं
वर्धिणिः सर्वतीर्थिः च पराक्षिकमपरम् नारीलिं भार्गवाच्यम्॥
गहड़. 223.17-20.

105b शलाकं चेवं झिरंवं व्यस्तं पराशरं तथा
नारायणं काश्यपं च सार्विकमुकिवः
शुभम्॥ गात्रस्तु तथाचैव तेशिञ्जः दाहिनेव च
काश्यपं स्वेदवं च राजशां
वर्धीभु: शुभम्॥ गोतमं बाहुस्तं च सांवरं च यमेन स्वमुः
शाङ्गं चोस्तं वेनि
तामसमिनिरपमिवः॥
**Acāra**—Brahma 113; Garuḍa 50; Kālikā 88; Kūrma (uttarārdha) 13; Liṅga (pūrvārdha) 89; Mārkandeya 31; Nārada (pūrvārdha) 26; Padma (Ādi 52-56, pātālakhaṇḍa 9, sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 46); Skanda I (Kaumārīkā 41), III. (dharmāranyā 6), IV. I (pūrvārdha 38, 40); Śiva (kailāsasāṁhitā) chap. 18-20 (on acāra of yati, making of a disciple; yogapattā); Vāyu 16; Viśnu III. 11-12.

**Ābhīka**—Agni 155; Brahmovaitarta (Brahmakhaṇḍa) 26; Garuḍa 50 and 213-217; Kūrma (uttarārdha) 18-19; Liṅga 26; Mārkandeya 27; Nārada (pūrvārdha) 27; Padma (sṛṣṭi 46, uttara 233); Skanda IV. I (pūrvārdha) chap. 35 and III. 2 (dharmāranyā-khaṇḍa) chap. 5.

**Āstauca**—Agni 157-158 (both kinds, on death and birth); Brahma 113 (on birth); Garuḍa (preta-khaṇḍa) chap. 5; Kūrma (uttarārdha chap. 23); Liṅga (pūrvārdha 89).

**Āśramadharmas**—Agni 160-161; Bhāgavata VII. 12 and 13, XI. 17; Brahma 114; Garuḍa 49; Kūrma (uttarārdha) 14-16 (brahmacārin and grhaṇastha) and 27-28 (vānaprastha and yati); Mārkandeya 25-26; Nārada (pūrvārdha 27 and 43); Padma (ādikhaṇḍa 58-60 for vānaprastha and yati, bhūmikhaṇḍa 59 for grhaṇastha, sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 15); Saura 17, 20 (vānaprastha and samnyāsin); Skanda IV. I (pūrvārdha) chap. 41 (vānaprastha and yati); Viśnu III. 9.

**Bhaksyabhaksya**—Brahmavaitarta (brahmakhaṇḍa 27, 4th khaṇḍa, uttarārdha chap. 85); Kūrma (uttarārdha chap. 17); Padma (ādikhaṇḍa 56).

**Brahmāṇa**—vide under varṇadharmas; greatness of Padma (brahmakhaṇḍa chap. 14 and sṛṣṭi khaṇḍa chap. 45);
duties of Kūrma (uttarārdha chap. 12 and 19); Saura 18; who is a worthy—Padma (sṛṣṭi 15); means of livelihood for Kūrma (uttarārdha 25), Padma (sṛṣṭi 45).

**Dāna**—vide under pratiṣṭha and utsarga.
Agni 209-213 (mahadānas); Bhaviṣya IV. 150 ff; Brahma 109 (specially annadāna); Brahmovaitarta (prakṛti khaṇḍa 27); Garuḍa 51; Kūrma, uttarārdha 26 (4 kinds, nitya, naimittika, kāmya, vimala); Liṅga, uttarārdha 28 (16 mahadānas); Matsya 81-91, 205-206, 274-289 (16 mahadānas); Nārada (pūrvārdha 13 and 31, uttarārdha 41-42); Padma (ādi 57, bhūmikhaṇḍa 39-40 and 94, brahmakhaṇḍa 58-60).
24, srṣī 45 on godāna and 75, uttara 27 on annadāna, 28 and 33); Saura 9-10; Śiva (Umāsāramhīta chap. 11 and 14); Skanda I (Kauṁārika-khaṇḍa 2 for names of famous donors), III. 2 (dharmāranya 34), VII. I. 5 and 208; Varāha 99-111.

Dravyaśuddhi—Agni 156; Bhāgavata XI. 21; Brahma 113; Liṅga (pūrvārdha 89); Mārkaṇḍeya 32.

Gotra and Pravara—Matsya 194-201; Skanda III. 2 (dharmāranya-khaṇḍa) 9.

Kalivarṇa—vide under Yuga-dharmas.
Brahma 122-123; Brahma (anuṣaṅgapāda chap. 31); Brahmavaivarta (prakṛtikhaṇḍa 7); Kūrma 30; Liṅga 40; Nārada (pūrvārdha 41); Skanda I (Kauṁārika-khaṇḍa chap. 40 and 218-248), II (puruṣottamamahātmya chap. 39), VI. 272; Vaiyu I. 58.

Kalivarja—Nārada (pūrvārdha chap. 24).

Karmavipaka—Brahma 108; Brahmavaivarta (prakṛtikhaṇḍa 26 and 28 and 4th khaṇḍa uttarārdha 85); Mārkaṇḍeya 15; Padma (Brahma-khaṇḍa 5, pātālakhaṇḍa 48); Vāmana 12.

Pātakas—vide under pātakas.
Agni 203 and 371; Brahma 20 (25 names given), 105 (22 names); Brahmavaivarta, prakṛtikhaṇḍa 29 (for names of 86 narakakunḍalas) and 33; Padma (uttara, chap. 227 for names of 140); Śiva (umāsamhīta chap. 8 for 28 narakas and chap. 16); Skanda I (kauṁārika-khaṇḍa 39), VI. 226-227, Viṣṇu I. 6. and II. 6.

Niti—vide under rajadharmā.
Guruḍa 108-114 (summary of Brhaspati-niti) and 115 (summary of Saunaka).

Pātakas—vide under prāyaścitta
Agni 168 (mahāpātakas and lesser sins); Brahma 20 and 105-106; Mārkaṇḍeya 12-14; Nārada (pūrvārdha 15); Śiva (umāsamhīta 5 for mahāpātakas and 6 for upapātakas).

Pratiṣṭha—Agni 38-106 (building and consecration of temples, idols of Viṣṇu &c); Guruḍa 45-48, Padma (uttarakhaṇḍa chap. 122 and 127 for Śālagrama); Matsya 258-270; Śiva I (vidyēśvara-samhīta chap. 11).

Prāyaścitta—Agni 170-174; Brahma (upasaṁhārapāda chap. 8); Guruḍa 52 (specifically for mahāpātakas) and 222; Kūrma, uttarārdha 30-34; Liṅga 90 (for lapses of yēṣīs); Nārada, pūrvārdha 14 and 30; Padma (brahma-khaṇḍa 18-19); Saura 52; Varāha 68
(for agamyagamana), 131-136
(for various lapses), 179;
Vayu (pūrvārdha 18 for lapses
of yati).

Rajadharma—Agni 220-242; Kā-
likā 87; Mārkāṇḍeya 24;
Matsya 216-227, 240

Sanskāra—vide under Vivaha
also.
Agni 153-154 and 166;
Bhavisya I (Brahmaparva
chap. 3-4 and 7); Nārada,
pūrvārdha 25-26; Skanda IV.
I (pūrvārdha 36 and 38);
Viśṇu III. 10.

Śanti—Agni 149, 164, 167, 259-
268, 290-91, 320-324; Bha-
visya IV chap. 141 ff; Brahm-
avaivarta IV (uttarārdha
chap. 82); Matsya 92-93 and
228-239

Śraddhas—Agni 117 (according
to Kātyāyana ) and 163;
Brahma 110-113, Brahmanḍa
(upodgātapāda 9-20 );
Kūrma, uttarārdha 20-22;
Mārkāṇḍeya 27-30; Liṅga,
uttarārdha 45 (jivat-śrāddha);
Matsya 16-22; Nārada,
pūrvārdha 128; Padma
(pātālakhaṇḍa 101, srṣṭi 9-11
and 47 ); Śiva (kailāsasa-
sāṁhitā 21-23 ) (about after-
death rites of yati ); Saura
19; Skanda VI. 215-225 and
VII. I. chap. 205-207;
Varāha 13-14 and 187-188;
Vayu (uttarārdha chap. 10-
21 ); Viśṇu III. 13-16,

Strīdharma—Bhāgavata VII. 11;
Bhavisya I chap. 11-15;
Brahmavaivarta (brahma-
kaṇḍa 9 about greatness
of pati, 4th kaṇḍa,
uttarārdha 83 (about pati-
vrata ); Padma (bhūmikhaṇḍa
41, pātāla 102, srṣṭi 47 and 49,
uttara 234 (duties of wife and
cowives); Śiva ( rudrasaṁ-
hīta, Pūrvatikhaṇḍa 54 );
Skanda III. 2. (dharmāranyaka-
kaṇḍa 7 ).

Tirīha—Agni 109-116; Bhāga-
vata VII. 14; Brahma 23, 26
(Koṇārka in Orissa), 39
(Ekāma), 40-48 (Jagannā-
tha), 54 (Mahākāla at Ujjia-
yini); Garuḍa 81-86; Kurma,
pūrvārdha 31-35 (Benares),
36-38 (Prayāga), uttarārdha
35-44; Liṅga, pūrvārdha 92;
Matsya 179-183 and 188-193;
Nārādyā, uttarārdha 39-40
(Gangāsnāna), 45-47 (Gaya),
48-49 (Benares), 50 (Śiva-
lingas), 52-61 (Jagannātha),
62-81 (numerous tīrthas );
Padma I. 13-49, Padma,
bhūmikhaṇḍa 90 and 92,
srṣṭikhaṇḍa 14-15 and 18-19,
60, uttarakhaṇḍa 2, 20-25,
113, 129 (numerous tīrthas
named), 130-169, 195; Saura
67; Śiva I. 12 (koṭirudra-
sāṁhitā 1-2, 8-33); Skanda 42
( aruṇācala-māhātmya,
rārdha 2 ), II (purusottama-
māhātmya 1-49; II. Badari-kā-māhātmya 1-8; III. 1; III 2. 31; V. 3 (Revākhandā is full of tirthas in 232 chapters) and also VI and VII; Vāmana 33-42 and 50; Varāha 141-176; Vāyu, uttarārdha 43-50 (Gaya).

Tithi—vide under vratas also. Brahma 120 (ekādaśī); Nārada, pūrvārdha 29 (what tithi should be taken, paravi-ddha or pūrvaviddha); Nārada, uttarārdha 2; Padma, brahmakaṇḍa 13 (janmāṣṭami), 15 (ekādaśī); Saura 51; Varāha 23-35 (all tithis from 1st to amavāsyā).

Utsarga—(works of public utility such as tanks and wells, parks, prapās &c.)—vide under dana and pratiṣṭha.

Bhavisya II; Nārada, pūrvārdha 13; Padma, srṣṭi 54-56, uttara 28; Śiva (Vidyēsvaramāhātī 11).

Varnadharma—Agni 151; Bhāgavata VII. 11 and XI. 17; Brahma 114-115; Garuḍa 49; Mārkandeyā 25; Nārada, pūrvārdha 24, 43, 59, 70; Skanda VI. 242; Viṣṇu III. 8. mixed castes-Brahmavaivarta (Brahmakhandā 10).

Vivāha—vide under sanskāra.

Padma, uttara 223 and 232; Skanda IV, pūrvārdha 38.


Vyabhāra—Agni 253-258; Skanda I. (Koṭiśārikakhandā) 44(eight ordeals described).

Yugadharmas—vide also under Kalisvarupā.

Garuḍa 223; Liṅga 39; Matsya 141-143, 164; Nārada, pūrvārdha 41; Skanda VI. 272; Vāyu I. 32 and 58.
34. The Yājñavalkyasmrī

This Smṛti has been published dozens of times. In the following the Nirṇayasāgara edition edited by Śastri Moghe (1892 A.D.) has been used and the Trivandrum edition when speaking of Viśvarūpa.

The name of Yājñavalkya is one of the most illustrious among Vedic sages. He is credited with having promulgated the White Yajurveda. In the Śāntiparva (chap. 312) we are told that there was a rupture between Vaiśampāyana and his pupil Yājñavalkya and that by worshipping the Sun the latter received the revelation of the White Yajurveda, the Śatapatha &c. The accounts in the Viṣṇu (3. 5), the Bhāgavata (XII. 6. 61–74) and other purāṇas differ somewhat from the one in the Mahābhārata, but all agree on the fact of the strained relations between Yājñavalkya and his teacher. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in several places alludes to the dialogues of Yājñavalkya and king Janaka of Videha on agnihotra (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 46). Vide Śatapatha (ed. by Weber) XI. 6. 2. At the end of the Śatapatha we are told that Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya promulgated the bright Yajus formulae from the Sun.106 In the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad Yājñavalkya appears as a great philosopher teaching the recondite doctrines of Brahma and immortality to one of his two wives, the philosophically minded Maitreyī (II. 4 and IV. 5). In the same Upaniṣad Yājñavalkya is represented as carrying away the one thousand cows set apart by Janaka for the most learned Brāhmaṇa (III. 1. 1-2) and Yājñavalkya is said to have imparted to Janaka the knowledge of the destiny of the soul after it is released from the bonds of flesh and worldly affections. Kātyāyana in his Vārtika on Pāṇini (IV. 3. 105)107 speaks of the Brāhmaṇas of Yājñavalkya and very heated controversies have raged round the correct interpretation of the Vārtika and the Mahābhāṣya thereon (vide Max Müller’s Ancient Sanskrit Literature p. 360, Goldstücker’s Pāṇini, p. 132 ff and S. B. E. vol. 12 pp. xxxv–xxxviii). It is to be noted that in the Yājñavalkyasmrī itself108 (III. 110) the

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106 आदिव्याहारिनी युक्तानि यथौ विषयवेषिन् याज्ञवल्क्यनैश्वायनेन। शतपथ XIV. 9. 4. 33.
107 पुराणगीते युक्तानि याज्ञवल्क्यनैश्वायनेन। पा. III. 3. 105.
108 हेत्यं राजसष्पहं यदादिव्यासवात्। योगशास्त्रं च महोदयं हेत्यं योगेश्वरे। योगेश्वरं च महोदयं हेत्यं योगेश्वरे॥ शतपथ III. 110.
author, whoever he may be, claims the authorship of the Āranyaka that he received from the Sun and the Yogaśāstra composed by him. This is simply put in to glorify the Yajñaval kaliya-smṛti as the work of a great and ancient sage, philosopher and yogin. From the style and the doctrines of the smṛti it is impossible to believe that it was the work of the same hand that gave to the world the Upaniṣad containing the boldest philosophical speculation couched in the simplest yet the most effective language. Even orthodox Indian opinion was not prepared to admit the unity of authorship in the case of the smṛti and the Āranyaka. The Mitākṣara says at the beginning that a certain pupil of Yaj. abridged the dharmaśāstra in the form of a dialogue. 309 It will be shown later on that, though the sage who promulgated the Āranyaka and the author of the smṛti cannot be identical, yet the Yajñaval kaliya-smṛti is much more closely connected with the White Yajurveda and the literature particularly belonging to it than with any other Veda.

The Yajñaval kaliya-smṛti contains (in the Nirnayasaṅgha ed. of 1892) 1010 verses, while the Trivandrum edition with the commentary of Viśvarūpa contains 1003 verses and Aparārka gives 1006 (Ānaḍāsramā edition). The difference in the number is mostly due to the fact that Viśvarūpa in the first section on ācāra omits five verses that occur in the Mitākṣara. 310 As regards one of them (the verse 'rathyākardamatoynā' I. 197 according to the Mit.) Viśvarūpa notices it and says that some read it after the verse "mukhajā viprusā" and that it adds nothing to what precedes. Aparārka explains that verse. In the second section on vyavahāra Viśvarūpa reads verses 311 which do not exist in the Mitākṣara nor in Aparārka. On the other hand Viśvarūpa seems to doubt the authenticity of the well-known verse on re-union and reads it also

309 याज्ञवल्क्यशिष्यः कथितोऽवतरणं याज्ञवल्क्यप्राणिः धर्मशास्त्रं संक्षिप्तं कथयामासः।
310 Viz. the verses आचारांविदि (I. 76), रथयाकर्दममतोयन (I. 197), वायवस्तथा पदानि (I. 207), two half verses तथाचादनदानानि (I. 232) and अपहला इति तीलान (I. 234), दूष्यन् (I. 289).
311 For example, the verse अग्नेयं विद्वदेत भोगे याति प्राणान्यादि अविश्वदानो भोगः प्रामाणयं नाधिगच्छति (Tri. ed. II. 29) and कुदालि जातय: श्रेष्ठो गणानुज जनपदानपि। र्यथार्थो चालितान्त राजा विनीतो र्यथापेतवादि। (Tri. ed. II. 24) do not occur in the Mit. The first is नारद (कणादान 85) and also occurs in the अधिकुण्ड 253. 56-57.
differently\(^{312}\). Not only this but in some cases the arrangement of verses is not the same in both Viśvarūpa and the Mit. For example, verses 14–29 of the prāyaścitta section present very different sequences in both. What is verse 29 in the Trivandrum edition is verse 19 in the Mit. Besides the Mit. reads one verse \(\text{III. 23 a} \) dantajanmanah &c.) which is wanting in Viśvarūpa and is also not commented upon by Aparārka. Viśvarūpa adds two half verses,\(^{313}\) which do not occur in the Mit. and Aparārka. There is further a good deal of variance in the readings adopted by Viśvarūpa and the Mit., though the meaning is not often affected. For example, the two verses enumerating the names of writers on dharma are differently worded in both.\(^{314}\) But Medhātithi favours the reading of Viśvarūpa.\(^{315}\) Viśvarūpa reads “asvattam lokavidviṣṭam” \(\text{(I. 155)}\) and notices a reading “asvamtam”, while the Mit. reads “asvargyam loka &c.”. Both the Mit. and Aparārka read “pita pitamahoh bhrata &c.” \(\text{(I. 63)}\), while Viśvarūpa reads “pita mātama ho bhrata”, remarks that “mātama” is put in earlier as a guardian for marriage for metrical reasons and then notices “pita pitamahoh bhrata” as a various reading. Even in the days of Viśvarūpa there were various readings in Yaj. \(\text{(Vide com. on I. 1, 2, 51, II. 119, 179 etc.)}\).

The Agnipurāṇa affords an excellent check for the consideration of the text of the Yajñavalkyasmrī. A good-sized monograph will be required to deal exhaustively with the questions raised by the comparison of the vyavahāra portion of the Agnipurāṇa with Yajñavalkya’s vyavahāra-kānda. I shall only briefly examine the materials and state the conclusions at which I have arrived. We know that Viśvarūpa, the first extant commentator of Yaj., flourished about 800–825 A. D. The author of the Mitākṣarā flourished about 250 years later. Interesting results follow by a comparison of the text that these two commentators had before them with the

\(^{312}\) अन्योदयर्ग्यासाके सामाित्यै (II. 143).

\(^{313}\) The two half verses are भाषणम् दूकाि तु मथति पेतिस्थलकः \(\text{(19 a)}\) and मायानाशकाश्चाधिविष्ये विदिषुता स्वयं \(\text{(24 b)}\) in Tri. ed.

\(^{314}\) Vide note 258 above.

\(^{315}\) अस्मातपरीङ्गः मन्नव्यमक्ष्मीवा हत्तिनिर्मला तथा हि पैठथगवण-प्रेतमथन: स्तिथवेद्वेष्यः स्तवेन। न च परिगणितासंभविषयः। मेधा।
Agnipurāṇa. I shall select chap. 256 of the Agnipurāṇa for a detailed examination. It contains 36 verses which all occur in Yāj. II. (verses 118-153 of Tri. ed. and verses 114-149 of the Mit.). It is found that the Agnipurāṇa agrees with the text of 12 verses word for word as contained in Viśvarūpa and 19 verses as contained in the Mit. Viśvarūpa puts three verses between the two verses ‘pitṛdravyāvīnāśena &c’ and ‘kṛmadabhyāgataṁ dravyam’, while the Mit. brings the two verses together. Agnipurāṇa agrees with Viś. In several cases the readings of the Agnipurāṇa agree with Viśvarūpa’s text and not with that of the Mit. For example, Agni. reads ‘kāryāḥ pānayāḥ samāṁśikāḥ’ with Viś. (119), reads ‘bhūrya . . . dravyam-evā vā . . . putrasya cōbhaiḥ’ with Viś. (124), reads ‘pitṛdravyāvīnāśena’ (and not ‘vyāvirodhena’ as Mit. does) with Viś. (122), reads ‘dadyāt-cāpaharec-cāṁsāṁ’ with Viś. (142 b), reads ‘patitas-tatsutāḥ klibaḥ’ with Viś. (144 a), reads ‘aprājāyā-matitāyām’ with Viś. (148). The Agnipurāṇa however in a far larger number of cases agrees with the readings of the Mit. Agni. (256. 8) reads with the Mit. (122) ‘vibhakteṣu suṭojātāḥ savarnāyāṁ vibhāgabhāk,’ Agni. (256. 10) reads ‘mātāpyaṁsāṁ samaṁ haret’ with the Mit. (123), while Viś. (127) reads ‘mātāpyaṁsāṁ samaṁ pnuyāt.’ Viśvarūpa’s reading leaves it undecided as to what the share of the mother is to be, while the Mit. makes it definite by stating that it is equal (to that of a son). Agni. (256. 12) reads ‘catus-trī-duveka-bhāgaḥ syuḥ’ and ‘vidjāstu duvekabhaṅginaḥ’ with the Mit. (125); Agni. (256. 21) reads ‘-rdhaḥbhāgikāṁ’ with the Mit. (134). Agni. (256. 27) reads ‘andho-cīkitsyarogādyā’ with the Mit. (140), while Viś. (144) reads ‘rogi ca.’ The reading of the Mit. makes provision by the word ‘ādyā’ for others persons like deaf-mutes mentioned in other śṛṃtis as not entitled to inherit, while Viś. has to put a forced interpretation on ‘ca’ as including such persons. The Agni (256. 33) reads ‘vyayaṁ dadyāc-ca sodayaṁ’ with the Mit. (146), while Viś. (150) reads ‘dāpyaś-ca sodayaṁ’. Agni (256. 36) reads ‘vibhāgabhāvanā jñeyā grha-kṣetraś-ca yautakaiḥ’ with the Mit. (149), while Viś. (153) reads ‘obhāvanādeyagrha-kṣetarakayautakaiḥ’. Here the former reading is easy and gives a complete sentence. With Viś. we have to separate ‘obhāvanā’ and ‘ādeyā &c.’. Besides no predicate (like jñeyā or kāryā) is expressly mentioned in the verse if we take the reading of Viś. and the ‘ka’ in ‘kṣetra’ is a redundancy. We find that the tendency of the readings of the Mit. is to smooth down
harsh or involved constructions and that the Agnipurāṇa presents most of the changes in the text found in the Mit. but not found in Viṣ. In the same direction points the fact that Agni (256. 35) reads ‘na dattaṁ stridhanaṁ yasyai’ with the Mit. (148) and not ‘yasyā’ as Viṣ. (152) does, as ‘yasyai’ is grammatically more regular than ‘yasyāḥ’ with the form ‘dattaṁ’. But as against this we may note that both Viṣ. and Agni read ‘aprajāyāmatāyām’, while the Mit. reads ‘atitāyāmaprajasi’. The reading ‘aprajasi’ is correct according to Pāṇini (V. 4. 122) and not ‘aprajāyām’. Therefore the conclusion that follows is that the text of Yāj. preserved in the Agnipurāṇa is intermediate between the text of Viṣvarūpa and that of the Mitakṣara. As Viṣvarūpa flourished about 800-825 A. D., the Agnipurāṇa represents a text of Yājñavalkya current somewhat later i.e. about 900 A. D. In my ‘History of Sanskrit Poetics’ (pp. III-V) I established, from the fact that the extant Agnipurāṇa quotes Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha and knew the theory of dhvani, that it was composed about 900 A. D. That date is strikingly corroborated by the evidence derived from the chapters on vyavahāra discussed above. It is no doubt true that the Agni presents some readings that are found neither in Viṣ. nor in the Mit. For example, it reads (256. 4) ‘tābhya ṛte ‘ṛpayet’, while both Viṣ. and Mit. read ‘tābhya ṛte ‘ṛnvayaḥ’. It is probable that this is an error of the copyists or of the reading may be due to the difficulty of understanding the meaning of ‘anvayaḥ’ there. Agni reads (256. 5) ‘svayam – arjayaḥ’ for ‘svayam – arjitaḥ’ (of Viṣ. and Mit.), and ‘jātopi dāsyāṁ śūdrasya’ (256. 20) for ‘ośūdreṇa’ (of Viṣ. and Mit.). A detailed examination of the other chapters on vyavahāra will yield the same results. But it cannot be undertaken here. A few examples may however be cited. Viṣ. (II. 167) reads ‘pālo yeṣāṁ ca te mocyā daiva- rājāparipluṭaḥ’, Agni (257. 14) ‘pālo yeṣāṁ tu te mocyā daivaraṣajāparipluṭaḥ’, while Mit. (163) reads ‘pālo yeṣāṁ na te. tāḥ’. Similarly Viṣ. (II. 179) and Agni (257. 26) read ‘svakutumbāvirodhenā deyaṁ’ while the Mit. (175) reads ‘svam kuṭumbāvirodhenā’. Viṣ. (II. 203) reads ‘galāt – sabhikavrddhistu’, while both Agni (257. 49) and Mit. (199) read ‘glahe śatikavrddhstu’, which certainly is an easier reading. Agni 258. 45 occurs in Mit. (255), but is wanting in Viṣvarūpa. Yāj. II. 228 in Viṣ. becomes in the Mit, verse 263, Agni, following the order of Viṣvarūpa.
The total number of verses on vyavahāra in Agnipurāṇa, chap. 253-258, is 315. Out of this the first 31 are not taken from Yāj. All of them except the first half verse and verse 31 (chap. 253) occur in Nārada. Of the remaining 284 verses, only 41½ (Agni 253, 35, 255, 43a, 255, 49b and 50, 258, 83) do not occur in Yāj. (in both Viś. and Mit.). There are also a few verses that occur in the Agnipurāṇa and in Viśvarūpa, but not in the Mit. and also a few verses that are common to the Mit. and Agni but are not found in Viś. The first three verses of Yāj. II are compressed by the Agnipurāṇa into 1½ verses.

The Garuḍapurāṇa affords, like the Agnipurāṇa, material help towards examining the authoritativeness of the text of the first and third sections of Yāj. The Agnipurāṇa does not expressly say that it drew upon Yāj., but the Garuḍapurāṇa is explicit on the point. In chap. 93. 1. it is expressly said that the dharma formerly promulgated by Yājñavalkya is being narrated ‘Yājñavalkyaṇa yat (yāh ?) pūrvam dharmam (dharmaḥ ?) proktam (cātah ?) kathām Hare i tan me kathaya keśighna yathā tattvena Madhava ii’. Chapters 93-106 contain dharmasāstra material more or less taken from the Yājñavalkyasmṛti. There are 376 verses in these chapters. Considerations of space forbid any detailed examination of this material. A few salient facts only are brought out here. Chapters 93-102 deal with the several topics (prakaraṇas) of the first kāṇḍa in the same order, the only exception being the topic of rājadharma (I. 309-368), which is omitted in the Garuḍapurāṇa. Chapters 102-106 treat of topics that occur in the third kāṇḍa of Yāj. and contain 121 verses only. In these chapters the order of the prakaraṇas in Yāj. is not observed at all, but Garuḍa speaks of them in the following order, vānaprastha-prakaraṇa, yati, karmavipāka, prāyaścitta, āsauca and āpaddharma (the last two being the first two prakaraṇas in Yāj.). A feature which strikes one as regards the Garuḍapurāṇa (particularly chap. 102-106) is that a few verses only of Yāj. are repeated word for word, that very often the Garuḍapurāṇa gives only a summary by omitting and transposing the words and phrases of the original and that sometimes it adds verses of its own. This may be illustrated by what the Garuḍa says on vānaprastha and yati (chap. 102-103, 12 verses in all). Chap. 102 begins ‘vānaprasthāramāṁ vaksye tāc-chhrnvantu mahārṣayaḥ i putreṣu bhāryāṁ nikṣipya vanamac cchchet sāhāvata vā ii’. The latter
half is a paraphrase of Yāj. III. 45a. Then III. 45b-46 (Mit.) = Garuḍa 102. 2-3a (with slight variations), III. 47 = Garuḍa 102-4 b-5a; III. 48 = 3b-4a; III. 49-50 = Garuḍa 5b (‘pakṣe māsetha vā-śnīyād-dantolūkhaliḥiko bhavet, which summarises and retains some words of the original’), III. 7 1 = Garuḍa 102. 6a (candrayaṁ svapḍ-bhumau karma kuryāt phala-dāna, which includes a few words of III. 49b also), III. 52 = Garuḍa 6b-7a (the last pada in Garuḍa is ‘yogābhyaśāt dinam nayet’, while in Yāj. it is ‘saktyā vāpi tapaś caret’), III. 53 = Garuḍa 102. 7. Chap. 203 contains only five verses. III. 56, 58-59 = Garuḍa 103. 1b-4a (with variants) and then Garuḍa adds 146 verses which are not found in Yāj. (viz. ‘bhavet-paramahāmo vā ekadaṇḍi yamādī漂 11 siddha-yogas-tyajan deham-amrta-vam-ihāpnyāt i dūtātithipiyo jñāṇi grhi śraddhepi mucyate 11’). The mere fact that a prakaraṇa is omitted in the Garuḍapurāṇa should cast no doubt on the existence of that prakaraṇa in the original Yāj. We do not know on what principles the borrowing took place. Besides we find that such prakaraṇas as Vināyakaśānti and grahaśānti are included in the Garuḍa (chap. 100-101), while rājadharma-prakaraṇa is omitted. We know that ‘rājadharma’ figures in the sūtras and Manu, but none of the ancient dharmasūtras, nor the Manusmṛti speaks of Vināyaka. Hence conclusions must be drawn only from what positively occurs in the Garuḍapurāṇa and not from the absence of any topic in it. The Garuḍapurāṇa sometimes follows the arrangement and form of the verses presented in Viś., sometimes it agrees with the Mit. and sometimes it is independent. For example, the two verses enumerating the authors of dharmashastras (Yāj. 1. 4-5 = Garuḍa 93. 4-5) follow the readings of Viś., but not those of the Mit. In the 3rd kāṇḍa, verses 14-19 of the Mit. are differently arranged by Viś., and Viś. omits (as does Aparārka also) one verse found in the Mit. (III. 23) as said above, while the Mit. omits two half verses that are found in Viś. (vide note 313). The verse ‘ā danta &c.’ occurs in the Garuḍapurāṇa and the two half verses in Viś. omitted by the Mit. are also omitted in Garuḍa. So far the Garuḍapurāṇa agrees with the arrangement preserved in the Mit. But it does not agree entirely with the Mit. The verse ‘ādanta &c’ is III. 23 in the Mit. and occurs before ‘ahastavadatta’ but in the Garuḍa it occurs before ‘trīrātram daśarātram vā’ (which is III. 18 in the Mit.). Besides verse 22 of the Mit. is read differently in the Garuḍa (daśa dvādaśa varṇa-
nām tathā pañcadaśaiva ca tātrimśad dināni ca tathā bhavati preta-
sūtakam). It must therefore be said that the Garuḍapurāṇa
represents an intermediate stage of readings between Viś.
and the Mit. As the Garuḍapurāṇa was a popular work read by and recited
for the benefit of slightly educated or illiterate people, it often
introduces changes to suit their understanding. For example, the
Mit. (I. 296) reads (as also Viś.) 'sūryaḥ somo mahiputraḥ somapu-
trō brhaspatiḥ', while Garuḍa reads (chap. 101. 2) 'sūryaḥ somo
maṅgalaḥ ca būdhaś caiva brhaspatiḥ,' thus substituting the well-
known words Maṅgala and Būdha for mahiputra and somaputra.
The verse 'kṛtāgni kāryo bhūṇjita' (I. 31 in the Mit.) is placed by
Viś. after 'ekadesam - upādhyāya,' while the Mit. places it three
verses earlier. The Garuḍapurāṇa here agrees with the Mit. In some
cases Garuḍa strikes an independent path. For example, in Yāj.
I. 11 Viś. reads 'māse' to jātakarma ca,' the Mit. reads 'māsyete
jātakarma ca,' while Garuḍa (chap. 93. 11) gives the easy reading
'prasave jātakarma ca.' Mit. reads (Yāj. I. 76 b) 'tīyam dāpyas-
trītyāṁśam-adravyo bharaṇam striyāḥ'; Viś. omits the whole verse,
while Garuḍa omits I. 76a (of Mit.) and reads the other half as
'suddham tīyam sūrīḥ śam dadyādabharaṇam striyāḥ' (95. 23 b).
Verses I. 91-92 of the Mit. on the offspring of mixed marriages are
differently read by Viś. (I. 90-91), while the Garuḍa (96. 1b) has
the same half verse as the Mit. I. 91a and the same half verse
(96. 3a) as Viś. (91b) and reads the two half verses between them
as 'jāto'mbaṣṭhastu śudrāyāṁ niṣādaḥ parvatopī vā māhiṣyaḥ
kṣatriyājē jāto vaisẏāyāṁ mlecchasamjñītaḥ'.

The foregoing makes it clear that the text that the Garuḍapurāṇa
had before it could not have been older than that commented upon
by Viśvarūpa and that it represents a stage intermediate between
Viś. and the Mit.

The above gives rise to an important question whether one can
detect several strata in the Yājñavalikalasūtrī. From the fact that
the sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita cites Yājñavalikya among the promul-
gators of dharmaśastras (vide note 137), while Yāj. himself includes
Śaṅkha-Likhita among the propounders of dharma (note 258), it
may be plausibly said that Śaṅkha-Likhita refer to an earlier
Yājñavalikalasūtrī than the extant one. Beyond this there is no
evidence to establish that there was an earlier version of the present
sūtrī. A comparison of the readings of Viśvarūpa and the Mit.
with those in the Agni and Garuda purāṇas has established that
the text of the smṛti no doubt underwent slight verbal changes
between 800 and 1100 A. D. and that a few verses were added and also
omitted during these centuries. But the text remained in the
main the same from 700 A. D. What the original smṛti contain-
ed, whether it was in prose or verse or both and whether it dealt
with only ācāra and prāyaścitta sections are questions on which
conjectures may be advanced, but there are no substantial materials
for arriving at even tolerably certain conclusions.

Yājñavalkya’s work is more systematic than that of Manu. He
divides the work into three sections and relegates all topics to their
proper positions and avoids repetition. He treats of almost all
subjects that we find in Manu, but his treatment is always concise
and he makes very great and successful efforts at brevity. The
result is that for the 2700 verses of Manu, he requires only a little
over a thousand. He often compresses two verses of Manu into one,
e. g. Manu II. 243, 247-248 are equal to Yāj. I. 49, Manu III,
46-48 and 50 are concisely put in one verse by Yāj. (I. 79); vide also
Manu IV. 7-8 and Yāj. I. 128 (contain almost same words also), Manu
IV. 84-85 and Yāj. I. 141. In a few cases Manu and Yāj. convey
the same meaning in one verse without compression, e. g.
Manu III. 70 and Yāj. I. 102, Manu III. 119 and Yāj. I. 110, Manu
VII. 171 and Yāj. I. 348, Manu VII. 205 and Yāj. I. 349. The
 correspondence of Yājñavalkya’s words with the text of Manu is in
most cases very close, so much so that one cannot help feeling that
Yāj. had the Manusmṛti before him and purposely made an attempt
to abridge the somewhat loose expressions of Manu. The passages
set forth above as examples of compression will also serve as
illustrations of this fact. The word Kāya (from Ka) is used by both
in the sense of ‘prājapatyā form of marriage’ (Manu III. 38 and
Yāj. I. 60); vide also Manu II. 109 and Yāj. I. 28, Manu III.
43-44 and Yāj. I. 62, Manu V. 26-27 and Yāj. I. 178-179, Manu
VII. 56 and Yāj. I. 312 for further close agreement in phraseology.
Yāj. adds some subjects which have either no counterpart in our
Manu or which are only noticed in passing by Manu. The Manu-
smṛti contains nothing corresponding to the Vināyakaśānti and
Grahaśānti of Yāj. (I. 271-308). Yāj. gives a detailed treatment of
five kinds of ordeals (II. 95-113), while Manu makes only a
cursory reference to the ordeals of fire and water (VIII. 114). Yāj,
contains considerable anatomical and medical matter (III. 75-108), which is wanting in Manu. On the other hand there are some subjects on which Yāj. is silent though they are dealt with in detail by Manu. This is the case with the account of the origin of the world.

The whole of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti is written in the classical Anuṣṭubh metre. Though the author's great aim has been to be concise, his verses are hardly ever obscure. The style is flowing and direct. There are not many un-Pāṇinian expressions, though he employs 'pūjya' in I. 293 and 'dūṣya' in II. 296. In the latter case both Viśvarūpa and Aparārka avoid the fault by reading differently. The verse 'kulāni jātayah śrenyo' is ungrammatical (Tri. ed. II. 34), as 'jāti', and 'śreni' must be in the accusative case. According to the Mit. Yājñavalkya addressed his words to Sāmārāvatas and other sages (vide com. on I. 1. 178 and 330-333). In this the Mit. is probably drawing upon the Br. Up. (III. 1. 2) where Yāj. asks Sāmārāvatas to take away the 1000 cows. The sages interpose (vide III. 118, 129) as in Manu, while the great teacher is passing in review one topic after another. The teacher himself addresses his auditors (as in I. 178 'śṛṇudhyam').

It is said that the sages approached Yājñavalkya in Mithilā and requested him to impart to them the dharmas of the varṇas, āśramas and others. The contents of the work may be briefly summarised as follows:—Kānda I. fourteen vidyas; twenty expounders of dharma, sources of dharma; constitution of a pariṣad, the samskāras from Garbhādhāna to marriage, upanayana, its time and other details, every day duties of brahma-cāri, persons fit to be taught, what things and actions a brahma-cāri was to avoid, period of studienthood; marriage, qualifications of girl to be married, limits of sapinda relationship, intercaste marriages; the eight forms of marriage and the spiritual benefits therefrom, guardians for marriage, Kṣetraja son, grounds of supercession of wife, duties of wife; principal and intermediate castes, duties of householder and keeping sacred domestic fire, the five great daily yajñas; honouring a guest, madhuparka, grounds of precedence, rule of the road, privileges and duties of the four varṇas, ten principles of conduct common to all, means of subsistence of a householder, and solemn vedic sacrifices; duties of snataka, days of cessation from study; rules

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about prohibited and allowed food and drink; rules about flesh-eating; purifications of various materials, such as metal or wooden vessels; gifts, who is fittest to accept them, who should accept gifts, rewards of gifts, gift of cow, rewards of other gifts, highest gift is knowledge; śrāddha, proper time for it, proper persons to be invited at it, unfit persons, the number of Brāhmaṇas to be invited, procedure of śrāddha, various śrāddhas such as pārvaṇa, vrddhi, ekoddiṣṭa; sapindaḥkarana; what flesh to be offered at śrāddha, reward of offering śrāddhas; propitiatory ceremonies as regards Viṇāyaka and the nine grahas; rājadharma, king's qualifications, ministers, purohita, royal edicts, king's duties of protection, administration of justice, taxation and expenditure, allotment of the day to various duties, constitution of maṇḍala, the four expedients, the six guṇas, fate and human effort, impartiality in punishment; units of measure and weight, grades of fine; Kāṇḍa II. members of hall of justice, judge, definition of vyavahārapada, rules of procedure, plaint, reply, taking security, indicia of a false party or witness, conflict of dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra; means of proof, documents, witnesses, possession; title and possession, gradation of courts, force, fraud, minority and other grounds of invalidity, finding of goods; treasure trove; debts, rates of interest, debts of joint family, what debts of father son need not pay; devolution of debts; suretyship of three kinds, pledge; deposit; witnesses, their qualifications and disqualifications; administering oaths, punishment for perjury; documents; ordeals of balance, water, fire, poison and holy water; partition, time of it, wife's share on partition, partition after father's death, property not liable to partition, joint ownership of father and son; twelve kinds of sons; illegitimate son of śūdra, succession to a sonless man, re-union, exclusion; husband's power over wife's strīdhana; boundary disputes; dispute between master and herdsman; sale without ownership; invalidity of gift, rescission of sale; breach of contract of service; slavery by force; violation of conventions; non-payment of wages; gambling and prize fighting; abuse, defamation and slander; assault, hurt etc.; sahasa; partnership; theft; adultery; miscellaneous wrongs; review of judgment; Kāṇḍa III. cremation and burial; offering of water to various deceased persons; for whom no mourning was to be observed and no water to be offered; periods of mourning for various persons; rules for mourners; impurity on birth; instances of immediate purification on death or birth; means of purification, such as time, fire, ritual,
mud etc.; rules of conduct and livelihood in distress; rules for forest hermit; rules for a yati; how the individual soul is clothed in a body; various stages of the foetus, number of bones in the body, the various organs such as liver, spleen etc.; the number of arteries and veins; reflection over ātman, use of music in the path of mokṣa; how the originally pure ātman is born among impure surroundings; how some sinners are born as various kinds of animals or inanimate things; how yogin attains immortality; three kinds of actions due to sattva, rajas and tamas; means of ātmajñāna; the two paths, one to immortality and the other to heaven; the various diseases from which sinners suffer; purpose of prāyaśccitas; names of 21 hells; the five mortal sins, and other acts similar to them; upapātakas; prāyaśccitas for Brāhmaṇa murder or for killing other persons; prāyaśccitas for drinking wine, for other mortal and venial sins and for killing animals of various sorts; greater or lesser expiation according to time, place, age, ability; ostracising the non-conformist sinner; secret expiations; ten yamas and niyamas; Sāntapana, mahāsāntapana, taptakṛcchra, parāka, candrāyaṇa and other expiations; rewards of reading this śrūti.

Besides the four vedas, Yāj. refers to the Vedāṅgas as six and enumerates fourteen vidyās (four Vedas, six aṅgas, purāṇa, nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, dharmaśāstra). He refers to the Āranyaka and Yoga-śāstra composed by himself. Āranyakas in general are spoken of in I. 145 and Śukriya Āranyaka in III. 309. The Upaniṣads are mentioned in III. 189, where purāṇas are mentioned in the plural. Itihāsas, Purāṇa, Vākvalkya, and Nārāyaṇi gāthās are mentioned in I. 45 (also I. 101 for purāṇa and itihāsa). He enumerates at the commencement nineteen authors on dharma besides himself. But it is remarkable that in the body of the work not one individual author of a dharma-śāstra is mentioned by name. He speaks of Āvikṣikī (Metaphysics) and Daṇḍanīti (I. 311). He lays down the dictum that where dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra conflict, the former shall prevail (II. 21). He speaks of śrūtis in general (II. 5 and I. 154). In III. 189 he speaks of sūtras and bhāṣyas. What works are intended it is most difficult to say; the only extant bhāṣya which can be said with certainty to be older than the extant Yāj. śrūti is that of Patañjali. He refers to other writers on dharma in the word 'eke' (I. 36). The view referred to there occurs in Baud. Dh. S. 1. 2. 4.
Yājñavalkya agrees very closely with the Viṣṇudharmaśāstra. What conclusions are to be drawn therefrom has been discussed above (see sec. 10). Similarly there is close correspondence between the Kauṭiliya and Yāj. If there is any borrowing at all, it must follow from the date above assigned to the Kauṭiliya that it is Yāj. who borrows. There are numerous passages in Yāj. that show remarkable agreement with the text of Manu. But there are several points on which Yāj. differs from Manu and shows in general a more advanced state of thought and feeling than the Manusmṛti. The following are the principal points wherein Yāj. differs from Manu. Manu seems to allow a Brāhmaṇa to marry a śūdra girl (III. 13), while Yāj. emphatically states it as his opinion that this is wrong (I. 59); Manu first describes the practice of niyoga and then severely condemns it (9. 59-68), while Yāj. does not condemn it (I. 68-69). Manu enumerates eighteen vyavahārapadas; Yāj. does not expressly enumerate them in one place, though he defines vyavahārapada and adds verses of a miscellaneous character (prakīrnaka) in his section on vyavahāra. Manu is silent about the rights of inheritance of the widow of a sonless man and gives only a vaguely expressed order of succession, while Yāj. places the widow at the head of all heirs and enumerates several classes of heirs in a regular order. Manu condemns gambling outright (9. 224-226), while Yāj. brought it under state control and made it a source of revenue to the king (II. 200-203). There are several other matters which Yāj. treats at much greater length and more systematically than Manu, e. g. ordeals (as indicated above), means of proof in courts (Manu altogether ignoring documentary evidence, though he knew documents 8. 51-52), rules of procedure in courts (compare Manu 8. 53-56 with Yāj. II. 5-11 and 16-21), the doctrine of possession and prescription (Yāj. II. 24-29 and Manu 9. 44 and 54). All these points tend to show that the Yājñavalkya smṛti is much later than the extant Manusmṛti.

The Yājñavalkya-smṛti seems to have taken the section on Vināyakaśānti from the Mānavagṛhya-sūtra (II. 14); verses 281-283 of Yāj. (I) occur in the Mānavagṛhya II. 14, but in a different order. The Mānavagṛhya takes the Vināyakas to be four, while Yāj. says that there is a single Vināyaka, whose appellations are Mita. &c.
The details of information about Vināyaka in Yāj. (I. 272–276) appear to be verified from the prose17 of the M. Gr. S. The details of worship also and the mantra (Yāj. I. 291) are taken from the same work (vide M. Gr. S. II. 14. 30 for the mantra). At one time the section on Vināyakasānti was thought to be a sure indication of the late date of Yāj. But since the discovery of the Mānavagrhyā that position had to be given up. In the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (II. 5. 21) we have Vināyaka and his several appellations (in the tarpāya).

Aparārka on Yāj. I. 275 quotes a long passage from the Bājavāpa grhya which bears a very close correspondence in phraseology to the passage from the M. Gr. S. quoted above and which gives the names of the four Vināyakas as Mita, Sāṁmita, Śalakaṭānkaṭa and Kuśmānda-rājaputra.

The Yājñavalkya-smṛti stands in a very intimate relation to the white Yajurveda and the literature that clusters round it. Most of the mantras quoted (in part) or referred to by Yāj. occur in the Rgveda as well as in the Vājasaneyya-saṁhitā (e. g. in Yāj. I. 22, 24, 229, 230, 238, 239, 247). But there are a few mantras that do not occur in the Rgveda, but only in the Vājasaneyya-saṁhitā or other saṁhitās (e. g. ‘yavosi’ in Yāj. I. 230, which is Vāj. S. 5. 26, ‘ye samānā in Yāj. I. 254 which is Vāj. S. 19. 45, ‘imam deva’ and ‘udbudhyasa’ in Yāj. I. 300 which are Vāj. S. 9. 40 and 15. 54, ‘annat pariśrutaḥ’ and ‘kāndat’ in Yāj. I. 301 which are Vāj. S. 19. 75 and 13. 20). Verses (Yāj. III. 191–197) are a paraphrase of certain passages of the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad, so much so that the very words of the latter are used throughout in the former, as the

317 एतएविताऊपासमिन्ति द्वारुणि भवति। लोके मृताति। तुषारि चिन्ताति। अन्नेन रेवासु भिक्षाति। अपि: त्वघो परशृति। मुद्रासु परशृति। जातिभागु परशृति। कारावाससस: परशृति। उद्यानु सुकरासु गर्भािलू दिवाधियोविद्यामयाप्रयत्ति श्रवण: परशृति। अन्वयित्वे क्षमति। अत्यन्ते जयांस्मये गहनोः इति कस्तहसुनुभावति। एते: चतु विनायके-राविश्या राजपुषा रक्षणते राज्ये न लभणे। कस्या: पितकास्तपशुपतयो भूर्वेष हमने। ... रुतिकरणा रूपिलपता भवति। मानवगुहा II. 14. 3-21

(ed. by Knauer)
quotations given below will show. Then again Yaj. very closely agrees with the Paraskaragṛhvasūtra as was pointed out by Dr. Stenzler in his introduction to the edition of Yaj. (1849, Berlin) and in the journal of the German Oriental Society (VII. 527). Viṣvarūpa points out that Yaj. I. 142-143 are based upon Paraskara. The mantra ‘ayanā me vajraḥ’ in Yaj. I. 135 (Trivandrum ed.) is given in Paraskara-grhyā II. 7. 7. In the following also there is close verbal correspondence between Yaj. and the P. Gr. S.; Yaj. III. 1-2 and P. Gr. S. III. 10. 1, 5, 8-9 and 12; Yaj. III. 3 and P. Gr. S. III. 10. 16 and 19-20; Yaj. III. 4 and P. Gr. S. III. 10. 46-47; Yaj. III. 16 and P. Gr. S. III. 10. 26-27. Similarly the verses of Yaj. on śrāddha (I. 217-270) offer many points of contact with the śrāddha-kalpa of Kātyāyana edited by Dr. Caland (pp. 127-130 of his work ‘Ahnencult &c.’). From these facts Dr. Jolly concludes that Yajñavalkya’s work goes back to a dharmasūtra of the White Yajurveda (R. u. S. P. 21). In another place Dr. Jolly hazards another conjecture based on the close correspondence between Yaj. and the Viṣṇudharmaśūtra that he probably belonged to the Kāṭhaka school of the Black Yajurveda (Journal of Indian History, 1924, p. 7). Yaj. also shows great similarity to the Kauṭiliya and borrows the Vināyaka-sānti from

318 स भाष्मविक्षिप्तः समस्तैरियमेव नु िश्च्रयाक्षेत भोतमश्च भ्रमानितः.।।

319 या िश्चर्के िश्चर्के भूमरणय क्रोऽिश्चर्के भ्रमानितः..।।

320 िश्चर्के िश्चर्के भूमरणय क्रोऽिश्चर्के भ्रमानितः..।।
the Mānavagṛhyaśūtra. From these facts one may argue at least with as much logic and force as underlies Dr. Jolly's guess-work that Yāj. probably belonged to the Māṇava school of the Black Yajurveda or to the school of Kautilya. If Yāj. knew his business as a writer on Dharmaśāstra, he must have consulted the works of his predecessors and his work is bound to show traces of that fact. One may conclude at the most that the author of the Yājñavalkyāsmaṁti may have possibly been a student of the White Yajurveda and so the mantras of the White Yajurveda and the Grhyaśūtra of Pāraskara were far more familiar to him than the other Vedas, sūtras, smṛtis, and other works. No such conclusions that there was a dharmaśūtra of the White Yajurveda and that the Yājñavalkyāsmaṁti was based thereon are warranted by the facts so far discovered.

For settling the date of Yāj. we need not consider the evidence after the 9th century. For in the first quarter of that century (as we shall see later on) Viśvarūpa wrote his extensive commentary on Yāj. That he was separated from Yāj. by many centuries follows from several considerations. Not only had numerous various readings arisen in the text of Yāj. when he wrote, but various interpretations of the same words and verses of Yāj. had arisen. For example, he gives several meanings of the words 'putronanyāsritadravyah' (in Yāj. II. 47), 'sāmudrāḥ' (II. 41); he gives different interpretations of I. 265, II. 160, II. 173 &c. He refers to the interpretations of his predecessors in several places by the word 'anye' (I. 3, 25, 155, 169; II. 21, 119, 121; III. 201, 209, 246 &c.). In several places he appears to be referring to two other interpretations than his own (vide on III. 250, the words 'kecittu' and 'anye tu' and the same words on III. 261 and 264). That Viśvarūpa had before him actual commentaries on Yāj. and not merely giving scholastic interpretations started by himself is made very clear in several cases by his actually citing certain portions from those works. On I. 252 Viśvarūpa says 'others take from somewhere the following sloka (then the sloka is quoted), but this sloka is of no help, as its origin is not known'.321 Similar words occur in the

321 अथो तु कुचिनित्रमथवें लोकां पाठनिति—‘यद सम्बाधितर्म गे कृष्णिक्यवें योजयेत्।’

विषयस्य अवति पितृभा चोपजायते। इति। अथवा त्रिविग्रह्यकल्लोकदिपि।

विषयस्य on या. I. 252.
comment on Yāj. III. 222. On II. 193 he styles some predecessor as ‘pāṇḍitaṁmannya’ and on III. 257 he ridicules a predecessor who regards the verse of Manu IV. 222 as an arthavāda by saying that that commentator wanted to show off that he knew the technical term arthavāda. It is not unlikely that Viśvarūpa in this last passage refers to some ancient commentator of Manu such as Asahāya. In the Prāyaścittamayūkha, Nilakanṭha (Benares edition of 1879) says that Śaṅkara in his Bhāṣya on Brahmasūtra (III. 4. 43) explained the application of Yāj. III. 226. Unfortunately in the printed editions of Śaṅkara I could not find this. But from the Bhāmati where Yāj. III. 226 is explained, it is clear that the passage must have occurred in the text of Śaṅkara used by the Bhāmati. Dr. Jolly lays great emphasis in assigning a late date to Yāj. on the fact that Kumārila, who cites Manu, Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana frequently, ignores the Yājñavalkya-smṛti altogether. But this silence of the great mīmāṁsaka can only mean that he did not assign the same pre-eminent and venerable position to Yāj. that he assigned to Manu, Gautama and others. Dr. Jolly himself is prepared to place Yāj. three or four centuries earlier than Kumārila. It will be shown hereafter that Nārada and Brhaspati cannot be placed later than 500 A.D. and may have flourished two or three centuries earlier still. On a comparison of their doctrines with those of Yāj. it will have to be conceded that they represent a far greater advance in juristic principles and exactitude than Yāj. So the latter cannot be placed later than the 3rd century A.D. As Yāj. is shown above to have followed the Manusmṛti and the Kauṭilya his smṛti cannot be placed earlier than the first century B.C. We shall not be therefore far from the truth if we place his smṛti somewhere between the first century B.C. and the third century of the Christian era. In the Laṅkāvatārasūtra (ed. by B. Nanjio, 1923, 322-323, 323-324, 326).
34. The Yajnavalkyasmrī

Kyoto) gathas 814-816 are ‘Katyāyanaḥ sūtrakartā yajñavalkastathaiva ca ... Valmikī Masurākṣaśca Kauṭilya Āśvālayanaḥ i ... ’. From the context it appears that the author of the smṛti is referred to as Yajñavalka.

Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 21) following Dr. Jacobi (Z D M G 30, p. 306) thinks that Yāj. shows an acquaintance with Greek astrology. Dr. Jacobi’s position amounts to this that the naming of the week days after the planets was established among the Greeks towards the end of the 2nd century A. D. and as the names of the week days and the arrangement of the planets in correspondence with them was borrowed by the Indians from the Greeks, no Indian work which enumerates the week days or arranges the planets in the well-known sequence (of Sun, Moon, Mars &c.) could have been composed before the third century after the Christ. As is very often the case with Western Sanskrit scholars in matters of Indian chronology, this grand generalisation is based upon very slender data. The premises are mere assumptions without hardly any evidence worth the name to support them. No one knows exactly when the week-days were named and who were the people that first employed the current names of the week-days. It is well-known that as far back as the days of Herodotus the Egyptians had a presiding deity for each day and that in the times of Julius Cæsar there were days of Saturn (vide I. A. vol. 14, p. 1, General Cunningham’s article for the Indian origin of week-days). At least from the third century B. C., as vouched for by the 13th edict of Aśoka, India was in close touch with Syria and Egypt, where Buddhist missionaries had been sent by Aśoka while Antiochus and Ptolemy ruled in the two countries respectively. Therefore, if Indians at all borrowed the week-days and the arrangement of planets from foreigners, there is nothing to prevent us from holding that they borrowed them from the Egyptians. The earliest dated Indian record wherein a week-day is mentioned is the Eraṇ Inscription of 484 A. D. (Gupta Inscriptions p. 89) where we have “Suraguror divase.” It is to be noticed that Yāj. does not mention the week-days. In I. 296 he mentions the nine grahas in order as the Sun, the Moon, Mars (the son of the earth), Mercury (the son of Soma), Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Rāhu, Ketu. No one can gainsay that at least the Sun, the Moon, Brhaspati and Venus were known to the Rgvedic India. Brhaspati in the highest heaven is

H. D. 24.
spoken of in the Ṛgveda and the conjunction of Jupiter and Tisya (constellation of Puṣya) is spoken of in the Tai. Brāhmaṇa. We know so very little of the ancient astronomical science in ancient India that one must think twice before dogmatising. Yāj. nowhere mentions the zodiacal signs (rāśis) and probably did not know them. Not only so, in his day the nakṣatras were still arranged from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī as was the case in the Tai. S. IV. 4. 10. Vide Yāj. I. 268 (Kṛttikādī bharanyāntam).

We know from Varāhamihira that in the 5th century A.D. the signs of the zodiac and the arrangement of Nakṣatras from Āsvini to Revati were established facts in all parts of India. Therefore Yāj. who uses the ancient arrangement of Nakṣatras cannot be placed so late as the 4th century A.D. When Yāj. (I. 80) speaks of "susthe indau" we should not, following such commentaries as the Mit., connect the words with the signs of the zodiac or the houses of the horoscope. Viśvarūpa does not speak of rāśis in this connection, but of Nakṣatras only. From very ancient times certain Nakṣatras had come to be regarded as auspicious or suitable for particular acts. The Tai. Br. directs that one should not finish a thing or begin to sacrifice on a nakṣatra with an evil name. The same Brāhmaṇa says that ploughing was to be begun on the Maitra asterism (Anurādhā) and consecration of fire on the Āditya nakṣatra. Even the Ṛgveda speaks of auspicious days and the Tai. Br. speaks of Deva-nakṣatras and Puṇyāhas, and says that a daughter should be given away in marriage on the Svāti nakṣatra if she was desired to be her husband's favourite. Vide Baudhāyana Grhya (I. 1) for the marriage nakṣatras; also Āp. Gr. S. II. 15. 12-14, Gobhila Grhya 4. 4. 28 and 2. 1. 1. Therefore, when Yāj. speaks of planets being badly placed (I. 307), or of Vyatipāta, Gajacchāyā and the passing

325 सुश्वति: पञ्चमे जायमानानि मक्के म्भोजिष्वः परमे ब्योजमन्। अष्टेदु. 4. 50. 4.
326 सुश्वति: पञ्चमे जायमानां मक्के म्भोजिष्वः परं ब्योजमन्। लिङ्गम. 3. 1. 1. 5.
327 तळमाद्यकामलानां नाबमेक्षे ज्ञेते यथा पपाधे कुत्ते ताप्जेव तत्। लिङ्गम. I. 5. 2. 6.
328 मेलेषण कुलने ... आदि वेदेण आदित्वे। लिङ्गम. I. 8. 4. 2.
329 सुते विंश्वसुति विंश्वविव अहारण्। अष्टेदु. VII. 88. 4.
330 बायेण देववान्त्वमाणि तेषु कुष्ठिन्त यकाकारि ज्यात दुष्प्राय एव कुत्ते। लिङ्गम. I. 5. 2. 9.
(saṅkrama) of the Sun (I. 218), we have no right to connect this with the rasīs. In III. 171 and 172 he speaks of only the conjunction of planets and of the passage (of them) through tārās and naksatras. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 5. 23 speaks of the nine grabhas in the same order as that of Yāj. Therefore there is hardly any evidence to show that Yāj. knew more astrology than was current in the days of the Brāhmaṇas and the Grhyasūtras. Yāj. (in II. 240-241) speaks of the fine to be imposed on those who counterfeited “nāṇakas” (coins) and on those examiners of “nāṇakas” who falsely declared a good coin to be counterfeited and vice versa. Mr. Jayasval (Calcutta Weekly Notes, vol. 17, p. clix) says that nāṇaka is the gold coin of the Kushans bearing the picture of the Goddess Nanaia and that the Kushans did not rise to importance before 78 A. D. This would place Yāj. after 100 A. D. But it must be remembered that this connection between the Goddess Nanaia and the word “nāṇaka” is quite conjectural and that the chronology of the Kushans is far from being settled.

Yāj. speaks of the sight of yellow-robed people as an evil omen (I. 273), which is probably a reference to the Buddhists; though it has to be remembered that he prescribes old yellow (kāśāya) robes for his seeker after mokṣa (III. 157). He speaks of the founding of monasteries of Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas (II. 185). The philosophical doctrines contained in the third section (verses 64-205) approach that phase of the Vedānta that was taught by Śaṅkara. Vide particularly III. 67, 69, 109, 119, 125, 140. He employs in elucidating the philosophy of ātman the well-known examples of ghaṭākāśa and of the reflection of the Sun in water (III. 144), of the various ornaments made from gold, of the spider spinning webs out of his own body (both in III. 147), of the actor representing various parts (III. 162). All these illustrations frequently occur in Śaṅkara’s Śārīrakabhbāṣya (e.g. ghaṭākāśa on II. 1, 14, spider on II. 1, 25). All these points, however, are of very little use in arriving at a definite age for the smṛti of Yāj. The foregoing discussion has established that Dr. Jolly’s date (viz. 4th century A. D. in R. u. S., p. 21) is much later than the data warrant. There is nothing to prevent us from holding that the extant smṛti was composed during the first two centuries of the Christian era or even a little earlier,
Besides the Yājñavalkyasmṛti we have to reckon with three other works connected with the name of Yājñavalkya, viz. Vyḍha Yāj., Yoga-Yāj., and Brhad-Yāj. All these three works are comparatively ancient. Viśvarūpa quotes (vide note 219 above) two verses of Vyḍha-Yājñavalkya saying that many writers on dharma have been born and will be born and enumerating ten such writers. The Mit. and Aparārka quote Vyḍha-Yājñavalkya frequently. One quotation cited from Vyḍha-Yāj. by Madhava refers to the means of proof in case of doubt whether there was a partition.331 So Vyḍha-Yāj. wrote also on Vyvahāra. Most of the quotations occur in the prāyaścitta section. It is interesting to note that one of these quotations in Aparārka332 regards the touch of Pārasikas as on the same level with that of Candālas, Mlecchas and Bhillas. The Dayabhāga333 says that Jitendriya cited the words of Brhad-Yājñavalkya (viz. “sodaro nānyamātṛjāḥ”). The Mit. cites Brhad-Yājñavalkya on prāyaścitta. So this also is a work that must be held to be earlier than 1000 A. D. Yāj. himself is styled Yogiśvara by the Mit. and other works, but Yoga-Yājñavalkya is a different work from the Yāj. smṛti and existed probably prior to the latter work. Yāj. (in III. 110) claims the Yogaśāstra to be his own work. So either Yāj. the author of the smṛti composed such a work or the author of the smṛti in order to glorify it claimed that he was the same as the author of a well-known Yogaśāstra ascribed to a Yājñavalkya. At all events Yoga-Yājñavalkya existed certainly much earlier than 800 A. D. Vācaspatimiśra in his commentary on the Yogasūtrabhāṣya quotes a half verse from Yogi-Yājñavalkya.334 Vācaspati wrote his Nyāyasūcinibandha in 898 (of the Vikram era) i. e. 841-42 A. D. Aparārka quotes profusely from Yoga-Yājñavalkya. One of the quotations (on III. 198-201) is an Ārya

331 विभागपिजस्वेदं वन्यसत्यस्मितोहिंः। विभागपिजस्वेदं वन्यसत्यस्मितोहिंः। विभागपिजस्वेदं वन्यसत्यस्मितोहिंः। विभागपिजस्वेदं वन्यसत्यस्मितोहिंः।
332 विभागमस्वेदं बन्यसत्यस्मितोहिंः। विभागमस्वेदं बन्यसत्यस्मितोहिंः। विभागमस्वेदं बन्यसत्यस्मितोहिंः। विभागमस्वेदं बन्यसत्यस्मितोहिंः।
333 विभागमस्वेदं बन्यसत्यस्मितोहिंः। विभागमस्वेदं बन्यसत्यस्मितोहिंः। विभागमस्वेदं बन्यसत्यस्मितोहिंः। विभागमस्वेदं बन्यसत्यस्मितोहिंः।
334 विभागमस्वेदं बन्यसत्यस्मितोहिंः। विभागमस्वेदं बन्यसत्यस्मितोहिंः। विभागमस्वेदं बन्यसत्यस्मितोहिंः। विभागमस्वेदं बन्यसत्यस्मितोहिंः।
(on the duration of a mātra). The quotations refer to prāṇayāma, Gāyatri, bathing, tarpāṇa and jñāna. His position is that even a householder becomes mukta by performing his duties, by contemplating on ātmā and by knowledge of the Vedānta, that the highest goal is reached by a combination of jñāna and karma and that the view that mokṣa results from knowledge alone is a sign of indolence.

The Parāśaramādhaviya quotes a verse from Yogi-Yāj. saying that only the Brāhmaṇas can pass through the four āśramas, the Kṣatriya through three (excluding the last), the Vaiśya through two and the Śūdra only through one (viz. that of householder). Kullūka on Manu (3.1) quotes the view of Yogi-Yāj. that Brahmacarya extended to twelve years or five for each of the four Vedas.

In the Deccan College Collection there are two mss. of Yogi-Yājñavalkya (Nos. 91 and 388 of 1899-1915) in twelve chapters and about 495 verses. The colophon at the end of the first chapter in the latter ms. describes its style in the style of the Bhagavadgītā. Yājñavalkya is said to have learnt Yogaśāstra from Brahmā and expounds it to his wife Gārgi. The whole work deals with the eight āngas of yoga, their divisions and subdivisions. Out of the several quotations cited above from Yoga-Yāj. only one was found in this work. It contains a verse (I.68 aṣṭau grāsā munṣṭḥ proktāḥ &c.) which is practically the same as Baudh. D. S. II. 7.

7335  अनुश्रुतोऽवत्तारे जानोऽपरारेष्व परिमार्जने वापि । तालाब्यमाति तथा दानीनां परोसिलसति ॥
    अपरारेष्व इह पापां पापां प्रसादसिद्धिः । इहणे वापि वापि वापि वापि वापि वापि वापि वापि वापि

7336  द्वारकेणामोच्छतात्त्वगतान्तरत्नस्यपश्चादिनि। वेदक्षेत्राणि परिषाणात् गृहधोपापियन्ते ॥
    विशेषादित्य राजशक्तिः विशेषादित्य राजशक्तिः ॥
    ब्राह्मणानां विशेषादित्य राजशक्तिः विशेषादित्य राजशक्तिः ॥

7337  चतुर्भुजः विष्णुवत्सलयः। अभ्यं क्षातिः श्रवणार्जुनकाविनिष्ठा।
    श्लेष्मस्य स्वयं पोका द्वारे द्वारे द्वारे द्वारे द्वारे द्वारे द्वारे द्वारे द्वारे

7338  द्वाराभिस्मिताः गृहधोपापियन्ते ॥ विशेषादित्य राजशक्तिः विशेषादित्य राजशक्तिः ॥

7339  हेतु सर्वत्र विष्णुवत्सलयः। विष्णुवत्सलयः विष्णुवत्सलयः विष्णुवत्सलयः

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22 and another verse (X. 19) which is a quotation from the Bhagavatgītā. There is another ms. (No. 354 of 1875-76) in the same collection called Brhad-Yājñavalkya-smṛti in twelve chapters and about 930 verses. Yājñavalkya in Mithilā is asked by Janaka and the sages and then expounds the following subjects:—how mantras are to be studied in connection with metre, deity, sage and viniyoga, about ouṅkara or praṇava; seven Vyāhṛtis; Gāyatri; nyāsa of Gāyatri; sandhyopāsana; snāna; Japa; praṇāyāma; dhyāna; sūryopasthāna; eulogy of yoga; eulogy of Vedaśāstra.

From the above it is clear that Yoga-Yājñavalkya and Brhad-yogi-Yājñavalkya are entirely different works and that the latter is comparatively an early work, as quotations from it are cited by Vācaspatimīśra (9th century) and Aparārka. The latter work contains numerous quotations from the Bhagavadgītā and the Manusmṛti and a few from the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (the verse about the 14 vidyāsthānas is the same in both). So it must have been composed between 200 and 700 A.D.

There are many commentaries on the Yāj. smṛti. Out of these those of Viśvarūpa, Vījñāneśvara, Aparārka and Śūlapāni are the most famous. For these see sections 60, 70, 79 and 95 below. On account of the paramount importance of the Mit. in modern Hindu Law as administered by British Courts in the whole of India, the smṛti of Yāj. has indirectly become the guiding work for the whole of India and this position it richly deserves by its concise but clear statement of principles, its breadth of vision and its comparative impartiality towards the claims of both sexes and the different varṇas.

35. The Parāśara Smṛti

This work has been published several times, but the edition of Jivananda (part II. pp. 1-52) and that in the Bombay Sanskrit Series with the voluminous gloss of the great Madhava are the best known. In the following pages Jivananda’s edition has been used.

The smṛti of Parāśara must have been an ancient one as Yāj. (I. 4) mentions him among the ancient writers on dharma. But it is doubtful whether we possess the ancient smṛti of Parāśara. The extant smṛti is probably a recast of it as it mentions Yāj. in the first
chap. (p. 2). The Garuḍapurāṇa in chap. 107 gives a summary in 39 verses of the Parāśara-smṛti. In doing so it takes parts of the latter and pieces them together. For example, verses 2–4 in the Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 107) are: śrutīḥ smṛtīḥ sadācāro yaḥ kaścid vedakartākhaḥ i vedāḥ smṛtāḥ brahmaṇādaṃ dharmaḥ Manvādibhiḥ sadā II dānam kalyuge dharmāḥ kartāram ca kalau tyajet i pāpa- kṛtyam tu tatraiva śāpam phalati varṣataḥ II acārāt prāṇprayāt sarvam śat karmāṇi dine dine i sandhyāṃ snānam japo homo devātithyādi- pūjanam II. These are taken verbatim or with slight changes from the Parāśara-smṛti; compare na kaścid vedakartā ca vedasmartā caturmukhaḥ i śrutīḥ smṛtīḥ sadācāra nirnetavyaḥ ca sarvadā i tathaiva dharmanī smarati Manuḥ kalpāntarāntare i tapaḥ paraṁ ... dānam- ekaṁ kalau yuge II ... tyajet-deśam kṛtyuge ... kartāram ca kalau yuge ... kṛte tu tatksaṁāt śāpah ... kalau saṁvatsareṇa tu II chap. I. verses 20–21, 23, 25, 27 and vide 39 for verse 4 of the Garuḍa-purāṇa. This establishes that the Garuḍa regarded the Parāśara-smṛti authoritative and ancient. There is another problem to be considered. Kauṭilya mentions six times the views of Parāśara or the Parāśaras on various aspects of politics and state administration. Therefore it appears that there was a work of Parāśara on politics, in which it is possible that vyavahāra also was dealt with.

The extant Parāśarasmrīti is divided into twelve chapters and contains according to the last verse but one 592 verses. It deals only with acāra and prāyaścitta. Madhava introduced his disquisition on vyavahāra, which forms about a fourth of his extensive gloss, in an indirect way by regarding vyavahāra as a part of the duties of Kṣatriyas on which the Parāśarasmrīti has something to say.341

The name Parāśara is an ancient one. In the Tai. Aranyaka (I. 1.3.37) we have a Vyāsa Parāśarya. In the Vaiṣṇa that occurs in the Brhadāraṇyaka we have a Parāśarya. The Nirukta

gives an etymology of Pārasāra. Paṇini attributes a bhikṣusūtra to Pārasārya.

The introductory verses of the smṛti say that sages went to Vyāsa and requested him to instruct them in the dharmas and conduct beneficial to mankind in the Kali age and that the great Vyāsa took them to his father Pārasāra, son of Śakti, in the Badarikāśrama, who then propounded the dharmas of the four vāras. The first chapter recites the smṛtis then known (19 in all) and lays down that in the four ages of Kṛta, Treta, Dvāpara, and Kali, the dharmas proclaimed by Manu, Gautama, Śaṅkha-Likhita and Pārasāra were respectively to be the guiding ones. The following are briefly the contents of the Pārasāra smṛti:

I. Introductory verses; Pārasāra imparts to the sages knowledge of dharma; the dharmas of the four yugas; differentiation of the four yugas from various points of view; six daily duties, viz. sandhyā, bath, japa, homa, Vedic study, worship of gods, Vaiśvadeva and honouring guests, eulogy of honouring guests, the proper means of livelihood for Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra; II. duties of householder; agriculture; the five unconscious acts of injury to animal life; III. purification from impurity due to birth and death; IV. concerning suicide; punishment for wife deserting her husband though poor, foolish or diseased; definition and rules about Kuṇḍa, Golaka, Parivitti, and Parivitta; remarriage of women; rewards for chaste widows; V. expiation for minor things (such as dog-bite); about a Brāhmaṇa who has consecrated fires dying on a journey or committing suicide; VI. Expiation for killing various beasts and birds, for killing Śūdras, artisans, women, Vaiśyas, Kṣatriyas, sinful Brāhmaṇas; eulogy of Brāhmaṇas; VII. purifications of various articles (such as vessels of wood, metal &c); about a woman in her menses; VIII. Expiations for killing cows and oxen unwittingly in various ways; approaching a pariṣad for expiation, constitution of a pariṣad; praise of learned Brāhmaṇas; IX. proper thickness of sticks for beating cows and bulls; expiations for using thicker sticks and injuries to them; X. other expiations such as cāndrāyana for intercourse with women with whom intercourse is forbidden; the expiation called Santapana; XI. expiation for partaking food from

343 पाराशरिकाय पलिवृत्य जने। निरूक VI. 30.
345 पाराशरिकायाय निरूपनत्वमेवः। पाठ IV. 3.110.
Cāndālas &c.; rules as to whose food may be taken and whose not; purification of wells &c. when animals fall in them; XII. bath prescribed after evil dreams, vomiting, shaving &c.; expiations for drinking wine and nasty things through ignorance; five kinds of bath; when bath at night allowed; what things should always be kept in the house or seen; definition of the unit of ground called gocarṇa; expiations for the deadly sins of Brahmahatyā, drinking liquor, theft of gold &c.

Parāśara contains several peculiar views. He speaks of only four sons (aūraṣa, kṣetraja, datta and kṛtrima) though he does not expressly negative a larger number (chap. 4 p. 14). He eulogises the practice of Sattī (last two verses of chap. 4). The well-known verse of Nārada (Strīpurūṇa-yoga 97) “naṣṭe mṛte &c.” is read at the end as “patir-anyo na vidyate” (p. 15). There are a few verses in the Indravajrā metre (e. g. on pp. 11-12 and 36). The Parāśarasmiti quotes the views of several writers on dharma. Manu is frequently cited in the words “Manu-abravid.” In the 7th chapter alone those words occur four times. None of them corresponds exactly with any verse of the Manusmṛti. Yet Manu V. 133 may be compared with the first two. Besides these, in the 9th chapter Manu’s view is quoted that on killing an animal the guilty party should restore a similar one to the owner or its price. In the 10th he says that according to Manu uncooked food, milk or oil brought from a śūdra’s house and used in cooking in a Brähmin’s house could be eaten by a Brähmāṇa. This is similar to Manu IV. 223. In the 12th chapter Parāśara cites the view of Manu that a Brähmāṇa fed on food (cooked) from śūdras would become a vulture for twelve births, a pig for ten and a dog for seven.

344 माण्डवासक्कारीकोर्तुदकृत्तसिद्धेराः। मेघामयेच्युपाश्चपि नोकिळ्णान्तनुमर्यादीत।

There are two more ending with नोकिल्ण ... बचित्र. प्रभासादिनी नीर्धिनि

गठल्याः सरित्स्थाः। विपर्य दृष्टिकोणे कणे सानिध्यं मनुस्मृतिः। पराशर च, च, च, च, 7th chap. 345 प्रभासादिनी नीर्धिनि

तस्यानुरुपं मूर्त्यं वा विद्यास्मिन्निनि। पराशर 9th chap.

346 श्रुकाण्डो गोर्भं लेभें शुद्वेशनम् आगतम। परलो च चार्गूः पूवनेम् भोज्यं सत्मुतः ज्ञाती।

पराशर 10th chap.: नायकादुर्दृशम् पकाणां विद्यामाहि श्लो:। भाद्वीताम्मे- वाजादुस्थवेवकाशिकम्। मन, IV. 223.

H. D. 25.
There is nothing corresponding to this in Manu. In the 9th Manu is spoken of as one who knows all śāstras. The first verse of the 6th chapter says that Manu deals at length with expiation for killing animals. This is probably a reference to Manu XI. 131-141. Numerous verses in the Parāśāra-sūtras are word for word the same as those of the Manusmṛti. For example, Manu I. 85-86 occur in the first chapter of Parāśara, Manu V. 160 (about a widow remaining chaste) occurs with slight variations in the 4th; Manu XII. 114-115 (about pariṣad) occur in the 8th chap. (p. 29); Manu XI. 212 (about the definition of Sāntapana) is the same as Parāśara (10th chap. p. 40). Several verses are common to Baudhāyana and Parāśara, e.g. Baudh. Dh. S. I. 1, 8, 11, 14 occur in the eighth chapter of Parāśara (pp. 29, 30). The verse “na nārikelair na ca śaṇabālair” occurring in Parāśara (9th chap. p. 33) is quoted as Vasistha’s by Haradatta on Gautama (22. 18). Parāśara is mentioned by name several times (chap. III. 2, p. 8, chap. VI. 1, p. 18 and p. 23, chap. VII. 1, p. 24, chap. X. 12. p. 38). Uṣañas is cited on p. 49 (chap. 12), Prajāpati (in IV. 3. p. 13), Śaṅkha (chap. 4. p. 15). Veda, Vedāṅgas, dharmaśāstras and sūtras are spoken of on p. 23 (6th chap.). In the 11th chap. Parāśara refers to several Vedic mantras, most of which occur in the Rgveda, but two of them, “tejosi śukram” and “devasya tvā” are not found in the Rgveda, but in the Vāj. S. (22. 1 and 1. 24 respectively). Parāśara appears to have been a practical man. He exhorts his readers to save their bodies first in invasions, journeys, diseases, calamities and then care for dharma. He recommends the non-observance of rules of purity in times of difficulty and adherence to the strict rules of dharma when one is at ease.

The Mit., Aparārka, Śṛṅgicandrīka, Hcemādri and other later works quote Parāśara very frequently. Most of these are found in the extant Parāśarasūtras. For example, vide pp. 1169, 1177, 1180, 1191 &c. of Aparārka, all of which are traced in Parāśara pp. 42, 43, 42 and 16 respectively. Viśvarūpa quotes Parāśara several times

347 मनु चेत्तमन्क्रेस सर्वश्वासां जानना। पराशार 9thed.
348 अतः परे सवक्ष्मी माणिन्दचासु निसान्तिस। पराशारेण पूर्वोक्ता मन्त्वेवेच्या च विस्ताराय।
349 देवस्मे स्वासः वा व्याधिस्य व्यस्तवस्वय्य। रहस्वस स्ववेदार्थ पठार्थ्य समायेत्। आयुस-कालेऽ तु संसारे शोचार्थं न चिन्तयेत्। स्वयं समुद्रस्व पश्चात स्वस्यो धर्मं समायेत्। ॥ 7th chap., last three verses.
and these quotations can be verified; e.g. on Yāj. III. 16 the verse "anātham" ascribed to Parāśara is found in Parāśara chap. III p. 10; on Yāj. III. 257 ten verses are cited by Viśvarūpa from Parāśara which occur in Parāśara with considerable variations (chap. VII. pp. 20-21); on Yāj. III. 262 the verse "gavām bandhana" is cited from Parāśara, which is the first verse of the 8th chapter. Therefore it is quite clear that in the first half of the 9th century the Parāśarasmṛti that we have now was considered to be authoritative and the work of an ancient sage. It seems to have known a work of Manu, as seen above. Therefore it must be assigned to some period between the first and the 5th century of our era. In the same direction points the fact that the Garuḍapuruṣa (chap. 107) seems to have known the introductory verses of Parāśara and as shown above (p. 191) combines passages of Parāśara in a summary of its teachings.  

The Viṣṇu-dharmottara which is frequently quoted by Aparārka and other later works cites verses that are borrowed from Parāśara. For example, chap. 75.1 of the former is the same as a verse of Parāśara.

There is an extensive work called Brhat-Parāśara-saṁhitā (published by Jivananda, part II. pp. 53-309). It is divided into 12 chapters and the last verse says that it contains 3300 verses and that Suvrata proclaimed the śastra imparted by Parāśara. The introductory verses contain the same story as that in the Parāśara-smṛti and many of the verses in the first chapter of the two works (such as those about the 19 writers on dharma &c.) are almost the same in both. The total of verses in the printed work comes to about 3000 and not 3300. It appears that the work is a recast of the Parāśarasmṛti made by Suvrata. The subjects of the twelve chapters are:—I. Introductory, the proper sphere of Āryas; summary of contents; II. Disquisition on the 6 daily karmas, sandhyā, bath, japa, worship of gods, Vaiśvadeva and honouring guests; Gāyatrī; the dharmas of the Varnas; III. duties and manners of a householder; agriculture, honour to cows; IV. forms of marriage; duties of wives; Jātakarma and other rites; gifts; proper persons to

350 पराशरोपन्नीयं ब्रह्मत्थ स्वर्ण-भाष्यविबिधकम्। कल्यं कल्यं श्रयोत्स्या हरि यत्ने तु प्रजाध्ययः। गुरुपराम 107.1. (Venkatesvar Press ed.).
351 अनाय भाषणं भीं वे वधति दिजाजयः। पदे पदे वाचस्मानसुपरीक्षभित्ते ते॥ परशारा चचिस. 3. प. 12.
receive gifts; V. concerning śrāddhas; VI. impurity on birth and death; prāyaścittas for various acts; VII. cāndrāyāna and other penances; VIII. gifts; IX. rites for propitiating Gaṇeśa and the planets, Rudra &c.; X. Rājadharma; dharmas of forest hermit and yati; XI. the different varieties of Brahmācārin, householder, forest hermit and yati; XII. prāṇayāma and other āṅgas of yoga.

This Brhat-Parāśara contains a considerable number of verses mostly in the Indravajrā metre and a few in the Vasantatilaka (e.g. p. 134).

The Brhat-Parāśara appears to be a late work. It is a recast of the Parāśara-smṛti. It contains the Vināyakaśanti as elaborated by Yājñavalkya, since it speaks of only one Vināyaka (9th chap. p. 247) and not of four as in M. Gr. S. On p. 249 it quotes Yāj. I. 285 (about the names of Vināyaka) with the readings found in the Mit. It speaks of the rāsis (p. 244). It is not quoted by Viśvarūpa, the Mit. or Aparārka. It is mentioned in Bhaṭṭoji’s comment on the Caturvṛttsātinīta (p. 138) and by Nandapanḍita in the Dattaka mīmāṃsā, which quotes a verse (Brhat-Parāśara p. 153).352

A Vṛddha-Parāśara is quoted by Aparārka (on Yāj. II. 318) immediately after Parāśara and as holding a different view. Mādhava also quotes a Vṛddha-Parāśara (Parāśara-Mādhavīya vol. 1, part 1, p. 230). This seems to be a different work from the Parāśara-smṛti and the Brhat-Parāśara. Hemādri (Carturvärga, vol. III, part 2, p. 48) and Bhaṭṭoji in his gloss on Caturvṛttsātinīta (p. 138) quote a Jyotiḥ-Parāśara.

36. The Nārada-smṛti

There are two versions of Nārada on Vyavahāra, a smaller and a larger one. The smaller version was translated by Dr. Jolly in 1876 (Trübner & Co., London). The text of the longer version was published by the same scholar in the Bibliotheca Indica series (1885) and was translated by him in the Sacred Books of the East Series (vol. 33). The edition of the text is accompanied up to verse 21 of the 5th title ‘abhuyupetyāśusrūṣā’ by extracts from the commentary of Asahāya as revised by Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa, who was encouraged in the task of revision by Keśavabhaṭṭa.

352 अषुज्ञस्य पितृयस्य तत्तुषोर भान्तोर तत्त्वाय। स तृत प्रत्येकः ब्राह्मणेवं ब्राह्मणेवं किसदम्॥ इत्यक्ति ब्राह्मणं p. 36.
From verse 22 of the same title the printed text is the same as the smaller version. A verse quoted as Nārada’s by Kṣirasvāmin is not found in the larger version but is found in the smaller version. An ancient Ms. of Nārada from Nepal dated 1407 A.D. contains two additional chapters on theft and ordeals. Dr. Jolly includes the first as an appendix and omits that on ordeals on the ground that it is not authentic. One of the colophons of the Nepalese Ms. describes it as ‘iti Mānavadharmaśāstre Nāradaprotāyāṁ sābhātāyāṁ &c ’. This corroborates what was said above ( pp. 149, 156 ) as to the close connection between Manu and Nārada.

Nārada is not mentioned by Yājñavalkya in the list of ancient writers on dharma, nor does Parāśara mention him. Viśvarūpa however quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya ( on Yāj. I. 4-5 ), where Nārada is the first among ten expounders of dharma enumerated therein ( vide note 219 ).

The printed Nārada contains three introductory chapters on the principles of judicial procedure ( Vyavahāra-mārtka ) and on the judicial assembly ( sabhā ). Then the following titles of law are dealt with one after another :—rṇādāna ( recovery of debts ), upanidhi ( deposit, lending, bailment ), saṁbhūya-samutthāna ( partnership ), dattāpradānīka ( gifts and resumption thereof ), abhyupetya-aśuśrūṣā ( breach of contract of service ), vetanasya-anapākarma ( non-payment of wages ), asvāmivikrāya ( sale without ownership ), vikriyāsāmpradāna ( non-delivery after sale ), kṛitānuṣaya ( rescission of purchase ), samayasyānapākarma ( violation of conventions of corporations, guilds &c. ), simābandha ( settlement of boundaries ); stripuṁśayoga ( marital relation ); dāyabhāga ( partition and inheritance ); sāhāsa ( offences in which force is the principal element ) such as homicide, robbery, rape &c.; vākparuṣya ( defamation and abuse ) and daṇḍāpāruṣya ( hurt of various kinds ); prakīrtāka ( miscellaneous wrongs ). The appendix deals with theft, though a few remarks are made on that topic under the title of ‘sāhāsa.’

It will be noticed that Nārada follows the Manusmṛti to a considerable extent in the nomenclature and the arrangement of the

353 सत्रस्वामी on the word दृष्ट व अमरकोश quotes the verse वृषो हि नागपालमः-स्लस्य व: कुस्ते तथे | which is मन 8.16 and अवलिचे 9.15.
eighteen titles. Some of the titles are differently named by Nārada, e. g. he speaks of upanidhi, while Manu employs the word nikṣepa. Nārada seems to have included the svāmipālaviṇā of Manu in vētanasya-anāpākarma. He makes one title of dyūta and samāhāraya. Nārada includes strīsaṅgrahāṇa under sāhasa and adds three titles, viz. abhyupetya-aśūṣrūṇā, vikriyāsampradāna and prakīrṇaka. The smṛticandrikā expressly\(^{354}\) says that it follows the work of Nārada in preference to that of Manu as regards the nomenclature and sequence of the titles of law. Nārada follows Manu in speaking of witnesses in the section on rṇādāna and in treating of theft after the eighteen titles have been dealt with (vide Manu IX. 256 ff.).

The printed Nārada contains 1028 verses (including 61 on theft in the appendix). About seven hundred of these verses occur in various nibandhas as quotations. Up to the 21st verse of the section ‘abhyupetya-aśūṣrūṇā’ the commentary of Asahāya furnishes a valuable check for the authenticity of the text. For the remaining portion, there are important data as to its authenticity, sequence and readings. Viśvarūpa, who belongs to the first half of the 9th century, quotes about fifty verses of Nārada (generally by name). The text that he had before him was essentially the same as that of the printed edition, except in a very few cases. Out of the seven verses of Nārada on ‘samayasya-anāpākarma’ Viśvarūpa quotes five (on Yāj. II. 190 and 196) and expressly states that Nārada wound up his chapter on that topic with the verse ‘doṣavat karanām &c’. as the printed text does. On Yāj. II. 226 Viśvarūpa distinctly says that the verse ‘yameva hyativrta’ &c. is followed immediately by ‘malā hyete manuṣyeṣa’. This is the case with the printed text also (dyūtasamāhavya verses 13-14). On Yāj. III. 252 Viśvarūpa quotes a verse of Nārada about the three kinds of wealth, śukla, śabala and krṣṇa, which does not occur in that form in Nārada, though the latter contains similar dicta.\(^{355}\) Viśvarūpa contains no quotation from Nārada on the topics of ācāra or prāyaścitta. The same is the case with Medhātithi and the Mitākṣara. Medhātithi somewhat inaccurately summarises the

\(^{354}\) नाराध्योज्यक्षरमानुसारिण्य व्ययतिमयवदमिधानिघातुः।

\(^{355}\) शत्रुष्ठ च शच्च्च नेष्कृम्भ च विनिर्धर धनम्। शुष्कः व्ययायितते चविम्बाविदुर्व व्ययाहारिकम्। नन्त्येनाहिकाय ग्रंथं शष्ठत्वारे शुष्कं शच्च्च्च नेष्कृम्भ हि। कृम्भं च तत्स्य हिमसेषं। भद्वयं। सत्यश्च पुष्करं॥ (नाराध्योज्यक्षरमानुसारिण्य व्ययतिमयवदमिधानिघातुः)।
the introductory words (in prose) of Nārada (vide note 269 above). Medhātithi frequently quotes Nārada particularly from the sections on ṛṇādāna (vide on Manu 8. 47, 155, 149) and dāyabhāga (on Manu 8, 28, 29, and 207, 209, and 143). On Manu 8, 349 he quotes Nārada on partnership (verse 10), on 8. 216 he quotes Nārada (vetanasya-anāpākarma verse 5). In some cases Medhātithi cites Nārada’s verses without naming him e. g. on Manu 9. 76 he quotes the well-known verse ‘nashe more pravrajite &c.’ (Nārada on marital relation, verse 97) as ‘smṛtyantara’. It was shown above (p. 172) that the vyawahāra section of the Agnipurāṇa dates from about 900 A. D. Chap. 253 of the Agnipurāṇa contains thirty verses of the extant Nāradasmṛti, viz. Agni 253. 1b–9a = Nārada (vyawahāra-mātrkā chap. I. 8–15); Agni 253. 9b–12 =Nārada (vyawahāra-mātrkā chap. I. 26–29a); Agni 253. 13–30 are the verses defining the eighteen titles from ṛṇādāna to prakīṁnaha contained in Nārada and occur in the same order in both. The readings preserved in the Agnipurāṇa deserve some discussion. Agni (253. 3–4) reads ‘dharmaś ca vyawahāraś ca ... uttaraḥ pūrva-sādhakah’, while Nārada has ‘pūrvabādhakah’. Agni reads ‘caritraṁ saṅgraha pūṁsāṁ rājaṁyāṁ tu sādhanaṁ’ (253. 5), while Nārada has ‘caritraṁ pustakaraṇe rājaṁyāṁ tu śāsanam’. Agni (253. 15) reads ‘dattvādvarṇyaṁ ca samyag-yaḥ’, while Nārada (dattaprādānīka 1) reads ‘dattvā dravyamasamyaḥyaḥ’. The Agni (253. 11) reads ‘Śaṅkā saddhistu saṁsargat tattvaṁ śoḍhābhidharsanat’ and avoids the rare word ‘hoḍhbhī’ in Nārada ‘Śaṅkāsatāṁ tu saṁsargat tattvaṁ hoḍhbhidsanat’ (Vyaharahāramātrkā I. 27). For Nārada’s ‘aṅsabradhaśalakādyair &c.’ (dyutasmāhavya I) Agni reads ‘Aṅsavajra &c.’ (253. 29). The Mit. (on Yāj. II. 199) and Vīr. (p. 718) follow printed Nārada in the last case and also in the other cases. In the Smṛti-candrikā, Hemādri, Parāsaramādhaviya and other later nibandhas numerous verses of Nārada are quoted on topics of acāra, śrāddha, prāyaścitta. For example, Hemādri (caturvarga vol. III. part 2, pp. 159, 183, 185, 223, 235) quotes several verses of Nārada on Ekādaśi and a verse of Nārada about the astrological yoga called padmaka. The Smṛticandrikā (I. pp. 198–199) quotes 26 verses on the worship of Nārāyaṇa, the last of which is the well known verse ‘dhyeyah sadā savitramadala-madhyaṃvartī &c.’ and the same work (on śrāddha p. 354) quotes a verse of Nārada in which Sunday and Śaṅkranti are mentioned. The question arises whether
these quotations of Nārada on ācāra and prāyaścitta and allied topics are the work of the same Nārada that wrote on Vyayahāra. From the fact that early writers like Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and Viṣṇāneśvara do not contain a single quotation of Nārada on topics other than that of vyavahāra, it appears probable that the quotations on ācāra and prāyaścitta belong to a later date than the Nāradasmṛti on vyavahāra and either did not exist in the days of Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi or had not attained canonical authority in those days. There is in the India Office Library a ms. of Nāradasmṛti in three chapters and 322 verses dealing exclusively with ācāra and prāyaścitta (vide Jolly’s Introduction p. 5 to edition of text).

The Nāradasmṛti, excluding the introductory passage in prose about the successive abridgments of the original work of Manu by Nārada, Mārkaṇḍeya and Sumati Bhārgava, is written in the śloka metre except in the case of two verses (verse 38 of the 2nd chap. of vyavahāra-mātrakā and the last verse of the chapter on sabhā). Nārada himself is mentioned by name in connection with the ordeals (ṛṇādāna verse 253). The first person also occurs in ‘ataḥ param pravaksyaṁi’ (ṛṇādāna 343). Ācāryas are cited in ‘dattāpradānīka’ (verse 5). Dharmāstātra and arthaśāstra are mentioned (vyavahārāmātrkā and the last verse of the chapter on sabhā) and Nārada lays down the rule as in Yaj. (II. 21) that in a conflict between the two the former should furnish the rule of conduct. Nārada refers to Vasiṣṭha’s rule about interest (ṛṇādāna 99). Two verses are quoted from a Purāṇa. Manu is named in several places (ṛṇādāna verses 250, 251, 326). The first passage about Manu is quoted by Viṣvarūpa on Yaj. (II. 98) and corresponds closely with the teaching of Manu (8. 113). But the other passages

355a सन्दिग्धत्वमितियुक्तां विशुद्ध्यथं दुरालम्पनम्। मोक्षां नारददेव सत्यानूतनविशेषयेऽ॥

356 कम विठितिषत स्वादभाषार्थार्थात्। अर्थशास्त्रोक्तपुस्तकः धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमापेऽवेऽ॥

357 पुराणोक्तो उधितो भवति। ये परदेय प्रक्षुपालान वाच वुषाथम।। आत्मरघ्यं का न कृल्यस्य पापो नक्तचिन्तमयं।॥ वाच्यविहाः निवलताः। सत्य वाक्यमला वाक्यविनिविवस्या।॥ यथा हि न तत्स्तेषद्वाच स दर्षतेऽकथाः। ॥ नारद (ञणदान 227–228)॥

358 सत्य वान्धवशास्त्रिणी गोपीकृक्कलकादि च। ...ḥयेते श्रवयाम: मोक्षां भगवन तव्य-कारो। ञणदान 248, 250; दौर्ष्यमाविष्यो मण्डलभानु। ञणदान 251,। यातानितिः शक्यो विनोत्सप्तांशः। निषेविक्रमालीत: भुज्जोत्स्य नरुमार्गः॥। ञणदान 326।
crediting Manu with dividing ordeals into five kinds and giving his view about poison ordeal have no corresponding passage in the extant Manu. Therefore Nārada had a version of Manu before him that was somewhat different in certain respects from our Manu or Nārada may be referring to Vṛddha or Brhat Manu. Besides this, there is one remarkable fact to be noted about the relation of Manu and Nārada. There are about 50 verses that are common to Manu and Nārada. Manu 8. 12-14 and 18-19 are Nārada (sabhā, verses 8-10 and 12-13 in a different order), Manu 8. 140-141 = N. (ṛṇādāna 99-100), Manu 8. 148-149 =N. (ṛṇādāna 80-81), M. 8. 143 =N. (ṛ. 129, M. 8. 64 =N. (ṛ. 177), M. 8. 72 =N. (ṛ. 189), M. 8. 93 and 113 =N. (ṛ. 199, 201), M. 98-99 =N. (ṛ. 208, 209 and Udyogaparva 35.33-34), M. 8. 89 =N. (ṛ. 225), M. 8. 186-187, 189, 191 = N. (upanidhi 10-13), M. 8. 232-233, 235 = N. (vetānasya-anapākarma 14-16 in a different order), M. 9. 47 =N. (marital relation, verse 28), M. 8. 224-225 = N. (marital relation, 33-34), M. 9. 357-358 =N. (marital relation, 65-66 in reverse order), M. 9. 3 =N. (dāyabhāga 31), M. 9. 216 = N. (dāyabhāga 44), M. 8. 267-269 = N. (vākpāruṣya 15-17), M. 9. 270-272 = N. (vākpāruṣya 22-24), M. 8. 281-284 = N. (daṇḍa-pāruṣya 26-29), M. 4. 87 = N. (prakirṇaka 44).

Nārada (ṛṇādāna 158)`śrotriyaś-tāpasa vṛddhā ye ca pravrajitā narāḥ asākṣinas-te vacanān nātra heturudāhṛtaḥ` has probably Manu 8. 65 in view where we read `na sākṣi . . . na śrotriya na lingasto na saṅgebhyo vinirgataḥ`.

Besides these there are several cases where Nārada closely agrees with Manu though the verses are not identical, e. g. Nārada (sahasa 19) may be compared with Manu 9. 271 and Nārada (appendix on theft, verses 1-4) may be compared with Manu (9. 256-260). These facts establish that Nārada is based on a version of Manu that was essentially the same as the extant text of Manu, though there was some difference here and there. Nārada contains several verses that occur in the Mahābhārata. For example, Śanti 111. 66 = N. (vyavahāra-mātrkā 72), Udyoga 35. 38 = N. (sabhā, verse 18), Udyoga 35. 31-32 = N. (ṛ. 202-203). There are several cases where the text of Kauṭilya agrees with

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389 सत्कार एस्वये योम सयोतो इध्याधिके । न तस्मे विद्यते व्योमे न सयोते हुताशनः ||

M. D. 26.
Narada. In some of these cases the agreement is almost word for word.

Though Narada is based on Manu, he differs in several essential matters from Manu. We have seen the difference between them in the nomenclature of the titles of law. Manu only casually mentions the ordeals of fire and water (8.114), while Narada enumerates five kinds of ordeals, describes them at length and adds two more viz. tandula-bhaksana and taptamaṣa (ṛṇādana, verses 259–348). He allows Niyoga (marital relation, verses 80–88), while Manu strongly condemns it. He allows remarriage of women (Narada, marital relation, 97), while Manu is against it. Manu mentions seven kinds of slaves (8.415), while Narada raises their number to fifteen (abhupetyāśūṛṣa, verses 26–28); Manu condemns gambling outright (9.221–228), while Narada allows it under state control and as a source of revenue; Narada is further far more systematic than Manu and is full of divisions and subdivisions. For example, he divides property into three kinds, each of which is again subdivided into seven varieties (ṛṇādana 44–47); Narada divides the law of gift into four sections, which are further subdivided into 32; he subdivides the eighteen titles into 132 (vyavahāra-mātrkā I. 25).

There are a few points which are almost peculiar to Narada, such as the fourteen kinds of impotent persons (strīpuṇṣayoga 11–13), the three kinds of punarbhīṣas and four kinds of svairīṇis (ibid. verses 45–52).

Narada is probably later than Yaśnavalkya. Yaś. knows only five kinds of ordeals, while Narada knows seven and the former's treatment of them is not so exhaustive as Narada's. The rules of judicial procedure in Narada are more systematic and exhaustive than those of Yaś. Narada contains more definitions than Yaś. In some respects however Narada is more conservative than Yaś. For example, Narada nowhere recognises the rights of the widow to

360 Compare कौटिल्य, धर्मस्थायी, chap. I, verses at the end with नारद, व्यवहार- मातृका. 1st chap., verses 2, 10–11, 39–40.

361 धर्मस्थायी चरित्रं राजा।सनस्य। चतुष्पाद व्यवहारोपयुक्तः पूर्ववाचकः || तत्र सये स्थिते धर्मो व्यवहारस्य साधिष्ठु || चरित्रं पूर्वेऽकरे राजाआपः तु शासनस्य || नारद, व्यवहारमातृका I. 10–11; the first half in each verse is the same in कौटिल्य.
succeed to her deceased husband as Yāj. does; Nārada gives no rules about the succession of gotrajas and bandhus as Yāj. does. In a few respects Nārada agrees with the views of Manu instead of with Yāj., such as allowing a Brāhmaṇa to marry a śūdra woman. Nārada regards sexual intercourse with a pravrajitā (female ascetic) as a mortal sin (stripurāṇsayoga 74-75), while both Manu (8. 363) and Yāj. (II. 293) treat it lightly. Taking all these things into consideration it may be said that Nārada flourished nearly at the same time as or somewhat later than Yāj.

Nārada contains several rare words such as “hoḍha” (in vyavahāramārka I. 27, meaning ‘one’s property when lost or stolen’). He gives expression to certain principles of law and politics, such as that a man is master of his own house, in other words, a man’s house is his castle;362 he highly eulogises the office of king, almost assigning it a divine origin and exhorts the people to obey and honour even a weak and undeserving king.363 Mr. Jayaswal sees in this and in the fact that Nārada speaks of dīnāra while the Mrccakaṭika speaks of nānaka indications that Nārada belongs to the fourth century, is later than the drama, is propping up the authority of a new dynasty and flourished under the Imperial Guptas (C. W. N. vol. 17, p. cclxxxv). He regards a person as minor till the sixteenth year.364 This limit was probably first fixed by Nārada. Nārada further boldly says that in case of conflict between dharmarāstra and usages, the latter have to be followed, as they are directly observed.365

As Nārada’s is regarded as an authoritative smṛti by Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and other later writers and as Asahāya, who is mentioned by name in the commentary of Viśvarūpa, wrote a comment on

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362 भयः स्तन्त्रम् होक्षकसिद्धाबालसस्थवरं च। परिवर्त्यं सर्वेऽपि वर्णानां स्वेः पुड़े गुढ़े॥ ज्ञानादान 32. This idea occurs in शास्तिरपर् 391. 147 ‘भयः स्वें भयें यहौ राजा’.
363 Vide प्रकृतिक वर्ण 20–23. राजेति संवर्त्सेष मूनो माध्यत्स सहस्त्रू। न तस्मा-शास्तिरकथम् सत्तिसंकृत प्रजा: काभिः ॥ ...निषेधियो यथा शोभा पूर्व अर्थ पति: सदा। प्रजातो नियुक्तोवर्ये पुष्य एव ज्ञापिते॥
364 भाल आरो होंशारं वर्णां गोचरच इति श्लोके। परतो व्यवहारः स्तन्त्राः पितरे बिना॥ ज्ञानादान 25–36.
365 शाश्वासनिरोपेऽ तु युक्तियुक्तो विविधं स्मरल। ध्याब्यारहि हि च भाषान्तर्भवदेनाप्रहोपने॥ ध्याब्यारहमाख्या 40.
Nārada, the Nāradasmṛti must be older by some centuries than the 8th century, the latest date to which Asahāya can be assigned. Bāṇa in his Kādambarī compares the royal palace to Nāradya. Ordinarily Nāradya standing by itself would denote the Nāradapurāṇa (compare Viṣṇu-purāṇa 3. 6. 21 where we have the form Nāradya for the purāṇa). The Nāradapurāṇa (Venkatesvara Press edition, Bombay) contains, however, no treatment of rājadharma. Bāṇa may have intended a violent pun, meaning 'the palace where the duties of kings were being expounded (āvarṇyamāna), like the Nāradya in which rājadharma has not been set forth (āvarṇyamāna).’ European scholars like Dr. Jolly and Bühler hold that Bāṇa refers to the extant Nāradasmṛti. But on this explanation also the difficulty is not entirely got over. The extant Nārada can hardly be described as a treatise on rājadharma. It deals only in an indirect way with one aspect of the king's duties and is rather concerned with vyavahāra and the duties of the subjects towards each other from the strictly legal point of view. If we turn to the Mahābhārata and other works, we shall find that rājadharma meant something different from what is treated of in the Nāradasmṛti. Therefore Bāṇa's reference to the Nāradya is of a doubtful character. The Rājaniti-ratnakara of Caṇḍeśvara frequently quotes Nārada on politics (pp. 3, 13, 79). These quotations are not traced in the printed Nārada. Therefore it is highly probable that Bāṇa refers to a distinct work of Nārada on politics which has not yet been recovered.

The Vyavahāramātrkā of Jīmuṭavāhana and the Parāśara-Mādhava-āyya (vol. III, part I, p. 203) quote a verse from Nārada, the latter half of which is the same as the latter half of a verse in the Vikramorvaśīya. The doctrine attributed to Nārada is found in Yaj. (II. 20) and the Viṣṇudharmasūtra, (6. 22) but not in the same words. Unfortunately the date of Kālidāsa is far from being universally accepted, but the fourth or first half of the 5th century is often accepted as the probable date. There is further diffi-

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366 'नारदमित्रवर्धितानात्याज्ञानम्' (राजकुमार) p. 91 of Peterson’s ed.
367 अनेकाधिकायाँप्रचलितार्थव्याख्यानम् / विभाषितादेवोपन्यासम् / अपाराहः / (on यज्ञ. II. 20); धर्मसारसूत्राः / जी. / pp. 310–11; इति प्रयत्ने न कालो गतिरस्यास्त्यता हुला / विभाषिते ... युक्ते || विभाषितेऽवधि / 11V. 17 (Pandit’s ed),
cult in the fact that the text of the Vikramorvaśīya has been largely tampered with. If the verse is a genuine part of the drama, it seems natural to suppose that Kālidāsa turns a well-known legal maxim to a somewhat humorous use. It is hard to suppose that Nārada would borrow the words of a dramatist for setting forth a legal maxim. This would push back the date of Nārada far beyond the 5th century. Nārada in two places uses the word “dīnāra”, once in the sense of a golden ornament and again as a coin or unit of value also called “svarṇa.” In this last case he says that “dīnāra is equal to 48 Kārṣāpānas or twelve dhānakas.” Jolly (R. u. S. p. 23) thinks that Indian dīnāras can scarcely be older than the 2nd century A.D., although in the times of the Indo-Scythian kings coins of the weight of dīnāra occur. Therefore Jolly is of opinion that Nārada is later than 300 A. D. Winternitz (History of Indian Literature, vol. II. p. 216 n. 4) follows him in this assumption that all Sanskrit works in which the word dīnāra occurs must be later than the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. It may be that the golden dīnāras most numerous found in India belong to the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D. But as Keith points out (J. R. A. S. 1915 p. 504) Jolly’s assumption is wrong and the introduction of dīnāras into India need not be later than the beginning of the Christian era. Golden dīnāras were first coined in Rome in 207 B.C. and the oldest Indian pieces corresponding in weight to the Roman Denarius were struck by Indo-Scythian kings who reigned from the first century B. C. (W. B. p. 44). Therefore there is nothing to prevent us from holding that Nārada flourished in the first centuries of the Christian era, i.e. between 100 and 300 A. D. Mr. Jayaswal assigns him to the 4th century A. D. and after the Mṛcchakaṭṭika. Most scholars would not be prepared to assign to the Mṛcchakaṭṭika so early a date as the 3rd century A. D. Besides Mr. Jayaswal builds his theory on very slender foundations. Because the drama employs the word nāṇaka and Nārada speaks of dīnāra only, no chronological conclusion as to the priority of the one to the other can be drawn. After both words became current in the language, one author, though later, may employ one word, while another, though earlier, may employ the other.
It is difficult to say anything as to the home of Nārada. In the appendix on theft Nārada in one place says that in the south a silver kārśāpana is current, that in the east it is equal to twenty pāṇas and that he does not follow the standard of kārśāpana current in the land of the five rivers. From these data and from the fact that the oldest mss. of Nārada come from Nepal and that an old commentary on Nārada in Newari was composed in Nepal, Dr. Jolly conjectures that Nārada’s home was to be sought in Nepal. This is all pure guess-work. There is no reason why Nārada could not have hailed from central India. The places where the oldest and best mss. of a work are found can hardly ever be indications of the original home of an ancient author. Bhāmaha is by common consent a Kashmirian writer on Poetics, but the only mss. of his work so far found come from southern India.

Prof. Dr. Bhandarkar (Carmichael Lectures 1918, p. 90), probably following the Nayacandrika, hazards the conjecture that the writer called Piśuna cited in the Kauṭiliya is another name of Nārada. Beyond the bare fact that Nārada is often credited in the purāṇas with the role of instigating feuds and quarrels and that the word piśuna means “wicked, back-biter”, there is nothing to support this identification.

A Jyotir-Nārada is quoted by Bhaṭṭoji in his commentary on the Caturvīṁśatimata (p. 11). A Brhan-Nārada is quoted by Raghunandana and a Laghu-Nārada in the Nirṇayasindhu and the Saṁskāra-Kaustubha.

In the Mahābhārata several opinions are attributed to Nārada. One of them condemns the eating of flesh. The first half of the last verse is the same as Manu 5. 52. Nārada is credited with having divided utpātas (portents) into three varieties. Nārada is said to have held the view that one must always be active. It appears that all these views are taken from some work or works of a Nārada.

369 कार्षिको दृष्टिकोऽद्वितीय दिशि रूपः प्रस्तुत | प्रभासितः पूर्वस्या विशिष्टिक्तु पणः स 
तु इत्यद् परम्यनायः प्रेदे सु संस्क्रता या व्यावहारिकी | कार्षिकण्डमाण्यु तु निष्क्रियामान्यं नेवति | सौकेयणिष्कथमकरणं 57 and 59.

370 स्वमांसं परमस्कन्त्यो मर्यादितुमिष्कां || नारदः मान कामा निष्प्रजों सौकेयं ||

अनुष्ठान 115. 14.

371 जयानादिक्षिपिन्य नारदो भगवानत् || विना अर्घ्यात विद्वानसिद्धां तितानं ||

सभा 46. 8-9

372 तद्प्रमाणं कर्मयांविभवं हीनात्म कारदः || उपोगपरं 49.
The first is probably taken from Nārada's version of the Manusmṛti of which the purāṇas speak as stated above (note 270).

For Asahāya the commentator of Nārada vide section 58 below.

37. Bṛhaspati

Bṛhaspati as a sūtra writer on politics has been dealt with above (section 26). In this section Bṛhaspati the jurist will be spoken of. The complete smṛti of Bṛhaspati on law has not yet been discovered. It will be, when discovered, a very precious monument of ancient India, exhibiting the high-water mark of Indian acumen in strictly legal principles and definitions. Dr. Führer collected together 84 verses ascribed to Bṛhaspati in the legal treatises of Aparārka and others with German translation and notes (Leipzig, 1879) and Dr. Jolly collected about 711 verses of Bṛhaspati on law and translated them in the Sacred Books of the East (vol. 33).

Yaj. (I. 4-5) enumerates Bṛhaspati among the writers on dharma, but he is probably referring to Bṛhaspati's work on politics. The com. on the Nītivākyāimṛta (p. 7) quotes the first verse of Bṛhaspati's Nītiśāstra.

We saw above how Bṛhaspati closely follows the extant Manusmṛti, how he pointedly refers to the text of Manu (notes 282-286) and therefore might by analogy be styled a vārttikākāra of Manu. In many places Bṛhaspati explains and illustrates the laconic treatment of Manu. Manu (8.153) speaks of four varities of interest (Cakra, Kāla, Kārīta, and Kāyika), but does not explain these terms. Bṛhaspati explains them clearly. Manu (8.49) enumerates five modes of recovering a debt (dharma, vyavahāra, chala, ācarita, bala) but leaves them unexplained; Bṛhaspati devotes several verses to the explanation of these terms (vide Kullūka on Manu 8.49). Bṛhaspati gives elaborate rules regarding partnership. Bṛhaspati enumerates nine ordeals (of fire, water, poison, balance, kośa, taptamaśa, taudulas, dhammādharma, phāla); while Manu barely alludes to two. Manu devotes only three verses to sarvavidvyatikrama (8.219-221), but Bṛhaspati must have devoted at least a score of verses to this topic, as Aparārka alone quotes 17 verses of Bṛhaspati on this title.

373 Vide कुल्लुकः मनु 8.153; तार्क कविकां श्रवणसायम्; काशिका कायसूचका मास-भाषा च काशिका; ब्रह्मदेवेकाशयकृति; कारिता ऋणिना फूला।
The order in which the topics of law appeared in Bṛhaspati can be settled with tolerable certainty from the quotations in Aparārka, Vivādaratnākara, Viramitrodāya and others works. It was as follows:—the four stages of a law-suit, proof (kriyā, human of three sorts and divine ), witnesses (of 12 kinds), documents (ten kinds), bhukti (possession), ordeals (nine), 18 titles, ṛnadāna, nīkṣepa, avāmivikrāya, saṁbhūya-samutthāna, dattāpradānīka, abhyupetya-suṣrūṣa, vetanasya-anapākarma, svāmipālavīvāda, saṁvid-vyatikrama, vikriyāsaṁpradāna, saṁāvivāda, pāruṣya (of two kinds), sāhāsa (of three kinds), strīsaṁgrahana, strīpuṁdhārma, vibhāga, dyūta, saṁāhvaya, prakīrṇaka (otherwise called 'nṛpāṣraya vyavahāra, 'wrongs for which proceedings are set on foot by the king).

Bṛhaspati was probably the first jurist to make a clear distinction between civil and criminal justice. He divided the eighteen titles into two groups, those springing from wealth (14 titles) and those springing from injury to beings (4 titles). This distinction was probably dimly perceived by even Gautama, when he says that in disputes based on injury there is no hard and fast rule about witnesses (i.e. about their interest in the subject of dispute).

Bṛhaspati like Nārada lays down the rule that a legal decision should not be arrived at merely on the basis of śastra and that when a decision is devoid of reasoning, there is loss of dharma, for even a good man may be held to be a bad one or what is good may be held to be sinful in a judicial proceeding, just as Māṇḍavya was held to be a thief on a decision without thoughtful reasoning.

Bṛhaspati gives such elaborate definitions and rules about procedure from the filing of the plaint to the passing of the decree that he can very well stand comparison with modern legislators on the same subjects.

374 तदाह बृहस्पतिः: हिरवो व्यवहार धनाहितसमुच्छाः: हिसपाधमेन्सुलथ हिसाहुर-अनुविधम्। व्यवहारमातुका of जीवितo p. 277; vide also सुस्तिच्छे (श्री. p. 9) 'पालन्ये द्रे वधवेणि पर्यासंप्रदेशतः हिसोदगनी चतारिपद्वाय वृहस्पतिः:।

375 न प्रियाकृते निबन्धम्: मी. धे. छृ. 13. 9 on which द्वारका says 'पादकरणे हिसाह-विचारे। सत्येन निबन्धो न निहत्:। अर्थसंबंधाय न किंविदियम् दृष्टान्तं अवलोकित।'

376 केवलह शास्त्राध्ययनं न कर्तत्वो हि निर्णयम्: कुठिकितमेव बिचारे तु धर्मानाम: प्रजायते॥ चौरोज्जीरो शास्त्राध्य जातेत व्यवहारतः। शुक्ल किन्न विचारणेश माण्डल्येवोत्तत्तम:॥ quoted by अरराई on चाल्प. II.1; compare नारद (व्यवहारमातुका chapt. I).

42: वात्रसौरीपी चोररघो माण्डल्येवोषपत्यायुभयतः। अरायोऽपि पारसी माण्डल्येवो माण्डल्येव:॥ For the story of माण्डल्य, who kept silent, vide Adiparva 107.
Nārada and Bṛhaspati agree very closely in several respects. For example, both speak of three kinds of proof, four parts of a judicial proceeding, almost the same defects of plaints, four kinds of answer, four divisions of the law of gift and their subdivisions, five modes of recovering debts, four kinds of sāhasa.

We have seen that Nārada departs from Manu in several essential matters. On the other hand Bṛhaspati follows Manu very closely. But he too differs on some points from Manu, for example, we saw above how Bṛhaspati dissents from Manu on the question of the divisibility of clothes &c. (note 285). He appears to differ from Manu as to the maximum interest allowed on corn, fruit, wool and beasts of burden. Manu and Nārada are both silent as to the widow’s right to succeed to her deceased husband’s estate. But Bṛhaspati agreeing with Yājñavalkya makes her the first heir of her sonless husband.

These considerations make it clear that Bṛhaspati is certainly later than Manu and Yāj. It is difficult to state his exact relationship to Nārada. He agrees more closely with Manu than Nārada does, but in some respects such as definitions and the rights of women he shows great advance over Nārada. So he is probably a contemporary of or not much later than Nārada. He employs the word nānaka. He defines a dināra, also called “suvarṇa”, as equal to twelve dhānakas and says that a dhānaka was equal to four andikas, an andikā being a copper pāṇa weighing a karsa and bearing a stamp. This agrees with what Nārada says about dināra.

377 दृष्ट्ये दृष्ट्ये वृद्धिस्वरूपणा वधकोट्यके। पाने चतुरुणा मोका श्ये बाढे लंबुे च॥ युक्तस्यैलि quoted by अपराके on याह। II. 39; compare मनु 8. 151.

378 आननये स्मृतिनास्ये स लोकानारे स सुरिमि। सरीरायेस स्मृत भाषायेष तुष्यापुणकदे समा॥ यत्स नोपरता भाषा वेदभाषा तस्य जीवति। जीवत्वधोरविययं कथमयः। समयपायत। तत्रैव दिव्याः रथनास्याः वितभाषास्यामिः। असुतस्य प्रभुतस्य पन्नी नामग्रहाृपिनी॥ युक्तस्यैलि quoted by अपराके on याह। II. 135. The Mit. has the last verse.

379 कुलदावज्ञानलस्ते महत्काफाबद्धिरपादकरके अपराके on याह। II. 259; सि. र. p. 711 and बीरा p. 383.

380 Vide note 588 above. ताभकरस्ता कृष्टा विशेषा कार्तिके पणः। इत स् एव चार्धितका मोका ताभकरस्तस्त्य धायका॥ ता द्वादस सुवर्णस्तु द्वीरास्यः। स एव तु॥ युक्तिः quoted in कृष्टिर्च p. 99; सि. र. p. 667. काल्याण is quoted on same page by the सूत्रमित्र for a similar definition.

H. D. 27.
Dr. Jolly (S.B.E. vol. 33 p. 276) assigns Brhaspati to the 6th or 7th century A.D. But this is much later by several centuries than the evidence warrants. Katyayana was looked upon as an authoritative writer along with Narada and Brhaspati by Visvarupa and Medhatithi. This position he could not have attained in a century or two. So he cannot be placed later than the 6th century. Katyayana in several places quotes Brhaspati as an authority. Apararaka quotes Katyayana as saying that according to Brhaspati pastures, ways, clothes that are worn on the body, debts (or books for use according to others) and what is set apart for religious purposes should not be partitioned.\footnote{381} Katyayana says that according to Brhaspati, that wealth which a man acquires by means of his learning after refuting an opponent in a contest with a stake for the winner is styled “vidyadhana” and is not liable to partition\footnote{382}; and what is acquired through valour &c. by persons that were taught in the family or learnt under their father should be partitioned among the brothers, according to Brhaspati. If a man falsely denies his liability and if only a part of the claim is brought home to him, then he should be made to pay the whole.\footnote{383} That the statement of a witness may be relied upon on a matter under his direct perception owing to his being near the plaintiff and the defendant and not otherwise; so says Brhaspati.\footnote{384 The foregoing examples show that Katyayana looked upon Brhaspati as an authority who must therefore have flourished several centuries before. Therefore Brhaspati cannot be placed later than the 4th century A.D. As he knew the extant Manusmriti, was later than Yaj. and probably than Narada, Brhaspati must have flourished between 200 and 400 A.D. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that Visvarupa quotes, without making any difference, prose and verse passages of Brhaspati and thereby shows that in his opinion the jurist Brhaspati

\footnote{381}{नोप्रचारक १८२ व व बचनोपनित मन्यवें न विषयेत धनायं च भूक्ष्यात ॥ षिष्ठा p. 505 and अपरारके on याह. II. 119.}
\footnote{382}{परं स्निष्ठा भक्तस्वागत विषयाः बुद्धतुर्वसंकम । विद्याधर्यं तु विषयेत विषयेत भूक्ष्यात ॥ quoted by अपरारके on याः. II. 119; परा. मा. III. 2. p. 559.}
\footnote{383}{सर्वाभावं च: कृत्वा मध्यवासपास्रव संवेदत । सर्वेनेव तु द्यन्य स्थादिति युक्तो भूक्ष्यात ॥ अश्वहरमातृका of जीमुत p. 311.}
\footnote{384}{अधिस्वरूपस्वामिनीयादुर्गमये तु यजित । नारायणाः सहिष्ठो यात्रमयादाभु भूक्ष्यात ॥ quoted in the अश्वहरमातृका of जीमुत p. 317.}
(In verse) was identical with the political writer Bṛhaspati and was a very ancient writer in his day. Medhātithi (on Manu 9.153) quotes the verse “na pratigrahahbū” (ascribed to Bṛhaspati by others) as Smṛtyantara. Bṛhaspati is cited in a few cases as referring to his own views in the third person; sometimes he uses the first person also. Nothing can be said about his country at present. In a well-known passage Bṛhaspati refers to the usages of the southern people, of the people in the Madhyadeśa, of the eastern and northern people. In a striking and beautiful passage Bṛhaspati compares vyavahāra with yajña, the king with Viṣṇu, the successful party with the sacrificer and the defeated party with the victim, the plaint and the reply to food and the pratiṣṭhā to the sacrificial offering (prepared from food), the śāstras to the three Vedas and the sabhīyas to the priests in a sacrifice. Bṛhaspati seems to have been very fond of such long-drawn metaphors.

The Smṛticandrika quotes about seventy verses of Bṛhaspati in the Āhnika portion and about forty on Śrāddha. In the later works like the Paraśara-Madhaviya, the Nirnayasindhu and Sanskāra-Kaustubha, the number of verses quoted from Bṛhaspati is much larger than even those quoted by the Smṛticandrika. Those verses are quoted on such sanskāras as puṁsavana, nāmakaraṇa, caula, upanayana, vivāha and also on āśauca and purification of dravyas. Even the Mitākṣara quotes several verses of Bṛhaspati on matters

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385 ताइन्म माण्डन चैव तथैव च विःश्रवणम्। एष दुष्प्रिह शुद्भय: नार्थेद्विहो वृहस्पतिः॥ परि, मा. III. 1. p. 212: स्मृतिरे।

386 एष दुष्प्रिह: समाध्यात: पुरुषपेत्तया मया। quoted by अपराक् on वाह. II. 211.

387 उत्तमे सुन्दिल्लियोभूमित्तद्य तुते दुःखे। मध्यवेशे करमकरः: शिलिनन्द्य: गयानिनः॥ महत्तदुःख: नरः पूर्वे व्यविवर्तात: गियः। उपरे सम्पान नायः सृष्ट्या नूर्णाः रजस्तला:॥

वीर. P. 29, व्य. म. &c.

388 यद्य संपूर्वमे शिवश्रवणां शहस्त्रति। जबी तु जयसामान्य जित: पश्चात्तदहः॥

389 बिनो बर्मुहस्वादिः स्कन्दसागर: महापति:। बिब्वा: पशुपुंष्या जो म्याशेन पालनम्॥ योऽयं किं विर्रसौ भोगवस्चूतजनम्॥ अवतार्यं लोकपति:। हन: स्थाने च राज्यस्वम॥ चारो p. 14. Compare नारद (व्य. मा., I. 38 for the second verse).
other than vyavahāra. For example the Mit. on Yāj. I. 210 quotes a verse of Bṛhaspati that a nivartana (of land) is equal to 30 dāṇḍas in area (dāṇḍa being seven cubits in length) and ten nivartanaś are equal to a gocarāma. 390 On Yāj. III. 17 the Mit. quotes two verses of Bṛhaspati about impurity on birth or death &c. On Yāj. III. 21 the Mit. cites the definition of deśāntara given by Bṛhaspati. 391 On Yāj. III. 24 the Mit. quotes Bṛhaspati’s opinion that the period of mourning on the death of one’s maternal grandfather, ācārya or śrotiyā is three days. On Yāj. III. 253 the Mit. quotes Bṛhaspati’s rule as to prāyaścitta for consciously drinking wine. 392 Vide also Mit. on Yāj. III. 30, 250, 254, 260, 290 for other quotations from Bṛhaspati.

The foregoing therefore establishes that Bṛhaspati was known at least to the Mit. and later writers as an expounder in verse not only of vyavahāra but also of other topics of dharma as well. As over a thousand verses of Bṛhaspati (including about 800 on vyavahāra) are quoted it appears that his work must have been an extensive one comprising several thousand verses. Such a work of Bṛhaspati has yet to be recovered.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 261 quotes a Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati on the nine varieties of saṁkara. 393 Kullūka on Manu (9. 181) cites a verse of Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati about the eleven subsidiary sons (vide note 283 above, where the verse is ascribed to Bṛhaspati). Hemādri (Caturvarga vol. III, part 2, p. 472) quotes a Jyotir-Bṛhaspati on the prohibition of a śrāddha on the thirteenth tithi of the dark half. Aparārka on Yāj. II. 3-4 quotes three verses from Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati.

590 समस्तस्य दुष्प्रेम त्रिशाद्व द्वादश निर्मलस्य । दुष दात्येष्व गोष्टिः दर्शा । हस्ते महिष्यते ॥
A similar verse occurs in the गृहस्तीस्माप्ति (Jivananda part I. p. 645) where the reading is दुःर्शाद्वेन.

591 मदनप्यत्र यथ गितापि व्यापारः । वाचो यथ बिनिदयन्ते नद दश्यास्तरुच्छन्ते ॥
बद्धान्तरेन वर्षस्य वज्ञायनं वयस्त्व । वधारिष्ठस्त्रयेष्व सिद्धांशु । तथेष ॥

592 सुरायाने कामस्य वज्ञानो वा बिनिद्रप्तेद । मृत्यु तथा बिनिद्रपः मृतः । भृद्यादनानुषाद ॥

593 चतवाहि गृहस्तीस्मातः । एकतयास्यां पद्मीनि पुष्पदलः प्रचण्डमाताः । वाचो नमो न बोलिनिगथाः स यथा ॥
ascribed to गृहस्ती by the गृहस्तीस्त्रास्य (folio 130a of D.O. of A 1883-84).
about the derivation of the word "prāḍ-vivāka" and one on the punishment for sabhyas who take bribes. Three of these verses are ascribed to Brhaspati in the Pārāśara-Mādāvīya and other works and one of them to Kātyāyana in the Vyavahāra-mātrkā.

38. Kātyāyana

Nārada, Brhaspati and Kātyāyana form a triumvirate in the realm of the ancient Hindu Law and procedure. The work of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra, like that of Brhaspati, has yet to be recovered. The following account is based on the quotations from Kātyāyana contained in about a dozen works from Viśvarūpa to the Viramitrodaya.

Kātyāyana is enumerated as one of the expounders of dharma by Śanśkha-Likhita, Yaṭñavalkya (I. 4-5) and Pārāśara. A Kātya. is quoted as an authority in the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra (I. 2. 47. A Śrautasūtra and Śrāddhakalpa of the white Yajurveda are ascribed to Kātyāyana.

Kātyāyana appears to have taken Nārada and Brhaspati as his models in the order and treatment of the subjects to be dealt with in vyavahāra. He closely follows both the writers in terminology and technique. On several points he presupposes Nārada and expounds and elucidates the latter's dicta. For example, Nārada (Intro. chap. I. 10-11) lays down that vyavahāra has four pādas, each later one prevailing over the preceding, viz. dharma, vyavahāra, caritra, rājaśāsana (note 361) and then Nārada very briefly in one verse explains these four terms. Kātyāyana on the other hand devotes at least nine verses to the elucidation of the rule as to each succeeding one prevailing over its predecessor. Nārada contains very little on the topic of strīdhana (daśabhāga chap. verses 8-9). He merely enumerates the six kinds of strīdhana and then lays down the rule of succession. Kātyāyana's treatment of strīdhana has attained classical rank. It appears that he was probably the first to carefully define the several kinds of strīdhana (such as adhyāgni, adhyāvahanika, pritidatta, śulka, anvādheya, saudāyika), to lay down woman's power of disposal over the several varieties of strīdhana and to prescribe lines of devolution as to strīdhana. The verses on this topic occurring in the nibandhas number about thirty.

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The leading nibandhas contain only a few quotations from Brhaspati on śrīdhana. Hence it may be surmised that Kātyāyana probably was the first smṛti writer to give elaborate rules on this

It has been already shown (notes 381–384) how Kātyāyana often quotes the views of Brhaspati. A few more examples may be added here. According to Brhaspati, says Kātyāyana, when a man who stands surety with others on a joint liability goes abroad, his son would have to pay the whole debt, but if the man dies then the son would be liable for his father’s share only.395 When cattle stray into fields, gardens, houses or cowpens, they may be, according to Brhaspati, caught hold of (by the ear &c.) or beaten.396 According to Brhaspati, a man of the kṣatriya, vaisya or śūdra caste may employ one of his own caste to do the work of a dāsa (slave or serf), but even a Brāhmaṇa could never employ another Brāhmaṇa in the same way.397

About a dozen nibandhas on vyavahāra quote about 900 verses of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra, the Smṛticandrika alone citing about 600 of them. In these verses Kātyāyana refers at least a score of times to the views of Bhṛgu. It is remarkable that only a few of the views ascribed to Bhṛgu are found in the extant Manusmrīti. Kātyāyana says, according to Bhṛgu, whatever (ancestral) wealth was concealed by one coparcener from others, whatever was badly divided should be divided in equal shares when afterwards discovered (Parāśara-Madhaviyā III, p. 566). This may well be compared with Manu 9. 215. Kātyāyana says according to Bhṛgu, it is not Brāhmaṇa-murder to kill an ātātāyin who is foremost by his austerities, learning and caste. This has in view Manu 8. 360. Kullūka distinctly says that Kātyāyana simply explains the verse of Manu by referring to it as Bhṛgu’s. On the other hand there are several places where the views ascribed to Bhṛgu find no counterpart in the extant Manu. According to

395 एकचछायाशिशि सवे दुयामु मोनि शुनवे। मुनि वितक्षि वृद्धें परण्य न बृहसपति:।
पार. मा. III, p. 251.

396 सन्नारामविचित्रितु गृहेवु पशुपालितु। महं तत्त्वविशिष्टं ताड्यं च बृहसपति:।
वि. र. p. 241.

397 सन्त्रासारसमस्तं समवं कन्हान। कारायेत वासकमाणि बाह्रणं न बृहसपति:।
वि. र. p. 152.
Bhrigu in all sahasas of the worst type the truth should be found out by means of divine proof (ordeal &c.) even though there may be witnesses. There is nothing in the Manusmrti corresponding with this. According to Bhrigu the ordeals of balance &c. are prescribed for those who are suspected to be in league with marauders and who have incurred popular censure, but in such cases there is no undertaking (by the complainant to pay fine). The Manusmrti has not a word on this point. Household paraphernalia, beasts of burden, cattle, ornaments, slaves should be divided when discovered; if they are (alleged to be) concealed, the ordeal of kosha should be resorted to; so says Bhrigu. Another important circumstance deserves to be noted. Katyayana several times refers to the views of Manu. Katyayana says that the view of Manu was that in certain charges (such as the commission of mahapatakas) the ordeals for the accused were to be performed by good men. According to Manu if a woman deserted her son, though he may be able (to pay), her stridhana should be seized and the paternal debt should be paid thereout. Manu declared, says Katyayana, that if animals be killed, the offender should offer (to the owner) another similar animal or its proper price (note 345 above where Parashara also quotes it as Manu’s view). All these views attributed to Manu by Katyayana are not found in the extant Manusmrti. In certain places Katyayana refers to the views of the Manavas; e.g., according to the Gargiyas and Manavas if a bribe had already been paid, the person receiving it should be made to repay it and should be fined eleven times as much; according to
the Mānavas thieves caught red-handed with their booty should be at once banished. As regards both these references, the teaching of the Manusmṛti seems to be different; vide Manu 9. 231 and 270 respectively. These facts about Kātyāyana's references to Bṛhrugu and Manu raise several difficult questions, whether Bṛhrugu and Manu stand for two entirely different works or for the same work and whether he refers to some other version of the Manusmṛti ascribed to Bṛhrugu. In my opinion he is not referring to two separate works, and that he had before him a version of the Manusmṛti promulgated by Bṛhrugu but somewhat different from and probably larger than the present Manusmṛti.

In the nibandhas several verses are ascribed to Kātyāyana along with Manu, Yājñavalkya and Bṛhaspati. For example, the well-known verse about the six fold division of stridhana (adhyagnya- dhyāvahaniyam &c.) is ascribed by the Dāyabhaga to Manu and Kātyāyana. The half-verse “varṇāṇāmānuñyena dasyam na pratilomatah” is the same in both Yājñavalkya (II. 183) and Kātyāyana. The Viramitrodaya (p. 140) ascribes a verse to Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana, in which the opinion of Bṛhaspati is cited. There is very close agreement between the definitions proposed by the two last writers of dharma, vyavahara, caritra, and rājaśāsana. Besides Manu (or Mānavas), Bṛhaspati and Bṛhrugu, Kātyāyana cites the views of several other writers on dharma. For Gārgyas and Gautama vide notes 403 and 404 above. He says, according to Kauśika, powerful robbers were to be guarded by chains of iron, were to be low-fed and were to undergo hard labour for the state till death (Aparārka p. 849). He quotes the view of Likhita that where a woman is deprived of food, raiment and dwelling (by her husband's coparceners) she would be entitled to demand her own (stridhana) and a share from the coparceners. In one case (Aparārka p. 755) a verse is cited as Kātyāyana's in which Kātyāyana himself is named (Parāsaramādhavīya III. p. 235).

Kātyāyana contains the same advanced views about law and rules of procedure as are found in Nārada and Bṛhaspati. He is even in

404 Mānav.: यदद चाहुः तहेलानां प्रातलस्म। गौतमानानांदं दत्तायुधेष्वदिभिगीतस्म। विधि ५ ३४३. It is not unlikely that the correct reading is प्रबन्धम् for प्रातानं, as the immediately following view of गौतम suggests. The words of श्रुति are साहों सोपकरों पातिवेदविषारथम्.
advance of these two writers in certain matters, such as definitions in general and the elaboration of rules about stridhana. He gives numerous definitions, such as those of vyavahāra, prādvivāka, stobhaka, dharmādhikaraṇa, tīrīta and anuśīṣṭa, sāmanta &c. He seems to have been the first to invent some new terms. For example, he defines paścātkāra as a judgment given in favour of the plaintiff after a hot contest between the plaintiff and the defendant, while the term jayapatra is restricted by him to the judgment given on admission by the defendant or a judgment dismissing the suit on various grounds.  

He lays down a stringent rule that if a man abandons a ground of defence or attack and puts forward a less cogent one, he would not be allowed to put forward again the stronger ground after a decisive judgment of the court. This resembles the 4th explanation to section 11 of the Indian Civil Procedure Code (1908) about res judicata. The verses about kārpāpana and dināra quoted above (note 368) from Nārada (pariśīṣṭa verses 58–60) are ascribed to Kātyāyana by the Smṛticandrika.

The date of Kātyāyana can be settled only approximately. He is certainly much later than Manu and Yaśñavalkya. As shown above he presupposes Nārada and regarded Brāhaspati as a very leading authority on vyavahāra. Hence his upper limit is the 3rd or 4th century A. D. Viśvarūpa quotes eight verses as Kātyāyana’s by name (vide on Yāj. II. 5, 6, 47, 63, 281) on such topics of Vyavahāra as the defects of the plaint, the contents of the plaint, the liability for the debts of a deceased person, payments of debts or honour (satyaṁkāra), punishment for abortion, grievous hurt and homicide of a Brāhmaṇa woman. Medhātithi (on Manu 7.1) ascribes to Kātyāyana the rule that in case of conflict between the dictates of dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra the king should prefer the former. Medhātithi on Manu (VIII. 216) speaks of Kātyāyana-sūtra, appears to quote a portion of it in prose and explains it.

405 निरस्तान्तु किंया वत्रमणानाथनाम पराष्ट्याश्रेष्ठ विदीर्यते || आयपायातिदिनाथ हरेराम सदीर्यते || पुरातुनावनपाधितसिद्ध तथा स्मार्थात्मकस्मम् || स्त्रेतिथ्यो, देहानाद्व, बैरो।

406 किंया बाह्यार्थस्तु नुसात्तु दुर्वैर्य सुस्थितम् कर्मम् कर्मम् किमपि || भिमास्या ो वावास. II. 80, 81, म. प. 281, बैरो प. 108।

407 ‘यो शास्त्रयादिन्द्रित्तमुपर्यथैशु नाग्नानीशु न्याय्य ज्ञानमात्रं अस्यपात्तिः निर्निर्देशिते निर्यस्य तद्यथम् वि बौद्धविद्यामण्डलां।’

H. D. 28.
says that Kātyāyana extended the maxim of the trader carrying merchandise (bhāṇḍavāha-vanik maxim) to all similar transactions. All known quotations of Kātyāyana are in verse. When Medhatithi speaks of a sūtra and quotes a portion of it (as “vā” and “iti” after “nivarteta” indicate) in prose, we must either suppose that he is referring to some other work of Kātyāyana than the one in verse from which hundreds of verses are cited by other writers or that Kātyāyana's work on vyavahāra also contains some prose passages. As hardly any other writer quotes a prose passage of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra, the second alternative appears somewhat unlikely. Viśvarūpa and Medhatithi regarded Kātyāyana as an authoritative smṛtikāra along with Nārada and Brhaspati. This position he could not have attained in less than a few hundred years. Therefore the lowest limit to which Kātyāyana can be assigned is the 6th century. Hence it may be said that Kātyāyana flourished between the 4th and 6th century A. D.

The Vyavahāramātrkā (p. 307) quotes a Brhat-Kātyāyana on the question of proof. The Dāyabhāga mentions a Vṛddha-Kātyāyana. The Sarasvativilāsa also quotes verses of Vṛddha-Kātyāyana on rescission of purchase and other topics (p. 320). In the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to say whether these two are different works. The Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (vol. III, part 2, p. 657) speaks of Upakātyāyana. Aparārka quotes a verse from śloka-Kātyāyana which is not found in the Karmapradīpa (Jivananda's ed.), but appears to be a summary of a prose passage quoted as Kātyāyana's immediately before by Aparārka.

In Jivananda's collection of smṛtis (part I, pp. 603-644) there is one of Kātyāyana in three prapāthakas and 29 khaṇḍas and about five hundred verses. The same work is printed as Gobhilasmṛti in the Anandaśrama collection (pp. 49-71). It contains also a few prose passages in the 12th, 13th and 14th khaṇḍas. The prevailing metre is Anuṣṭubh, a few verses being in the Indravajra and other metres. The work is styled the Karmapradīpa of Kātyāyana. The opening verse justifies this name when it states that like a lamp the work will clearly show the mode of performing certain rites treated by Gobhila and other rites which are not clearly elucidated.408 The contents of this work are briefly as follows:— how

408 अधानो नौभिलोक्तानामस्मिन्नाध्यात्मकः कर्मच्छाय। अतस्ताया विधि समासौधानाविभि प्रदीप्यन्त।
to wear the sacred thread; sipping water and touching various limbs with water; the worship of Ganesa and fourteen mātrṣa in every rite; kuṣas; śrāddha details; consecration of sacred fires; details about aranis, sruc, sruva; rules about cleansing the teeth and bathing; sarādyā; prāṇāyāma, muttering of Vedic mantras; tarpaṇa of gods and manes; the great daily yajnas; who is to offer śrāddha; rules about periods of impurity due to death; duties of wife; śrāddhas of various kinds.

The Karmapradīpa mentions by name several authors. It very frequently cites the views of Gobhila (pp. 603, 626, 638) and Gautama (pp. 619, 620, 626, 630, 636, 639). The Karmapradīpa as the opening verse says is intimately related to the Gobhila grhyā-sūtra. It distinctly says that as Gobhila did not dilate upon the details as to time and procedure of goyajīta and vājīyajīta, Kāṭyāyana dilates upon them. This is borne out by the Gobhila grhyā-sūtra.409 Another410 passage of Kāṭyāyana about the Āṣṭakas is based upon the very words of the Gobhila grhyā. Frequent reference is made to the views of Vasiṣṭha on the worship of Mātrṣ (p. 605), on śrāddha (pp. 608, 625). Vide also p. 642 (28.16). Among the other authors named are Nārada on the sticks for dantadhāvana (p. 615), Bhārgava (probably Uśanas) on p. 640, Śāṇḍilya and Śāṇḍilyāyana on p. 626. Kāṭyāyana is named in several places (pp. 624, 627, 638) and once the first person is used (as in "mamāpyetad hrī sthitam" p. 643). The Kāṭyāyanaasamṛti quotes the verse of Manu (III. 70) on the five great yajñas. On p. 633 four verses forming the consolation to be offered to the relatives of a person departed are the same as Yāj. (III. 8-11) and one verse in the same context occurs in the Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva

409 Vide p. 638 verses 1-11 of 26th khaṇḍa and compare with Gobhila grhyā-sūtra III. 6. 10-15 ( गोभिलसा प्रायसमस्तसः। अभिभजन पूषणभिन्नमस्थिरः। कस्यभूनाः। गोभिलसा सर्वसाधनों व्याख्यातः। यथास्वमेव देवतानाब्राह्मणोऽकृत्य गत्वथां गायते।).

410 यद्य समावेशिष्ठ तथा कार्याकारकावतोऽन्यस्तरं मद्यमायमतिः गोभिलसातोऽभिषेकी वस्तुसाधिकारिणिः। नाव्यायिकं सर्वत्र सम्बन्धी कौलिन मोनावकानुषु। काश्यायनं भार्यायनं III. 10. 4-7 'सर्वकार्यं केवलम: तत: सर्वो नानाशाक्तिः कौलिनः। व्यासः हृदयाधिकारिः। तथा गोपायायातीतो यथाभेदात्मकं नामपूर्णकालस्य यानं कार्यान्त'.
27. 31 and other places). On p. 631 Kātyāyana speaks of Rāma having performed yajñās taking as his spouse the golden image of Sītā.

The question is:—what is the date of this Kātyāyanasmrī (Karmapradīpa) and whether it is the work of Kātyāyana the great jurist. The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 254) quotes a verse as Kātyāyana's which occurs in Jivananda's text (p. 624 verse 20); similarly the Mit. quotes two verses as Kātyāyana's (on Yāj. III. 247) which have a place in the Karmapradīpa (Jivananda p. 634 verses 4-5). Scores of verses cited as Kātyāyana's by Aparārka (on ācāra and prāyaścitta) are found in the Karmapradīpa. For example, vide Aparārka p. 43 (three verses) and Karmapradīpa (p. 605, 1110-12), Aparārka p. 51 (three verses about samidh) and Karmap. (p. 613, 8. 17-19), Aparārka p. 135 (four verses about bathing in rivers) and Karma. (p. 615, 10. 5-7 and 14), Aparārka p. 532 (four verses on śrāddha in which Kātyāyana himself is cited as an authority) and Karma. (p. 624, 16. 16-19), Aparārka p. 872 (six verses) and Karma. (21. 2-7 p. 632), Aparārka p. 1066 (three verses about an agnihotrin being guilty of mahāpātaka) and Karma. (23. 4-6 p. 634). The Smṛticandrikā also quotes profusely from Kātyāyana on ācāra, śrāddha etc. and cites from the Karmapradīpa by name passages which occur in Jivananda's edition. The above references show that in the eyes of the Mitākṣarā and Aparārka the Karmapradīpa was an authoritative work. Therefore it follows that it must have been composed centuries before the 11th century A. D. It is however remarkable that several quotations ascribed to Kātyāyana in the Mitākṣarā, Aparārka and other works are not found in the Karmapradīpa. For example, the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. III. 242) cites Kātyāyana's verse about five varieties of lapses in conduct viz. mahāpātaka, atipātaka, pātaka, prāsaṅgika, upapātaka and on Yāj. III. 260 quotes a verse of Kātyāyana about what are atipātakas. These are not to be traced in the Karmapradīpa printed by Jivananda. Similarly Aparārka (pp. 94-95) quotes three verses of Kātyāyana that are very interesting but are not found in

411 सतं सुच्चः निष्पा: पतनाचाः समुक्षूः। संबोधि विषयोगचारं वर्णानं हि जीवितादि
Later works like the Nirnayasindhu, the Sanskaramayukha, the Madanaparijata quote numerous verses of Katyayana on upanayana, marriage and other sanskaras which we vainly seek to find in the Karmapradipa. Hence it follows that there was some large work of Katyayana of which the Karmapradipa is either an abridgment or only a portion.

The next question is whether Katyayana the jurist and the author of the Karmapradipa are identical. There are not sufficient data to identify the two. The only fact that points to the identity is that such eminent and early writers as Vijnanesvara and Aparaksha appear to make no distinction between the two. Besides the Karmapradipa is also an early work. Against this it has to be remembered that Visvarupa, probably the most ancient of all extant commentators, nowhere quotes Katyayana on acara and prayaascitta. This absence of quotations is not a very cogent argument; still it raises a doubt in one’s mind whether a work of Katyayana on acara and other non-jural topics was known to Visvarupa.

The other principal versified smritis will now be described in (Sanskrit) alphabetical order.

39. Angiras

From Visvarupa downwards Angiras is quoted very frequently on all topics except that of civil law (vyavahara). Angiras is one of the writers on dharma enumerated by Yaj. Visvarupa (on Yaj. I. 9) states that according to Angiras a parisad may comprise 121 Brahmanas. On Yaj. I. 50 Visvarupa quotes a verse of Angiras that what is done according to one’s own will without following the dictates of sastra is fruitless. On Yaj. III. 248 Visvarupa says that the vrata called Vajra was prescribed by Angiras for Brahmanas guilty of deadly sins. Visvarupa (on Yaj. III. 265) quotes two verses of Angiras on the prayaascitta for killing the wife of a Brahmana who has kindled the sacred fires, for killing wives of...
other Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. On Yāj. III. 266 he quotes two verses of Āngiras laying down prāyaścitta for killing certain beasts and birds, wherein Āngiras himself is mentioned with honour (bhagavān). Aparārka (pp. 22-23) quotes thirteen verses from Āngiras on the constitution of parisad, wherein such terms as chāturvidya, vitarki, angavid, dharmapāthaka are explained and the last of which says that a parisad sitting in judgment over those who are guilty of mahāpātakas may consist of hundreds. The Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. I. 86) quotes several verses on the practice of satī and ascribes them to both Śaṅkha and Āngiras. Aparārka (pp. 109, 112) quotes four other verses on the same practice, one of which is in the Indravajrā metre and another prohibits a Brāhmaṇa wife from following that practice. Medhātithi (on Manu. V. 157) quotes the view of Āngiras on satī and disapproves of it. The Mitākṣarā, Haradatta and others quote numerous verses of Āngiras on āśauca and prāyaścitta. Haradatta on Gautama (20. 1) quotes a verse of Āngiras about the seven antyajas. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 237) quotes a sūtra of Sumantu in which Āngiras is cited as an authority. The Śuddhi-mayakha quotes a verse of Āngiras which relies upon Śatātapa. The Śnāticandrikā quotes Āngiras on the enumeration of Upasmṛtis (vide note 260 above). The Śnāticandrikā also contains a few prose quotations from Āngiras; the same work cites a verse of Āngiras holding the dharmaśāstra of Manu as the supreme guide.

The Āngiras-smṛti (in Jivananda part I, pp. 554-560) in 72 verses is probably an abridgment. It lays down prāyaścittas for various occasions, such as taking food and drink from antyajas, for cruelly beating or causing various injuries to cows. It also lays down various rules for the wearing of the dark cloth (nilastra) by women. It cites Āngiras and Āpastamba by name. The penultimate verse condemns those who rob women of their wealth.

414 One of them is the well known verse निचः कोट्योपकोटि च बालि होमालि मानुषः। नामस्कारः वसेस्वरः सतारं यानुगच्छति।

415 बण्डहः अप्पः क्षता धृतो वेदिकक्षता। मागधायोगयो वेष सत्तेन्त्रस्वास्वमिशः।

416 सचवेनेष्व वर्णाणां सुके मृतेः तथा। दुष्टाश्रयुद्धेताभिषिष्टिः शान्तिप्राप्तवीत।

417 वस्तूं मनुष्य सोकं धर्मायाःश्रमुस्मात्। नाहिः नतसमन्त्रमध्य वचने विलम्बायसन।।

अट्ठियम् (अल्पवर्ग)।
There are several mss. in the Deccan College Collection while contain a varying number of verses on prāyāścitta agreeing more or less with Jivananda’s text. For example, No. 53 of 1879-8t, contains about one hundred verses, No. 205 of 1882-83 contains 54 verses, while No. 65 of Viśrāmbāg collection and No. 83 of 1895-1902 contain only 32 ; No. 81 of 1884-86 is styled Bṛhad-Āṅgiras and contains 151 verses, many of which are identical with those in the Calcutta text.

The Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. III. 277) and the Smṛtiratnāvali of Vedācārya (I. O. cat. No. 1552 p. 475) quote a Bṛhad-Āṅgiras and the Mitākṣarā also quotes a Madhyama-Āṅgiras several times (on Yāj. III. 243, 241, 258, and 260).

40. Rṣyasṛṅga

This is a writer who is frequently quoted on ācāra, āśauca, śrāddha, and prāyāścitta by the Mit., Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā and other works. Aparārka (p. 724) quotes as Rṣyasṛṅga’s a verse ascribed to Śāṅkha in the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. II. 119) and other works, which states that when one coparcener recovers with his own efforts family property that was lost to the family, he gets a fourth share of it and the others become sharers in the rest.418 The Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 32) quotes ‘api vāsasā yajñopavitārthān kuryāt tadabhāve trivṛtā sūtreṇa’, which is in prose.

41. Kārṇājīnī

This writer is quoted by the Mit. (Yāj. III. 265 three verses), Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā and other works mostly on śrāddha. Aparārka (p. 138) quotes a verse from him which enumerates the seven sons of Brahmā, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Vodha (?) and Pañcaśikha. Aparārka (p. 424) quotes a verse which refers to the two signs of the Zodiac, Kanyā, and Vṛścika.

42. Caruvimsatimāta

There are two Mss. of this work in the Deccan College Collection (No 244 of A. 1881-1882 and 111 of 1895-1902). It contains 525 verses. The work is so called because it embodies the essence of the teachings of 24 sages, Manu, Yaññavalkya, Atri, Viṣṇu,

418 पूर्वनाशं तु चो मूलमिक्ष्येवद्विततं कपालं। यद्यां तु तत्मलेभ्येद्वित्तं तु तुरीयककपम्।
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oth-asiṣṭha, Vyāsa, Uśanas, Āpastamba, Vatsa, Harita, Guru (Brhaspati), Nārada, Parāśara, Gārgya, Gautama, Yama, Baudhāyana, Dākṣa, Śaṅkha, Āṅgiras, Sātātapa, Śaṅkhya (Śaṅkhya-yāya? ), Saṁvarta. The subjects treated of are:—The usages of the varṇas and āśramas, sauca, acamana, cleansing the teeth, bath, prāṇayāma, repeating the Gāyatri, study of the Vedas, marriage, agníhotra, five great daily yajñas, means of livelihood, forest hermits, saṁnyāsins, duties of Kṣatriyas and the other two varṇas, prāyaścittas for the deadly sins and other lesser misdeeds, means of livelihood, śrāddha, aśauca (on birth and death).

The work often quotes the views of Uśanas, Manu, Parāśarya, Āṅgiras, Yama, Harita. It quotes Manu III. 5 (asapinda ca ya etc.) and Manu 12. 95 (ya vedabāhyāḥ smṛtyah). Two other verses which it contains are indicated as interpolated in several editions of Manu. It says that the teachings of Arhat, Carvāka and Buddhās delude people. Its position is that whatever is not found in the Veda or the Purāṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa, or Mahābhārata or in the sāstras of Manu and others is as good as non-existent.

The Caturvimiśatimata is frequently quoted by the Mit., Aparārka and later works, but not by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. It was probably compiled about the time when the latter two writers flourished. Aparārka (p. 1121) quotes a prose passage from the work on the prāyaścitta for a dvijāti procreating children on a Śūdra wife. This passage could not be traced in the two mss. referred to above.

The portions of the work on saṁskāra and śrāddha together with the commentary of Bhaṭṭoji, son of Lakṣmidhara, have been

419 बृहद च मातापितरी साध्वी भावं बिलु: छलः। अथ्यकार्यथं क्लम भर्त्यं मनु- राज्यं (after मनु. XI. 10), पूर्णं मानवो थरं साध्वेन प्रदिपकाक्षितम्। आश्चर्यादानि चतारि न इत्यव्याप्ति हैदुप्ला (after मनु. XII. 110.). This occurs in या्यातिक, 4th आयाम p. 117 and the first half of it occurs in the तत्वावलिक.

420 अर्थवाचकानुष्ठानि बौद्धविद्विद्वानि तानि साध्वानि सर्वेऽक्षेत्रः। यहमवकायक्ष्यानि तानि साध्वानि सर्वेऽक्षेत्रः। This occurs in the स्मृतिप्र. f. p. 5. (Gharpure) and परा. मा. vol. I, part I, p. 10.

421 सहानुिति वेदे न च वैदिके रामायणे भरतसांवरे च। मन्नाधिशास्त्रू च यत्र वेदेऽ तत्त्वाहिनि नात्त्विनि च तेन कार्यत्।
published in the Benares Sanskrit Series (Nos. 137 and 139). The commentary is a very learned one and refers to a host of writers. This commentary is in some mss. ascribed to Rāmacandra (vide I. O. cat. No. 1554, p. 475).

43. Dakṣa

Dakṣa is one of the writers on dharma enumerated by Yāj. Viśvarūpa quotes verses of Dakṣa several times, viz. on Yāj. I. 17 (on clods of earth for purifying the body), on Yāj. III. 30 (two verses on āśauca), on Yāj. III. 66 (about a parivrājaka), on Yāj. III. 191 (about padmāsana). The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 89) quotes a half verse of Dakṣa to the effect that a dvija should not remain unattached to an āśrama (i.e. without a wife in the context) even for a moment; on Yāj. III. 58 two verses about bhikṣus; on Yāj. III. 243 (one verse). Aparārka cites numerous verses of Dakṣa on ācāra, āśauca, śrāddha and similar topics. In one case (p. 368) he attributes a prose passage to Dakṣa about the gift of gold.423 Two of Dakṣa’s verses most frequently quoted by writers on vyavahāra are those that lay down what nine things cannot be the subjects of gift.423

In Jivananda’s collection there is a Dakṣasmrīti ((part II, pp. 383-402) in seven chapters and 220 verses (vide also Anandāśrama collection pp. 72-84). The principal subjects treated of are:—Four āśramas, two kinds of brahmacārinis; the daily round of duties for dvijas; various subdivisions of actions, nine karmans, nine vikarmans, nine actions that should be concealed, nine acts that should be made public, nine things that should not be gifted; gifts; eulogy of a good housewife; śauca of two kinds; impurity due to birth and death; Yoga and its six angas viz. prāṇāyāma, dhyāna, pratyāhāra, dhāranā, tarka and samādhi, maithuna of eight kinds to be avoided by ascetics, duties of bhikṣu, dvaita, and advaita.

This smṛti is certainly a very old one. All the quotations from Dakṣa cited by Viśvarūpa occur in the printed Dakṣa (vide pp. 395,

422 सुर्यान्वेष व्यक्तिमय देशकालस्थलशुर्यपरिमाणनिष्ठः प्रकृतिः। अपरारः।
423 सामान्यतिः पापित्य वैदिकविबोधाय तदनुभवं। कसाहिष्ठं व विकृतेः सूक्ष्मद्वातथे
शितं। आपस्वप्पि न देशानि नय वस्तुति पापित्यं। यो वृद्धार्थं श्रृवानस्त्राधि-भिंसिष्ठे न:। अपरारः। p. 404. These occur in the वुक्षस्यृंति (Jivananda part II, p. 301).

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396, 384, 397 which reads ‘na pathyāśanād yogo’). Similarly all the quotations in the Mit. from Dākṣa are found in the Calcutta text. Aparārka contains over forty verses from the printed Dākṣa, though there are a few verses cited by him as Dākṣa’s which are not found therein. The Śṛṛticondrikā quotes about ten verses of Dākṣa on woman which are all found in the 4th chap. of the Calcutta text.

In the Deccan College collection there is a ms. of Dākṣa (No. 120 of 1895-1902) which contains 197 verses on the same topics as above, many of which are identical with the Calcutta text. The Bombay University has also a similar ms. Vide I. O. cat. No. 1320 p. 385 for a similar ms. in 197 verses.

44. Pitāmaha

Pitāmaha is enumerated among writers on dharma in a verse of Vṛddha-Yājnīvalkya quoted by Viśvarūpa. The Śṛṛti of Pitāmaha is drawn upon mostly on vyavahāra. Viśvarūpa cites ( on Yāj. I. 17 ) a verse from him on śauca.\(^{424}\) Mit. and Aparārka quote verses from Pitāmaha only on vyavahāra and specially on ordeals. The Śṛṛticondrikā quotes about ten verses on āḥnika, 130 on vyavahāra and only a few on śrāddha. Pitāmaha regards the Vedas with the āṅgas, Mīmāṃsā, the śṛṛtis, Purāṇa and Nyāya system as dharmasastras.\(^{425}\) Pitāmaha like Brhaspati enumerates nine kinds of ordeals,\(^{426}\) while Yāj. and Nārada name only five, though the latter seems to have known two more, viz. tāṇḍula and taptamāṣa. The Śṛṛticondrikā quotes a dozen verses about 50 chalas on which a king took action without any complaint.\(^{427}\) Pitāmaha seems to have followed Vyāsa in defining documents called krayapata, sthitipatra, saṁdhipatra, viśuddhipatra.\(^{428}\) The Śṛṛticondrikā cites

\(^{424}\) ब्रजु ये नोपनीयन्ते सूया: सोधनना: ब्रज: गच्छलेयायक (९४) तेषां शौचः मृद्धम्भसा ||

\(^{425}\) ब्रजुः: साध्वस्थु: चत्वारी मीमांसा स्मृतयस्तथा:। एतानि धर्मशाश्वायी पुराणे व्यायदश्रेष्ठस्। अपरारकः प. 601। Compare याज्ञ. I. 3.

\(^{426}\) अहंकम् काेर्तिसुकः नवम् धर्ममन: अर्धम्। दिव्याल्प्यतानि सर्वाणि निर्देशानि स्वतंभुवा। अपरारकः प. 694।

\(^{427}\) भावनि वारणार्थ पदर्गाः नृपस्तास्तथा। स्वयमन्तानि कृष्णीयान्त्र्प्रवासवर्धैर्यविना। स्मृतिच।

\(^{428}\) Videविद. माण्ड. vol. III. p. 128 and स्मृतिचः.
Pitāmaha for an enumeration of the 18 prakṛtis viz. washerman, leather worker, etc.\(^{429}\) The same work states that according to Pitāmaha the titles of law to be taken cognisance by the king himself were twenty-two. In the hall of justice, he says, there should be eight constituents viz. the scribe, the accountant, śāstra, the sādhya-pāla, the assessors, gold, fire and water.\(^{430}\) Some of the other noteworthy dicta of Pitāmaha are:—a suit should be\(^{431}\) first tried before the village (pancāyat), then before the town (court of appeal), then before the king; between litigants of the same country, town, societies, cities and villages, the decision should be arrived at according to their own peculiar conventions and usages, but when there is a dispute between these and strangers, the decision must be according to the śāstra; possession\(^{432}\) in order to be recognised by the courts as decisive must have five characteristics, it must have title, long duration, it must be uninterrupted, it must not have been impeached and it must be before the eyes of the opponent; a private document\(^{433}\) under one’s own hand is inferior to a jānapada (a publicly written and attested) deed, the latter is inferior to a royal edict, this last is inferior to possession continued for three generations.

Pitāmaha is later than Brāharpati,\(^{434}\) as he cites the latter’s view that a litigation between members of the same village, society, town, guild, caravan or army must be decided according to their peculiar usages. Therefore Pitāmaha must be assigned to some date between the 4th and 7th century A.D.

\(^{429}\) रज्ज्वक्रत्मकार्यम नोति बुद्धि एव च। कैवडक्रंथ बिद्वयम स्लेख्ष्याक्चि तथेष् च॥
वेमनस्थिरविप्लवइति ततात्ततुष्टकः॥ कैत्स्यकार्यस्नमदगगत्तःणामगोपलकः॥ एतमः प्रकृतमः एका अश्वद्वा मन्तीयिनः॥ वर्णानामार्यममाणां च सर्वदा तृ बहि: सिध्यात॥
स्वतिच०।

\(^{430}\) देशको गणक: शासन साध्यपालः समासदः। हिरण्यमनिधंधकाष्ठकार्य स्वतामू॥
स्वतिच० (व्य.) ; compare नारद (Intro. chap. verse 15).

\(^{431}\) गाने देशः युगे वाणातुरे हन्तस्तु राजन। राजा इतः कुर्षो यथा नाति नस्तपुर्यभि:॥
स्वतिच०; देशपञ्चाङ्गस्तु दुर्गनिमो वासिनास्। तेषां स्वसमवर्तमाष्ठकंत्येव तेस: ताह॥
स्वतिच०।

\(^{432}\) स्त्रिया दीर्घः कालिचाणिश्वरपरोषिताः। मत्वार्थिनिषिद्धां मुक्तिः पवित्रविधाः स्वताः॥

\(^{433}\) स्त्रिया कालानां तत्स्तात्स्तु तुपरासामस्तु॥ तत्स्तमुख्यो भोग: माणान्तरित्वस्ते॥

\(^{434}\) मामगोहपुरस्थिरसारसरसाधिश्वतिच। व्यवहारविद्वेष निर्वेद्यो बृहस्पतिः॥
45. Pulastyā

Pulastyā is one of the expounders of dharma enumerated by Yṛddha-Yājñavalkya. Viśvarūpa quotes a verse from him on śārira-sauca.\(^{435}\) The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 261) cites a verse from Pulastyā that a Brāhmaṇa should principally use ascetic's food (i.e. vegetable food) in śrāddha, that kṣatriyas and vaiśyas should use meat and śūdras honey.\(^{436}\) The Mit. (Yāj. III 253) quotes two verses of Pulastyā who enumerates eleven intoxicating drinks together with surā as the twelfth.\(^{437}\) Aparārka quotes several verses from Pulastyā on saṅdhya, śrāddha, āśauca, duties of yatis, prāyaścitta. Aparārka quotes two verses from Pulastyā propounding the view that a combination of jñāna and karma is the correct view.\(^{438}\) The first of these verses is ascribed by him to Yoga-Yājñavalkya elsewhere (note 336). The Smrticandrika quotes about forty verses from Pulastyā on āhnika and śrāddha. In one place it quotes Pulastyā on the efficacy of bathing on Sunday, Tuesday, and Saturday.\(^{439}\) In another place it refers to the japa of Rāma, Paraśurāma, Nṛsitṛha, Trivikrama.

The Dānaratnakara of Caṇḍeśvara cites a prose text from Pulastyā on the gift of deer-skin.\(^{440}\)

The Pulastyā-smṛti must have been composed between 4th and 7th century A. D.

\(^{435}\) स्नातकर्य अयोध्यापि पञ्चाविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठोऽविनिष्ठ0
46. Pracetas

Pracetas finds a place among the sages enumerated by Parāśara though not in Yājñavalkya. In both Mit. and Aparārka there are passages in prose and verse ascribed to Pracetas on daily duties, śrāddha, āśauca, praśaścitta. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 27) quotes a verse from Pracetas saying that workmen, artisans, physicians, male and female slaves, kings, royal officers have not to observe periods of impurity441 (on death). This verse is cited as a smṛti by Medhātithi on Manu V. 60 without ascribing it to Pracetas. So Medhātithi looked upon Pracetas as equally authoritative with Manu, Viṣṇu and others.

The Mit. (on Yāj. III 20, 263-64), Haradatta (on Gautama 22. 18) and Aparārka frequently cite verses from Brhat-Pracetas on āśauca and praśaścitta. The Mit. and Aparārka also quote verses on the same topics from Vṛddha-Pracetas.

A few prose quotations from Pracetas are noted in the Smṛti-candrikā and by Haradatta (on Gautama 23. 1).

47. Prajāpati

Prajāpati is cited as an authority by the Baudhāyanadharmsūtra (II. 4. 15 and II. 10. 71). Vasiṣṭha several times quotes Prajāpatya ślokas (viz. III. 47, XIV 16-19, 24-27, 30-32). It has been shown above that most of these verses are found in the Manusmṛti or have close correspondence with verses of Manu. So it is not unlikely that both the writers of dharmasūtras mean Manu by Prajāpati.

In the Anandāśrama collection (p. 90-98) there is a smṛti of Prajāpati in 198 verses on the various details of śrāddha, such as the time, place, the persons authorised to perform, proper food, Brāhmaṇas to be invited etc. The prevailing metre is Anuṣṭubh, but there are nine verses in the Indravajrā, Upajāti, Vasantatilakā (verse 137) and Sragdharā (verse 96). It speaks of Kalpaśāstra, smṛtis, dharmashastra, purāṇas. It contains a verse referring to the Kanyā and Vṛścika (scorpion) signs of the zodiac, which is almost the same as a verse of Kāṛṣṇājini.

441 कारण: लिपिनो वेण्ण दासावाला तथष्व च। राजानो राजमुन्याध्य सयोचाषा: प्रकरिति: II
The Mit. (on Yaj. III. 25 and 260) quotes verses of Prajāpati on āsauca and prāyaścitta. Aparārka cites verses of Prajāpati on purification of various substances, śrāddha, witnesses, ordeals and āsauca. None of these is traced to the printed text of Prajāpati. Aparārka (p. 952) gives a long prose text of Prajāpati on the four orders of parivrājakaś, viz. kuṭīcaka, bahūdaka, haṁsa, paramahiṁsa. Aparārka (p. 542) cites a verse of Laugākṣi which refers to the view of Prajāpati that the son of a putrikā was to offer pīṇḍas to his mother by the gotra of his maternal grand-father. Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā, Paraśara-Mādhaviya and other works quote several verses of Prajāpati on vyavahāra. Witnesses are of two kinds, kṛta and akṛta. In this he seems to have followed Nārada (ṛṇādāna, verse 149). Prajāpati lays down the characteristics of valid reply (uttara) of the defendant and defines the four varieties of uttara. The Paraśara-Mādhaviya cites several verses of Prajāpati on ordeals. Prajāpati recognised the right of the sonless widow to succeed to her husband’s wealth and enjoined on her the duty of offering śrāddha every month and year to her husband’s manes and to honour his relatives.

48. Marīci

This sage is relied upon as an authority by the Mit., Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā on Āhnika, Āsauca, Śrāddha, Prāyaścitta and Vyavahāra. Aparārka quotes several verses on tarpana one of which speaks of Sunday. Marīci disallows bathing in the rivers in the months of Śrāvana.

443 मातामहस्य गोष्णा मातुः पिण्डोककथिष्याम्। कुर्विति पुष्क्रिकपुष्प एवमाह प्रजापतिः॥ 

444 सामी विनेत्रो विश्रेष्ठः हन्त एकोपरोक्षन्। लेखावब् : हन्तो कृष्ण: मुक्ककोक्षन उच्चये॥ अपरार्कः। प. 666, स्मृतिच. (स्म. प. 80 reads उच्चरोक्षन )


446 पूर्वे मन्तिस्तिषिषोंत्रूत्ते मन्तरी तदनन्तु:। हन्तेत पतिष्ठता नारी धरे एष सनातन:॥ ।

447 नरमखं स्थायरं शेषे कुष्ठे धात्मयासाययाय। आदाय दुयाण्येष्यवां मातसंवस्ततार्थशः। पितृ्युष्मुष्महि भृहीस्वस्यामातुताय। पूर्ययक्ष्यापस्मवा बृहानानांयथा स्मृतिच. (प. 291), परा. मा. vol. III. p. 356.

448 समयां श्रविषये च गृही जनमद्विधं तथा। मृयुष्मुष्मकत्रात्श्रीं न कुर्विषिषिष्यान्॥ अपरार्कः। प. 132; स्मृतिच. (आलिक्र प. 123).
and Bhādrapada. Marici made a very near approach to the modern conceptions underlying the Transfer of Property Act. ‘Completeness is not attained without writing in the transactions of sale, mortgage, partition and gift of immovable property’. If a buyer purchases a chattel before a row of merchants and to the knowledge of the king’s officers and in broad daylight, he is free from blame and gets back his money (if the thing turns out to be another’s property), while if the price (paid by a buyer for a chattel) cannot be recovered (from the vendor who sells without title) owing to the vendor’s address being not known, the loss should be apportioned between the buyer and the original owner of the chattel. Marici divides adhi into four varieties, bhoga, gopya, pratyaya, ājñādhi.

It is to be noted that Aparārka (p. 908) quotes a prose passage of Marici on āśauca.

49. Yama

The Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (18. 13-15 and 19. 48) cites four ślokas of Yama and quotes (11. 20) one verse in which Yama is spoken of as an authority. All the ślokas except one are found in Manu. Vasiṣṭha quotes a śloka of Prajāpati wherein Yama’s view
is set forth. Yama is one of the sages enumerated in the list of Yajñavalkya. Govindaraja (on Manu 5.16) and Aparârka quote a verse of Saṅkha wherein Yamas’ view that the flesh of certain birds could be eaten is referred to.\textsuperscript{452} Aparârka (p. 1231) also cites a verse of Saṅkha in which the view of Bhagavân Yama that one should save one’s life in all ways (even by incurring sin) is relied upon.

In Jivananda’s collection (part I. pp. 560-568) there is a smṛti of Yama in seventy-eight verses on prāyaścitta and purification (śuddhi). In this smṛti Yama himself is cited in the third person (verse 65). One verse (33) refers to the view of Bhāsvatī (son of the sun, by which may be meant either Manu or Yama himself).\textsuperscript{453} Some of the verses are identical with those of Manu (e.g. verses 26, 28 are the same as Manu 11.178 and 3.19). Verse 44 is in the Upajāti metre. In the Anandaśrama collection there is a Yamasmṛti in 99 verses on prāyaścitta, śrāddha, and purification. Most of the topics of this smṛti are the same as those of the Calcutta text, but most of the verses are not identical. A few verses are found in both, e.g. the verses about the seven lowest castes\textsuperscript{454} (antyajās). Verse 11 quotes the view of Śatātapa. This smṛti contains the well-known text that a woman passes on marriage into the gotra of her husband, which is cited by the Mit. (on Yaj. I. 25.4).\textsuperscript{455} In the same collection there is a smṛti of Bhad-Yama (pp. 99-107). It is divided into five chapters and contains 182 verses. It deals with prāyaścittas for various lapses, purification from various kinds of contacts (śuddhi), śrāddha, partition and a few matters of medical procedure. In this smṛti Yama is frequently cited by name. Śatātapa is cited on partition (V. 20). Many of the verses of this text are identical with those of Yama in Jivananda’s text. For example, Jivananda (p. 561) verses 15-17 are the same.

\textsuperscript{452} निरिवि व ममुर्व च लावक्ष च कपिजासयम्। नामिनांग् वर्तक्ष म वस्वामास्य गम्। सताम्॥ (सदव व.1.) अपराधः प. 1167.

\textsuperscript{453} ततो देवरकामक्षे मूलके वेदविधियः। एवे वस्यः मपलेन एतद्वस्तिनिरबिद्॥

\textsuperscript{454} राेजकार्मकार्म ननदे सुदूर एव च। केवलकेवलिनाः सत्ते अस्त्यन्त शृणुताः॥

\textsuperscript{455} जिवानंदं बहुसङ्गे नारी विषाणा याते पदे। स्वामिगुणेष कर्त्तब्यस्तास्य: विषोददु:किषा॥ वर्षे अनुसरणे 33.

\textsuperscript{454} जिवानंदं बहुसङ्गे नारी विषाणा याते पदे। स्वामिगुणेष कर्त्तब्यस्तास्य: विषोददु:किषा॥ वर्षे 78.
as Brhad-Yama III. 1-3, Jivananda p. 563 verses 29-33 are the same as Brhad-Yama III. 34-38, Jivananda verses 35-36 are the same as Brhad-Yama III. 16-17. The verse in the Upajāti metre (Jivananda 44) is Brhad-Yama III. 61. Two of the verses at the end of chap. V. are the same as Yaj. II. 17 and 23.

The numerous mss. of Yama contain either one or other of the above three texts or different texts bearing on the same topics. For example, Deccan College collection Nos. 209-211 of A 1881-82 and No. 153 of 1895-1902 are the same as the Yamasmṛti in the Anandāśrama collection, No. 401 of 1891-95 seems to be the same as Brhad-Yama in the Anandāśrama collection. But the I. O. Cat. No. 1334 p. 390 contains 57 ślokas, the last 20 of which are in the Indravajrā metre.

Viśvarūpa, Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and other later works quote over three hundred verses of Yama on all topics of dharmaśāstra including vyavahāra. This establishes that they had an extensive work of Yama before them from which it is probable various abridgments corresponding with the printed works were made. Viśvarūpa quotes about ten verses of Yama on water as purifier (on Yaj. I. 187), on śrāddha (on Yaj. I. 225 and 252) and on pṛayaścitta for killing a cow (on Yaj. III. 262). The identical verses are not found in the printed texts. Some of the verses quoted from Yama in Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā can be traced in the printed text. For example, Aparārka (p. 42) quotes a verse of Yama in which Yama himself is referred to as an authority.456 It occurs in Jivananda's text (verse 65). The two verses in Jivananda's text (verses 26, 28) that are identical with Manu are cited in the Smṛticandrikā as Yama's. Two verses of Brhad-Yama (III. 20-21) about the proper age of marriage in the case of girls are quoted as Yama's in the Smṛticandrikā.457 In some of the verses quoted by Aparārka from Yama, the opinions of Manu are cited which can be identified with the views of the Manu-

456 अपि करनस्ययथा य आचार्यति वे द्विजः। तुर्व विविधत स व्यक्ते व न्यपि वचनेन वथा।। This is attributed to yam in the स्मर्तिक also.

457 अधिवेश्य भयेकन्या अत अच्छेऽराजस्या। माम भ्रातः स्वतः स्वागतिम्। मासि स्माष्टे राजस्यां भित्ता विबति यो न न्यान्त्रित हरिश्चन्त।। स्मर्तिक। (आङ्क्य प्र. 79.)

H. D. 30.
smṛti. For example, according to Yama food polluted by the touch of hair, moths and insects, or seen by sinners and women in their courses is purified by water, holy ashes etc. This refers to Manu V. 125. Similarly the Smṛticandrikā quotes a verse of Yama which says that according to Manu those who administer poison, who are incendiaries and robbers and those guilty of homicide and abetment thereof should pay the extreme penalty of death. Aparārka (p. 988 on Yāj. III. 109) quotes five verses of Yama which refer to the 26th tattvas well known in the Sāṅkhya system, regard Puruṣottama as a 26 tattva and propound that he who correctly understands the 25 tattvas, in whatever āśrama he may be, reaches the highest abode of Viṣṇu. Aparārka quotes a few prose passages from Yama on the garments to be worn by brahmacārins, on prāyaścitta for killing various kinds of birds and insects, for cutting trees and bushes, for drinking wine, for stealing gold and for the other deadly sins etc.

The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsaṇa 104. 72-74) quotes gāthas of Yama.

The Smṛticandrikā quotes a verse of Yama which speaks of the sun being in the zodiacal sign Virgo.

Yama required the king to look into the disputes of litigants carefully and impartially. Yama cites the authority of Manu for the proposition that everything brought about by coercion such as a gift or a deed was liable to be set aside. This is almost identical with Manu 8. 168. Yama lays down that a Brāhmaṇa was never to be awarded corporal punishment, but that a Brāhmaṇa guilty of
crimes was to be imprisoned and made\textsuperscript{465} to work. Yama, like Yaj. (II. 145), prescribed that the strīdhana of a woman married in the Āsura form went to her father,\textsuperscript{466} if she died childless. Aparārka (p. 822) quotes two verses of Yama that prescribed the first ammernent for him who, though forbidden, wrongfully takes the water of a lake or disturbs a water-course and the highest ammernent for him who breaks a lake. Aparārka (p. 860) also cites Yama for the fine of five kṛṣṇalas in the case of adultery with another’s wife of the same caste as that of the paramour and twelve panas in case the wife is of a lower caste. The Śrītacandrika and the Vyavahāramayūkha on the other hand direct that the king should punish the Brāhmaṇa woman guilty of adultery with a Śūdra by throwing her to dogs and by forcible tonsure and riding on an ass in case of adultery with a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya. The Śrītacandrikā, Parāśara-Mādhaviya and Vyavahāramayūkha quote a verse of Yama about a debtor, who, being able to pay, does not wantonly pay, being punished by taking twice the amount. Yama remarks that the order of saṁnyāsa is not allowed to women in the Vedas or in the śāstra\textsuperscript{467} (dharmaśāstra) and that her real dharma is to be the mother of children from one of her own caste. A Brhad-Yama is cited by the Mit. (on Yaj. III. 255 and 290), Haradatta and by Aparārka on prāyaścitta. Similarly a Laghu-Yama is cited by Haradatta and Aparārka and a Svalpa-Yama (probably same as Laghu-Yama) by the Śrītiratnākara of Vedācārya.

50. Laugāksi

The Mit. (on Yaj. III. 1-2,260, 289) quotes verses of Laugāksi on āśauca and prāyaścitta. Aparārka quotes prose passages and verses of Laugāksi on the saṁskāras, vaisvadeva, cāturmāsyā, purification

\textsuperscript{465} न शारीरी भाषणस्य दृष्टो मभति करुःचित्त। गुस्ते तु बचने बहुध्वा राजा मर्य पदमा-पयेत्। ... यथापरांम विरम तु विकर्णविविकारयेत्। अवधेया भाषणा गायो। तोकसनिन्नू बैद्विकी बुलित। स्तूलिसः। (व्य. p. 316).

\textsuperscript{466} आसुरादिदु यद द्वान विकारेषु प्रतीते। अपभ्राजामतितियो चतुर्वेदु तु धर्म होते। स्तूलिसः। (व्य. p. 286.) Note: अपभ्राजामतितियो, which is the reading in विकर्णविविकार (p. 172 above).

\textsuperscript{467} खिया: क्रुः वा शालक्षे वा मन्य्या न विरीयते। प्रजा: हि तस्या। स्त्रो धर्मः। सवर्णाविदिति धारणा। स्तूलिसः। (व्य. p. 254).
of substances, śrāddha, āśauca and prāyaścitta. Aparārka cites (p. 512) a verse of Laugākṣi which regards Prajāpati as an authority. The Mit. and almost all works on vyavahāra cite a verse of Laugākṣi defining yoga and kṣema and prescribing that they are impartible.

51. Viśvamitra

Viśvāmitra is one of the writers on dharma enumerated by Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya as quoted by Viśvarūpa. Aparārka, the Smṛti-candrika, the Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana and other works quote verses of Viśvāmitra on almost all topics of dharma except vyavahāra, such as on the five deadly sins, on śrāddhas, prāyaścitta etc. Viśvāmitra defines dharma as that which is esteemed by Āryas (respectable people) who know the Vedas. His verses on the mahāpātakas are frequently quoted. The Madras (Govt.) MSS. cat. (p. 1985 No. 2717) notices a smṛti of Viśvāmitra in verse in nine chapters.

52. Vyāsa

In Jīvananda (part II pp. 321-342) and in the Anandāśrama collection of smṛtis there is a smṛti ascribed to Vyāsa. The two texts are the same with a few variations. It is in four chapters and contains about 250 verses. Vyāsa is said to have declared the smṛti in Benares. The contents briefly are:— the dharmas herein laid down prevail only in that region where the black deer roam about; the authoritativeness of śruti, smṛti and purāṇas; mixed castes; sixteen saṁskāras; duties of Brāhmaṇī; marriage; Brāhmaṇa may marry Kṣatriya or Vaiśya girl but not Śūdra; duties of a wife; the nitya, naimittika and kāmya acts of householders, eulogy of the householder stage and of gifts.

Viśvarūpa quotes a few verses of Vyāsa. They are mostly taken from the Mahābhārata and are concerned with topics of marriage, daily duties (such as washing the teeth and bathing), śrāddha and prāyaścitta. Similarly Medhātithi quotes several verses from the

468 यमतोः किष्कमाण तु शशस्त्रयामस्वदिनः । स धर्मो च विग्रहित्ति तमधर्मे प्रच्छते ॥

469 यात्रा न स इतवथा सुरा पेयत न च धिने ॥ भाषणस्वरूपाणां न कर्तव्यं कदाचन ॥

468 अपरां ॥ प. 1044.
Mahābhārata as Vyāsa’s. In Aparārka, the Smṛticandrika and other works about two hundred verses of Vyāsa are cited on vyavahāra. From these it appears that Vyāsa dealt with rules of procedure and the several titles of law (vyavahāra-padas) and that his doctrines closely agreed in most respects with those of Nārada, Kātyāyana and Bṛhaspati. He gives rules on the four kinds of uttara (mithyā, saṃpratipatti, kāraṇa and prān-nyāya), divides documents in three varieties (svahasta, jānapada, rājaśāsana), divides laukika documents into eight sub-varieties (just as Kātyāyana seems to have done); he closely follows Bṛhaspati in his requirements about royal grants and two of his verses about grants (ṣaṣṭiṃ varṣa &c. and sāmānyoyam dharmasetur nrpāṇām) occur very frequently in inscriptions (vide Aparārka on Yāj. I. 318). Vyāsa lays down that if a stranger enjoy a person’s land for twenty years when the king is there (i.e. when there is no revolution or anarchy) and when the owner is able (to resist) the latter loses his property.\textsuperscript{470} He speaks of adverse possession as having five characteristics.\textsuperscript{471} He mentions seven kinds of sureties, while Hārīta and Kātyāyana speak of only five and Bṛhaspati of four. He speaks of only five kinds of ordeals. He defines a nīka as equal to 14 suvarṇas, a suvarṇa being equal to eight palas.\textsuperscript{472} Vyāsa seems to represent a middle stage in the evolution of the rights of the widow to succeed to her deceased husband. He says that a woman was to get a maximum of two thousand (kārṣapānas) from the estate of her deceased husband\textsuperscript{473} (besides what he gave her when living). Vyāsa gave to the father and sons equal shares in ancestral property and allowed partition even against the wish of the father.\textsuperscript{474} From these important charac-

\textsuperscript{470} वर्णाणि विधातेऽपि भूमैकाध पररिधि। सति राज्ञि समर्थस्य कत्यं सेि न सिद्धाति॥ अपराक्षे प. 652.

\textsuperscript{471} सागमो दीर्घकास्य क्रेदोपाधिविविधिनि। सत्यविधिनिधातं पद्ध्रको भोग उच्छते॥ अपराक्षे प. 635.

\textsuperscript{472} पलाम्बो सुर्यण्यस्य स्वारण्यं चतुर्दशं। एतत्रिन्द्रमां तु व्यासेन परिकीर्तते॥ स्मृतिचौ॥

\textsuperscript{473} द्रिस्किल्ले परो दुया। जिसे देही धनस्यं। वच्च भास्त्रो धर्मं दत्तं। सा। यथाकाममयस्य यातु॥ अपराक्षे प. 752.

\textsuperscript{474} क्षामयो गृहे क्षेि किल्लां। समाजिनः। पूर्केण विमागृहः। पुषा। पिनुरविन्दत॥ अपराक्षे प. 728.
teristics of Vyāsa it may safely be concluded that Vyāsa flourished about the same time as Yajñavalkya and Brhaspati, i.e. between the second and the fifth century.

In Aparārka and other works there are numerous verses attributed to Vyāsa which are certainly not taken from the Mahābhārata or from the Vyāsasamrti in the Anandāśrama collection (pp. 357-371). For example, on Yāj. I. 12 he cites a verse of Vyāsa in the Vasantatilakā metre about the auspicious asterism for caula and another verse laying down Saturday, Sunday and Friday as unsuitable for caula. Similarly Vyāsa’s verses dealing with the merit of bathing on Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in conjunction with certain tīthis are cited by Aparārka (p. 213). Vyāsa speaks of śrāddhas when the Sun is in the sign of Virgo (Aparārka p. 424). These indications are sufficient to assign Vyāsa to a comparatively later date. But as Aparārka evidently makes no distinction between Vyāsa the jurist, Vyāsa the reputed compiler of the Mahābhārata (e.g. he quotes on p. 961 six verses of the Bhagavatgītā as Vyāsa’s) and Vyāsa who wrote on the saṁskāras, śrāddha and other topics, it appears that the jurist and the writer on other topics of dharma were separated from him by several centuries. Whether the jurist and the writer on other topics of dharma are identical is a difficult problem. All that can be said is that the two may probably be identical. The Smṛticandrīkā quotes a Gadya-Vyāsa and about 450 verses of Vyāsa on āhnika, vyavahāra and praṇāścitta.

Aparārka quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Vyāsa on Saudāyika, a kind of strīdhana. The Mit., the Praṇāścitta-mayūkha and other works cite verses of a Brhad-Vyāsa. Ballālasena in his Dānasāgara quotes Mahā-Vyāsa and Laghu-Vyāsa as authorities and also Dāna-Vyāsa, which probably means the dāna-dharma portions of the Mahābhārata.

53. Saṭ-trīṃśan-mata

This appears to have been a work like the Caturvīṁśatimata described above. Quotations from it are cited in the Kalpataru, the Mitāksāra, the Smṛticandrīkā, Aparārka, Haradatta and a host of writers and works. Mitramiśra475 says that though the Saṭ-trīṃśan-

475 भविष्यशतार्कसे तु कृष्णदेव परिग्रहीतद्वितीयतत्त्वादप्रमाणमिश्रयुक्तः। कल्पयतः \nविज्ञानेन्द्रार्कशुमपायप्रवृत्तिभिःस्पर्श्यामप्रमाणस्य परिग्रहीत। परिभाषाकाण्डप. 17.
mata has been accepted as an authority by the above-mentioned writers, yet certain other writers did not hold the work authoritative. The fact that Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi do not mention this work, taken along with the above statement of Mitramiśra, may be relied upon for holding that this compilation must have been among the latest products of the age of smṛtis and was probably compiled some time between 700–900 A.D. Almost all the quotations from this compilation are concerned with the topics of purification of substances (śuddhi), śrāddha and prāyaścittas for sins and pollutions of various sorts. No verse of this compilation dealing with vyāvahāra could he discovered. One verse quoted from it prescribes a bath on touching Baudhas, Pāsupatas, Jainas, atheists and followers of Kapila. Another verse quoted by Aparārka cites the view of Brhaspati. In another verse the view of Vaivasvata is referred to. Aparārka quotes a prose passage from this compilation prescribing the prāyaścittas for touching the corpse of a cāndāla etc. As no ms. was available, it is difficult to say what 36 sages are relied upon as authorities.

54. Samgraha or Smṛtisamgraha

This work is frequently cited by the Mitākṣarā, Aparārka, the Smṛticandrika and other works on all topics of dharma. The quotations on vyāvahāra are copious and are very important for the history of Hindu Law. A few of the important views of the Sāṅgīrakāra are set out below. He gives the requisite characteristics of a plaint in five verses. According to him documents are of two kinds, rājakīya and jānapada. The ordeals from dhaṭa (balance) to poison (i.e. four) are prescribed in cases where the subject matter is of great value (i.e. above 500 paṇas), while kośa and the (other)

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476 चौदान पश्वपतिकृतज्ञानां लोकायतिकारणां सोकालारोपि सांभाषयितो न च जानना प्रवृत्तारोपि सोकालारोपि जालमारितो || स्मृतिचर 1 प. 118, अपरारक प. 923 omits ज्ञानां and reads लोकायतिकारणां सोकालारोपि जालमारितो।

477 तिलोपयुतां चौर च चरणवर्जययमेव च । गावच्छव तक्ष्ययमेव च समासियां सूक्ष्माः || अपरारक प. 1249।

478 सुमुखिष्णु यो मुखे मुखे वा मुक्कदोपनः । एवं चौरमेव भाग भागाः सामाययां च चर्चय || अपरारक प. 1174।

479 Vide सिन्धु on बाह्र. II. 6, स्मृतिचर (व्य. प. 36), व्यवहारसूत्र (प. 12), बीर (प. 63)।
ordeal is prescribed in disputes for lesser sums.\textsuperscript{480} This is slightly opposed to Nārada (ṛṇādana verse 336) according to whom the five ordeal from tulā to kośa were prescribed in substantial disputes.\textsuperscript{481} The Saṅgrahakāra has in view the seven ordeal spoken of by Nārada (ṛṇādana verses 252, 337, 343), while Bṛhaspati and Pitāmaha enumerate nine. He defines dāya as the wealth that is handed down through father and mother.\textsuperscript{482} He held that ownership arose from the dictates of śāstra and was not an affair of the world (laukika) and puts forward two reasons in support of his theory, viz. if ownership were laukika, then it would not be possible to make such assertions as ‘his wealth has been wrongfully seized by another’ and the texts (vide Gautama X. 39) laying down the means of acquisition of wealth for the several varṇas would be meaningless.\textsuperscript{483} Dhāreśvara held the same view. These views were elaborately criticized by the Mit. According to the Saṅgrahakāra,\textsuperscript{484} partition creates ownership in the son as regards paternal wealth (in which he has no rights by birth). Dhāreśvara entertained the same opinion, which was vehemently controverted by the Mit., holding that partition takes place of that in which one has already ownership. According to the Saṅgraha,\textsuperscript{485} ownership does not consist in being able to dispose of a thing at one’s sweet will, since it is the śāstra that prescribes the proper disposal or application of all things. The Saṅgraha\textsuperscript{486} laid down that the special share given to the eldest son, the practice of niyoga and the offering of a cow are all forbidden in the present age. Dhāreśvara also held the same

\textsuperscript{480} धर्मावती विषाणाम गुर्वसनेय दायेतेत। कोपार्ती गुर्ववेषी लघुवेषी यथाक्रमम्॥

\textsuperscript{481} सम्प्रदायवती नातिकाले गुर्वनेय दायेतेत।

\textsuperscript{482} श्रवणम वनोपयाधारानां तद्यथ। कृपाय दायेदेवेन नाथिनयाहुकोष्ठेन॥

\textsuperscript{483} वनोपयाधारानां तद्यथ। कृपाय दायेदेवेन नाथिनयाहुकोष्ठेन॥

\textsuperscript{484} दश्याद्रश्यान न च विना वाणवान नेतुक धनात्। स्वते शति प्रवर्तने तस्मादेव। पुष्कर।

\textsuperscript{485} न च सम्प्रदायी तद्यथ। ववविना विनायकोपयान नाथिनयाहुकोष्ठेन।

\textsuperscript{486} यथा नियोगमेऽऽ नो तस्मादेव। तद्यथ|
view about the eldest son’s rights and the Mit. also approves of it and quotes anonymously the same verse (on Yaj. II. 117). The Saṅgraha in two verses, apparently following Manu 9. 182-183, lays down that, if of several full brothers one has a son, all thereby have issue and that, if one out of the several wives of a person has a son, all the co-wives may be regarded as putravati. The Śruti-candrikā says that Devasvāṁti explained this dictum of the Saṅgraha-kāra. The Saṅgraha says that the widow of a separated coparcener dying childless would inherit his whole estate if she submitted to Niyoga at the behests of her elders. This was also the opinion of Dhāreśvara and was refuted according to the Śruti-candrikā by Viśvarūpa. The Mir. also criticizes this view. He names Manu in connection with the succession of a person dying without leaving any one out of the twelve kinds of sons. He has in view Manu 9. 185. According to the Saṅgrahakāra the order of succession to a sonless man is:—widow, the daughter who is a putrikā, mother, paternal grandmother, father, full brothers, half-brothers, the line of the father (pitṛsantati), the grandfather’s line, the great-grand-father’s line, other sāpiṇḍas, sakulyas, the preceptor, the pupil, a fellow-student, a learned Brāhmaṇa. The Mit. notes that relying on Manu (9. 217) Dhāreśvara placed the paternal grandmother after the mother and before the father (thus agreeing with the Saṅgraha). The Saṅgraha says that homicide and other offences when committed with force are called sāhasa.

It will be seen from the above that the views of the Saṅgraha-kāra closely agreed with those of Dhāreśvara in many respects and were not approved of by the Mit. and other later writers. In vyavahāra the Saṅgraha certainly marks a far more advanced stage than Yajñavalkya and Nārada, whose works do not contain the controvertial questions about ownership, partition etc. As Dhāreśvara agrees very closely with the ŚrutiSaṅgraha it may be argued that they were not separated by a long interval of time. It has to be

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487 आत्रदु मविमकेंदु संहुएवसत्वः। (पुस्तिका मिश्रित योगस्था गली यमनमालयुवः) परि. म. III. p. 583.

488 अरोपायालल्लिः। (व्य. प. 390.)

489 मानुषभर्तपारः। (व्य. प. 7.)

N. D. 31.
also noted that Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi do not refer to the Saṁgraha. It is not unlikely that the Saṁgraha was in vogue in the territory ruled over by Bhoja of Dharā and was therefore followed by Bhoja Dhāreśvara. Taking all things into consideration the Saṁgraha was probably compiled between the 8th and 10th centuries of the Christian era. The Smṛticandrikā no doubt says in one place that the Saṁgrahakāra follows the views of Dhāreśvara. But this statement should not be emphasized and interpreted too literally. All that it means is that both held the same opinion. There is no intention to state that Dhāreśvara preceded the Saṁgrahakāra. Chronology was never the strong point of Indian commentators, particularly when the writers whose opinions were referred to flourished several centuries earlier. We know that Bhāruci and Dhāreśvara preceded the Mitakṣarā which names both; but the Sarasvativilāsa in several places (e.g. pp. 347, 361, 383) says that Bhāruci cannot tolerate the view of Viṣṇuśarma and also says that Dhāreśvara and Devasvāmi follow the view of Viṣṇuśarman (p. 395).

The Smṛticandrikā quotes several verses from the Saṁgraha on topics of śrāddha in which Gautama, Kātyāyana, Parāśara, Manu, Viṣṇuśarman, Yama and Saunaka are cited by name.

55. Samvarta

Samvarta occurs as a Smṛtikāra in the list of Viṣṇuśarman. He is cited on all topics of dharma by Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, the Mit., Haradatta, Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and a host of other writers. Viśvarūpa quotes either wholly or in part about twenty verses of Samvarta on evening sandhyā-vandana, on the duties of a yati and on the prāyaścittas for theft, adultery of various kinds, deadly sins. Medhātithi quotes verses of Samvarta on Manu V. 88 and XI. 116. The Mit. quotes him on prāyaścitta and aśauca (Yaj. III. 6, 17, 19 etc.). Aparārka had a large work before him and quotes about 200 verses.

490 संग्रहकारस्य चारेश्वरमेनानुसारिताद।

491 For example 'वाहकर्मविसथितवर्तकयान्य यथोक्तान्यानामहिष्ठिति। यसो विसर्जनं कुला

गृहकर्मादिनं शोभकिरः॥ मीनिन्यांवर्तय देवान्य परवर्त्यायामहिष्ठितं।' सम्पूर्णः

(II. p. 484), compare या. I. 248, 'वृत्तनते संध्यः पूर्वमध्यपरेष विवेकित:।

विन्यात्र तत्त्वं कुल्यं विस्थानु विसर्जितेऽस॥.'
A few of the views of Saṅvarta on topics of vyavahāra may be noted here. According to him oral testimony when in opposition to writing was to be discarded. This is in striking agreement with section 92 of the Indian Evidence Act. He says that if houses and fields are being enjoyed (by one person as against another) when the king is there (i.e. when the central government is strong and there is no anarchy), then it is possession that counts and not mere writing (i.e. possession will be protected and not mere paper title without possession). He lays down that no interest was to be allowed if not stipulated for in certain cases, viz., on stridhana (when used by the husband), on interest, on deposit (as long as it is not lost or deteriorated) and in suretyship. He enumerates ten wrongs (aparādhas) of which the king was to take cognisance suo motu without any private person’s complaint, viz., restraint of the defendant (before judgment), obstruction of the public road, women conceiving in adultery, becoming rich without any ostensible means, destruction of a meeting-hall and of trees and crops, kidnapping of maidens, sinning Brāhmaṇas, champerty and maintenance, destruction of the roads where tolls are to be paid, the danger of robbers, rape, injury to cows and Brāhmaṇas. He prescribed that disputes were not be investigated on the full moon and new moon day, and on the 14th and 8th tithis.

492 तेस्वये तेल्यक्षिप्या भोका वर्तिके वर्तिकी मता। वर्तिके तु न सिष्येता तेल्यक्षिप्ये-परि या किष्का। तेल्यक्षिप्ये परि या किष्का। तेल्यक्षिप्ये परि या किष्का। तेल्यक्षिप्ये परि या किष्का। तेल्यक्षिप्ये परि या किष्का। तेल्यक्षिप्ये परि या किष्का।

493 भूषणानि गृहस्थाओ विद्याभोजे तु राजशि। मुक्तिस्य भवेशस्य न तेल्यक्ष्यां तत्र कारणम्॥ परां मा। III. p. 146.

494 न हृदि। हृदि न अपराधे विचे यथास्थिते। सत्तमिवे प्रातिमाये च बदि न स्पष्टार्थ-कृता। स्मृतिमा। (व्य. p. 87).

495 आसिं ध्यां गामव च यथम गामव च यथम गामव च पति बिना। लंगमनं भूष्णमानि बिना चेष्ट बिनामानि।...
In Jivananda’s collection (part I, pp. 584-603) and in the Ānandāśrama collection (pp. 411-424) there is a śrīti of Saṁvarta in 227 and 230 verses respectively. It purports to have been declared to Vāmadeva and other sages by Saṁvarta. Its main contents are:—that is the religious country where the black deer roam about, rules of conduct for a Brahmacārin, prāyaścittas for various lapses on the part of a student, duties of householder, eulogy of liberality, duties of forest hermit and saṁnyāsins, prāyaścittas for various sins and actions. Saṁvarta is sometimes cited as an authority (verses 38, 123). He recommends the marriages of girls at the age of eight (verse 67) and condemns marriage with a maternal uncle’s daughter (verse 157).

In a few Mss. (e.g. I. O. cat. No. 1367) the Saṁvartasmṛti comprised is different from the printed Saṁvarta.

The printed smṛti appears to be an epitome of a portion of the original smṛti of saṁvarta. Many of the verses in the printed texts are found in Aparārka. For example Aparārka p. 49=Saṁvarta verse 6; Aparārka p. 693=Saṁvarta verses 107-108; Aparārka p. 1053=Saṁvarta verses 111-113; Aparārka p. 1094 (eight verses out of which five)=Saṁvarta verses 130-134. The pāda of Saṁvarta which Viśvarūpa quotes (ardhāstamitabhāskaram) on Yāj. I. 25 occurs in verse 6 of the printed text. This shows that the printed smṛti preserves very ancient material, the authenticity of which is vouched for by so early a writer as Viśvarūpa.

The Mit. quotes a Brhat-Saṁvarta (on Yāj. III. 265, 288).

A Svalpa-Saṁvarta is quoted in Harinātha’s Smṛtisāra.

56. Hārīta

The verse quotations from Hārīta on topics of vyavahāra deserve some treatment. He defines vyavahāra as that whereby the recovery of one’s own wealth and the avoidance of (doing) the duties peculiar to another (caste or class) are effected in due course of law.⁴⁹⁶ He further says that that judicial proceeding is proper which is based on the dictates of dharmaḥśāstra and arthaḥśāstra, which is in conformity with the usages of respectable people and which is free from

⁴⁹⁶ स्वयन्ति वधा पाति: पर्यन्तमेव वर्जेनम्। श्वास्येन वर्ष बिपत्ते श्वास्यारं स उपयते॥

कृतित्वः।
fraud. He like Narada said that vyavahāra had four aspects, each succeeding one prevailing against the preceding one, viz., dharma, vyavahāra, caritra, nṛpajñā. He attached the greatest importance to writing and said that a transaction consigned to writing is effective even after great lapse of time and that he who has a writing in his hands is entitled to possession (probably in cases of mortgages and pledges). He lays down very elaborate rules about the requisites and defects of plaints, about summoning the defendant, about the contents, faults and kinds of the defendant's reply, and about the burden of proof. He protects long possession of property even if it originated without title provided it had lasted for three generations. He says that title is the decisive factor as to various kinds of possession, viz., when possession is forcibly taken by soldiers and freebooters, when a thing is stolen or kept concealed, when it was delivered through affection and friendship or when it was lent on hire, or when it was handed over for wearing or safe custody or was borrowed through friendship. To illustrate the relation of title and possession he uses a very apt figure, viz. just as a branch cannot be seen expanding in the sky unless it is supported by the roots, so title is the root and possession...
is its offshoot. According to him sureties are of five kinds,\textsuperscript{504} abhaya (for keeping the peace), pratyaya (for confidence), dāna (return of money or carrying out one's obligations), upasthāna (return of money lent on pledge) and dārsana (for appearance). He prescribed an absolute tutelage for women as regards the giving away of the husband's wealth and allowed only maintenance to a young widow of improper conduct.\textsuperscript{505} But Ḥārīta was humane in his treatment of even erring wives. He does not allow a husband to cast adrift an adulterous wife and prescribes that she should be given food to keep body and soul together and bare clothes.\textsuperscript{506}

It appears from the above that Ḥārīta the jurist must have flourished nearly at the same time as Brhaspati and Katyāyana, i.e. between 400 and 700 A. D.

57. Commentaries and Nibandhas (digests)

The literature on Dharmaśāstra falls into three well-marked but somewhat over-lapping periods. The first period is that of the ancient dharmaśūtras and of the Manusmṛti. It is a period dating from at least the 6th century B. C. to the beginnings of the Christian era. Next comes the period when most of the versified smṛtis were composed and it ranges from the first centuries of the Christian era to about 800 A. D. The third period is that of the commentators and the writers of digests. This covers over a thousand years from about the 7th century to 1800 A. D. The first part of this last period was the golden era of famous commentators. Commentaries on smṛti works continued to be written almost to the end of this period, e. g. Nandapandita wrote the commentary called Vaijayanti on the Viṣṇudharmaśūtra in the 17th century. But the general tendency from the 12th century onwards was to write works not professing to be commentaries on a particular smṛti, but works that were in the nature of digests containing a synthesis of all the dicta of smṛti writers on topics of dharma. Examples of this class

\textsuperscript{504} अनन्ते प्रद्यु 'दूरे हैं उपस्थानेते वर्षने || परशुराम महाराज प्रातापि महिम्मुष्टि || स्मृतिः \textsuperscript{505} द्वाराधि वा धाराधि वा धर्मधि वा बिशीचना। आहुः वा विभिन्न वा न भी स्मार्तमही || स्मृतिः \textsuperscript{506} विश्वया योगस्य चेक्यारी महति क्रमाः। आहुः क्षणार्थ न दृढ्ययं जीवनं तदा || मिताः \textsuperscript{506} on वा. II. 135.
of works are the Kalpataru, the Smrticandrika, the Caturvargacintamani, the Ratnakaras of Candeśvara. Even when in the earlier part of this period writers professed to compose only commentaries on particular works, they adopted the style of digests trying to introduce order out of a chaotic mass of Smrti dicta and explaining away apparent contradictions. For example, Viśvarūpa's commentary (in the ācāra and prāyaścitta sections), the Mitakṣara and Aparārka's work, though professing to be commentaries on Yājñavalkya, are really in the nature of digests. In fact there is no hard and fast line of demarcation between a tikā and a nibandha (digest). Vijñānesvara is described by the Dvaitaniṃnaya of Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭa as the most eminent of all writers of nibandhas. Therefore, though it is usual to speak of the third period as one of commentators and nibandhakāras, there is no necessity in this work to observe any sharp line of distinction between the two. In the following pages a few prominent and typical commentators and nibandhakāras who have written on all or most of the branches of dharmaśāstra and whose works have attained classical rank will be dealt with in chronological order as far as that can be done with any accuracy.

58. Asahāya

Dr. Jolly in his edition of the Nāradasmṛti (B. I. series) has incorporated a portion of the bhāṣya of Asahāya as revised by Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa. Even this revised version comes up to only verse 21 of the fifth title abhyutpetya-aśusrutā. The exact relation of Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa's labours to the original bhāṣya cannot be accurately gauged from the opening 507 words 'finding that the Nāradabhāṣya composed by Asahāya was spoilt (bhraṣṭa) by bad scribes, Kalyāṇa composes this after revising the ancient one'. The colophon at the end of the first chapter of the Vyāvahāramātrikā says that Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa revised the bhāṣya of Asahāya at the encouragement of Keśavabhaṭṭa. 508 Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa seems to have taken great liberties with the text of the original bhāṣya. On p. 9 verse 15 (rājā satpurusah sabhyah śāstram gaṇakalekhakau), the comment on śāstra is 'Manu-Nārada-

507 प्रवृत्तिसहायरक्षितं नारदभाष्यं तुलसीवर्षेनवृत्तं। कल्याणेन कियते प्राकमनेत्रं विशेष
पुनः। (first-verse).

508 इति असहायरक्षितं नारदभाष्यं केषावमुद्मोद्दैतं कल्याणमहारसिसाधितं-व्यावहारमार्गादाय प्रथमोपये॥
Visvarūpātmakam'. If Visvarūpa named here be identical with the
the Visvarūpa who commented on Yāj. (as is almost certain), this
passage could not have occurred in Asahāya's bhāṣya. Visvarūpa, in
commenting on Yāj. III. 263–64, mentions Asahāya by name and
cites his explanation of a sūtra of Gautama (22. 13). The name
Kalyāṇabhāṣṭa frequently occurs in the printed commentary itself
(p. 81, 86, 89).

In the I. O. ms. there is a salutation to Śivā and Gaṇeśa at the
beginning. There is a ms. of the Nāradiyabhāṣya as printed by Dr.
Jolly in the Deccan College collection (No. 27 of 1874–75). It
does not contain the first folio and curiously enough it ends just
where the printed text stops. Dr. Jolly omits a few lengthy
passages occurring in the ms. and generally indicates such omissions
by dots. In a few cases Dr. Jolly omits only a word or two for no
apparent reason, e.g. on p. 8 (folio 7b of No. 27 of 1874–75) he
omits the word 'paramasamṛddhya' after 'vyavahārah' and before
'caturṇām-api varṇānām'.

The Hāralatā of Aniruddha who was the guru of king Ballalasena of Bengal the author of Abhutasāgara (about 1168 A. D.)
tells us that Asahāya composed a bhāṣya on the Gautamadharma-
sūtra. Viśvarūpa also cites, as said above, Asahāya's explanation of
a sūtra of Gautama.

It appears that Asahāya probably wrote a commentary on the
Manusmṛti also. A passage of the Sarasvativilāsa says that
partition of dharma was approved of by śrūtikāras like Manu,

509 तथा चौकेम्ब सामान्यविवाहस्वरूपनविचारकरणे कल्याणभाष्टेन।प. 81; यथोक विषयाचे
तेंत्येंचारकरकर्णाकल्याणभाष्टेन।द. 86; कल्याणभाष्टरं भोकस्मादिविन्मत्।द. 89.

510 हारलता (B. I. series) p. 35. 'गौतमः। बाळवद्याधिकारिनांचितिना सदगौरिपुत्र।
( गौ. घु. 14. 44) यत्र वृत्तिदशांचाचन्ने व भूयते तद्विषाचारं तत्र भूते वैधानी
बालिणे किती गौतमवर्तकालकालकुष्ठ्य खल्लावाचन।' हारलता। द. 97 'गौतमः।
पिण्डिनवृत्तिः सभस्ते पञ्चमे भा। ( गौ. घु. 14. 12 ) अयासाहायवाहः। यद्य
पिण्डिविनुवृत्तिमाग्निवृत्तिमाग्निवृत्तिभूतं तत्त्रामशिवासाधनां विविधः। पिण्डिविनुवृत्तिं। ...
इत्यद्य तु खल्लावांच न शौचर्यं प्रतिमाति।'

511 ययुवभाषाः मनुयाखाण्ड्विष्टन्तिकरणां तत्सूत्रविष्वाखाद्वृत्तान्तावासाधनांदत्तमिविविधैः
नेत्रपारकरणं निष्कल्पणं निन्दिका तारकाद्वीपं च समतं एषं। सरस्वतिविलास एवं प. 848 (Mysore ed.).
Yajñavalkya, by their commentators, viz. Asahāya, Medhatithi, Vijñānesvara and Aparārka and by writers of nibandhas, viz. the author of the Candrikā and others. Here the order in which the commentators are named requires that Asahāya like Medhatithi was known to be a commentator of Manu. This conclusion is to some extent corroborated by the fact that the Vivādaratnākara quotes with reference to Manu 9.182 the words of Asahāya thereon. On Manu 8.156 Medhatithi quotes the opinion of Asahāya.513

The foregoing establishes that Asahāya composed bhaṣyas on the Gautamadharmasūtra, on the Manusmṛti and on Nārada. When the Smṛtīcandrikā114 refers to a bhaṣya of Nārada it is most probably referring to Asahāya. In the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 124) the opinion of Asahāya and Medhatithi on the right of an unmarried sister to receive one-fourth as provision for her marriage from her brothers is preferred to that of Bhāruci.515 This seems to be rather a reference to Asahāya’s commentary on Manu (9.118) which contains a rule similar to Yāj. (II.124), while Nārada contains no such rule about a fourth share. It is a strange irony of fate that the

512 The verse of manu is आनुपामेशामकरणामकशेषुतुः मेषु । The words of Asahāya are ‘अनासाहवेनकृः पुस्ता सति अनुलोक्यान्वितां सप्त्वनिमित्त्वेष्ट्रणायायः प्रतिनिधयो न कर्त्त्वत सति’ (व. व. 583.

513 वाज्यालापनारदानं त सति कार्याचारीस्मपि शक्ति कारणपरिवृत्तिकाले द्वापरित्वम् । on the verse अद्वैतप्रवति तथेषु.

514 सुदृढ़म् (कव. प. 38) on दुर्योधनिष्ट्व मे। ‘एवं तद्विभावं व्यास्यात्सम् ।’ तथा व नानास्ति। वैद्यप्रभावोपमानी कार्योपनाशुद्धिः थों अधिगठाद्रव्योपस्थव移植 स एव। विशेषतः मुख्योद्वायाधिनविकिरिन्यः हेतु । मुक्योद्वायाधिनविकिरिन्यः व्यास्यात्समस्तद्वन्द्वकृतम् न चिन्तपत्तिः । एवं तद्विभावं व्यास्यात्सम् ।

515 अतोल्लराज्यमेयालिङ्गाधिन्ना व्यास्यानेव चतुर्दशं न महेषे । ममताला।

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very name of Asahāya who is profusely quoted by the Sarasvativilāsa in the first half of the sixteenth century was forgotten by later writers, so much so that the Bālabhaṭṭi understands the word Asahāya (in note 515 above) as an attribute of Medhātithi in the sense of 'peerless'.

As Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi both name Asahāya, his lowest limit is about 750 A.D. How much earlier he flourished it is difficult to say. He can hardly be earlier than the 6th century. In the com. on Nārada (p. 48) there is a story from Pāṭaliputra about the repayment of a debt by sons, grandsons and great-grandsons. It has been argued (Calcutta Law Journal, vol. 17 p. 59) that, as Pāṭaliputra was a deserted city in the middle of the 7th century and as the reference shows that Pāṭaliputra was a living and flourishing city, Asahāya must have lived long before the 7th century. But as the very authenticity of the text of the bhāṣya is doubtful owing to the drastic 'revision' of Kalyāṇabhāṭṭa, such a conclusion is extremely hazardous. In the ms. of the bhāṣya other places such as Vaṭpadraka (probably modern Baroda), Avāvadu and Sārvāvaduka are mentioned. There is nothing to show that the author was either a native of or had a first-hand knowledge of Pāṭaliputra. He might have been relying on traditions when he gave the story. Dr. Jolly not being aware of the express mention of Asahāya by Medhātithi argued that he flourished earlier than Medhātithi (Tagore Law Lectures p. 5; S. B. E. vol. 25 p. VII) on the ground that the Mit. and the Sarasvativilāsa always place Asahāya before Medhātithi whenever authorities on vyavahāra are enumerated. Dr. Jolly's conclusion is right as shown above, but his reasoning is faulty. There is hardly anything of chronology in the order in which authors are named, since we find that the Sarasvativilāsa116 names Vijnāneshvara even before Asahāya, though the former flourished centuries after the latter.

Some of the views attributed to Asahāya may be quoted here. The definition of dayā (heritage) given by the Mit. was identical with Asahāya's.117 Asahāya explained the dictum of Uṣanas that

516 स. वि. (para 195) 'विज्ञानेश्वरासहायमेधातिथिधीनानिनिध्य ध्वास्वाता' (p. 371 of Mysore ed.).

517 असहायविज्ञानेश्वर, सहायमेधातिथि तु यस्यनिनिध्यमंद्रवेदः विज्ञानेश्वरस्य स्यं अपति तदुपयायव्यवस्थये हि. स. वि. (para 19).
fields were impartible by taking it to refer to the son of a Brāhmaṇa from a Kṣatriya wife, who does not participate in land gifted to a Brāhmaṇa. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 119 takes the same view. Asahāya held that as regards succession to the Ṣulka of a woman even step-brothers should be given something, though the major portion would go to the full brothers. According to Asahāya, the wealth of a childless Brāhmaṇa went to the teacher, then to the teacher’s son, then to the teacher’s widow, the pupil, pupil’s son, pupil’s widow (one after another) and then to the fellow-student. The Vivādaratnākara (p. 578) quotes the Prakāśa as referring to the views of Asahāya and Medhātithi on Manu IX. 198 that the special rule of Manu applies to all the strīdhana belonging to a Kṣatriya woman who has a brāhmaṇi co-wife. The Vivādaratnākara quotes a verse of Nārada about māṣa and a verse of the bhāsyakāra thereon. It probably refers to Asahāya’s bhāṣya.

59. Bhartryajña

This seems to have been a very ancient commentator. Medhātithi in his bhāṣya on Manu 8. 3 says ‘other explanations have been well brought out by Bhartryajña and they should be understood from his work’. Trikāṇḍa-Maṇḍana (who flourished before 1100 A.D.) in his Āpastambasūtradhvanitārtha-kārikā (I. 41) refers to the views of Bhartryajña that one who had committed to

518 स. वि. para 195 ( or p. 371 ).

519 अनध्य कन्यासुन्दरविषये सोदरसुन्दरविषयकोदराणामि किंचित्र त्वयातिचास्यायामांसेनस्य । स. वि. para 314 ( or p. 384 ). Here there is a play on the word अत्मह which means ‘unsupported, baseless.’

520 स. वि. para 608.

521 विषय दृष्टान्तिः सीधमाण्यप्रक्स्मकमित्वासामायायायायथाधिकारिः भी हित (1) प्रकाशकारः।

522 तथा चोकं नारदेऽस्य ब्रह्मायं विषयमभद्वमुखः कार्यरतस्य च । स च राज्यो विवृत्तेन । तथा च भाष्यकारः। सीधमाण्येतिः संस्क्रत दुष्प्रकृतिमु श्रव्यते। पत्ना शास्त्रयाने माध्यमेऽराज्यं। सि. र. प. 234.

523 ब्याप्त्यायनमारणी अभूतकृत्तिभाष्य सम्प्रदातानि हिति तत व्यावावस्थायां स्वर्णमा मणि-मुखानि।

524 यहाच्छवनसंसिद्धिभेष्यातुिति सच। नातीधिकिनिमात्रहं अभूतकृत्तिभाष्यं ( B. I. series ).
memory the text of the Veda had the privilege (the adhikāra) of consecrating the sacred fires, though he may be innocent of the meaning of the Vedic texts. From Ananta’s bhāṣya it appears that Bhartriyajña composed a bhāṣya on the Kātyāyanaśrutasūtra which had been lost (utsanna) in the former’s day. From Gadādhara’s comments on the Pāraskara grhyasūtra it appears that Bhartriyajña commented on Pāraskara.\(^{525}\) The Gṛhashtaratnākara of Candeśvāra quotes Bhartriyajña’s explanation of the word sanvibhāga occurring in Gautamadhārmasūtra (10.39 ‘svāmī riktha-kraya-sam-vibhāga-parigrahamadhigameṣu’).\(^{526}\) The Nityācārapradīpa (B.I. series) after quoting Gautamadharasūtra (11.29 varṇāsramāḥ svadharmanisthāḥ &c.) cites the comment of Bhartriyajña\(^{527}\) on the word tac-cheṣèṇa occurring in that sūtra. Therefore it appears probable that Bhartriyajña like Asahāya was an ancient commentator of the Gautamadharasūtra. The Gṛhashtaratnākara, after quoting from Vasiṣṭha (17.1) and Viṣṇu the well-known verse of the Aitareyabrahmaṇa (ṛṣṇam-asmin sam-nayati) cites the explanation of Bhartriyajña as to the word ‘jātasya’ occurring therein.\(^{528}\)

Since Bhartriyajña is quoted by Medhātithi who also mentions Asahāya but not Viṣvarūpa, it follows that Bhartriyajña must have flourished before 800 A.D. and was probably a contemporary of or slightly later than Asahāya.

60. Viṣvarūpa

The commentary of Viṣvarūpa called Bālakṛti on the Yajñavalikya-smṛti has been recently published in two parts by M.M.T. Gaṇapati Šastri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The Mit. states in the introductory verses that the dicta of Yaj. were expanded by

\(^{525}\) on Pāraskara I.1.2. ‘तत्पश्चात भर्त्रियाज्ञा हि ब्रह्मविद्यायोगमयः अभ्यासं इतिकथा’ (Pāraskara I.2.1. the mahābhāṣya on the word dvāra-kaśāya is quoted; on the mṛdga ‘केशराष्टिसब्रह्मविद्यायोगमयः’ (Pāraskara II.5.29) गदाधर साक्वेश्वर हि च वर्णमाणि हरिहरभाष्यायि विविधकर्मकार्यनि नानापदायि."

\(^{526}\) संविभागो भृत्यकुरु हि भुज्जस्त्रावर्गाशी. (गृहस्थरत्नकर folio 78a of D. O. ms. No 44 of 1883–84).

\(^{527}\) अन्य तत्क्षेपण इति सर्प्यं निवित्याचारकर्मणि: शोभेऽति भृत्यकुरु (निवित्याचारकर्मणि p. 12).

\(^{528}\) अन्त: जात्योपाति कण्पादकरणयोपवस्थाति भृत्यकुरु (गृहस्थरत्नकर folio 133a).
the voluminous or ample (\textit{vikāta}) explanations of Viśvarūpa. In commenting on Yāj. I. 81 the Mit. tells us that Viśvarūpa looked upon the words of Yāj. I. 79 (tasmin yugmāsu saṁviśet) as a \textit{niyama}. In Viśvarūpa's commentary on Yāj. I. 80 (evam gacchan \\&c.) we do find that the verse of Yāj. and similar passages of Manu (3. 45), Vasiṣṭha and Gautama (5. 1) are understood to contain a \textit{niyama} and not a \textit{parisamkhya}. On Yāj. III. 24 the Mit. informs us that Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and Dhāreśvara looked upon certain texts of R̥ṣyasṛṅga on \\textit{āśauca} as in conflict with well-known smṛtis and discarded them. Mr. S. Sitaram Śāstri published (in 1900 at Madras) the text and translation of Viśvarūpa's comment on inheritance and Mr. Setlur also published the \textit{vyavahāra} section. In the following pages the Trivandrum edition is relied on.

The printed com. of Viśvarūpa on the \textit{vyavahāra} section is extremely meagre and scarcely merits the epithet \textit{vikāta} applied to it by the Mit. But the comment of Viśvarūpa on the \textit{acāra} and \textit{prāyaścitā} sections is truly voluminous and compares favourably with the Mit. The style of Viśvarūpa is simple and forcible and resembles that of the great Śaṅkarācārya. He quotes profusely from Vedic works, mentions the Carakas and Vājasaneyins (on Yāj. I. 32), the Kāthaka (on Yāj. III. 237 and 243) and very often supports his position by quotations from the Ṛgveda (e.g. on Yāj. II. 121 and 206), the Brāhmaṇas (e.g. the Śatapatha on Yāj. I. 53 and III. 257) and from the Upaniṣads (e.g. on Yāj. II. 117, the well-known Chāndogya passage about the ordeal for theft and on Yāj. I. 50 Chāndogya II. 23. 10 about the three branches of \textit{dharma}). He speaks of the \textit{pada-pātha} and the \textit{kramapātha} as due to human agency (on Yāj. III. 242). He frequently quotes the Grhyasūtras of Pāraskara and less frequently those of Bhāradvāja and Āśvalāyana. He cites a host of smṛtikāras. Most of the quotations attributed to

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529 \textit{मानवे तु \textit{कृतकालाभिमानी स्थायः इति ... नियमपरतेः व्याख्येयन्। ऐतेव ... वासिंह्व ह्यास्यधर्।।। ... गोतमीयं स्तवतुपरिसंस्कर्यार्थः \textit{कृतवर्ययाद्} इति केचित्त।।। ...तस्मान्तः निष्मार्तभिंविय्याह्येयम् ।।।}

530 The \textit{व्याख्याकार} mentioned by name are: अक्षिरस, अत्त्रि, आपलत्व, उदासतु, काऩ्तायन, काऩ्तर, गार्भ, वृहदार्य, गोतम, जानुकरण (or-निः), दश, नारद, पराशर, पारस्कर, पितामह, गुलस्य, पैठीनाति, ब्रह्मपति, भारदाज, भृगु, मं, वृद्धनु, तम, शालात्व, वृहदाल्व, वासिः, विषु, व्यास, श्रेष्ठ, शालात्व, श्रीकर, संहते, सुमक्ष, स्वर्यम् (1. 0. मन्), भारीत.
Svayambhū are found in the extant Manusmṛti, but this is not the case with the quotations ascribed to Bṛghu (vide p. 138 above). Most of the quotations from Brhaspati (even on such topics as repayment of debts, sureties, the rights of śūdrāputra) are in prose, only a few being in verse (e.g., a verse about ordeals on Yāj. II. 117, a verse about the method of partition on Yāj. II. 153). It appears therefore that Viśvarūpa either knew a work of Brhaspati in prose on arthaśāstra in which occurred a few verses or he had before him a prose work of Brhaspati and a versified smṛti of Brhaspati, both of which he regarded as the compositions of the same author. He quotes a verse (on Yāj. I. 328) from Viśālakṣa, a well-known writer on politics quoted even by Kauṭilya. He refers to the arthaśāstra of Uśanas along with that of Brhaspati. Kauṭilya is nowhere quoted by name. The learned editor of Viśvarūpa thinks (Intro. p. V) that Viśvarūpa took Brhaspati and Viśālakṣa as arśa writers long anterior to Yāj. and therefore used their dicta to elucidate and support Yāj., while he omits Kauṭilya because he thought Kauṭilya to be posterior to Yāj. This argument contains several fallacies. In the first place it is wrong because Viśvarūpa quotes verses from Nārada and Kātyāyana to supplement Yāj. There is nothing to show that Viśvarūpa regarded Nārada and Kātyāyana also as anterior to Yāj. and we have seen above that they are several centuries later than the smṛti of Yāj. Moreover Kauṭilya himself looked upon both Brhaspati and Viśālakṣa as high authorities and so Viśvarūpa might have quoted them rather than Kauṭilya. Even taking the latest date assigned to Kauṭilya (about 3rd century A.D.), he flourished several centuries before Viśvarūpa. It is impossible to believe that Viśvarūpa was in possession of the exact chronological relation of Yāj. and Kauṭilya. Many scholars, besides, place Kauṭilya’s work centuries before Yāj. It appears, however, that Viśvarūpa had the work of Kauṭilya before him. On Yāj. I. 307 he speaks of ministers tested by the four allurements (uṇḍa) of dharma, artha, kāma and bhaya. This is an echo of Kauṭilya (I. 10). On Yāj I. 343 Viś. refers to the view of some that a march should be made when neighbouring chiefs are overwhelmed in calamities.531 This is the view of Kauṭilya almost in

531 तथा बाहु...सामाजिकीयसत्त्वसमन्वयं वातकश्व सत्त्वसमन्वयं यात्रां...हृदियम्। वीरेन्द्र; compare ‘तुमसामाजिकीयसत्त्वसमन्वयं वात्रयमकृत्व श्रवणसामाजिकीयसत्त्वसमन्वयं। कौतिल्य
VII. 5: कि युनसन्नर्जीयसद्र उक्ष न उल्लासाद्वृत्तसमाजवाद-कार्यालयानिधि।
the same words. On Yāj. I. 341 Viś. speaks of the manifold aspects of the work of a minister, some words of his comment being almost identical with Kauṭilya's.

Viśvarūpa's work is thoroughly saturated with the lore of the Pūrva-mimāṃsā. He quotes Jaimini by name (on Yāj. I. 225 where Jaimini VI. 8. 15 is quoted). Curiously enough he applies the term nyāya to Mimāṃsā. He takes 'nyāya-mimāṃsā' in Yāj. I. 3 as one vidyā, while he notes that others explain nyāya as the system of logic propounded by Aksāpāda. He quotes the sutras of Jaimini as those of Yājñikas who know nyāya (e.g. on Yāj. I. 53 he quotes Jaimini I. 3. 16 and on Yāj. I. 87 he quotes Jaimini VI. 8. 17). He applies the epithet naiyāyika to a mimāṃsaka like Śabara and speaks of the mimāṃsakas as nyāyavidāh. He mentions the Śabarabhāṣya by name (on Yāj. III. 243) and in several places quotes the very words of Śabara (e.g. on Yāj. III. 181). He quotes the ślokāvārttika of Kumārila (I. 12 the verse 'sarvasyaiva hi &c.' in his introductory remarks. In his comment on Yāj. I. 7 he cites over fifty verses in the nature of karikas dealing with the relation of śruti and smṛti and kindred topics. These verses are his own composition, as in one of them he assures us that a certain point will be dealt with by him in detail in the section on śrāddha. In interspersing his commentary with karikas of his own and in their style and pithiness he greatly resembles Kumārila. Throughout his work he relies upon mimāṃsā maxims and methods of

532 न्यायविद्वद्व धारिका: 'अर्थ वा सर्पचम: स्वातः' न्यायविद्वद्व शाश्विका: सर्पचत्वालिक: 
प्रार्थे न परमेयविद्विन्तु: (this in Jaimini VI. 8. 17); न च स्वात्माध्यय विशेषणं विश्वस्त हृति न्यायविन्तु: (on Yāj. III. 250). The last is a well-known मिमांसाग्राह्य: "तथा च नेगाविण्ड: 'नहि बचन्यामाध्यमरात्स: इत्यादि:'.
These words occur in शास्त्रभाष्य on Jaimini III. 2. 3.

533 तथा चोके "कोइन्द्र वृंि भवस्य मिमांसाल्पविश्वायकायुच्यते शक्तोपवनंविदयु:"
हृदः। This is शास्त्रभाष्य p. 4 (B. I. edition).

534 सर्व प्रल्प्रमोनं वस्मय: आदुंतंवः। विश्वव्रप part I. p. 18.
discussion. For example, on Yāj. I. 4-5 he discusses the rule of Jaimini II. 4. 8 ff. (about ‘sarvaśākhpātṛtyayam ekam karma’) in its application to smṛtis; on Yāj. I. 225 he relies upon the position that words like yava and varaha are to be taken as employed in the Vedas in the same sense in which śīlas use them (vide Jaimini I. 3. 9); on Yāj. II. 144 he speaks of wealth (dravya) being purusārtha, where he alludes to the well-known distinction between kratvārtha and purusārtha, the subject of Jaimini’s 4th chap. His commentary on Yāj. III 212, 237, 262 are fine examples of his superb skill in the interpretation and reconciliation of apparently conflicting texts.

Though Viśvarūpa was a past master in Purvamimāṁsā lore, his philosophical views seem to have been identical with those of the great Śaṅkara. According to him, mokṣa results from correct knowledge alone and the whole saṁsāra is due to avidyā. He quotes anonymously one of Gauḍapāda’s kārikās (III. 5) on Yāj. III. 134.

He speaks on Yāj. III. 103 of Nārada who knew the Veda of music (gitivedavid), of puruṣa (on III. 175), and quotes verses (on Yāj. III. 85) from an abhidhanakośa (lexicon) and from a Nāmaratnamālā (on III. 266). He speaks of the śloka of Bhikṣāṭama (on III. 66). He is in this probably referring to the Bhikṣāṭanakāvya, which is mentioned by the Sāhityadarpaṇa. Among commentators he mentions Asahāya’s bhaṣya on Gautama by name (on Yāj. III. 263). On Yāj. III. 256 he explains Mleccha as pulindas and Tājikas (i.e. Arabs).

535 In his com. on ब्राह्मलक्ष्य III. 66 he says ‘अपवाचः दिप पारितायः ज्ञानक- साधनं न तत्र कर्मणु योजनानिन्युवकतेष ’। ‘तत्त्वायुक्तं त्वयैव योजनानि योजनायण्यं रूपमार्थपयोद्योङ्कयां यथा।।’

536 तथा चायमेत्यक्षमिश्चदालको रजोधृग्यादिवशिष्ये। न संवेद संपुष्पत्ति सुख सुखं न भूमि भूमि। तथात्मनः || इति। तत्त्वायुक्तं योजनानिधावलये च सत्त्वायुः रूपमार्थं उत्पादय क्रियते तत्र ज्ञाते भूमि निमित्तम्। इति। In the Anandāśrama edition of the fourth paddle is madgjiva उँझाशाधिक। I could not trace the कारिकापुरुषोऽ

537 Vide I. O. cat. p. 1448 for the मिस्तानकाश्य of शिवमकिदाला alias तामेश्वर- 

विशेष वालिती, कालिदास and the काव्य्य of बाण.
It has been shown above (§34 pp. 169-170) how Viśvarūpa’s text of Yāj. varied in some respects from that of the Mit.; how he frequently refers to the views of commentators of Yāj. earlier than himself (in the words ‘apare’, ‘anye’), how he proposes several explanations of the same words in several cases.

Dr. Jolly (Journal of Indian History 1924, pp. 7–8) says that the citations of Viś in the Smṛticandrikā about his having refuted the views of Dhāreśvara cannot be traced in the printed Balakrīḍā, as also the reference to Viś. in the Mit. on Yāj. I. 81 and II. 135. It has been shown above (note 529) that the printed Viś on Yāj. I. 80 does contain the view attributed to it by the Mit. As regards the Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 it has to be noted that the Mit. does not mention Viś. by name there, but only speaks of ‘bhagavān ācārya,’ which words are interpreted by the Subodhini and the Bālambhāṭṭi as referring to Viśvarūpa. It is true that the printed Viś. does not contain in so many words the explanation attributed by the Mit. to ‘bhagavān ācārya.’ But it is worth considering that in the printed Viś. the two quotations from Manu and Śaṅkha do occur and are put in the mouth of an objector and are explained away in a way somewhat similar to that put forth in the Mit. As regards the passages of the Smṛticandrikā, the matter requires careful examination. The Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 294 Gharpure’s ed.) says that according to the Saṅgrahakāra a widow was allowed to succeed to her sonless husband’s wealth if she submitted to niyoga, that the

558 The words of the Mit. are: यदुपि मनं विता हरेदुपुस्वस रिष्क्षे भातर एव च
\begin{align*}
( \text{मनु 9.185} ) & \text{ हाति मनुसरणगत, तथा-स्थायंस्य हुपुस्वस्य भातरायमधु तदु-} \\
& \text{पायेष सिंहति सुरक्षतात स्त्येभा च परन्तुते श्वसरणश्च अपुस्तकं च भादुगामति}
\end{align*}

मानं भरणं भास्य कुर्वीरतु स्त्रीणामाल्यनेष्वरस्यादिविद्वाचनात्मक भरणोपुषुकं च वल्ली लभति हथ्यापि स्थितम् ।

पूर्व रमेष्टे बहुधे अपुवे स्वयंते भरणोपुषुकं वल्ली ग्रज्जालि शोणं च भातरी बद्व तु परन्तुभरणमानोपुषुकमेव हस्त्यासिन्त ततो स्मृतम् ।

तद्वा कि पन्थे ग्रज्जालि उत्त भातरोपपति विरोचे बूहिष्टीयस्ववसानात्मकम् वल्ली इतिहितं इत्यार्थासिनिति ।

तद्यत्र भगवानाशयों न मुष्टिति । चति । विता हरेदुपुस्वस ...

हाति विकल्पमरणाश्चोऽवनस्य तु भमहारीचक्रार्धर्मणांमधर्मपरस्य ।

तथा तस्य परम्पराय परवभादियो बस्ति हाति व्याहस्ये।

839 नमु रुद्रोशिति । 'विता हरेदुपुस्वस च' हाति । मात्रविधात्मतुद्ध्रवविद्या ।

कथं श्रीः

परम् 'स्वयंस्य ... पल्ली' हाति । उक्कण्णपल्लीढिण्नाये सोद्वर्णभिमायं तद् ।

विष्क्रम.

II. D. 33.
same was the view of Dhāreśvara and that Viśvarūpa refuted the view of Dhāreśvara. In no place does the printed Viṣ. name Dhāreśvara. The words of the Smṛticandrikā are not to be taken literally. It will be shown below that the author, Devaṇṇa-bhaṭṭa, flourished about 1200 A.D., while Dhāreśvara flourished between 1000-1050 A.D. Devaṇṇa had no correct idea of their relative chronological position. It has been shown above (p. 249) how though Asahāya is named by the Mit., the Sarasvativilāsa very often says that Asahāya does not like (or tolerate) the views of Vijñāneśvara. Similarly the same work (para 392) says that Dhāreśvara and Devasvāmin do not tolerate the view of Vijñāneśvara, but Dhāreśvara is one of the predeccessors of Vij. actually named by him. So all that the Smṛticandrikā means is that Dhāreśvara and Viśvarūpa differed in their views on the particular points mentioned by it. The word patni is taken by Viṣ. to mean a widow who is pregnant at the time of her husband's death and quotes the sūtras of Vasiṣṭha and Gautama in support of his view as jñāpakaś. So this view entirely differs from the view of Dhāreśvara that the widow of a sonless person succeeds if she submits to niyoga. The Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 300) says that the Saṅgraha-kāra placed the father's mother immediately after the mother and before the father, that the Saṅgrahakāra relied on the same arguments that were employed by Dhāreśvara and that Viśvarūpa and others refuted those arguments. The passage in the printed Viṣ. is somewhat corrupt in this place. Viṣ. does place the mother before the father on the ground of the word mata occurring first when the word 'pitarau' or the compound 'matāpitarau' is expanded. The comment does mention the verse of Manu (9. 217) about the grandmother, but it makes no clear sense, as it stands. For the reason given above Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti (JASB for 1912, p. 345 and for 1915, p. 322) is not right when he places Viśvarūpa later than Bhojadeva because of the remarks of the Smṛticandrikā.

In the works of Jīmūtavāhana (viz. the Dāyabhāga and the Vyavahārāmsṭrākā), in the Smṛticandrikā, the Haralata, and other later works like the Sarasvativilāsa, the views of Viśvarūpa are frequently cited and discussed. Several such citations have been
already examined by me (JBBRAS for 1926, pp. 200-204). From considerations of space I do not repeat here the discussion of those passages. In the Grhaṣṭharaṇākara541 of Caṇḍeśvara (D.C. No. 44 of 1883-4, folio 133a) the explanation of Viśvarūpacārya on Yāj. I. 135 is cited, which does not exactly tally with the printed Viś. Hemādrī542 refers to Viśvarūpa's explanation given in his section on partition which does not occur in the printed text. The result of the examination of these citations is that the printed text of Viś. is in the main genuine, but that in a few cases (particularly in the vyavahāra section) it is corrupt or deficient.

Though Viś. holds the same view as the Mit. that ownership does not for the first time arise on partition but that partition takes place of what is already (jointly) owned, yet on numerous points the two disagree. A few of them may be set out here.

(1) Viś. allows (on Yāj. II. 118) the father unrestricted freedom of distribution of property among his sons during his lifetime, while the Mit. expressly says that this power of unequal distribution is restricted to self-acquired property.

(2) Viś. (on Yāj. II. 119) allows a share of property to the widows of predeceased sons and grandsons of a man when a partition takes place during his lifetime. The Mit. restricts the words 'patnyāḥ' to the father's own wives when he effects a partition during his lifetime.

(3) Viś. connects the words 'without detriment to the paternal estate' (in Yāj. II. 122) with the words 'whatever else is acquired by himself' and not with 'maitra' (gifts from a friend) and 'audvahika' (gifts on marriage), while the Mit. connects the half-verse 'whatever else is acquired by the man himself without

541 विनिवृत्तयाच. I. 135 is तथा चानाय: | तमसाहुष्पत्याहको न महेत-इति। अर्थ में इति: पाभमामहातृ-हृद्वेदेः मन्नस्य कास्त्येव। यदा बर्तित गज्यतु निविनिन्नित व्यास्येषु।, while the गृहस्थरामारक says 'अर्थ में इति: सर्व पाभमामहातृ-इति सर्व मन्नस्य पदलू वर्ष्यवात्तृतो (ि मानातों) गज्यतु याप्पमन्नस्-समाधि: उर्वसनिन्नम: | ताबलेवलिपिपापोपिनिनिन्नित विनिवि पार्थाय:।

542 भाला वा भालुपुरो वा साविष्ठ्यः शिल्प्ये पूर्व पि। साविष्ठ्यकृपिष्ठ्ये क्लाहा कुर्मदामुदमिकर्तन || हस्तन वक्षने अभियुद्धक्षेत्रे आभुदमिकन्त शादुं विभाषकरणे किन्यका- चायः व्या० यात्तामं। चायः (कालान्तिस्म. D. 43।)
detriment to the paternal estate 'as a qualifying clause to the next half verse and to another verse 'kramād abhyāgatam &c.' In the Mit. the two verses 'pitrdravyāvirodhena &c.' and 'kramād &c.' occur consecutively, while in Viś. they are separated by three verses and Viś. takes the verse 'kramād &c. as referring to the re-opening of a partition for a son born after partition.

(4) Viś. allows niyoga only to śudraś in general and to kṣatriya kings in case of danger of extinction of line (vide com. on Yāj. I. 69 and II. 131), while Mit. forbids niyoga in general and holds the texts speaking of it as applicable to a girl who is only betrothed and not married.

(5) Viś. appears to allow one share out of ten to the son of a śudra wife from a brāhmaṇa without restriction of any kind, while Mit. restricts the share to estates other than land acquired by gift.

(6) Viś. interprets the expression 'half share' (in Yāj. II. 138) with reference to the illegitimate son of a śudra as meaning 'some portion, not necessarily exactly half,' while Mit. interprets it literally.

(7) Viś. allows a widow to succeed to her husband if she is pregnant at his death, while Mit. allows a widow to succeed without any restriction except that of chastity.

(8) Viś. restricts the word 'duhitaraḥ in 'patnī duhitaraś-caiva' (Yāj. II. 138) to pūtrika only and so does not allow all daughters whatever to succeed, while Mit. does not introduce any such qualification.

(9) Viś. reads 'anyodaryasya saṁsr̥ti' for anyodaryastu &c.' and 'sodaro' for 'saṁsr̥to' in Yāj. II. 143 and his interpretation of the verse is entirely different from that of the Mit.

(10) Viś. reads 'ādhibedanikāṃ caiva' for 'ādhibedanikādyāṁ ca' of Mit. and holds that bandhuddatta, šulka and anvādheyaka strīdhana of a childless woman goes on her death to her full brother; while Mit. connects these three with the preceding verse and takes the half verse 'atītāyām' as laying down a general rule of succession to strīdhana of all kinds and interprets 'bandhavah' as meaning 'husband and the rest'.

(11) Viś. takes the verse 'adhibinna-striyāi' &c. (on Yāj. II. 152) as applicable to a wife superseded without any ground of
succession allowed by the texts; while Mit. does not introduce any such qualification.

As Viśvarūpa quotes Kumārila’s Ślokavārtika and is mentioned by the Mit. as an authoritative commentator it follows that he flourished between 750 A. D. and 1000 A. D. A greater approximation as to the date of Viśvarūpa can be made, if the identity of Viśvarūpa with Sureśvara be held established. Sureśvara, as he himself tells us in the Naiśkarmyasiddhi, the Taittiriyopanisadbhāṣya-vārtika and other works, was a pupil of the great Šaṅkaracārya whose generally accepted period is 788–820 A. D. Mādhavācārya in several works of his quotes as Viśvarūpa’s passages from the well-known works of Sureśvara. For example, the Parāśara-Mādhaviya (vol. I, part I, p. 57) quotes a kārikā of Sureśvara as that of Viśvarūpācārya.543 In the Vivaraṇaprameyasaṅgrahā (Vizianagaram series p. 92) also Mādhava quotes a verse from the Brhadāranyakopanisad-bhāṣya-vārtika as Viśvarūpa’s.544 In the Puruṣārthaprabodha545 of Brahmanandabharati (ms. in Bhau Daji collection, Bombay) composed in 1476 (probably of the Śaka era) the author speaks of the Naiśkarmyasiddhi as a work of Viśvarūpa. In the Sāmkṣepa-Šaṅkara-jaya Viśvarūpa is said to be the author of the two vārtikas on Šaṅkara’s bhaṣya.546 According to tradition embodied in the various lives of Šaṅkara, the latter had four pupils, Sureśvara, Padmapāda, Tōtaka and Hastāmalaka. Several works mention Viśvarūpa as one of the four pupils and omit the name Sureśvara. For example, in the Dvādaśa-vākya-vivaraṇa of Gopāla (Aufrech’t’s Oxon. cat. No. 1557, p. 227 b) the four pupils of Šaṅkara are named as Viśvarūpa, Padmanābha, Tōtaka and Hastāmalaka. In the Mānasollāsa-वृत्तान्त-विलāsa of Rāmatīrtha we are expressly told that Sure-

543 यदि या लं तत्त्वविवेकेन पारम्परिक ् विबंधवाचारं उदाहरणम्—आरे क्यों त्याति व्यासस्तम्भम् सत्यभूमिपरम्परायेत्। कल्पनायः समाचारे निष्ठानामयं करणाम्। The sutra of आपकल्पम् इथे आपि धे घुरे I. 7. 20. 3 and the कार्तिका occurs in the बृहदारण्यकोपपिनिशुभ्यमावलिकम् (I. 1. 97).

544 The verse is on p. 640 of the बृहदारण्यकोपपिनिशुभ्यमावलिकम्.

545 अर्थं शोकान्तिस्तित्तीदिः मरणिं भविष्यानाः:। श्रीमक्कृष्णपदावराधाईः करणामैः। (folio 6).

546 अर्थं त्यो उक्तो विचारको विचारानि विदितात:। बलवान भाष्यावालिकम् (तैं)आत्मा गुरूणां विविधाति:। संशोधनवर्तमाणः 13.66 (Aufrech’t’s Oxford Cat. p. 257).
śvara is another name of Viśvarūpa, a pupil of Śaṅkara (vide Mitra's Notices vol. V, No. 1763, p. 82). In the Saptasūtra-sahnyāsapaddhāti (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 296) the four pupils are said to be Svarūpācārya, Padmācārya, Tōtaka and Prthvidhara. The Guru-varṇākāvya (Vanivilas ed.) identifies Sureśvara and Viśvarūpa (II. 59) and makes him a pupil of Kumārilā and Śaṅkara. It may therefore be held as fairly established that Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara are identical. Some corroboration is afforded by the fact that Viśvarūpa quotes Gauḍapāda the 'paramaguru' of Śaṅkara and holds the same philosophical views as those of Śaṅkara. Just as Viśvarūpa quotes Kumārilā's Ślokavārtika, Sureśvara also in his Taṅtiriyopanisad-bhāṣya-vārtika quotes a kārīka of Kumārila and styles the latter Māṁsakāṁ-maṇya. This shows that Sureśvara treated Kumārila with scant respect, which seems unlikely if he was at any time Kumārila's pupil. Viśvarūpa in his introduction performs an obeisance to the Sun, the great serpent (Śeṣa), Tilaksvāmin and Vināyaka. The Bāhamati of Vācaspāti-miśra has a similar salutation. Vācaspāti-miśra wrote his Nyāyasūci-nibandha in 841-42 A. D. i.e. he was almost a contemporary of Śaṅkara and his pupils. The learned editor of Viś. tells us that in a commentary on Viś. called Vācanamālā Sureśvara is bracketed with Manu and Yogiśvara (Yājñavalkya) as an expounder of Śastra (i.e. dharmaśastra). Therefore that commentator looked upon Viś. and Sureśvara as identical. From all these several considerations it follows that

547 मोहकाः स वर्ततेऽत्तव कामयमनिष्ठेऽधिमयमस्य।।
इति मीराबनक्रमेऽकरंक दोषस्थानमम्।।
तै. उ. भाष्यवातिकं I. 9-10. The verse मोहारा न चेंडुः स्वकाररातिकं (संभव-प्रकाशपपश्राते verse 110).

548 प्रश्नवाक्य महानागे तिलकर्धामसामता तथा। विनायकेष य द्रोणिः स्मृतिन्यौतयते मवा।।
बिष्कुद्र; vide याज. I. 289 आदिवाच्य सदा पुरा तिलकर्धामसामत तथा। महागण-पतेमशु कुर्वन्त सिद्धिमेव मपैत।।
The भामती has मार्वणितिलकर्धामसामतंपतीनु वषाः। बिष्कुद्रमाणम्: सर्वितिन्योभाविनि।।
तिलकर्धामी would mean तिलकर्धामी: स्वामि। The मितास्रा reads तिलकर्धाम स्वामिनस्थवा।

549 अधमस्य मनुरेवर्योगिनयातिकारकाःपुचमनाः।।
शाश्वाणां त्वांकृष्णा कर्तृगि
देवता निर्खिताः।। One of the verses at the end of the Aryaśastra is अधमस्य मनुरेवर्योगिनयातिकारकाः
मितिन्यातामयंतिमयं तो गुरोऽ।। सक्तितिर्हीर्षाणमु (वै:) पतिते थामपुनिर्भवति।।
Vide Tri. Cat. of Madras Govt. mss, for 1919-22, pp. 4458-4460 for वचनमाला,
Viśvarūpā flourished about 800-825 A.D. But this problem presents further difficulties. The mutual relations of Sureśvara, Bhavabhūti, Umbeka and Maṇḍana are a great puzzle. I have dealt with this question in JBBARAS for 1928, pp. 289-293. The conclusions arrived at there are that Maṇḍana's literary activity lies between 690-710, that of Umbeka between 700-730 and Sureśvara's between 810-840 A.D. and that Umbeka and Bhavabhūti are identical, but that Maṇḍana and Sureśvara are separated by about 100 years.

Dr. Jolly has brought together in the Journal of Indian History (vol. III. pp. 1-27) some valuable information about Viśvarūpā.

In several later works a digest called Viśvarūpā-nibandha is frequently cited. That appears to be the composition of another Viśvarūpā altogether. For example, the śaṇ-ṇavati-śrāddha-nirnaya of Śivabhāṭṭa (which is later than 1650 A.D.) tells us that Viśva-

rūpācārya composed a vivarāṇa (commentary) on the Śrāddha-
kalikā.\(^{550}\) The Kṛyacintāmaṇi of Śivarāma (D. C. No. 221 of 1879) quotes several\(^{551}\) verses from Viśvarūpanibandha on Sapinda relationship in marriage, which are not found in the Balakrīḍā, but which agree remarkably with the words of the Mit. on Yāj. I. 53. The Varaśkriyākaumudi (pp. 378, 380) mentions Viśvarūpā-nibandha and quotes two verses cited therein. The Tithi-nirnaya-sarvas-

samuccaya (later than 1450 A.D.) quotes certain karikas of Viśva-
rūpā on the 18 varieties of Ekādaśī.\(^{552}\) The Kālanirnayasiddhānt-
vyākhya (composed in 1653 A.D.) quotes certain verses of Viśvarūpā on the question of the disposal of food prepared for a marriage when a period of impurity on death supervenes.\(^{553}\)

\(^{550}\) अत् एवोक गढ़निलकर्यां—मासिकानि सनिधि च आमायघ्न तथामितक्रमस्। अन्त्री-

वेष त तत्ते प्रथम भार्या रणेश्वरः॥ हृदि। अन्त्रीवेष तत्ते न तामायाधिनेति च कलिकारितिरोणिः भौमित्रिकरपायिण्यात्वालांमायस्। Ms. in the Bhadkamkar Collection, folio 7 b.

\(^{551}\) विशवरूपनिलकर्यं एत्तूकमाहात्म्यं पितृवर्यपञ्च निसमायत। उर्मिल्लय विवाहसं पञ्च-

मायामुर्दितिः॥ समानो भितृते इत्तायत्तानुभवं च। तमायावं गोने ( कोने ) यावस्थित ब्राह्मणसमुदेति हृदि। कृत्यविधितांशैं योगी

गोदायमधसामयः हृदि सर्वेष योजितसि।। Ms. in Badhakamkar collection folio 150. The Mit. says 'समायतांशैं गोदायमधसामयः हृदि सर्वेष योजितसि।'

\(^{552}\) एवं स्मारकान्तिक्रमिन विवाहसंपरिधि अधार्या नेवा उक्तः। Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection folio 19 a.

\(^{553}\) Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection folio 137 b on verse 82.
Nirñayasindhu also quotes verses of Viśvarūpa. From these data it follows that a Viśvarūpa composed a commentary on Sraddhasikalī and also wrote a digest on matters of acāra and other topics of dharma in prose and verse. Raghunandana in his Udvaḥatattvä (ed. by Jivananda, p. 116) names a Viśvarūpa-samuccaya. It is likely that it is the same as Viśvarūpa-nibandha.

61. Bhāruci.

The Mit. on Yāj. (I. 81) says that Bhāruci like Viśvarūpa held the view that the rule ‘ṛtau bhāryāṁ gacchet’ was a niyama and not a parisamkhya. On Yāj. II 124 the Mit. says that the explanation of ‘the fourth share’ to be given to unmarried sisters offered by Asahāya and Medhatithi was the proper one and not that of Bhāruci. The Parāśaramadhaviya and the Sarasvatīvilāsa (para 133) inform us that Bhāruci was of opinion that unmarried sisters were only entitled to a provision for their marriage and were not entitled to a fourth share.

Bhāruci, being mentioned by the Mit., is certainly older than 1050 A.D. Rāmānujacārya in his Vedārthasaṁgraha (reprint from the Pandit, ed. of 1924, p. 154) mentions six acāryas that preceded him as expounders of the Viśiṣṭādvaita system, viz. Bodhāyana, Tāṅka, Drāmiḍa, Guhadeva, Kapardin and Bhāruci. Similarly the Yatindramatadipikā of Śrīnivāsadāsa (Ānandāśrama ed.) enumerates (p. 2) a host of teachers as the predecessors of Rāmānujacārya in propounding the Viśiṣṭādvaita system. Vyāsa is the reputed author of the Vedāntasūtras, Bodhāyana is said to have composed a vr̥tti on the Vedānta-sūtras, called Kṛtakoṣi according to the Prapañca-hṛdaya (p. 39, Trivandrum ed.). Tāṅka and Brahmanandin are identical. Drāmiḍa is credited with the authorship of a bhārya on the Vedānta-sūtras (which is quoted by Rāmānuja in his bhāṣya on II. 2. 3). Nāthamuni is said to have been the grand-father of Yāmunamuni, who was born about 916 A.D. Rāmānuja refers to him with great reverence as his teacher’s teacher (parama-guru, vide Vedārtha-saṁgraha, p. 149) and is said to have been young
when Yamuna died (vide J R A S for 1915, p. 147 and I. A. for 1909, p. 129). It is therefore obvious that the teachers are arranged by the Yatindramatadipika in chronological order. Hence Bhāruci, being placed earlier than even Dāmīḍa and Nāthamuni, was comparatively an ancient author and could not have flourished later than the first half of the 9th century. Bhāruci the jurist also flourished before 1050. It is difficult to believe that there were two famous writers of the same name nearly about the same time. Hence it may provisionally be held that Bhāruci the writer on dharmaśāstra and Bhāruci the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosopher are identical. If this identity be accepted, then Bhāruci the writer on dharmaśāstra becomes comparatively an early writer, being at least as old as Viśvarūpa. His views agree on several points with those of Viśvarūpa, which is a circumstance that lends some corroboration to the date proposed for him.

One interesting point about Bhāruci deserves mention here. From numerous notices contained in the Sarasvativilāsa it appears that Bhāruci either commented upon the Viṣṇudharmasūtra or wrote some work in which he took great pains to incorporate explanations of several sūtras of Viṣṇu. For example, para 637 tells us that Bhāruci explained the word ‘biṣa’ occurring in a sūtra of Viṣṇu as ‘piṭa’.

In para 674 we are told that Bhāruci explained the word ‘niśkāraṇa’ in a sūtra of Viṣṇu and that he held that a daughter’s son has not to perform the śrāddha of his maternal grandfather if the latter has a son. Sudarśanacārya in his comment upon Āpastambagṛhya (8.21.2) ascribes the same view to Bhāruci and quotes the very words of Bhāruci. Vide J B B R A S for 1925 pp. 210-211 for further examples. There is nothing unnatural in Bhāruci, the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosopher, having composed a commen-

556 भवाहा भाषिकरिषक्षण्यवन्यन्यानाना सपोरे बीजमान्वः विषयारंगतः । सं. वि. para 637 (pp. 63-23 of Mysore ed.). The sūtra of Viṣṇu is ‘वीजप्रव्रहातु-विधानेन ग्रहीण्यः’. सं. वि. para 638.

557 अन्व भाषीः। निष्कारण्यति चिन्हा विषयानां समन्तकर्तयुं ग्रामसी विचारिते दौहित्र न कथूलसाक्षात्सनिर्मितिः। सं. वि. para 674 (p. 437). The sūtra of Viṣṇu is ‘दौहित्राभाषानि भाषितानि अपूर्णो मातामहः पुनर्महुन्तब्रह्मवेदव्रेयां तस्मिन्यस्य तत्त्व विषयारंगतेऽवनः’. विषयारंगतेऽवनः भवाहा भाषिकरिषक्षण्यवन्यन्यानाना सपोरे बीजमान्वः विषयारंगतः। जिल्ला जनविनमानवाहः। विषयारंगतेऽवनः भवाहा।

H. D. 34.
tary on the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. The extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra contains doctrines peculiar to the Viṣṇuṭadvaita system such as the worship of Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva, the four Vyūhas of Vāsudeva &c. If Bhāruci was a Viṣṇuṭadvaitin he would naturally turn to the sūtra of Viṣṇu as having the greatest claim on his attention. Many of the sūtras of Viṣṇu quoted in the Sarasvativilāsa with the explanations of Bhāruci are not found in the printed text of Viṣṇu, on which Nandapaṇḍita commented in the first half of the 17th century. It appears that the Sarasvativilāsa had before it a larger version of Viṣṇu current in the south (vide note 118, p. 70 above).

On scores of points there is divergence between the views of Bhāruci and those of the Mit. Bhāruci differed from the Mit. as to the definition of daśa and viśhāga, he allowed niyoga to childless widows, while the Mit. condemned it in the case of all widows; Bhāruci, like Viśvarūpa, did not mention sapratibandha and apratibandha daśa; Bhāruci, like Viśvarūpa, held that a coparcener who concealed some joint property was not guilty of theft, while the Mit. held that he was. Vide J B B R A S for 1925 pp. 211-13 for more examples and details.

62. Śrīkara

The Mit. on Yaj. II. 135 alludes to the view of Śrīkara and others that the widow succeeded as heir to her deceased husband's estate if it was small.558 The Smṛtisāra559 of Harinātha attributes the same view to Śrīkara and disapproves of it. On Yaj. II. 169 the Mit.560 cites the view of Śrīkara about that topic and disapproves of it. Viśvarūpa also gives two explanations of that verse of Yaj., the first of which agrees with that of the Mit. and the second is akin to Śrīkara's.

558 प्रेमनाल्लविश्वासते श्रीकरादिनिवक्र निरस्त वेदिवायन्॥
559 न च स्वल्पविवाहे (धनानि) पल्ली नूतित हति वहुविवाहे शालुनामवज्रा हति वचनानि श्रीकरसमनुसिद्धम्। श्रृविनितार I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 198a.
560 अष्टाश्विनिद्वेशनस्ते गतं कालास्ते वा विण्मादया सुभुल्लभागांशोऽश्रीकरानस्ते विन्यास प्रत्यक्ष्यं मन्त्रविन्यास समाप्ततू तात्तेव वाहणे प्रभृतातिः श्रीकरानार्येण व्यासायं सदृशवर्धयोगस्य। मिताससारः, the स. वि. p. 307 (Mysore ed.) quotes these very words "अष्टाश्विनिद्वेशकम् ... समयश्वेतकि श्रीकरानिष्कादयं अयुः। विष्णुभवस्य एव।"
The works of Jīmūtavāhana (viz. the Dāyabhāga and the Vyavahāramātrkā), the Smrticandrika and the Sarasvativilāsa contain very interesting notices of Śrīkara’s views. Many of them were brought together by me in J B B R A S for 1925, pp. 213–215. Śrīkara like Viśvarūpa held the view that ‘duhitaraḥ’ in Yāj. refers to the _purtika_, he allowed the parents of a childless person to succeed together at the same time. The Dāyabhāga very severely criticizes the views of Śrīkara on the succession to re-united members, on _vidyadhana_ and on Yāj. II. 24 (about enjoyment for 20 years). Most of the views attributed to Śrīkara were also entertained by Viśvarūpa or are more antiquated than Viśvarūpa’s.

Śrīkara was probably a writer from Mithilā and seems to have propounded the view of spiritual benefit as the criterion for judging superior rights of succession. The _Smṛtisāra_ of Harinātha ascribes such a view to a Śrīkara-nibandha.

Whether Śrīkara wrote a commentary on a _smṛti_ or a general digest (nibandha) it is difficult to say. The _Smrticandrika_ says that Śambhu, Śrīkara and Devasvāmin compiled digests of _smṛtis_ and added their own explanations of them. The _Smṛtyarthāsāra_ of Śridhara asserts in the introductory verses that Śrīkanṭha and Śrīkara-ārya filled up the gaps in the _smṛtis_ that were scattered about (by introducing order out of chaos). Śrīkara’s explanations of Yājñavalkya are frequently cited by the Mit., the Dāyabhāga and

561 Vide _sāhāra_ (p. 47) where _śrīkara_ is the first of a host of writers who hold, following Yāj. II. 24, that adverse possession for twenty and ten years in the case of immovable and moveable property respectively conferred ownership.

562 Vide _smṛtisāra_ (I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 147 a) _sāhāra_ (Yāj. II. 24) that adverse possession for twenty and ten years in the case of immovable and moveable property respectively conferred ownership.

563 Vide _sāhāra_ (I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 147 a) _sāhāra_ (Yāj. II. 24) that adverse possession for twenty and ten years in the case of immovable and moveable property respectively conferred ownership.

564 Vide _sāhāra_ (I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 147 a) _sāhāra_ (Yāj. II. 24) that adverse possession for twenty and ten years in the case of immovable and moveable property respectively conferred ownership.
others. But the Mit. does not connect Śrīkara’s name with Yājñavalkya as a commentator, though Viśvarūpa is expressly so connected. It appears therefore more likely that Śrīkara wrote a digest of smṛtis in which he paid particular attention to the explanation of the words of Yājñavalkya. The Rājanitiratnakara\textsuperscript{565} of Candeśvara quotes the views of Śrīkara on rājaniti, one of which is that the poor and helpless are entitled to a share of the royal wealth.

Hemādri\textsuperscript{566} quotes the view of Śrīkara on Viṣṇu and disapproves of the faults found therein by the author of the Panḍita-paritoṣa.

As Śrīkara is quoted by the Mit., he is certainly earlier than 1050 A. D. As his views agree largely with Viśvarūpa’s, he may provisionally be regarded as nearly of the same period as Viśvarūpa’s. He cannot be earlier than Asahāya who is named both by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi, though both of them are silent about Śrīkara. Hence Śrīkara must be placed somewhere between 800 and 1050 A. D. and probably flourished in the 9th century.

This Śrīkara must be distinguished from another Śrīkara, the father of Śrīnātha.

63. Medhātithi.

Medhātithi is the author of an extensive and erudite commentary (bhāṣya) on the Manusmṛti. It is the oldest extant commentary on that smṛti. The bhāṣya of Medhātithi was first published about forty years ago by Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik in Bombay and recently Mr. J. R. Gharpure of Bombay brought out an edition of Medhātithi which closely follows Mandlik’s edition. A critical edition of the bhāṣya based upon all the available Mss. is a great desideratum. An English translation of the bhāṣya by M. M. Dr. Ganganath Jha is in progress and several parts have been published so far. In the following Mr. Gharpure’s edition has been used. The bhāṣya as printed is corrupt in many places, particularly in the 8th, 9th and

\textsuperscript{565} ‘राजपने दीनायाथादिसककमाणांमंशिस्व बहुनावकलाद्राध्यविनायाश्च युक्तियियो गोपाललस्मिन्निध्वाराण्योऽः’ राजनीतिसिद्धांकर \textsuperscript{pp. 40-41 (ed. by Jayaswal).}

\textsuperscript{566} अन्त्र श्रीकर भारे यदा गतकाले अभवास्याद्वारे भवति तदा निघुष्टिसतेर्प्यामुत्रे-भावालः...अन्त्र च अविवेकदत्तं दूषणममुहिंशु। अनुपपत्तमेत्ततः ।... तेन श्रीकराणां मन्तवेश सावः। चतुर्वेदी. III. 3, pp. 900-903.
12th adhyāya In Mr. Gharpure’s edition there is no bhāṣya on verses 182-202 of the 9th chapter.

Bühler in his learned and exhaustive Introduction to the Manu-smṛti (S. B. E. vol. 25) brings together a good deal of information about Medhātithi (pp. cxviii-cxxvi). In J B B R A S for 1925 pp. 217-221 I have offered criticisms on some of Bühler’s views and have given certain additional information.

In several Mss. of the bhāṣya at the end of several adhyāyas occurs a verse\(^{567}\) which says that a king named Madana, son of Sahāraṇa, brought copies of Medhātithi’s commentary from another country and effected a restoration (jirvoddhāra). This does not refer to the restoration of the text of Medhātithi, but to the completion of the library of the king, who was Madanapāla, son of Sadhāraṇa and flourished, as we shall see later on, in the latter half of the 14th century.

Dr. Jolly (Tagore Law Lectures p. 6) holds Medhātithi to be a southerner on account of the fact that his father’s name was Vīrasvāmin and on account of the attention paid to his bhāṣya by southern writers. It cannot be said that names ending in ‘svāmin’ were a monopoly of the south. The Rājatarāṅgini gives several literary celebrities whose names ended in ‘svāmin’ (e. g. V. 34 mentions a Śivasvāmi). Kṣirasvāmin was a Kashmirian. The south has always been famed for preserving Mss. of valuable works from the north. Mss. of the Kāvyalāmkāra of Bhāmaha, a Kashmirian, are very rare and have been found only in the south. Bühler (p. cxxiii) seems to be right in holding that Medhātithi was a Kashmirian (or at least an inhabitant of Northern India). In explaining such words as ‘svarāstre’ and ‘janapadaḥ’ (Manu VII. 32 and VIII. 42) Medhātithi introduces Kashmir. He gives (on Manu VIII. 400) the monopoly of the sale of elephants as a privilege of the kings of Kashmir where saffron abounds.\(^{568}\)

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\(^{567}\) माख्या काविः मनुस्मतितुद्धित्वा व्यास्या हि मेधाविधि: सा हुमेव विप्रेषेवात् काविज्ञानि पावन न वनुस्तकर्मः। हारणांकोम: सहारणतु: देशालग्नातिहृतज्ञानात्मकर्षन: हत्तेनस्तुलकेलिति। II सहारण a Prākrit form of साहित्य.

\(^{568}\) बारबीभाषी राजायोगिनिः बल्कुल इति: काष्ठिरेण कुष्माण्डेयमुष्ठोषाःदेविनि प्राप्तः वेषास्च राजस्वाण्षेयमुष्ठोषाः मणिमुक्तवालि &c. Should we not read बल्कुल इति: काष्ठिरेण कुष्माण्डे प्राप्तेषु प्रेषाःदेविनि। The meaning then would be elephants are the monopoly of kings everywhere, saffron in Kashmir &c,
that the rainbow is called 'vijñāna-chāyā' in Kashmir (on Manu IV. 59). He very frequently refers to northerners e. g. on Manu III. 234 he says 'kutapa' is the word for what is well-known as 'kambala' among northern people and on III. 238 he says 'northern people wrap their heads with śāṭakas' (garments).

He says on Manu II. 24 that in the Himalayas in Kashmir it is not possible to perform the daily śāṇḍhya in the open nor is it possible to bathe every day in a river in 'Hemanta' and 'Śiśira'. On Manu II. 18 he says 'in other countries, some say, people marry one's maternal uncle's daughter; but that is opposed to the words of Gautama' (4, 3) and proceeds 'even in that country taking food in the same plate with (or in the company of) one whose thread ceremony is not performed is not at all regarded as dharma (but as improper conduct)'. This is clearly a reference to Baudhāyana Dh. S. (I. 1. 19) according to which 'mātulasutā-paraṇayana' and taking food in the same plate with one whose upanayana is not performed are two of the five usages peculiar to the south. It is fair to add that later writers like Kamalakarabhāṭṭa (Nīrṇayasindhu, 3rd pariccheda on sāpīṇḍya) regard Medhātithi as a southerner.

Medhātithi quotes from or names numerous smṛti writers, such as Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Vasiṣṭha, Viṣṇu, Śaṅkha, Manu, Yaśj., Nārada, Parāśara, Bṛhaspati, Kātyāyana and others. He refers to Bṛhaspati as a writer on 'vārtā' (Manu VII. 43 and IX. 326) and to Bṛhaspati and Uṣanas as writers on politics and government (Manu VIII 285, VII. 2 and 155). On Manu VII. 43 he refers to Cāṇakya as a writer on 'daṇḍaniti'. In numerous places he seems to have drawn upon Kauṭilya's work. For example, on Manu VII. 155 in interpreting 'paṇcavarga' as 'kāpatika, udāsthita, grhapatika, vaidehika and tāpasavyañjana' he explains them almost in the words of Kauṭilya (I. 2). On VII. 148 he quotes the five aṅgas of mantra in the very words of Kauṭilya.569 Vide also his remarks on Manu VII. 54 (testing of ministers by upadhas). He names Asahāya (on 8. 156) and certain writers as Śrītivivarana-karāh (on II. 25). Bühler is not quite accurate (p. cxx, n. 1) when he states that 'Medhātithi gives only once the name of an

569 इन्हायानारिनि कर्माणायसर्वोपयतः पुरुषोपप्यं तं येशकार्याविहितम् विनियोगमयस्य कार्यं-
शिष्यिरिति । नेतातिषि, compare कौटिल्य I. 15 'कर्माणायसर्वोपयतः ... कार्यं-
शिष्यिरिति पञ्चायते ततः'।
early commentator’. On VIII. 3 he refers to the interpretations of Bhartrayāṇa. He refers to the interpretations of Yajvan (on VIII. 151 and 156). Yajvan is only the last part of a name (as in Devarājayaivan). He quotes the interpretation of Manu by Upādhyāya (on II. 109, IV. 162, V. 43, IX. 141 and 147). Bühlner holds that Medhātithi refers to his own teacher. It is more likely that Upādhyāya, like Yajvan, is the name or part of the name of a previous commentator of Manu. On VIII. 152 the explanations of Rju are twice cited. On IX. 253 Medhātithi cites the view of one Viṣṇusvāmin. From the tenor of the quotation it appears that Viṣṇusvāmin was a writer on Mīmāṃsā and not a commentator of Manu as Büher thought (p. cxx, n. 1). Some Mss. read the word preceding Viṣṇusvāmin as ‘kovara’, others as ‘kāvara’. It is probably ‘kāvera’ (residing on the Kāveri river).

He quotes (on Manu I. 19) a verse from the Sānkhyakārika (‘prakṛter mahān &c’). He speaks of Vindhyavāsa as a Sānkhyya and says that he does not admit a subtle interim body (antarābhubhava-deha). This is probably taken from Kumārila’s words. He repeatedly refers to the purāṇas, tells us (on III. 232) that they were composed by Vyāsa and contained accounts of creation. He quotes (on XII. 118) a verse from the Vākyaprādīpa.

He tells us (on II. 6) that the Pāncarātras, Nirgranthas (Jains) and Pāṣupatas were outside the pale of Vedic orthodoxy.

Medhātithi had drunk deep at the fountain of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā. His bhāṣya is full of the terms vidhi and artha-vāda. He quotes Jaimini’s sūtras frequently and applies them to the interpretation of smṛti texts at every step. Vide J B B R A S for 1925 p. 219 for examples. He cites passages from Śabara’s bhāṣya (e.g. on III. 1). He mentions Kumārila by name (on I. 3) and as Bhāṭṭapāda (on Manu II. 18).

570 अतो याथाताकाधिकलमुक्ति: सा सन्धिभवनि हति कोवरबविश्वासानी।
571 साङ्क्यः हि केवलमतारसामिविश्वालति विन्याससमस्तयः। नेपालिधि on मनु I. 55.
572 अन्तरामये देशस्तु नियमो विविधवातिना। नियोद्वार्थिनेपालिधि p. 704.
573 उक्तः च वाक्यप्रसंगे-न तद्विति च तन्मान्यि ह्यपादि। Dr. Kielhorn told Dr. Bühlner that the verse is not found in the वाक्यप्रसंग of ह्यि (S. B. E. vol. 25, CXXIII. n. 1)
574 एवं सर्व एव बाशा नोजकपाखराबिकिणियामध्यानाध्यायपुष्टममुित्त्रः।
Bühler at first took the remark (on Manu XII. 19) about ‘Śārīraka’ as referring to Śaṅkara’s bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtra, but later on changed his opinion (SBE vol. 25, p. cxxii) and held that it probably implies a reference to the Śārīraka sūtras. Bühler’s considered opinion does not seem to be right. The words ‘yattheha rājā ... apaiti’ are a summary of Śaṅkara’s bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra II. 1. 34 and II. 3. 42. and I. 2. 11-12. On Manu II. 83 he refers to the Upaniṣad-bhāṣya on Chāndogya II. 23. 4 and says that that passage has been differently explained in the bhāṣya. Śaṅkara does explain that passage of the Chāndogya differently. But this is not all. In various other places Medhātithi seems to have in view the Śārīrakhbhāṣya of Śaṅkara. For example, on I. 80 he has before him Śaṅkara’s bhāṣya on the sūtra ‘lokavat tu līlākaivalyam’ (Vedāntasūtra II. 1. 33). He, however, seems to have favoured the position that the attainment of mokṣa is due not to mere correct knowledge but to the combination (samuccaya) of knowledge and karma (vide remark on Manu VI. 32, 74-75).
and XII. 87-90). This was probably due, as Kullūka remarks\(^{579}\) (on I. 3), to his being a profound student of Mimāṃsa.

From Medhātithi's bhāṣya it is perfectly clear that the text of Manu on which he commented was practically the same that we have now. He refers to ancient (cīraudūtana) expositors of Manu (on V. 127) and to former (parvā) expositors (IV. 176, II. 134, X. 21). He discusses various readings in several places (vide III. 119, IV. 99, 185, 229, VIII. 53). On VIII. 182-183 he notes\(^{580}\) that the order of the verses was traditionally different. Kullūka also notices that those two verses and the next two were read in one order by Medhātithi and Bhojadeva and in another by Govinda-rāja. On 9. 93 he notes that according to some that verse is not Manu's.\(^{581}\)

Medhātithi's bhāṣya is full of very interesting information. But for want of space it cannot be analysed in detail. The Mit. (on Yāj. II. 124) refers to the view of Asahāya and Medhātithi (on Manu 9. 118) about the fourth share to be given to an unmarried sister at a partition between brothers and follows it in preference to Bhāruci's.

On Yāj. III. 24 the Mit. tells us that certain texts of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga about varying periods of impurity for Brāhmaṇas and others were not accepted as authoritative by Dhāresvara, Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. According to him\(^{582}\) saṁnyāsa does not mean the giving up of all the obligatory duties laid down by śāstra, but the giving of abhamkāra. He\(^{583}\) allowed a brāhmaṇa to adopt even a kṣatriya boy. He explains away the well-known verse 'naṣte mṛte... patiranyo vidhiyate' by

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\(^{579}\) नेधातिथिस्तु कर्मसंयंसासवात्स्य वेदोऽस्य कर्मकेव तद्रुप्तयेत्तं बैसीति कार्यकार्यविद्धिति यथासि।

\(^{580}\) The verses are यो निष्ठेयं याच्यमान्: &c. and साक्ष्यमाण्: &c. नेधातिथिः says on the first तत्त्वसारकृतं भुकः: समास्याय पत्त्यसे। प्रथमस्यान्तरिके पदीच्य साक्ष्यमाण हृति पपतिन्ययः। ततः स याच्य हृति। एवं पाठो युक्तः।

\(^{581}\) कौशिकदार्मिकैरणोप्य भूकः।

\(^{582}\) अथायुक्तस्य कर्मसंयंसासिनो विवृत्तिमांसवस्याधिकरी नेधाके कौशिकास्विक्षेपः सति। नायं शार्क्यः। अद्वैताधमकृष्टव्यावहितं एव संस्कारसे चत्वरसे नास्तेन्द्रशास्त्रायागः। नेधाः से मनु VI. 32.

\(^{583}\) सदां न शास्तिः किं कौशिकासुतसः शास्त्रशिविना शास्त्रस्य दृश्यान्त्य पुष्पिते। नेधाः से मनु 9. 168.

M. D. 35.
taking the word ‘pati’ in its etymological sense and says\textsuperscript{584} that the verse suggests that in order to maintain herself in such calamities the woman may take service with another person as her protector.

Medhātithi quotes several verses from his own work called Smṛtiviveka on Manu II. 6 (in all 24 verses) and on X. 5. he says that he has dealt with the topic of mixed castes in Smṛtiviveka. That work therefore was either entirely in verse or contained numerous verses. The Parāśara-Mādhaviya (vol. I, part 2, pp. 183-186) has a long quotation in verse on the duties of yatis from a work called Smṛtiviveka and the same work several times quotes verses attributed to Medhātithi (vol. I, part I p. 276 and part 2 p. 172). Hence the Smṛtiviveka cited by the Parāśara-Mādhaviya most probably is Medhātithi’s work. Lollaṭa\textsuperscript{585} an early writer quotes several verses of Medhātithi in his work on śrāddha. In the Tithinirṇaya-sarvasamuccaya (Bhadkamkar collection) several verses of Medhātithi on obstacles to marriage such as death are quoted.\textsuperscript{586} In the Yatidharmasarangraha of Viśveśvara-sarasvati (Anandāśrama ed. p. 27) two well-known verses about ‘āṣṭāṅga-maithuna’ (viz. smaranam kirtanam keliḥ &c.) are ascribed to Medhātithi and another verse\textsuperscript{587} is cited (on the same page) about the six duties of yatis. These quotations show that Medhātithi

\textsuperscript{584} तत्र पान्नात्महिमयमाध्वेन सर्वभ्रातादिदिवात्महुर्दधम्। मेघासे परि मनु 5. 158.

\textsuperscript{585} वृजाये रत्निषाधिशायिषम शिष्यादश दुयम, तस्माए रानविग्याविविधि मेघाविद्दि-स्वराणात्। (folio 6b of the ms. of Bhāṣādaṇḍa by लोकां कारण in the आधुनिक library at Poona); जातियोगुप्तोमित्रायिभिः शाहे मेघाविद्दि। पार्वपालने श्रेष्ठेन स्वन्त्रस्थापनं कलो। मनुपक्ष विचारे मे आश्रोच्युतार्थवाचरेत्। (ibid. folio 10a).

\textsuperscript{586} श्वेतायं चखः सुनिभिषते वरस्य मेघेष्वर कस्मकायाः। मृत्युयांदे ह्यः प्रामुख्यां भिन्नं-स्विनं (विस!)

drīṁ kṛṣṇyākṣaṇa jātaṁ-mahājana (folio 45 b); pādāmānāmaṁ yathā kṛṣṇyāṁ

कस्मविन्युः। तदा संततिसरूर्येन विचारे। शुभमे भवेत्। (folio 46 a); चोङ च

मताचे च विचारे मतार्थां। नाथां रजस्तला वल्लक्षणस्वरस्वर (भ िं) श्रीमत्। (folio 47 a); तृप्तमातरस्थिर्भूतः काहे विचारे न तेजस्ते काहे। एकसम्मश्रेणे वेष पृथ्वी-विक्रया विश्वासः। (folio 51 a). The first two verses occur in नाचारे’s commentary on the पार्वतकृत्तम् and the last three are cited in the शृवताचिन्तन-भाषानि of श्यामारम् (D.C. ms No. 231 of 1179-80, folios 54 b, 55a, 56 b).

\textsuperscript{587} निलालाङ्गे जनो व्याम स्नानं श्रोङ्गं सुरान्वयत्। कतं च्यालि पशूतानि वहिनाम गृहविद्या।

विलयनचं संसाहेत।
wrote an extensive work in verse on several topics of dharma. It is to be fervently hoped that this work of Medhātithi would be brought to light some day or other. Coming as it does from such an erudite and ancient writer, it would throw a flood of light on the development of dharmaśāstra.

As Medhātithi names Asahāya and Kumārila and most probably quotes the views of Śaṅkara-cārya, he is later than 820 A. D. As the Mit. looked upon him as an authoritative writer, he must be earlier than 1050 A. D. Most probably he flourished between 825 and 900 A. D. Kullūka, on Manu III. 127 says that Medhātithi is much earlier than Govindarāja (1050-1100 A. D.). Lollāta is mentioned as a predecessor in the Smṛtyartha-sāra of Śrīdhara, which was composed between 1150-1200 A. D. So Lollāta is much earlier than 1150 A. D. He looked upon Medhātithi as a writer whose work was as authoritative as a smṛti. A work called Prakāśa, which is quoted in the Kalpataru appears to have mentioned Medhātithi. Hemādri quotes at great length Medhātithi’s comments in several places. Hence the above date is amply corroborated. This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that, though he names Asahāya, he does not mention Viśvarūpa, Bhāruci or Śrīkara. If by Miśra, in his comment on Manu XII. 118 he refers to Vācaspati-miśra, the author of the Bhāmati and other works, then he will have to be placed after 850 A. D.

64. Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva.

The Mit. (on Yāj. II. 135) says that Dhāreśvara tries to reconcile the conflicting texts about the right of the widow to succeed to her husband’s estate by saying that she succeeded if her husband was separate and if she was willing to submit to niyoga. On the same verse the Mit. says that following Manu 9. 217 Dhāreśvara placed the paternal grand-mother immediately after the mother as an heir and even before the father. On Yāj. III. 24 the Mit. says that certain texts of Rṣyaśrīga about impurity on death were not

\[588 \text{ Vide note 185.} \]
\[589 \text{ Vide note 185.} \]
\[590 \text{ Vide note 185.} \]
\[591 \text{ Vide note 185.} \]
accepted as authoritative by Dhāreśvara, Viśvarūpa and Medhatithi. Vide (sec. 60 on Viśvarūpa) about the remarks of the Smṛticandrikā on Dhāreśvara and Viśvarūpa. The Hāralatā²⁹³ (p. 117) remarks (as does the Mit. on Yāj. III. 24) that Bhojadeva, Viśvarūpa, Govindarāja, and the Kāmadhenu did not cite certain texts as Jātukarṇa’s and that therefore they were not authoritative.

That Dhāreśvara is to be identified with Bhojadeva of Dhārā, perhaps the most famous Indian prince as a patron of learned men, follows from several considerations. The Dāyabhāga²⁹³ cites Bhojadeva and Dhāreśvara without making any distinction between the two. Some views that are ascribed to Dhāreśvara in one work are ascribed to Bhojadeva in another. The Vivādatāndava of Kamālākara ascribes to Bhojadeva the same views as to the widow’s rights as are ascribed to Dhāreśvara by the Mit. Mss. of the Rājamārtanda (commentary on the Yogasūtras) have colophons saying that the work was composed by Dhāreśvara Bhojarāja. Dhāreśvara is styled acārya by the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 24) and sūri by the Smṛticandrikā (II p. 257). Works on numerous branches of knowledge were composed by (or in the name of) Bhoja of Dhārā. On poetics we have two extensive works of his, viz. the Sarasvatīkanṭhābharana and the Śrīgāratprakāśa. A verse at the⁵⁹⁴ beginning of the Rājamārtanda tells us that Bhoja composed a work on grammar, a commentary on the Yogasūtra and a work on medicine called Rājamrgāṅka just as Patañjali wrote on these three subjects (vide Mitra’s Notices of Mss, vol. I, p. 115 for the medical work of Bhoja called Rājamārtanda alias Yogasāra). He composed a work on astronomy called Rājamrgāṅka. A work of his on the Śaiva agama called Tatvaprabhāsā has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. There are several other works ascribed to him, which need not be

⁵⁹² याहि जातुकर्णाय वचनाः हिष्कितानि तालि भौजेश्वर-विभवः-गौविन्दर-राजकामः तेनुविद्यितलिथितित्वामस्यपुरुषार्थिविरोधान्यतं निरंतरमेव।

⁵⁹³ द्वारमन (p. 53, ed. of 1829) ‘अयः वा पारेशपुरस्तोत्रो वचनार्थः। हस्तय वामाकामतः पितुः पेतामहने सहें त्रायमें एते सह न तत्र स्थायित्वं हस्तय वामाकामतः।’।

⁵⁹⁴ शास्त्रगणांशानि विद्या उत्सवं पातिषाखे कुःतः। विन्दुः राजम्भर्ष्यसंहंकरमर्तभानवता वैप्रकृते। न्यायोपक्रमा मलः कणामुखोः भ्रान्ते येनोदृश्यस्य शास्त्रमुद्धमोऽविसीत्यासौ ज्ञानस्युप्लवः। Intro. 4th verse.
set out here. That he composed an extensive work on the principal subjects of dharmaśāstra follows from the numerous references to him contained in the Mit., the Dāyabhāga, the Hāralatā and other works. The Śuddhi-kauumudī95 (B. I. edition) of Govindananda frequently speaks of a work called Rajamartanda of Bhoja on śrāddha. The Jayasimha-kalpadruma (p. 26) quotes Rājamartanda and Bhojarājiya on the same page. Whether Bhoja composed on Dharmaśāstra one work or two (as he composed two on poetics), and whether his work was a commentary or an independent digest it is difficult to say. M. M. Haraprasādasāstri in one of his reports threw out the suggestion that the Kāmadhenu was the work of Bhoja, but this is entirely wrong, as the words of Śrīdatta in his Pitrabhakti96 will show.

Besides the two points noted above (about widow’s rights and about the grandmother), there are others on which the Mit. and Dhāresvara disagreed: viz. Dhāresvara held ownership to be known only from śastra, while the Mit. held it to be laukika (vide Viramitrodaya pp. 528, 536); Dhāresvara held that the word ‘duhitarah’ in Yāj. stands for putrīkā in the order of succession (Śmṛti-candrikā II. p. 295-96). On other points the views of Dhāresvara coincide with those of the Mit., viz. on the usage of giving a special share to the eldest son having fallen into desuetude, on the daughter’s son’s right to succession, on the father’s inability to give a greater or smaller share to his sons in ancestral property on a partition during his life-time. Vide my article on Bhojadeva in JBBRS for 1925 pp. 223-224 for details of these and other views ascribed to Bhojadeva. A few other references may be noted here. The Nirnayamārta97 (p. 68) quotes a Bhojarājiya text. In the Kālaviveka of

95 अत एव राजमार्तन्धे मोजराजा-आश्शुविष्य समुच्चन्ने मृत्युविष्णु पिन्हेन | अवमालास्त्व पुरुषानि यदन्वेषे कषोक्ष्या जनकिश्व | प. 18. Vide also the आश्शुविष्य समुच्चन्ने मृत्युविष्णु पिन्हेन | for the same verse from the राजमार्तन्धे, which is perhaps more frequently quoted by the आश्शुविष्य समुच्चन्ने मृत्युविष्णु पिन्हेन than any other निद्राधा.

96 तदनानि बाणालिनि राजालीक्षितवात्तव्यमानी कृपितु | तदनानि फामज्ञालिनि राजनिवर्ष्णविरोधरासंस्कृतेनानामद्विपत्ति | न हि याबद्धाय राजयात्रिकानि कृपितु समस्येव राजा इत्यादी नामान्ति प्राप्तमाति | दित्तमार्क (folio 38 of the D. C. ms No. 152 of 1892-95).

97 यथा मोजराजीयं न दिव्यं न निसर्गं च विष्णुं न च समस्तविश्वजन्यानां च | देवं समस्तविश्वविष्णुप्रमुखं न निर्वागमुखं.
Jimituvahana two verses about taking food at the time of eclipses are cited from Bhojadeva (p. 539). In several works certain views are stated to be those of a Bhupala-paddhati or of Bhupala or of Raja. The reference seems to be to a work of king Bhoja. For example, in the Danaratnakara a Bhupala-paddhati and Bhupala are frequently quoted. The Samayapradipa and Acaradarsa of Sridatta speak of both Bhupala and Raja. In other works also the views of Bhoja are often referred to as those of Raja (the king par excellence). For example, the Ekavali (a work on Poetics) says that in the Srngara-prakasa the king accepted only one rasa. The Varakau-mudi (p. 107) says that a certain verse is cited by the Gangavakyaval without naming the author, but as it is not cited by the Raja and the rest, it is unauthoritative.

The several tattvas of Raghunandana mention two works of Bhojadeva or Bhojaraja. For example, the Tithitattva (Jivananda vol. I, p. 17) cites a text as quoted in the Bhujabalabhima by Bhojaraja; similarly in the Sraddhatattva, (Jivananda vol. I, p. 266) two texts are cited as quoted by Bhojadeva in Bhujabalabhima. Raghunandana also mentions Rajamartanda of Bhojaraja (vide Ahnikatattva, vol. I, p. 451). He often cites the Rajamartanda and the Bhujabalabhima on the same page without the author's name (e.g. vide Udvahatattva, vol. II, p. 124). Raghunandana often speaks of a Brhad-Rajamartanda along with the Rajamartanda on the same or the next page (vide Tithitattva, vol. I, pp. 25-26 and Jyotistattva pp. 605 and p. 655). That the Bhujabalabhima and the Rajamartanda are two different works appears to be clear. Whether the Brhad-Rajamartanda and the Rajamartanda are distinct works is not quite clear. (Vide Tri. Cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for

598 - Bhojadeva's works on alchemy and Vedanta studies. 

599 - The works of Bhojadeva and Bhojaraja are often cited in the Tithitattva and other works. 

600 - Cited in the Bhojadeva's works on alchemy and Vedanta studies.
1919-22, p. 4562, No. 3079 for Bhujabalani bandha of Bhojaraj in 18 adhyayas on astrological matters in relation to dharmaśāstra such as striaṭaka, kaṇḍivedha, vrata, vivāhamelaka-daśaka, grha- karmapravesa, satkṛantisnāna, dvādaśamāsakṛtya). The Bhujabalabhima is also mentioned by Śūlapāni and by Rudradhara in his Śrāddhaviveka.

Bhoja of Dhāra, according to the Bhojaprabandha, had a long reign of 55 years. There are three certain dates of his. A grant of Bhoja is dated sanvatt 1078 (i. e. 1021-22 A. D.). Vide I. A. vol. VI, p. 53; vide also I. A. vol. 41, p. 201 for Bhoja’s grant dated sanvatt 1076 Māgha (Jan. 1020) and E. I. vol. XVIII, p. 320 for Betma plate of Bhoja dated 1076 Bhādrapada (September 1020 A.D.). His astronomical work, the Rājamṛgāṅka, takes take 964 (1042-43 A. D.) as its initial date.601 Bhoja’s uncle Muñja was slain by Tailapa between 994-997 A. D. and Muñja was succeeded by Sindhu- raja or Sindhula also styled Navasāhasāṅka. An inscription of Jayasimha, the successor of Bhoja, is dated sanvatt 1112, i. e. 1055-56 A. D. (vide E. I. vol. III, pp. 46-50). Therefore Bhoja must have reigned between 1000 and 1055 A. D.

There is a work named Dharma-pradipa by Bhoja (Deccan College No. 26 of 1874-75). It is a work by another Bhoja later than 1400 A. D., as it quotes Vijñānēśvara and the Madanapārijāta. It was composed by an assembly of pandits at the bidding of king Bhoja of Āśāpara, son of Bhrāramalla. The ms. was copied in sanvatt 1695 (i. e. 1638-39 A. D.).

65. Devasvāmin

The Smrückandrika tells us that Devasvāmin composed like Śrī- kara and Śambhu a work in the nature of a digest of smṛtis (smṛti- samuccaya). Vide note 563 above. The commentary of Nārāyaṇa of the Naidhruva gotra, son of Divākara, on the Āśvalāyana- grhyasūtra602 says that it relies upon the bhāṣya of Devasvāmin on the same work. Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, son of Narasimha, in his commentary on the Āśvalāyana-śrautasūtra, tells us that he follows the bhāṣya of Devasvāmin thereon. It is hardly

601 शाको बेदुलवृद्धितो रविच्छ मातस्य युने । अभि देवस्वामिति द्विष्ठविश्वेदांवलोहेत् ॥
602 आशुलयनग्रृहसुत भाष्च्व भगवता हत्तम । देवस्वामिसमालयेन विष्णुर्य तत्मादः ॥
likely that two writers of the same name flourished about the same
time. Hence it may be assumed that Devasvāmin wrote bhāṣyas on
the Āśvalāyana Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras and a digest of smṛritis, where
he discussed all topics of dharma, such as ācāra, vyaṇahāra, aśauca &c.
The commentrinsicly of Bhaṭṭoji653 on the Caturvīṃśatimāta refers to the
view of Devasvāmin on śraddha and aśauca. Hemādri654 (vol. III,
part 2, p. 324) and Mādhava (on Parāśara, vol. I, part 2, p. 328)
also quote Devasvāmin. The Smṛticandrika quotes the views of
Devasvāmin on vyaṇahāra and aśauca several times. For example,
Devasvāmin655 explained the word Yautaka differently from the
Nighaṇṭu (which explained it as the wealth that was given to a
woman when she was seated on the same seat with her husband at
the time of marriage). Devasvāmin explained that the words of
the Saṅgraha656 that, when a son was born to one of several full
brothers, he stood as a son to all and that the same rule applied to
several co-wives when one of them had a son, meant that in both
cases another son should not be adopted. Devasvāmin held the
view (like Bhojadeva) that the word ‘dulitṛ’ in Yājñāvalkya’s
verses on succession meant putrika.657 Devasvāmin explained

653 देवस्वामियानविषयविज्ञातकारभूतततू सानिकृतान्तरालर्थार्थिन

654 यदि पुराणहरेष्वाच: समावेश तदुपरिश्रम शोभने यदि पुनरराज्य श्राणी व

655 देवस्वामिन कु रिचुरुपाद्व्यं भागुआद्वाद्व्यमार्थं धार्मिकसाम्यपरि

656 देवस्वामिनी तुत रिचुरुपाद्व्यं भागुआद्वाद्व्यमार्थं धार्मिकसाम्यपरि

657 The verses of the sāmpāri are : यथे कालाना बाद्वो शरासे तहोदारः। एकस्यापि

658 एवं सोपपस्सिका दल्वानावेत् दुर्गुपलिंगतां बुधवता बुधस्वानीदा अद् दुर्गुपलिंगमानि

659 द्विद्वारकत्वमध्ये धार्मिकसाम्यपरि तत्त्वाविश्वास्यमय न पुनरपूर्ववहिता

660 द्विद्वारकत्वमध्ये धार्मिकसाम्यपरि तत्त्वाविश्वास्यमय न पुनरपूर्ववहिता

661 The same words occur in the s. त्रि. (para 392 and p. 305) and in the दुस्मन्रीवसादासा (p. 42).

662 द्विद्वारकत्वमध्ये धार्मिकसाम्यपरि तत्त्वाविश्वास्यमय न पुनरपूर्ववहिता
Manu 608 9. 141 as saying that the adopted son (in the particular case mentioned by Manu) took all the wealth and the gotra of his adoptive father. Vide Smṛticandrika (Mysore ed.) on āśauca p. 22. The Vaijayanti ot Nandapanḍita (on Viśnu 22. 32) quotes the view of Devasvāmin that on the death of unmarried daughters mourning was to be observed for ten days. 609 The Smṛticandrika quotes a verse from Devasvāmin 610 on śrāddha also.

In the Prapañcakṛdaya (Tri. S. series, p. 39) we are told that Devasvāmin composed a brief gloss on the 12 adhyāyas of the Pūrvaṁimāṁsāstra and the four adhyāyas of the Saṁkarṣakāṇḍa, seeing that the bhāṣyas of Bodhāyana and Upavarsa were vast. The Govt. collection of Mss. at Madras has Devasvāmin’s bhāṣya on the Saṁkarṣakāṇḍa (vide Tri. Cat. vol. III, part I, Sanskrit C, p. 3841). There are not sufficient data available to establish the identity of this writer with Devasvāmin, the writer on dharmaśāstra.

As the Smṛticandrika quotes Devasvāmin so profusely, he cannot be later than 1150 A. D. His earlier limit can be determined in several ways. Gārgya Nārāyaṇa’s comment on Āśvalāyanaśrauta (II. 1. 14) is quoted by Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana, who is himself quoted by Hemādri. Therefore Gārgya Nārāyaṇa could not have flourished later than 1100 A. D. (vide Bhandarkar’s Report on search for mss., 1883-84, pp. 30-31). Therefore Devasvāmin probably flourished about 1000-1050 A. D., if not earlier. The fact that Devasvāmin held certain views similar to Bhojadeva’s also corroborates the chronological position thus assigned to him.

66. Jitendriya

Jitendriya is one of those writers who at one time held an eminent position but in course of time sank into unmerited oblivion. The works of Jīmūtavāhana bear abundant testimony to the fact that Jitendriya wrote an extensive work on dharmaśāstra. In his Kālaviveka (p. 380) Jīmūtavāhana says that Jitendriya 611 wrote on the
topic of kāla (i.e. on determining doubtful points about the months, the tithis, saṃkrāntis, &c. and the religious rites to be performed on them). In several passages of the Kālaviveka the very words of Jitendriya are quoted. Jitendriya said that a rite that occupies in performance only a short time must be performed at the principal time indicated for it\(^{612}\) (and not at a gaṇa time). From another quotation it appears that Jitendriya controverted the views of a predecessor Sambhramabhaṭṭa.\(^{613}\) Jitendriya is said to have enumerated the names of the fifteen mubātas of the day from the Matsyapurāṇa\(^{614}\); vide pp. 257, 367 of the Kālaviveka for other places where the views of Jitendriya on kāla occur. In the Dāyabhāga of Jimūtavāhāna also Jitendriya is frequently mentioned. The Dāyabhāga says that, if a man takes another's gold believing it to be iron or takes what is another's believing (in good faith) that it is his own, Jitendriya held in his remarks on the section of prayāscītta that he is not guilty of theft.\(^{615}\) The peculiar doctrine of the Dāyabhāga that the widow of a person, whether he was separate or a member of a joint family, succeeded to her deceased husband's estate had been already expounded by Jitendriya.\(^{616}\) The view of Jitendriya was that whatever is acquired by a person without using means or materials jointly owned by all members of a family is his exclusive property and that maitra (gifts of a friend) and audvāhika are

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\(^{612}\) तथा जितेक्ष्येष्यापर्कुर्य साधुलक्ष्यकार्हेनेववह सक्षात सामापिष्टनु षष्यये समो-स्थैयेहो: कर्मेतिस्वात्त्वायस्यायायासुम्भाल एव कर्माणुधानानिन्यम। कालविशेष p. 489.

\(^{613}\) अन्यायाचे एवंशिनि संभूतापर्वेणसत्यायामीन्यम्र, तद्रम्भानिन्यमा भादः कर्थ सुदर्मजन्य जितेक्ष्येष्यानिन्यमं तितम्। कालविशेष p. 255.

\(^{614}\) अत एव जितेक्ष्येष्यं 'रोज्यलक्ष्य मेन्य... मरः पत्नु म्बरः।' एतेत्त्वा पुण्याकर्षणेऽकुडिद्विपरिविधात् याश्वितकमर्यसहानविधाय वर्धितम। कालविशेष p. 370.

\(^{615}\) अत एव मायध्यविधाया जितेक्ष्येष्येन भवितं चाहिँ स्वर्णमेव परक्षेत्रो हृदाविधुष्ण गृहाति अतुल्य चुरुणविधुष्ण आलालवृत्तं परक्षेत्रवेगान्यिष्णुवृत्तं गृहाति सक्षेत्र नागप्रामाणिणी: सर्वेऽ यथावतं पराप्रवेषः भावत। वास्मान p. 350 (ed. of 1829, p. 224 of Jivananda).

\(^{616}\) अन्तर्गतेश्चेष्यव विमम्वन्तायेष्येष्यापुरस्त्थ भुः कृतजनो पत्मविकारे जितेक-शिष्योखा आदर्शी:। वास्मान p. 256.
only cited (by Yāj.) as examples of this proposition. Jitendriya held the daughter’s son entitled to succeed after the daughter, just as Viśparūpa, Bhoja and Govindarāja did. In the Vyavahāramārtka of Jimūtvāhana also Jitendriya’s views are cited (on pp. 302, 334). This shows that he wrote also on procedure in law courts. Jitendriya is also referred to in the Dāyatattva of Raghnnandana. But no other early writer quotes Jitendriya. Therefore it appears that Jitendriya was probably a Bengal writer and flourished about 1000–1050 A.D. and that he was completely eclipsed by the brilliant Jimūtvāhana.

67. Bālaka.

Bālaka like Jitendriya is no more than a name to us. Jimūtvāhana’s works make frequent reference to him. He held the view that the daughter’s son, not being expressly mentioned as an heir by Yāj., came in after those expressly mentioned from the widow to the brother. The Dāyabhāga notices that Bālaka read a text ofĀpastamba in a wrong way. Bālaka said that the words of Śankha ‘svaryātasya-aputrasya bhrātrgāmi dravyam... jyeṣṭhā vā patni’ apply either to a widow belonging to a caste other than her husband’s or to a very young widow or in case her husband was undivided or re-united. Bālaka says that when some property is acquired by one brother by means of learning, other brothers are not entitled

617 जितेन्द्रियाप्राप्त बहुधार विमुख्योक सदस्य वाचकमंशयस्य संस्करणायमर्थम् प्रशेषस्यः परिषिद्धोऽविक्रयानां निर्दशारां प्रवृत्तितिनिबन्धनेन। द्वारभाग p. 189.

618 अद्य एव परम्बनेन विग्रहेऽर जानतस्तदशरारी तृतीय न तु स्वद्विवर्गनेन पराध्यवर्ग-इत्युपर्तीतिजितेन्द्र(जितेन्द्रियाः) द्वारभागाभिष्ठविषयकमभाय। द्वारभाग p. 182 (vol. II of Jivananda’s ed.); compare the view of बालक set out below from the द्वारभाग (note 623.).

619 सुदृढाक्रमवृत्ती तुविद्वाप्रेष दितिर आतास्तथा हत्यादि नियतकमादभस्तन एव द्विप्रायाधिकार हति तमु युक्तस्तितिविवर्गमायान्तत वाच्यमाखनेन। द्वारभाग p. 282.

620 हुदं वालकेनकृतिकथाय पठित यस्तु धर्ममण द्रव्यानि प्रतिपाद्यति ज्येष्ठं पितृसम-मायं कुश्तितित तदनाक्रम। द्वारभाग p. 161. The sūtra is Ap. Dh. S. I. 6. 14. 15 ‘स्वस्तमावेण द्रव्याणि प्रतिपाद्यति ज्येष्ठोऽपि तमभानं कुश्तित।’

621 वर्ण वालकेनकोणा- अतिकारिणिः या युक्तस्तितिः या अविनिकादृष्टिस्वाय या कुश्तितिः हि हति तदनाक्रमिकाद्वितायां कालवन्नमायाकालवन्णमायामायान्तत वाच्यमाखनेय प्रकटिकृतं सततुष्टितितारागुमानामपि। द्वारभाग p. 263. Here there is a play on the word वालक.
to that wealth.\textsuperscript{623} The Dāyabhāga refers to a passage from Bālaka in which the latter relies on the Pūrvamāṁśa example of \textit{mudga} and \textit{maṣa}.\textsuperscript{621} In the Vyavahāramātrā of Jīmūtavāhana (p. 346) it is stated that Bālaka held the same views as those of Ģrikara-miśra on a certain point. In the Prāyaścitna-nirūpaṇa of Bhavadeva a writer named Vāloka is mentioned (vide JASB 1912 at p. 336). This seems to be a Bengali scribe's way of pronouncing the name Bālaka. Bālaka is mentioned in Raghunandana's Vyavahāratattva (p. 47) also as holding the view with Ģrikara and others that adverse possession for twenty years conferred ownership in the case of immovable property.\textsuperscript{624} Śūlapāṇi in his Durgotsaviveka twice quotes the views of Bālaka and once refutes the latter.\textsuperscript{625} Hence it appears that Bālaka was an eastern or Bengal writer, composed a work on several branches of dharmaśāstra (such as vyavahāra and prāyaścitna) and flourished before 1100 A.D.

68. Bālarūpa.

In the Smṛtisāra of Harinātha (I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 128a ff) there is a long passage setting out the views of Bālarūpa on the question of the succession to a childless man. In the Vivādcandra\textsuperscript{626} of Misaru-miśra the opinions of Bālarūpa (Bālarūpamata)
that the words of Yāj. ( II. 117 tābhya र्तेन्वयाह ) mean the off-
spring of the mother and on the succession to reunited coparceners
are cited. In the Vivādacintāmanī of Vācaspāti the views of Bālarūpa are frequently cited. Relying on the words of Parāśara, Bālarūpa held that an unmarried daughter was entitled to preference
over a married one as an heir to a sonless man. As regards the
verse of Hārita that if a young widow was karkaśa ( quarrelsome,
'suspected of unchastity' according to others), then she was to be
given maintenance alone ( out of her husband's estate ), Bālarūpa's
view was that it refers to the widow of a re-united coparcener. Bālarūpa was of opinion that atmabandhus, pitṛbandhus and mātr-
bandhus succeeded in the order stated. The Kalādarsa of Aditiya-
bhāṭṭa names Bālarūpa among the authorities on which it relies.
This shows that Bālarūpa wrote not only on vyavahāra but also on kāla.

As Harinātha and the Vivādacandra mention Bālarūpa he is
certainly earlier than about 1250 A. D. The important question
is whether Bālaka and Bālarūpa are identical. I think, though with
some hesitation, that they are identical. The difficulty is caused
by the fact that Harinātha speaks of 'the author of Bālarūpa,' which
implies that Bālarūpa is a work and not an author, while the
others speak of Bālarūpa as an author. The Dāyabhāga always
speaks of Bālaka and never of Bālarūpa, while the Mithilā writers,
Mishru-miśra, Vācaspāti and Harinātha, speak of Bālarūpa and not
of Bālaka. Bālaka is not mentioned by any writer belonging to a
province other than Bengal. It is not likely that there were two
early authors belonging to the same locality on vyavahāra bearing
two names so nearly the same as Bālaka ( or Bāla ) and Bālarūpa.
Moreover if we read one quotation from the Dāyabhāga between
the lines ( vide note 621 ) where Jīmūtavāhana makes fun of Bālaka
by charging him with having exposed his Bālarūpatva ( being Bālarūpa, being childish ) it appears that the Dāyabhāga looked upon
Bālaka and Bālarūpa as identical. If so Bālaka or Bālarūpa

627 अपूर्वस्य कुमारी रिषभं गृहीतमात्रवस्य चोब्रा चेति पराशरभनवनथे च त्यति
वालकर्ता। विषादवित्तासभी प. 153.

628 संहृतिदासपदसिद्ध वालकर्ता। विषादवित्तासभी प. 152.

629 एतीचं काक्षापदसिद्ध वालकर्ता। विषादवित्तासभी प. 155.
becomes an ancient writer, who flourished certainly before 1100 A. D. As he held the same views as Śrīkara and an antiquated view about the rights of the daughter's son he must not be later than 1050 A. D.

69. Yogloka

Yogloka like Jitendriya and Bālaka is a writer about whom we know only from the works of Jīmutavāhana and Raghunandana. He is the last of the series of writers enumerated in one place by the Kālaviveka as having dealt with the subject of kāla (vide note 611 above). The Vyavahāra-mārtkā of Jīmutavāhana very frequently cites the views of Yogloka and generally twits him with thinking himself as being a logician or a new-fangled (nava-tārākā-s-manya) logician. Both in the Kālaviveka and the Vyavahārāmārtkā Yogloka is generally cited for being refuted (e. g. pp. 457-58, 465, 483 of the Kālaviveka). It is only very rarely that Jīmutavāhana agrees with Yogloka (as on p. 369 of the Kālaviveka). From certain passages of the Kālaviveka it follows that Yogloka composed two works, one called Brhad-Yogloka (larger work) and the other styled Svalpa-Yogloka (a smaller-work). It appears that Yogloka was later than Śrīkara and accepted certain illustrations given by the latter. The Vyavahāratattva of Raghunandana informs us that like Śrīkara and Bālaka, Yogloka held the view that twenty years' adverse possession of immovable conferred ownership (vide note 624 above). The same work tells us that the Maithilas followed the view of Yogloka that the verse of Kātyāyana (yadyekadēśa-vyāptāpi... nṛṇām) was intended to apply to a case where a litigant threw down the challenge that if even one out of several

630 Vide pp. 291, 293, 295, 310, 312, 313, 347.

631 योगलोकेन तु स्वस्यन्नवृद्धरुपमेवेदन हयण्येषु च तत्त्वमात्राशिष्ये भविष्यवादेन च योगलोकेन वृद्धस्य भविष्यवते महाशिष्ये। कालबिधि प. 365: तत्त्वस्मृताःतिरितिः योगलोकेन वृद्धस्य महाशिष्ये महाशिष्ये। अभ्यास स्वस्यन्नवृद्धरुपमेवेदन हयण्येषु च महाशिष्ये। कालबिधि प. 375: तत्त्वस्मृताःतिरितिः योगलोकेनात्र वृद्धस्य महाशिष्ये। कालबिधि प. 375: विदेः प. 177, 281 490 for references to योगलोके.

632 वेद वुर्भुवोदहारणेन तत्त्वस्मृताःतिरितिः योगलोकेन वृद्धस्य महाशिष्ये महाशिष्ये। सूक्तिः भविष्यवादेन च तत्त्वस्मृताःतिरितिः योगलोकेनात्र वृद्धस्य महाशिष्ये। व्यासदासशुकः प. 302,
items of property charged were brought home to him as having been stolen by him, he would restore all the items claimed. 633

The foregoing establishes that Yogloka wrote at least on kāla and vyavabāra and composed two treatises on kāla.

Jimūtavāhana 634 says that a predecessor of his styled Dikṣita criticized a certain reading of Yogloka's, i.e. Yogloka preceded Dikṣita, who was a predecessor of Jimūtavāhana. Jimūtavāhana further refers to ancient (purātana) mss. of Yogloka's work. Hence Yogloka must have preceded Jimūtavāhana by at least a hundred years. He is later than Śrikara (note 632 above). Therefore he must have flourished between 950-1050 A.D.

70. Vijñānesvara

The Mitākṣarā of Vijñānesvara occupies a unique place in the Dharmaśāstra literature. Its position is analogous to that of the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali in grammar or to that of the Kāvyapraṅkāśa of Mammata in Poetics. It represents the essence of dharmaśāstra speculation that preceded it for about two thousand years and it became the fountain head from which flowed fresh streams of exegesis and developments. Under the decisions of the Courts in British India, the Mitākṣarā is of paramount authority in several matters of Hindu Law (such as adoption, inheritance, partition etc.) throughout India except where, as in Bengal, the Dāyabhāga prevails.

The Mit. professes to be a commentary on the Yajñavalkyasmitṛī. In the colophons of several mss. it is described as Rju-mitākṣara, Pramitākṣara or simply Mitākṣara. These names are probably due to some of the verses appended at the end of the commentary. 635 The Mit. is not only a commentary explanatory

633 आश्रात्स c. p. 217 (Jivananda vol. II) ' न च व वालोच्ये एकमात्र मया गृहितं विभाषणम् क्षत्र कुस्मानिति पवित्रश्रविषयम् देवसचित्रकृजति उपस्थिः जोत्सक्तमातु सार्वमिति युक्तमिती राज्यम् |' ।

634 शच्यन हल्ल तु पाठितो जोत्सक्तम् नामनुस्यार्थं भारतीयं दीशिते निरेक्षपूर्व । कालवेशपि p. 290.

635 हल्ल याल्कत्युज्यानिक्षात् विस्मिति कस्य विस्मिता विद्वेण: | मस्तितालालापि विस्मितानापि विस्मितानापि परिस्वर्धितिः अवधास्य इति निर्देशम् गम्भीरानि स्वासानितिक्षिप्तो भिषणारारित्रारित्रोपयोगम् । अवधास्य इति निर्देशमश्रण निर्देशमश्रणेश्चिता नम्भा ॥
of the verses of Yājñavalkya, but it is in the nature of a digest of smṛti material. It brings together numerous smṛti passages, explains away contradictions among them by following the rules of interpretation laid down in the Pūrvamimāṃsā system, brings about order by assigning to various dicta their proper scope and province (visayavavyavasthā) and effects a synthesis of apparently disconnected smṛti injunctions.

The Mit. quotes a host of smṛti writers⁶³⁶ and six predecessors, who were commentators and authors of digests on dharmaśāstra, viz. Asahāya, Viṣvarūpa, Medhātithi, Śrikara, Bhāruci and Bhojadeva. Besides it quotes Vedic works (like the Kāthaka), the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-kopaniṣad, the Garbhopaniṣad, the Jābalopaniṣad, the Nirukta, Bharata (author of Nātyaśāstra), Yogasūtra, Pāṇini, Suśruta, the Skandapūrṇa, the Viṣṇupurāṇa, Amara, Guru (i.e. Prabhākara).

The author styles himself Vijnānayogin in the concluding verses of his commentary and later writers frequently refer to him in that way. He belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra and was son of Padmanābhabhaṭṭa. He was a paramabhaṭṭa (i.e. an ascetic) and was the pupil of Uttama. He tells us that when he wrote the Mitākṣara, king Vikramāraka or Vikramādiyadeva was ruling in the city called Kalyāṇa⁶³⁷ (now in the Nizam’s dominion). The verses at the

⁶³⁶ The स्तुतिः and सूतिकार quoted by name are: अक्रियस्त, त्रिक्रियस्त, मध्य- 
मातिरिस्त, अधिक्यास्त, आप्तत्त्वय, आयत्त्वय, उपस्त्वय, उपत्त्वय, क्रमशुचिः, केशम, 
काण्य, काल्याणय, काण्याधिनिः, कुमार, क्रमवृत्तात्मक, कन्त, गाव, गृहसर्विहित, 
गोभिल, गोतम, गृहविशेषात्मक, ग्रहन, काल (४५ कालमें), कमदेश, जातृ- 
कण्य, जावाल, (५८५), जैगमिनि, दुष्क, दीर्घतमस, देश, धौम्य, नारद, परशार, 
पासकर, वितामस, पुलस्त्य, पौष्ठ, पेठिनिः, प्रेतस्त, बृहस्पतिस्त, ब्रम्हस्वयमत्रस्त, भानाति, 
शाब्दक, बृहस्पति, बृहद्वृत्सर, शैलपाति, महामोहि, महामथ, महाजन, मृग, मनु, 
ब्रह्मस्त, ब्रह्मस्त, माति, मार्कण्डेय, यम, यूधय, यज्ञवलय, युक्तप्रकाशक, 
युर्ययात्रात्मक, वित्तिन, लोगार्थ, धनिः, बृहस्पति, बृहस्पति, अण्याण, बृहमयिन, 
युर्यविनय, येषप्राप्तिः, येषप्राप्तिः, यायाच (५८५ यायाच), याच, युक्तप्रकाश, यह, 
याचप्रिलिसिः, याचिल्य, याचाभाय, युक्ततात्म, युक्ततात्म, युक्तमृत, योनिक, 
पत्रित्यात्मक, संपर्द, उपसर्प, उपमन, हरित, उपहारित, उपहारित।

⁶³⁷ कात्तिकि संतितातन्त्र संतितातन्त्र कर्तव्यवशेष पुरुषो नो वृत्त अवृत्त या संतितातातन्त्र।
स्तितातमकां: विज्ञानेक्यतिरिक्त न मजते विज्ञानेक्यतिरिक्त विज्ञानेक्यतिरिक्त कर्तव्यवशेष पुरुषो नो वृत्त अवृत्त या संतितातातन्त्र। ॥ ४वें वर्षः अपि।
end containing the personal history appear to be genuine. They occur in the oldest Mss. of the Mit. such as the Government of Bombay Ms. dated lakšanavat 1389.

The author of the Mit. was a profound student of the Pūrva-
mimāṃsā system. Throughout the Mit. discussion of Pūrva-
mimāṃsā nyāyas and their application to dharmaśāstra are sown broadcast. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. I. 81 (whether it is a niyama or parisamkhyā), I. 86, II. 114, II. 126, II. 265 &c., may be consulted. The Mit., as the very name implies, is generally concise and to the point. But in his desire to make his work a repository and synthesis of varied smṛti dicta the author does not mind if he has occasionally to expand his commentary to enormous lengths. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. III. 265 and 290 occupies several pages of closely printed text.

As the Mitākṣarā names Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and Dhāreśvara, it must have been composed after 1050 A. D. The Smṛticandrika\(^{638}\) of Devaṅnabhaṭṭa (which as will be seen later on was composed about 1200 A. D.) several times criticizes the views of the Mit., viz. the latter's remarks that the giving of an additional share to the eldest son is disapproved of by the people, the reasons given for preferring the mother to the father and the definition of daiva. Vijñānāesvara is named in the Kalpataru of Lakṣmidhara\(^{639}\) (composed in the 2nd quarter of the 12th century). This shows that the Mit. was composed before 1120 A. D. A greater approximation can be arrived at in several ways. The Kalpataru mentions

\[^{638}\] कङ्कुदविश्वानोऽवेदगङ्कः साधनपति विष्णू मिन्नागः ... देव :। एतद्विन्द विश्वाः ग्रीत्त- 

\[^{639}\] \‘क्षत्रभक्ष्यस्य भावनां भाषणं दाशिकमाणि न कारकेदिति विज्ञानसत्त्वसः’ folio 380 of the Benares Sanskrit College transcript of कङ्क्यान (on सम्पादन.)
Vadibhayamkara who, the Viramitrodaya tells us, was an admirer and follower of Vijñāneśvara and yet found fault with his explanation of Yāj. II. 51 ( rikhagrāha ṛṇam &c. ). Therefore the Mit. must have been composed at the latest before 1100 A. D. Among the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa, the only king named Vikramārka or Vikramāditya during whose reign Vijñāneśvara could have flourished is Vikramāditya VI who reigned for over fifty years from about 1076 to 1127 A. D. Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. I, part 2, pp. 446-453, I. A. vol. 48 p. 6 ( for pedigree of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa with dates ), I. A. vol. 12 p. 212 ( for an inscription of Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla dated śaka 1047 ) and I. A. vol. 22, pp. 296-298. From all these considerations it follows that the Mit. was composed between 1070-1100 A. D.

Out of the numerous commentaries on the Mit. those of Viśveśvara, Nandapaṇḍita and Bālambhaṭta are the most famous. Vide sections 93, 105, 111. Considerations of space preclude any detailed statement of the doctrines peculiarly associated with the name of Vijñāneśvara. There are however some which must be mentioned. He laid down ( on Yāj. I. 52 ) that wherever the word sapinda occurred, it denoted either directly or mediately connection with particles of one body ( i. e. blood-relationship with an ancestor ). He also strictly adheres to the principle that propinquity is the guiding principle in matters of inheritance and succession. He divides dāya into apratibandha and sapratibandha and affirmed that sons, grandsons and great-grandsons acquired by birth ownership in ancestral property. On all these matters he is diametrically opposed to Jīmūtavāhana.

Aufrecht in his great catalogue makes conflicting statements about a work called Āśaucadāśaka. On I. p. 55 he notes that Āśaucadāśaka is a work of Harihara with a commentary by Vijñāneśvara and again on I. p. 571 he ascribes Āśaucadāśaka-pīkā to Vijñāneśvara. On I. p. 762 he ascribes the Āśaucadāśaka and Daśāślokivivaraṇa to Harihara and appears to distinguish him from that Harihara who

640 श्रृंखला जननी ताल: पुनो व तत्सहोदरः । । । । । ।
641 श्रीवन्नेशरतुलिप्ते यथाभास वादिनयंकरकरुद्वाः । अनो वत्जगत्वात्विषाकोयर्बोधाम ॥ पूर्वार्थार्थसारः । नानुस्मादाशुद्धि॥ वीरमिथिरवः । ज्ञानां ।
composed a bhāṣya on Pāraskaragṛhya-śūtra. On I. p. 795 he corrects himself by saying that Harihara wrote only the commentary on the Āṣaucaṣāka and that the latter is identical with the Daśa ślokāvivaraṇa. On III. p. 121 he is doubtful whether the Āṣaucaṣāka is a work of Vījñānēśvara. In the Deccan College collection there is an ancient Ms. (No. 196 of 1884-1887) of the Āṣaucaṣāka.642 It was copied in saṁvata 1578 Mārgaśirṣa (i.e. December 1522 A.D.). It distinctly says that Vījñānēśvaravayogin composed in ten Śārdulāvātmaṇdita stanzas a work on āṣauca and that Harihara composed a commentary on it. In the Bhadakamkar collection there is an old Ms. of the Āṣaucaṣāka, the colophon of which ascribes the work to Vījñānēśvara. Vide I. O. cat. p. 565, No. 1749 for a ms. of Āṣaucaṣāka with Harihara’s commentary dated saṁvata 1589 (1532-33 A.D.) That the Āṣaucaṣāka was a very popular work follows from the several commentaries thereon that are available even now. Raghunātha643, son of Mādhava and nephew of the famous Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, composed a commentary on the Daśa ślokāv in śakte 1500 (D. C. No. 82 of A. 1882-83). There is another commentary on the same work by Bhaṭṭoji (D. C. No. 99 of 1582-83). Harihara quotes in his bhāṣya, besides several well-known smṛtikārās, a work called Viśvādāra (folio 4b).644 Harihara, the commentator of the Pāraskaragṛhya-śūtra, is described as the pupil of Vījñānēśvara in several ms. Harihara in his bhāṣya on Pāraskaragṛhya quotes Vījñānēśvara and Kalpataru. The Viśvādāra prays Vījñānēśvara very highly.645 Therefore it appears that

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642 The ms. begins: अथ विज्ञानेश्वरिनीतिगुणितः (n) व्याकरणिन्तरालम्बायत । आशोकार्थवपूर्णते वृद्धिः इति नवा || अथ तत्रद्वाराध्यन्त्रत्रायतेन्द्रत्वयोर्नानं- स्तम्भतः जगमव छातर । यथा च तत्र यस्मात् शार्यवक्तव्रतेषु चुतुर्गुणोऽस्क्य भाष्यार्थवक्तव्रतेषु चक्षृविशेषतः सर्वथा च भाष्याः प्राणेषु व्यभिचारार्थस्य धृत्रां || । The colophon at the end is: ह्यासःप्रोक्तशब्दाचार्याः भविष्यति (r)विवरिष्ठेन सर्वभास्म ।

643 रघुनाथ रिशिताभिध: विज्ञानेश्वर ‘वृत्त’ विज्ञानेश्वरेऽरण प्रतिस्वभावास चेतुश्च तन्त्रविशेषमपेशीयत् । प्रतिविवाद्यात्मकमा भृद्धीनाम् च भृद्धीतु प्रक्षास्यभिभावधेत् ।

644 संसार्यि विभेदो विभाबधापि ‘विभिन्नाः प्रियार्थ विद्वृत्यदि विशेषः ।

645 वधा विज्ञानेश्वरविद्वांशित्वाश्च महतो विद्वानोऽवस्य: तत्तत्वात्तिष्टति अथा (तथा ।) विभाबधाप्तवात्तिगुणुपुरुषतिगुण्यां बन्धकर्मिणिगुणविभावस्युरुवस्य तत्तत्वात्तिष्टति: || IV. 59: भृद्धीस्य युद्धविवाहस्य च वधा रामायणे माते तत्तत्वात्तिष्टति अथा च भृद्धीस्य विभाबधाप्तवाः वधा थेविद्वानस्य तथा विभाबधाप्तवाः तत्त भृद्धीस्य जयस्यपुरुषतिगुणिताः: || MS. OF विभाबधापरोऽरण (in Bhadakamkar collection).
Vijñāneśvara composed the Āsaucadaśaka alias Daśaślokī and that Harihara, who was either Vijñāneśvara’s pupil or not very far removed from him (as he is quoted by Hemādri) composed a commentary thereon. The first verse of the Daśaślokī is cited below as a specimen of the concise style attempted by the author.⁶⁴⁶

Aufeucht (II. p. 50 and I. p. 236) credits Vijñāneśvara with a bāṣya on Triṁśat-ślokī, a work in thirty Srīgdrā stanza stanzas on aśauca. This work together with the commentary was printed in poṣṭi size at Benares in saṃvat 1918 (1861-62 A. D.). The printed text contains⁶⁴⁷ the same colophon at the end and date as the D. C. ms. No. 217 of 1879-80, which was copied in saṃvat 1711 Caitra (i.e. April 1655 A. D.). It is extremely doubtful, however, whether Vijñāneśvara wrote a bāṣya on the Triṁśat-ślokī. In the bāṣya Vijñāneśvara and the Mitākṣarā are cited by name.⁶⁴⁸ The manner of referring to them rather suggests that the commentary on the Triṁśat-ślokī was composed by some person other than Vijñāneśvara, who, however, drew largely on the Mit. There is a ms. of the Triṁśat-ślokī with a commentary in the Bhaū Daji collection which is ascribed to Hemādri on the cover (vide BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 209, No. 667).

In the Madras Govt. mss. library there is a ms. of the Vyavahāra-śiromāṇi of Nārāyaṇa, who says that he learnt dharmaśāstras under Vijñāneśvara (adhitya dharmaśāstrāṁ Vijñāneśvara-sadguroḥ). The work deals with the vyavahāra portion and was composed for the benefit of the un-initiated (bālabodhāṛham). The ms. contains the portion dealing with the king’s duty to look into the disputes of people, the time for doing that, sabhā, definition of prād-vivāka (judge), the plaint and its defects, asedha (restraint of the

⁶⁴⁶ मातुरेश्वरविविन्याय भिदिन्यं भास्कर्येतो यथा भास्करं विक्रयो वस्तुकरापृष्टिः। स्नानः पितृः
सर्ववा भालानिन्दा पतनादिः जातिसम्प्रेक्षेत सदा नाम्यः। मातृ तद्वैति नृत्य-वस्तुकरापृष्टिः
वास्तवादुस्सदाहारे परसं।

⁶⁴⁷ The colophon is इति विपन्नेन्द्रकथे विपन्नेन्द्रकथायायं संपूर्णम्।

⁶⁴⁸ भिरां देशगीत वा ... नृत्यः मातुरेश्वर हि। इत्यसद्यप्रायत्नसम्बन्धे विपन्नेन्द्रकथायायः
स्वर्ण्यं’। P. 3b of the printed text and 2b of the ms. The verse referred to is वास्तवादुस्सदाहारे। III. 18. On verse 14 of the विपन्नेन्द्रकथि we have ‘एन्तध
वायुविद्यमणरायः ... न जै: सह संविशेषः। इत्यसद्यप्रायत्ननिताङ्गादिः
स्वर्ण्यं’। P. 9b of the printed text and 5a of the ms.
defendant), means of proof the eighteen titles of law, śīnādāna, nīkṣepa, saṃbhūya-samutthāna, dattapradānaka, abhyupetya-asūrūṣā, vetanasya-anapākarma, avamivikraya, vikriyāsaṃpradāna, krittavānuśaya, samayasyānapākarma, sīmāvivāda, stri-pūrṇasayoga, dāyavi-bhāga. The work breaks off in the middle of the explanation of the verse ‘patnī duhitaraścaiva’. He closely follows the Mitākṣara in all that he says; but in one place he expressly differs from his teacher, viz. whereas the Mitākṣara mentions four different times for partition, Nārāyanā says that there are really two times of partition, when the father desires partition and when the son or sons desire it. On sanbhayasamutthana he quotes a passage from Kauṭalya (the ms. uses this form), which agrees closely with the printed text (vide Arthaśāstra III. 14, p. 186, ed. by Shama Sastri).

71. Kāmadhenu

This was an ancient digest on the various branches of Dharmaśāstra. Unfortunately no ms. of this work has yet come to light. The Kalpataru of Lākṣmīdharā refers to the view of Kāmadhenu and others that what was bestowed upon a slave (daśa) by his master through favour was also under the control of the master. The Hānalata which was composed in the third quarter of the 12th century several times mentions the views of Kāmadhenu.

648 a अनया चातुर्विध्यामस्तुहठास्तित्वाराः प्रतिपादित् पितुरिष्यायां पुर्णिष्यायां च विनाग: संपन्नति नायकृति काल्याणेऽविनागते तु युक्त। न च विनागन्तरकाल एक इति त्रिधिमिति वाच्य पितुरिष्याकालेऽपि पुर्णिष्यामिति विनागस्यायामेव उपकाल्याय एवान्तरकालस्यायनातात्।

648 b अन्त विशेषमाह कौटल्यः। अधिरामदिध्रु दृष्ट्यायायाः कक्षय च आप्सरा। पश्चमगमोऽहं च घमेत। सामविन्यायार्बृही। कक्षुव मृत्योत्तहरूऽवृहे तृतीयंमित्रोमोहवृहे पादोऽन्तः मायेः भविन्द्रार्बृहे सम्यकनीतातु दुःखिताः मनोवैता।

649 On the verse of कक्षायन । 'दासस्य हि ध्यानं यद्य एवम् खामी तथा परमेवः' the कक्षन् says । 'बद्वा मनसे स्वामिना दासस्य कृिते दश्यं तथा दासफलो खामी प्रगातिः खामासाधुर्ध्वकालेऽपुरुषाधिनातमृत्तिः।' folio 876 of the कक्षन्त (Benares College transcript).

650 e.g. on p. 41 'अत्यः दासस्य विरामिति द्वारिशष्णम् कामः। पुरुषुक्तः गाम्यासाधोबस्मकाले। दीर्घकालः।' Vide pp. 117, 174, 300 also for other references to the कामाद्वेषु and note 596 above.
Srídharacārya, in his Smṛtyarthaśāra,\textsuperscript{651} enumerates the Kāmadhenu among the works and writers who dwelt upon the teachings of the Smṛtis. The Vivādārātanākara\textsuperscript{652} of Caṇḍeśvara speaks of the Kāmadhenu several times. In the Śraiddhakriyā-kaumudi certain verses from the Kāmadhenu are cited in connection with the rites on certain tithis of the month of Āśvina (p. 261). Śūlapāṇi in his Śraddhaviveka names as his authorities the Kāmadhenu and other digests after the smṛtis.\textsuperscript{653} The Samayaprādīpa\textsuperscript{654} of Śridatta notices that the Kāmadhenu read 'dvitiyā caitrāmāsasya,' while the Kalpataru read 'trītyā.' The same reading of the Kāmadhenu is noticed in the Smṛtisāra of Harinātha (I. O. cat., No. 634, folio 79b). In the Rājanitirātanākara the Kāmadhenu is quoted on the definition of 'rāja' and on the two varieties of rulers (pp. 2 and 5). In Hemādri there is a quotation from Smṛtikāmadhenu (vol. IV, p. 992) about the freedom in kali from incurring sin on account of contact with great sinners.

The question arises who is the author of the Kāmadhenu. If we rely upon a highly paronomastic passage of the Vyavahāraratnākara\textsuperscript{655} of Caṇḍeśvara, Gopāla was the author of the Kāmadhenu. In the Rājanitirātanākara (p. 8r) Gopāla is said to have held, with

\textsuperscript{651} कामकेन नवीन सत्यस्वरुपां तत्त्वां शास्त्रितेऽहितैं।
\textit{राजस्वरूपम्} अन्य यथाकालपीयं एव

\textsuperscript{652} श्यामदास सुन्दरी ज्ञाता
\textit{विनिधेन्द्र} अनितायुस्मि

\textsuperscript{653} विशिष्टता नामानुसारविशिष्टता
\textit{सूक्तिज्ञ महत्वपूर्वो}

\textsuperscript{654} तत्त्वज्ञानविद्वान गौरवमीलान
\textit{सूक्तियों} मात्र निपुनं

\textsuperscript{655} श्रीमान्योगसोहिनियोगसोहिनियोगसोहिनि
\textit{सूक्तियों} मात्र निपुनं
Lakṣmīdhara and Śrikara, the view that on the state wealth poor and helpless people have a claim and that the state perishes if the supreme authority is wielded by many (and not by one). The same work (p. 84) cites the opinion of Gopāla that the coronation rites mentioned in works on rājantī are merely illustrative and that according to the particular usages of countries and families a king may be proclaimed without those rites by merely being seated on a throne. The Pitṛbhakti of Śridatta expressly mentions that it is based on the works of Gopāla and others. The Viramitrodaya cites the view of Gopala that vyavahāra comes under what is called jalpa in the technique of the Nyāya system and that the view of Miśra that Vyavahāra is comprised under the term vāda of the same system is wrong. Whether the Gopāla mentioned by Mitramiśra is the same as the author named by Candesvara it is difficult to say. But it seems to me that they are identical. Aufrecht in his great catalogue (I. 93) ascribes the authorship of the Kāmadhenu to Śambhu. Whence he derived this information is not clear. The authors and works cited by him do not, so far as I know, ascribe the Kāmadhenu to Śambhu. It is true that Śambhu is credited by the Smṛticandrika with a digest on dharmasastra (vide note 563 above) and the Smṛtyarhasāra also names him as one of the authorities on which it relies. Hemādri also tells us that Śambhu was a nibandhakara and refuted the views of Medhātithi on Manu III. 125. The Smṛticandrika frequently cites the views of Śambhu on vyavahāra and generally refutes them. For example, on the word ‘pitarau’ occurring in Yāj. II. 135 Śambhu remarked that no difference should be made between the parents (father and mother) as heirs, since whoever out of the two took the wealth of their son it would come

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656 Vide note 565 above.
657 नोपालोत्सर्वदेवसैन्यसंगमनुसर्ब्बृहद्भाष्यां यथास्वभाव कामधेत्र तद्वि परिशुद्धीकृत ।
658 यथा नोपालोत्सर्वदेवसैन्यसंगमनुसर्ब्बृहद्भाष्यां यथास्वभाव कामधेत्र तद्वि परिशुद्धीकृत ।
659 यथा दैश्वयकृमुषयं यथविनिहीनेन ज्ञाताक्रमान्ति प्राकृतिकृतिः पराकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृतिकृतिः प्राकृति
to both. Vide also Smṛticandrikā II, pp. 205, 216. Therefore Śambhu also, being mentioned by the Smṛticandrikā and the Smṛtyarthaśāra, is certainly earlier than 1150 A.D. In this state of the authorities I am doubtful whether Śambhu was the author of the Kāmadhenu. I am inclined to hold that he was not the author of that work and that Gopāla was the author. This conclusion is somewhat strengthened by the fact that the Smṛtyarthaśāra mentions both Kāmadhenu and Śambhu as authorities on which it relies. If Śambhu had been, in the opinion of the Smṛtyarthaśāra the author of the Kāmadhenu, the mention of both would have been superfluous. Mr. Jayasval (in JBORS for 1927, vol. XIII, parts 3-4, p. VII) ascribes the Kāmadhenu to Bhoja, but this is wrong (vide p. 277, note 576).

As the Kāmadhenu is named as an authority by the Kalpataru and the Hāralatā it is certainly not later than 1100 A.D. It cannot be very much earlier since it is not mentioned by Medhātithi and the Mitakṣarā. It may therefore be assigned to the period between 1000 and 1100 A.D.

72. Halāyudha

The Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdharā in its vyavahāra section quotes the views of a jurist Halāyudha several times. The Vivādaratnakara of Caṇḍesvara mentions Halāyudha dozens of times. In the Smṛtisāra of Harinātha Halāyudha-nibandha on possession is quoted. The Smṛtisāra also says (folio 140 a) that Halāyudha favoured niyoga by the widow of a son-less deceased person and deprived the widow of succession to her deceased husband if she did not submit to niyoga. This was the view of Dhāreśvara also. According to Halāyudha parents succeeded before brothers to a deceased person

660 बतौर कर्मुनि अध्यक्षनाथादृ द्वन्द्वयोर्वेऽनेन च श्रीकृष्णद्वयकारणमुव्वादिनि न विषाणी।

661 Vide note 649 above ; and folio 380 (of Benares Sanskrit College transcript).

662 अत्र इत्यथापनि स्वरसः। आकारार्णाणांकारणां सामसेव नुक्तिः। ममाणभूषनिक- भोगे तु आमास्त्रण सुक्तिः। ममाणं स्मार्तिकर्तिक्रिया सूर्ये ... पुष्पांत्वमि इति।

663 यात्रािन ितिर भातार इति ज्ञातिकर्मा प्रतिष्ठापिकार उक्। स प्रतिपत्तिमहार्षित- धार्मिकः। यात्रािन ग्राह्यािरितांतिर तत्त्वोऽऽ्य। सत्तिसारः। द्विन तििर भावानि। द्वितिसारः। ितो 140 b.
if the property in the hands of the deceased was ancestral, but that if it was acquired without detriment to ancestral property then brothers succeeded even before parents. Halāyudha is cited in the Vivādacintāmani also, e.g. Halāyudha held the view that the verse of Yaj. (II. 126) was intended to convey that where joint property was concealed by a member and was discovered after partition, he did not incur the guilt of theft. This same view was held by Jitendriya and others. Raghunandana quotes Halāyudha in his Divyattattva, Dāyattattva and Vyavahāratattva. The Vira-mitrodaya also quotes Halāyudha.

The foregoing shows that the work of Halāyudha, the jurist, was a very valuable one. This Halāyudha must have flourished before 1100 A.D., since the Kalpataru (1125–1150 A.D.) looked upon him as an authority. As Halāyudha is not mentioned by any of the early commentators like Medhātithi and by the Mit. and as he held opinions similar to those of Dhārēśvara, Jitendriya and others, he cannot well be placed earlier than 1000 A.D. Therefore he flourished between 1000 and 1100 A.D. He was probably a Maithila or Bengali writer, as, among the comparatively early writers on dharmā, it is the writers of the north, particularly of Mithilā and Bengal, that rely upon him as a great authority.

The name Halāyudha (an epithet of Balarāma, the brother of Kṛṣṇa) was a common one in India. It seems to have been borne by several eminent writers and this fact has created a great deal of confusion. There is one Halāyudha who was the author of the Abhidhānaratnamalā (edited by Aufrecht), the Kavirahasya (edited by Sourindra Mohan Tagore in 1879 and by Heller in 1900) and probably the Mṛtasañjivani, a commentary on the Chandah-sūtra of Pingala. In the Kavirahasya he gives the various forms of roots in the several conjugations and connects all verses with Kṛṣṇa, the

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664 अन्योंसापदृढः ... स्थिति: || अन्याधिकालादेव बिभागे भासे चन्दनस्मायेऽपूर्वे-जिवानांत्यां तापयतीति हिलायुधः || विषादविष्टामग्नि p. 143. Vīda द्वादस्तथ (p. 183) Jivananda, vol. II) for the same view of हिलायुधः.

665 ‘असि: पादस्यमभोपरि निष्ठात्तलाभार्यते हति भिनासप्रा। द्राहवायुवप्रक: कौतक इति हिलायुधः।’ वीरे p. 254; वीरे p. 572 savya हिलायुध read in सन्ब 9. 207 स निरांस्य: for स निर्वांस्य (सन्मांजस:).

H. D. 38.
emperor of the Deccan (Dakṣināpatha). This Kṛṣṇarāja was most probably the Rāṣṭrakūta emperor Kṛṣṇa whose dates range from 940 A. D. to 959 A. D. (vide JBBRAS, vol. 18, page 239; Bom. Gazetteer I., part 2, p. 210; I. A. vol. 11, p. 109 and Bhandarkar’s Report, 1883-84, pp. 8-9.). In the colophon to the Mṛtasañjīvani the author is described simply as bhaṭṭa-Halāyudha. In that commentatory verses are quoted as illustrations wherein Muṇja alias Vākpatirāja is highly extolled. Muṇja was slain by Tailapa between 994-997 A. D. Hence Halāyudha, the author of the commentary on Piṅgala, must not have flourished much earlier than the latter half of the 10 century. It is not unlikely that Halāyudha after being at the court of the Rāṣṭrakūtas migrated to Avanti when the star of Muṇja, who was himself a scholar, rose on the horizon of central India and when the fortunes of the Rāṣṭrakūtas waned. But this Halāyudha who hailed from the Deccan cannot be the first Halāyudha who appears to have flourished in Mithila or Bengal.

There is another Halāyudha, author of a famous work called Brahmāṇa-sarvasva printed at Benares in saṁvat 1935. But this was not available to me and hence I used a Ms. of it in the Deccan College collection (No. 9 of A 1883-84). He gives some account of himself and his family in the introductory verses. He belonged to the Vātsyāya gotra and was a son of Dhananijaya who is described as dharmādhyakṣa (judge). Lakṣmaṇasena, the king of Bengal, gave him dharmādhikāra (i.e. made him judge). He had two elder brothers Paśupati and Iśana of whom the former composed Śrāddha-kṛtya-paddhati and Pākayajña-paddhati and the latter the

666 अत्ययस्यमानिष्योत्सत्तासापित्रो दृष्टिनापि रूपः। क्रष्णराज हि क्रष्णो राजा सावर्ण-दीर्घाचितः स धृतराष्ट्रकृतकालाः।

667 e.g.: जयति मुनोकाक्षः सरतुपुतुक्षितपुतुमुक्तविवर्गः। अनपरसत्विदितिर्निर्जित-सम्यायधो मुखः॥ स जयति दाशकपिराणः।। 40—मुनोकाक्षः 4th chap.

668 आत्यस्य श्रुतिपिराणपिरितपदः अनुसूचितायोगवाचकमतिसिद्धांतमाहस्मुप्तं द्रष्टा न वे वैनेन। पत्रेऽगृहयोगशब्दिसिद्धांसापालायारणः। श्रुतार्थमुपन्येतृप्तिनिर्विन्यासान् पिकारं दुः॥ verse 12; vide also Peterson’s cat. of Ulwar mas. p. 138, extract No. 356.

669 जाता पदलितमयः पुच्छति। भ्राणाधिकारे भ्राणाधिकार:। कुटवाद्र द्रियोजिकायिनः। व्योढपः पदलितः॥ verse 36.
Dvijāhnikā-paddhati. He tells us in the Brāhmaṇasārasvasva that it composed Mihāmsāsārasvasva, Vaiṣṇavasārasvasva, Śaivasārasvasva, Pañḍitasārasvasva. Unfortunately no Ms. of any of these works has so far been discovered. The chief object of the Brāhmaṇasārasvasva is to explain the meaning of the mantras used by Brāhmaṇas in daily observances from the brushing of the teeth to going to sleep and in the samskāras on birth, marriage, death etc. He wrote for the Vaijāsane Yāka Śākha and acknowledges his debt to Uvaṭa who wrote a bhāṣya on the Vaijāsane Yānāhitā in Avanti while Bhoja ruled the earth (mahān Bhoja prāśasati). In some introductory verses and the several colophons of the sections of the Brāhmaṇa-sārasvasva Halāyuḍha styles himself avasaṭhika, mahādharmaṇdhyaḥka or simply dharmaṇdhyaḥka, dharmaṇdhikārin and his brother Paśupati also is styled avasaṭhika. It is very difficult to say what is the exact meaning of this last word. It probably means one who regularly performs all the gṛhya rites. Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. Mss. for 1919-1922, pp. 5163 for a ms. of Pañḍita-sārasvasva which deals with the usages of varṇas and āśramas, tithi, śuddhi, the time for śrāddha, jyotihśāstra, marriage, gifts, prāyaścitta, pratiṣṭhā &c. But whether it is Halāyuḍha's work it is difficult to say from the extracts given.

The time when Halāyuḍha the author of the Brāhmaṇasārasvasva flourished can be easily settled as he was the dharmaṇdhyaḥka of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. The Adbhutasāgara was begun in saka 1090.
History of Dharmaśāstra

(i.e. 1168-69) by Ballāla-sena and it was ultimately finished by his son Lakṣaṇapaṇi. That these verses are not spurious follows from a reference in the Tōdarānanda-samhitā-saṃkhya about the position of the constellation of the Great Bear according to the Adbhutasāgara in the stākya year 1082 (1160-61 A.D.) while Ballālasena was ruling. The Saduktikārṇāmṛta of Śrīdharaṅgī, who was a contemporary of Lakṣamaṇasena, furnishes us with the exact year of the accession of Lakṣamaṇasena viz: that stākya 1127 corresponded with the 27th year of Lakṣamaṇasena’s reign, i.e. he began to reign in 1178-79 A.D. Therefore the literary activity of Halāyudha, the author of the Brāhmaṇasarvasva, lies between 1175-1200 A.D. There is, I am aware, a very heated controversy about the dates of Ballālasena and his son Lakṣamaṇasena, but I am inclined to hold, particularly on account of the explicit reference contained in the body of the Adbhutasāgara itself and in the Tōdarānanda, that Lakṣamaṇasena came to the throne about 1178-79 A.D. The Brāhmaṇasarvasva and the Pāṇḍītasarvasva of Halāyudha are quoted by Raghunandana in the Āhnika (pp. 389, Jivananda, vol. I), Prāyaścitta (pp. 531, vol. I for Pāṇḍītasarvasva) and other Tattvas. Sourindra Mohan Tagore (introduction to Kavirabhasya p. I-II) says that Adīśāra brought to Bengal five Brāhmaṇas from Kanoj of whom Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa was the most famous and was the author of the Prayogaratna and also of the Veṇīṣamhāra and that Halāyudha was 16th in descent from that Nārāyaṇa. These traditions of the matchmakers of Bengal and panegyrists of big families are entirely worthless for literary and chronological purposes.

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675 *abhijnāyādyāhparoṣeṇ chadutasaṃrājavāyayam sajyagvadāyam BHU. vīravatādā yavate sajyagvadāyam (śāstrādi) no. 915 of 1886-92.

676 *abhijnāyādyāhparoṣeṇ chadutasaṃrājavāyayam sajyagvadāyam BHU. vīravatādā yavate sajyagvadāyam (śāstrādi) no. 915 of 1886-92.

677 In the printed edition of the *abhijnāyādyāhparoṣeṇ chadutasaṃrājavāyayam sajyagvadāyam BHU. (at p. 235) we have the views of Mr. R. D. Banerji who holds that dharmaśāstra ascended the throne in 1118-19 A.D.
particularly for events of comparatively early times. In their zeal
to extol their patrons' families to the skies they were most unscrupu-
lous and threw to the winds all chronology. The Prayogaratna
was composed at Benares by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyana whose family migrat-
ed from Paithan in the 16th century, while the Venisamhāra was
composed about a thousand years earlier. Yet both works are
fathered upon Nārāyana, the ancestor of the rich and influential
Tagore family.

There is yet another Halāyudha. On the Śrāddhakalpasūtra of
Kāṭyāyana a commentary called Prakāśa was composed by Halā-
yudha, son of Saṅkarṣaṇa (vide BBRAS cat. No. 518, p. 170).
In this commentary he refers to Karka, Kāmadhenu, Kalpataru,
Govindarāja, Lakṣmānapādhyāya, Mitākṣara, Saṅkhadhara and
Paśupati. He is therefore later than 1150 A.D. He cannot be
identified with the author of the Kavirahasya, as the latter flourished
much earlier under the Rāstrakūṭas. Nor can be the same as the
jurist Halāyudha, since the latter is named in the Kalpataru, which
in its turn is quoted in the Prakāśa. The dharmādhyakṣa of Lakṣ-
maṇapāsena was a son of Dhanaṇḍya, while the author of the Prakāśa
was a son of Saṅkarṣaṇa. The Śrāddhakāśikā of Kṛṣṇa (Gujarati
Press ed. p. 430) on the Navakaṇḍikā or Śrāddhakalpasūtra of Kāṭyā-
yana says that first Karka explained the sūtra in pregnant words
and then Halāyudha explained it and yet it remained as difficult as
before. Kṛṣṇa is mentioned in the Nirṇayasindhu and the Śrāddha-
mayūkha of Nilakaṇṭha. Therefore Halāyudha, the author of the
Prakāśa on Kāṭyāyana must have flourished before 1509 A.D. and
later than 1150 A.D.

Vide J. A. S. B. 1915 pp. 327–336 where M. M. Chakravarti
brought together interesting information about Halāyudha.

73. Bhavadevabhāṭṭa

The Vyavahāratattva of Raghunandana and the Viraṃtrodaya tell
us that Bhavadevabhaṭṭa composed a work called Vyavahāratilaka on
judicial procedure. The Vyavahāratattva tells us that Bhavadeva

678 इत्यादि व्यास्यादिवर्गं गर्भविशेषणं: चतुर्दशसःसदृश्यां स ततो इतास्तु सति व्यास्यादिवर्गं गर्भविशेषणं।

679 'अस्तत्वाद्भविषयाय अस्तत्वाद्भविषयार्थास्तिपत्यायांस्तिपत्यार्थातिथिकी भवदेवभाट्ट: '। भवदेवार-
त्रस्त्र (P. 207, vol. II, Jivananda)। भवदेवभाट्ट नु अस्तत्वाद्भविषयार्थातिथिकी पाठं दिस्तित्वादिविषयार्थास्तिपत्यार्थातिथिकी। बृहो P. 85.
read ‘astavyastapadavyāpi’ instead of ‘yadvyastapadamavyāpi’ in Kātyāyana’s verses enumerating the blemishes of uttara (defendant’s reply). The Vyavahārattattva mentions Bhavadevabhaṭṭa’s discussion and illustration of a reply (uttara) with a weak plea (kāraṇā). The same work informs us that Bhavadeva held the same views on adverse possession as Śrīkara, Bālaka and others did (vide note 624 above). The Vivādacandra of Misarumīśra several times refers to the views of Bhavadeva. The Vītramitrodaya gives in great detail the remarks of Bhavadeva on the well-known text of Sumantu about killing an atātyin. The Sarasvatīvilāsa and the Vaijayantī of Nandapāṇḍita quote the very same views of Bhavadevabhaṭṭa on Sumantu’s text.

The foregoing brief discussion shows that Bhavadeva’s Vyavahāratilaka must have been a valuable work on judicial procedure. Unfortunately that work has not yet come to light.

Bhavadeva also wrote several other works.

In the Deccan College collection there are two Mss. (No. 9 of 1895-98 and No. 263 of 1887-91) of a work of Bhavadeva variously named Karmānuṣṭhānapaddhati or Daśakarma-paddhati or Daśakarmadipīka. M. M. Chakravarti in his informing article on Bhavadeva (J. A. S. B. 1912, pp. 333-348) says that the work has often been printed. I was not able to secure a copy. That work deals with
the ten principal rites and ceremonies to be performed by Brähmaṇas who study the Sāmaveda. The principal subjects are:—The Homa to the nine planets (Navagraha-boma), maṭrpaṭa, pāvigrāhāna and other essential rites of marriage, homa on the fourth day after marriage, garbhādhāna, pruṣāvamaṇa, simantonnayana, sosyantihoma (homa when a woman is on the point of delivery), jātakarma, nisākramaṇa, nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśaṇa, cūḍākaraṇa, upanayana, samāvartana (the student’s returning from the teacher’s house after finishing his studies), Śālākarma (first entrance in a new house).

Another work of Bhavadeva, who is styled Bālavabhiphujaṅga therein, is the Prāyaṣcittanirūpaṇa (I. O. cat. No. 1725 p. 554, Mitra’s notices, vol. IX, No. 3138, pp. 214-15). In that work he mentions over 25 śṛṅgikāras, the Matsya and Bhaviṣya purāṇas, Viṣṇuṭa, Śriķara and Bāloka (? Bālaka). This work was held in high esteem, as the Śṛṅgiratnākara685 of Vedācārya places Bhavadeva after Manu among the authorities on prāyaṣcitta that he follows. The Varṣa-kriyā-kaumudi of Govindananda (B.I. series) quotes a text from Bhavadevabhaṭṭa on the prāyaṣcitta for eating in a solar or lunar eclipse (p. 106).

There is yet another work of Bhavadevabhaṭṭa called Tautāttita-matatilak, a ms. of which exists in the India Office (cat. No. 1591). It is doubtful whether that ms. contains the whole of the work. That work is concerned with elucidating the doctrines of the Pūrva-mimāṃṣa system from the standpoint of Kumārila-bhaṭṭa (who is also called Tautāttita). From the colophons at the end and elsewhere it appears that the work was intended to explain Jaimini I. 4 and II. 1, but in the body of the work contained in the Ms. only sūtras from the first pada of the 2nd adhyāya are dwelt upon. Bhavadeva is styled Bālavabhiphujaṅga here also and invokes a terrific curse686 upon those who would borrow from his work without acknowledg-
ing their debt. The work opens with the well-known sūtra ‘bhāvārthāḥ karmaśabdāḥ &c. (Jaimini II. 1. 1). It goes on explaining the principal topics of Jaimini’s 2nd adhyāya, first pada. The sūtras explained are II. 1. 1, 5, 9, 10, 13, 24, 30-35, 38, 40 46-49. It mentions the bhāṣyakāra (Śabara), Vārtika (folio 12 a), Gurumata (17 b), Prabhākara (21 b), Vārtikakārapāda (22 b, in the plural). It frequently quotes kārkas from the Tantravārtika with the words ‘taduktam.’ Hemādri 687 quotes Bhavadeva’s explanation of the words of Kumārila allowing an option between jaghanya and ajya and disapproves of it. Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. MSS. for 1919-1922 p. 5527 for the same work.

Unexpected light is thrown on the personal history of Bhavadevabhaṭṭa by an inscription found in the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva at Bhuvaṇēśvara in the Puri District of Orissa edited by Kielhorn in E.I. vol. VI, p. 203, which eulogises Bhavadevabhaṭṭa, the identity of the author Bhavadeva with the person eulogised being established by the unique epithet, Bālavalabhībhujāṅga applied to the latter.688 The eulogy is composed by a person called Vacaspatikavi. Bhavadeva belonged to the Sāvarṇa gotra of the Kautukumī school of the Sāmaveda. The family belonged to Siddhalagrāma in Rādhā (west of the Hugli and south of the Ganges). Bhavadeva’s remote ancestor Bhavadeva obtained in gift the agrahāra of Hastinibhīṭṭa from the Gauda king. The father of Bhavadeva was Govardhana, a warrior and a scholar. His mother was Sāṅgokā, daughter of a Vandyaghaṭṭiya Brāhmaṇa. With the advice of Bhavadeva king Harivarmadeva is said to have reigned long in prosperity. Bhavadeva is stated in the above mentioned inscription to have composed works on hāra (astrology), smṛti, and mīmāṁsā. Bhavadeva is eulogised as a great builder. He constructed a reservoir of water in Rādhā, he set up a stone image of Nārāyaṇa and founded a temple in which he placed images of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta, ann Nṛsiṁha. He also gave

687 तथा च जान्य-वैधिक-सिद्धान्ते जान्य-वैधिक-वैधिकैः वैतिक-कृतोऽकं नन्देषणोकृतम्।
हर्ष सिद्ध कविकृतम्। कथा सामान्य-वैधिक-तत्त्वेन बिशः सिद्ध-वैधिक-साधन-विधिकृतम्: सर्वेऽर्थ
सामान्य-विषये शास्त्राय-वैधित्याय काव्योऽकं नन्देषण-सृष्टा। नैति।
हर्षसृष्ट्ये विशेष-शास्त्र-वादम्।
&c. चूर्णिते (कालानिर्णय) p. 120. Vide also p. 404 for another reference
to मदेवेन्द्र.

688 सर्प सहु वालसहभिमुनिः हसि नाम नारायण केन। भीमासपि सुपुष्क्मार्थिनिः
परिरस्तिं विचित्रम्। verse 24.
to Harimedhas female attendants, dug a tank and laid out a garden. Neither Kielhorn nor Chakravarti has attempted any explanation of the epithet Bālavalabhībhujaṅga. I hazard an explanation. Bhavadeva probably made some innovation in the structure of the roofs or balconies of the temples he built and he was therefore styled a lover (a gallant or paramour) of little (bala-small sized or girlish) valabhis. From the nature of the character Kielhorn conjectured that the inscription belonged to the 12th century A.D.

The date of Bhavadeva can be approximately settled to be about 1100 A.D. as he is quoted by Hemādri, the Vivādacandra of Misaru and the Smṛtisāra of Harinātha. He is certainly earlier than 1200 A.D. A period of at least half a century must have elapsed before a Bengal writer like Bhavadeva came to be looked upon as an authority on māṁsāsā by Hemādri who wrote in distant Berar. It appears that he was quoted in the Karmopadesīni of Aniruddha (I. O. cat. No. 1853, p. 474). But that Ms. is bound up with another work by a later author and the reference in the cat. is not quite clear. If we rely on the Viramitrodaya, a work called Pradīpa criticised the views of Bhavadeva on the verse of Yāj. II. 24 (about adverse possession for 20 and 10 years). Bhavadeva held that twenty years’ enjoyment of immovable property by a stranger implied that the real owner meant to abandon it for the benefit of the stranger enjoying it, that such abandonment for the enjoyment of another leads to the inference of the extinction of previous ownership and that the property being abandoned by the owner in favour of the stranger who takes hold of it, ownership also (of the stranger) arises. The Pradīpa689 points out that it does not invariably follow

689 नववेषस्तु ... तस्मादेवं वाच्यं यद्यो वधको भोग: पूर्वस्वामितो भानुद्वेशोंन त्या तस्माद्वेषस्माधायं अनुभावितं तत: ... तथा तदनुद्वेषेन तथे तत्ततात्मणा- त्वें परस्य तत्र त्वमभवनुपपत्ते ... अतः प्रधीपतः। चम हि सत्तली- (अवे 1) दर्शनः नाना सत्तलाभयो तदनुद्वेषा तत्तत्तमा ते भवनुक्तम् (सूक्तका 1) पश्चात्तत्तकाशा- त्तक्षिप्तोपयोगोर्म भुवं सहिष्णुभाषित्वलिको भुवनादिविलायित्य तत्र परोक्षोंगे क्षमते तत्तत्त भिन्नत्तथ्यथः को भोगोत्तममिति स्मामिन्तस्तुद्वेशोंन त्या तत् भावना भावना तथा भविन्यानेव- दशहोगस्त्य पूर्वस्वामितस्तः प्रामाणिकः। कि च भूस्वामि संयताः किमिति तृणव तत्र स्वयं यज्ञात। न हेदायेदनुद्वेषस्त तद्यथं तर्कशास्त्रोकात्तिकत्वतथाविद्यात। ... नापि दनृद्वेशोंन यथप्रयत्ते तत्स्या भविति नियमः। इद्येवेनाः कुशलोर्विचारात। तीरं। D. 212-14.

H. D. 39.
that, because a stranger is allowed to enjoy land, the owner intends to abandon the land for the stranger, nor is it an invariable rule that what is abandoned for another becomes the property of that other. It will be shown later on that the Pradīpa must have been composed before 1150 A.D. Hence it follows that Bhavadeva flourished about 1100. He cannot be very much earlier than that, as he is not mentioned by any writer of the 11th century and as he not only mentions Kumārila and Prabhākara, but also writers who criticised Prabhākara’s views.

There were several other later persons named Bhavadeva who wrote on topics of Dharmaśāstra such as Bhavadeva, author of Dānadharmaprakriyā (middle of 17th century), and Bhavadeva, the author of Smṛticandrikā, who flourished in the first half of the 18th century.

On Bhavadeva’s Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati there is a commentary called Saṁsārapaddhatirahasya.

74. Prakāśa.

A work called Prakāśa has been quoted by very early nibandha-kāras. The Kalpaturu quotes the interpretation of Prakāśa, Halāyudha and Kāmadhenu on a verse of Kātyāyana. The Vivādaratnakāra of Cāndesvara cites the views of Prakāśa scores of times (e.g. p. 131, 145, 456, 460, 462, 474, 485, 504 etc.). Frequently Prakāśa is coupled with Parijāta (e.g. p. 497). On page 518 of the Vivādaratnakāra a remark of Prakāśa wherein both Asahāya and Medhāthiti are named is cited. The Dānaratnakāra of Cāndesvara quotes a passage of Saṁvarta with Prakāśa’s explanation of it. In the Śraddhasaukhya of Ītārānanda Prakāśa’s explanation

690 Vide note 521 above. On पुनः समितिः, one of the 15 kinds of dāyas enumerated by गार्द, the कल्पतत्त्व quotes the remarks of the मकाशे‐विधि सामिक्षेपवादपरमाणुण्यात्मकसाधारणानिधिरिति (Sūkta 6. विष. र. (on Sūkta 6.198). Vide p. 509 of विद्यार्थियों में साधारणानिधिरिति मकाशे, where मकाशे quotes मेधातिरिति alone 'पद्यरूपस्तंभाणिकविश्वासेतो ग्रंथार्थ-मुत्तः शोचि उषा-देवेऽहि दृश्यात् मेधातिरिति मकाशे।'

691 'संभवः। संभवेन द्रुतनामयेकज्ञयणुगमन फलम्। इत्यतः इति ग्रंथार्थ-मुत्तः। गौरी अवशेषी कर्मोत्ति मकाशे।' द्वारतारक (D.C. ms. No. 114 of 1884–86 folio 52 b.).
of the word 'Yanevata' occurring in a passage of Śaṅkha about the fruits allowed in śrāddha is quoted.693

These quotations establish that Prakāśa was a work that not only dealt with vyavahāra, but also with such topics as dāna, śrāddha etc.

Whether the Prakāśa was an independent work or a commentary is somewhat doubtful. But from a passage of the Vivādaratnakara it seems to follow that it was a commentary on the Yajñavalkya-smṛti. There we are told that the Kalpataru694 read 'abhijānata' for 'avijānata' in Yaj. II. 258, but that since that reading is opposed to Yajñavalkya-prakāśa, Halāyudha and Pārijata it must be, regarded as a wrong reading. As it is a reading of Yaj. himself that was being discussed, it would be somewhat strange if it were said that it was opposed to Yaj. and Prakāśa and therefore it is necessary to suppose that Yajñavalkya-prakāśa is one work.

The Vivādacintāmani in several places gives the explanation of Prakāśa.695 The Smṛtisāra696 gives at great length the explanation of Prakāśa on the controversial verses of Yaj. (II. 138-139). The Vīramitrodāya697 quotes at length Prakāśa’s explanation of Manu (9. 207) and disapproves of it on the ground (among others) that the verse can more clearly be explained so as to convey

693 'अभावामलेक्ष्यशास्त्रोपन्नसृवपूर्णकामनयमवाहिमणु ... शाखाकालवपादवेद दाक्षिणयत्रलक्षण निर्देशनम च।। अभावामलेक्ष्यशास्त्रोपन्नसृवपूर्णकामनयमवाहिमणु।।

694 कुचरो तु धर्माधिकारी धर्माधिकारी धर्माधिकारी धर्माधिकारी धर्माधिकारी धर्माधिकारी धर्माधिकारी धर्माधिकारी धर्माधिकारी धर्माधिकारी धर्माधिकारी धर्माधिकारी

695 विद्यातरी साधारणप्रायाचित्तसंध्यात विद्यातरी साधारणप्रायाचित्तसंध्यात विद्यातरी साधारणप्रायाचित्तसंध्यात विद्यातरी साधारणप्रायाचित्तसंध्यात

696 कमले तु नृसेष्ठ संतोषिनो धनं संतोषिनो धनं संतोषिनो धनं संतोषिनो धनं संतोषिनो धनं संतोषिनो धनं संतोषिनो धनं संतोषिनो धनं

697 Vide चिरे p. 572; the same also occurs in चिरे, p. 130.
a meaning similar to that of Yāj. II. 116. The Prakāśa is mentioned in the Dāyatattva (vol. II, p. 173) and in the Śuddhitattva (vol. II, p. 288).

As the Prakāśa is quoted in the Kalpataru it is certainly earlier than 1125. It mentions Medhātithi. Besides the Mit. does not refer to it. There is room for thinking that it follows the Mit. Yāj. II. 116 is, according to the Vivādaratnākara, explained by the Prakāśa in almost the same words as the Mit. It is possible that both borrow from the same original. At all events the Prakāśa must have been composed between 1000 and 1100 A.D.

Hemādri frequently cites a work called Mahārnāvaprakāśa. According to the latter the sandal unguents, flowers, incense, lamp presented in śrāddha are to be offered to the Brāhmaṇas invited and not to the pitrās. In another place Hemādri quotes the explanation of the word ‘nimāntraya’ given by the Mahārnāvaprakāśa. In some places Hemādri refers to a work called Smṛtimahārṇava or simply Mahārnava. It appears to me that all these three are the names of the same work. The question then arises whether the Smṛtimahārṇavaprakāśa is the same as the Prakāśa mentioned by the Kalpataru and Caṇḍeśvara. In the present state of our knowledge it appears that they are identical. The Madanaparijāta (p. 93) quotes a verse from the Smṛtimahārṇava about upakarma.

75. Parijāta.

Several works bear the appellation Parijāta such as the Vidhānaparījāta (composed in 1625 A.D.), the Madanaparījāta (about 1375 A.D.) and the Prayogaparījāta (between 1400-1500). But
there was an ancient work called Pārijāta quoted by even some of the earliest nibandhakaras. The Kalpataru several times quotes the views of a work called Pārijāta. The Prakāśa and Pārijāta are frequently mentioned together in the Kalpataru and the Vivādaratnakara. The latter regarded the Kalpataru, Pārijāta, Halāyudha and Prakāśa as its most eminent predecessors. The Dānaratnakara quotes several times the views of Pārijāta on gifts. The Smṛtiśāra of Harinātha sets out at length the order of succession to a sonless man according to the Pārijāta (vide I. O. Ms. No. 301, folio 134 a ). One of the striking opinions of the Pārijāta was that the widow of a sonless man should raise offspring by niyoga and give the wealth of the deceased to the son so born.

From the above it appears that the Pārijāta was an independent work on vyavahāra, dana and other topics. Being quoted by the Kalpataru it was earlier than 1125 A. D. and as it held views similar to those of Bhojadeva and Halāyudha on the widow’s rights and as it is not quoted by the Mit. or other earlier works it must be assigned to a date between 1000-1125 A. D. In I. L. R. 12 Cal. 348 at p. 356 the learned judges hold that the Pārijāta frequently cited as an authority by the Vivādaratnakara is the Madanapārijāta. But this is entirely wrong. The latter work, it will be shown (vide sec. 93), was composed about 1375, while the Vivādaratnakara was composed about 1320 A. D. Hence the Pārijāta of the Vivādaratnakara is the ancient work mentioned in the Kalpataru.

76. Govindaśāra.

The commentary of Govindaśāra on the Manusmṛti was published by Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik and a portion of it was published by

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702 काल्याणः। विण्मुन्नोदसजने चैव नम्नत्वपरिवर्द्धनम्। प्रायो द्वासीतुल्। कुर्युः। कुचादिं-प्रहणं च यति॥ जन्मत्वपरिवर्द्धनं परिचापनम्। नम्नवे परिवर्द्धनं संवाचनमिति पारिचापत्॥ कल्पनसिंहं फोल 368 ( Benares S. College Transcript ) ; vide notes 649 and 690 above.

703 कस्यमुने व्याक्तण परिच्छेत इत्यतुष्टे व्याक्तयथा मुखये। व्याक्तस्ववादाविकं च सत्य-ह्वणाति रत्नकर एक एक॥ verse at the end of वि.ि.

704 काल्याणं द्वितिणामासिः। भुवालसागरपरिच्छेति द्रोहिष्य। द्वाराकारं फोल 28 a : अध्ययं तुलापुष्पवधव गुरे निषेधांसुबिम्यो द्याविन्ति पारिचापत्। ibid folio 28 b ( about काल्याणामकासिः ).
Dr. Jolly in the *Manuṭikāsāraṅgraha*. In his commentary\(^705\) on *Manu* III. 247 and 248 he tells us that he has treated at greater length the subject of those verses in his own work called *Smṛtimaṇjiḥri*. Kullūka\(^706\) in his comment on *Manu* IV. 212 twits Govindarāja with having explained ‘*ugra*’ in one way in his commentary on *Manu* and in a different way in his Maṇjiḥri. A Ms. of a portion of the *Smṛtimaṇjiḥri* exists in the India Office (cat. p. 471).

From these two works a brief account of the personal history of Govindarāja can be extracted. The colophons at the end of the *Manuṭikā* describe Govindarāja as the son of bhaṭṭa Mādhava. The first verse\(^707\) of the *Smṛtimaṇjiḥri* and one at the end (though somewhat corrupt) give the information that he was the son of Mādhava and grand-son of Nārāyaṇa and appears to have lived on the holy banks of the Ganges.\(^708\) Those who like Sarvadhikari identify Govindarāja with Govindacandra, prince of Benares, are therefore entirely wrong since he was a Brāhmaṇa and not a Kṣatriya. The first verse\(^709\) of his *Manuṭikā* contains an obeisance to god (or Śiva) and states that he had received the śāstra of *Manu* in an unbroken tradition of teacher and pupil and that he had examined previous commentaries of *Manu*.

\(^705\) ‘*साहित्य वैशिक्षिक स्मृतिमञ्जरियोऽपि न होते*’ on *Manu* III. 247; ‘*हिति सहिष्णुकरणसांवस्तारिकीपि स्मृतिमञ्जरि न होते*’ on *Manu* III. 248.

\(^706\) *भोविबद्धराजो मध्याघुर्य राजानुसर्याः* on *Manu* III. 248.

\(^707\) *स्मृतिमञ्जरिहितोऽधिकारिक्षिप्तिर्कुन्दर्मलिखितस्वाध्यायोऽपि* on *Manu* III. 248.

\(^708\) *हृद्वृष्टिको गोविन्दस्यचिं गुल्लांश्च ब्रह्मचिं नवानामोऽस: स माधवनन्दुः* on *Manu* III. 248.

\(^709\) *सन्तानं द्वितीयां नवानामं समाधसामुः* on *Manu* III. 248.
The Sūtras mentioned by him in the two works of his are given below.\textsuperscript{710} Besides he mentions the Vāyupurāṇa (on Manu III. 232) and Purāṇa in general (on Manu I. 74 and 80). He frequently quotes the Gṛhyasūtras, also the Bāhravacagṛhyaparisiṣṭa, the Yoga-
sūtra. He says (on Manu 2. 23) that Mleccha countries like Andhra and others were not fit for performing sacrifices. He
appears to have held like Medhātithi the view that mokṣa was to be
attained by a combination of jñāna and karma.\textsuperscript{711} As compared
with the bhaṣya of Medhātithi his commentary is very concise.
Kullūka largely drew upon Medhātithi and Govindarāja, mentions
them hundreds of times, criticizes\textsuperscript{712} both of them and particularly
holds up Govindarāja to ridicule often enough.\textsuperscript{713} Kullūka notes
that Govindarāja in opposition to Medhātithi and Bhojadeva
arranged Manu 8. 181-184 differently (putting 8. 182 as the last of
those four verses). In the printed edition there is no comment of
Govindarāja on the verses of the 9th chapter from verse 72. But it
appears that the Dāyabhāga had that part of the commentary, as
it quotes the views of Govindarāja on the rights of the daughter's
son which could have appeared only on Manu IX. 130-136.

A few words may now be said about the Sūrtimaṇḍarī, Mss. of
which are rare. At the end of the India office Ms. a summary of
the contents of the whole work is given (for which see footnote

\textsuperscript{710} अक्षरसत्र, आपस्तम्भ, उषानत, कृष्णभूष, काश्यप, गोतम, चतुर्विशालदत, देश, नाराय, पराशर, पेठाशिस, प्रवेलस, मुक्तमेलस, मुक्तमति, बोधयन, यम, याधवस्य, बसिन्द्र, विष्णु, भास, श्रार, शालातप, बृहशालातप, विनिशामत, संतार, सुमन, वर्न.

\textsuperscript{711} On मनु 2. 28 गोविन्दराज माध्यम 'वानकर्ममसुच्चतयामोखावासे'.

\textsuperscript{712} Note the following where गोविन्दराज is criticized by कुलक. मनु II. I,
22, 127; III. 11, 53, 127, 129, 285; IV. 7, 162; VI. 14, 79, 86; VII. 94, 211;
VIII. 37, 142-143, 184, 333; IX. 68, 136, 141, 162, 206; X. 8; XI. 82, 180;
XII. 86.

\textsuperscript{713} On मनु II. 125, III. 50 and VIII. 37 गोविन्दराज is held up to special ridi-
cule. इत्यं गोविन्दराजेन विनिशामिन्वृष्टता। विकाशीनस्मृत्तिः स्वदार्शनरं यथे: ||
on मनु III. 50; स्यातु तिलिषितां पदशिलयं न विशिष्टम || इति गोविन्दराजस्य
राजास्य नामक्रियाय महे || on मनु V. 104. It should be noted that the printed
text of गोविन्दराज on मनु V. 104 is corrupt as it reads 'स्यातु तिलिषु
विशिष्टम्'.

below). It appears that the Śmrtaṁśiṣṭārjula dealt with all principal topics of dharmaśāstra such as the saṁskāras, the daily duties viz: bath, saradhyā, brahmayajña, the duties of the student, householder, the forest hermit, and the saṁnyāsin, the duties of the, the four varṇas, gifts, the purifications of various materials, scods forbidden and allowed, impurity on birth and death, sapindus and saṁāndakas, funeral rites, śraddha and its various details, prāyaścitta. The ms. in the India office deals with the adhikāra for prāyaścitta, the parṣat (i.e. the assembly of learned men who are to determine what prāyaścitta is to be prescribed), the means of atoning for sins and violations of religious duties, the prāyaścittas for the mahāpātakas (viz. the murder of a Brāhmaṇa, drinking wine, theft of gold, incest) and for other lesser and similar sins, meaning of the word prāyaścitta, prāyaścittas for killing men of Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra classes and for killing women, prāyaścittas for the killing of a cow and of various beasts and birds, prāyaścittas for eating forbidden or polluted food and for selling articles forbidden to be sold, secret prāyaścittas. The India Office Ms. which deals only with prāyaścittas contains 152 folios. This gives us an idea as to how extensive the whole work must have been.
The Vyavahāramātrkā as its very name implies deals with the elements of vyavahāra (i.e. judicial procedure). It speaks of the eighteen titles of law, the derivation of the word prādvivāka (judge), the persons fit to be appointed judges, different grades of courts, duties of sabhīyas, four stages of vyavahāra, pūrvapakṣa (plaint), pratibhū (surety), blemishes in a plaint, uttara (reply of the defendant), four kinds of uttara, blemishes in uttara, kriyā (proof or burden of proof), divine (daivi) and human (manuṣṭ) proof (viz: ordeals, inference, witnesses, documents, possession), persons incompetent to be witnesses. Ordeals have not been dealt with by the author. The first verse of the work241 styles it Vyavahāramātrkā. The last verse242 but one suggests the name Nyāyamātrkā which practically is a synonym of Vyavahāra-mātrkā and the colophon at the end of a ms. in the Deccan College collection calls it Nyāyaratnamālīka.

About twenty smṛtikāras243 are mentioned in the Vyavahāra-mātrkā. Kātyāyana, Brhaspati and Nārada are the three smṛtikāras most frequently quoted, nearly two-thirds of the quotations in the entire work being derived from them. Among the nibandhakāras the following are named:—Jitendriya, Dikṣita, (p. 302), Bāla (p. 346, the same as Bālaka), Bhojadeva (pp. 284, 305), Mañjārikāra (i.e. Govindarāja), Yogloka, Viśvarūpa, Śrikara (pp. 292, 334 or Śrikaramiśra p. 342). About Viśvarūpa he says244 'I have put forward this conclusion of the ancient writers, I have

241 व्यवहारसारसौकैत्रिका सकलशिष्यानेन परिवादायतम्। लोकदेविपि रक्षति सुनिश्चितं श्रद्धेषा माता॥

242 परिबद्धतः सङ्घिणिः जीपुतालायः। विदुर्णा परिवेशन निःर्मने व्यायामालाकासम्॥

243 They are उशनसु, कात्यायन, ब्रह्मकात्यायन, कोपिकन्य, गोतम, नारद, पितामह, मृग-पति, बृहस्पति, मनु, यम, गाजवर्मन, विश्वनाथ, विष्णु, व्यास, शक, वृद्ध-शालान्ति, संयती, हरिन्।

244 भगव मानाच्छन्न निष्कृतायामयं वापि (भाणी!) पुरस्कृता। तुष्यं विभक्तपदेशितानां प्रव-दिक्षितम्॥ p. 352. M. M. Chakravarti is not right in taking (JASB 1915, p. 317) 'praśam' to mean 'eastern' in this verse, as in the previous verse also 'निपुष्पित' refers 'to all musai' and 'former works' 'इति सकलमानाना भुकिष्ठाक्स्तिवृद्धस्वरस्ति हज सोभों गम्यते व्यावसाय। स पुष्प-निःस्यभ्यो (हो!) गुप्तत्व वृद्धरसिधिः कदि न पार्क्यं श्रद्धवा गाज्योद्योग्।॥

H. D. 41.
refuted the objections of Viśvarūpa and others and dealt with them at length.’ Yogloka and Śrikara are generally quoted for being refuted and the former is frequently jeered at as ‘tārkikāṁ-manya’ or ‘nava-tārkikāṁ-manya’. In this work Jīmūtavāhana displays great familiarity with the ancient dialectics. In some cases what the printed text exhibits as prose really constitutes verses. Sir Asutosh Mukerji is not accurate when he says in the preface that ‘Jīmūtavāhana refers to a number of jurists not mentioned by any other author, e.g. Jitendriya, Yogloka, Bālaka, Viśvarūpa, Śrikara and Mañjārīkāra.’ It has been shown above that both Viśvarūpa and Śrikara have been mentioned by the Mit. which is certainly earlier than Jīmūtavāhana and by a host of other writers who were either earlier than or contemporaries of Jīmūtavāhana. The Vyavahāramārtha is quoted in the Vyavahārtattva (pp. 199, 214, vol. II) and the Dāyatattva of Raghunandana.

The Dāyabhāga is the most famous of Jīmūtavāhana’s works. In matters of Hindu law such as inheritance, partition, strīdhana, re-union, it is of paramount authority in modern British Indian courts in Bengal, except in those cases where the Mitākṣara is applicable. The names of more than a dozen commentators of it are known and Pandit Bharatacandra Siromani published it with seven commentaries (1863-1866). It was translated into English by Colebrooke. In many editions (such as that of Jivananda) it is divided into sections though there were no divisions in the original work. The contents of the Dāyabhāga are:— Definition of dāya; father’s power over ancestral property; partition of father’s and grand-father’s property; division among brothers after their father’s death; definition, classification and devolution of strīdhana; persons excluded from inheritance and partition on the ground of disabilities; property which is impartible (in its very nature or because it is self-acquired); order of succession to one dying sonless; re-union, partition of coparcenary property concealed but discovered afterwards, indicia of partition.

745 e.g. on p. 348 the words ‘तत्सादास्तकयुक्तमस्मान एव म्माणामोक्षयात्। मुक्तः- सूर्दिन्तसं तितितादिश्चो बलियमस्तम्॥’ constitute an Ārya. Similarly on p. 349 the words ‘तत्सादास्तकयुक्तमस्मान मुक्तः: म्माणात्सात्साव:। ... लक्षणानामाः-धीनस्तवःवत्तामाणाय सा॥’ make two Āryās.

746 ‘युक्तिमः स च तोक्कम्भवः: हर्ती व्यवहारामावः। व्यवहारातः p. 199, vol. II.'
Some of the peculiar doctrines of the Dāyabhāga which are of fundamental importance and which sharply distinguish it from the Mit. are: sons have no interest in ancestral property by birth, sons can claim partition only after extinction of their father's ownership (i.e. after his death or on his becoming patita or a saṁnyāsin) or partition can take place between father and sons if the father so desires, a widow succeeds to her husband's interest on his death even if he be joint with his brother, the right to take a deceased person's estate is regulated by the spiritual benefit conferred by the person claiming as heir (by means of the offering of pīṇḍas) and not by the principle of consanguinity (as in the Mit.).

Besides the smṛtikāras, the Mahābhārata and the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa the following authors are referred to by name in the Dāyabhāga:—Udgṛhamalla, Govindarāja (as author of Manuśīkā), Jitendraiya, Dikṣita, Bālaka, Bhojadeva or Dhāreśvara, Viśvarūpa and Śrīkara. Udgṛhamalla is referred to on the distribution of stridhana and it is said that Udgṛhamalla (i.e. his view) is throttled by the text of Devala. It appears therefore that Udgṛhamalla was not a smṛti writer, but a nibandhakāra. Dikṣita is credited with the view that, among daughters, those who have sons or are likely to have sons are preferred to those who are either barren, widowed or who give birth to daughters alone and the Dāyabhāga approves of this view. There is one more writer who is referred to twice with great respect as Niravadyavidyoddyyota.

747 Note the following: ‘नतेवं पिन्दस्वताः पालनं एव पिलुः’ स्थाये पितुरि रिष्येति कालदव्य इ’ दुर्भाषण प. 38; अतोदविदेषयो विभक्तस्वताः पिलुः दिव्यास्वरस्य महत् हस्तनन्यपतियो निरोपयोक्ति आद्रणीय:। प. 256; उप- कारकं च धन्यनं नामकार्यां महानीतिमत्त हस्तां हस्त निरर्थण स्वयं ग्रामीयो यो मल्लितो यो प्रति कार्यां ज्ञात्राद्यादाय:। प. 336.

748 The smṛtikāras named are: उच्चास्व, कात्यायन, वृद्धकात्यायन, गौतम, दत्त, वेश्य, नारदे, वेदनीसि, भृहस्तिः, मनू, वृहस्तिः, नाम, वाहवाक्य, विष्णु, व्यास, शिष्यकोटि, वृहदाद्योक्ति, कृति.

749 भास्त्रमविष्ययकस्य देवलयें गलिपत: यथा सामाययं पुनर्कल्याणं शुभाय शीघ्रनं विष्णु। दुर्भाषण प. 127.

750 अतः पुरुषां संभवतुष्यं शारिकारिणी व दम्यावधिशतुर्वद्धुत्सवविद्यार्यं विष्ययक- पुनः पुनर्प्रभारित्वेति दृष्टितमात्रदारणाः। दुर्भाषण प. 271.
Whether this is a mere description or title (‘the refutile of whose learning is spotless’) or whether the author’s name was Uddyota and niravadyvidya (‘whose learning is spotless’) is an epithet, it is difficult to say. For a correct knowledge of the origin and development of the theory of spiritual benefit propounded in the Dayabhāga, it would be extremely desirable to know who this writer was, as Jimūtavāhana tells us that that view was brilliantly set forth by Niravadyavidyoddyota. The same writer is also quoted on the well known verse of Yājñavalkya ‘bhūryā pitāmahopātā &c.,’ which is the sheet-anchor of Viṣṇanesvara’s theory about the son’s rights by birth in ancestral family property.\(^{751}\)

Jimūtavāhana gives very little information about himself. In the colophons of his works he is described as Pāribhadriya Mahāmahopādyāya and at the end of the Vyavahāramātrkā (vide note 742 above) he tells us that he was born of the Pāribhadra family (kula).\(^{752}\) It is said that this name of the family still survives in the Parihal or Pāri Gai, a section of Rāḍhiya Brāhmaṇas (Ghose’s Hindu Law, 3rd edition, pp. xvi-xviii and JASB 1915 p. 320). It is also said that Edumīśra in his Kulakārkā tells us that Jimūtavāhana was chief judge in the reign of Viṣvak-sena of Bengal and that he was 9th in descent from Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa, one of the five Brāhmaṇas brought by Ādiśūrā. The information supplied by the match-makers of Bengal is, as shown above, not worth reliance, unless corroborated by independent evidence. It is also said that for fourteen generations the Brāhmaṇas of Pārigrāma have been degraded and so Jimūtavāhana would not have paraded the fact that he was Pāribhadriya if at the time when he wrote his subcaste had been degraded (Intro. to Kālaviveka p. viii). The fact that Jimūtavāhana was a native of Rāḍhā is testified by his statement in the Kālaviveka that Agastya (Canopus) rose in Ujjayini

\(^{751}\) बर्त्तर याज्ञवल्क्यकपाटसन्-मुनाः ... मयोः-सत्य निरस्याविद्योद्वोलन धीरित्स्तवस्य-नवयः। वष्णुवधी नित्यशीतिक्षक्षयोरायमपश्चादिकवरेकः पुनरतुन्त्र वित्संधोभी जीविति अन्नतरं सिद्ध हस्तात्तदने च नहं मानोपेयितंसिद्धार्थं। तदर्थं साधेन व्याश्चामिति वचनस्य। p. 50.

\(^{752}\) In some editions of the दायभाग, the last verse is परिमंडलोऽदाय श्रीमान् जीृतवाहनः। दायभागं चक्रार्मं विवरं संश्चिक्षिते॥
when four days of the month of Bhadrapada remained, but that in Radhâ Agastya rose when seven days of the month were yet to run.\footnote{753} 

Extremely divergent views have been held as to the date of Jimitavâhana. He has been assigned to various dates from the 11th to the 16th century. In L. R. 41 I. A. at p. 298 it is said by their Lordships of the Privy Council that the Mit. was earlier by five centuries than Jimitavâhana. Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 37) assigns him to the 15th century. For a statement of the various dates and their examination the article of M. M. Chakravarti in JASB. for 1915, pp. 321-327 and Mr. Panchanan Ghosh's learned article in 26 Calcutta Law Journal (journal portion p. 17 ff.) may be consulted. Since Jimitavâhana mentions Dhârebhâvtha Bhojadeva and Govindarâja, he cannot be placed earlier than the last quarter of the 11th century. Since he is quoted by Śula-pâni, Vâcaspati-miśra and Râghunandana, he cannot be later than the middle of the 15th century. The Kâlaviveka furnishes important data. On a ms. of the Kâlaviveka there is a note made about the birth-date of the son of a certain Ghatakasimha with the horoscope of the child. The year specified therein is taka 1417, i.e. 1495 A. D. It follows from this that the Ms. itself must have been copied sometime before this and the original work must be much earlier still. So the Kâlaviveka cannot be placed at any rate later than about 1400 A. D.

In the Kâlaviveka Jimitavâhana tells us that his predecessor Andhuka\footnote{754} exhibited a certain astronomical matter in taka 952 (i.e. 1030 A. D.) and that he declared an intercalary month in taka 955.

Similarly Jimitavâhana expatiates upon several\footnote{755} minute astro-

\footnote{753} Tathâ hi râkâdiyâ u tascyamârâsitâ me âadhârâ tassodhp. | U spâyamâ c dinaditvâyâsitâ. | kâlavivek p. 290 ; vide p. 291 also.

\footnote{754} ēsânic ca kârthikâ hrambhavâbhikânumâdhavât âsthitâ yathâ kâsaya eva amruta samâna iti vistavâ. | kâlavivek p. 51; tathâ yathâ prabhavâbhikânumâdhavâbhotia kâsaya eva tulasâkâneatramatavasthâya dehatvât. . . . | kâlavivek p. 119.

\footnote{755} nnu caryâcânâkarâmârâtmâbhâvâtârâma bhavante | tathâ ca cantus vâcâsraya- | shakastre sahastre | jåsâ eva bhrihatdaha | cantus eva pàtottâvâyânâkramâ sahastradiyâ pàtaiyâ maha
nomical and astrological details which were observed in the *saka* years 1013 and 1014 (i.e. 1091 and 1092 A.D.). It is impossible to suppose that an author would enter into such minute details about a time which was anterior to his own by centuries. Generally astronomical works take for their calculations starting points or years which were within their own experience or very nearly so. Therefore it appears to be a sound conclusion to hold that the Kalaviveka was composed soon after *saka* 1013 or 1014 (i.e. 1091 and 1092 A.D.). Hence it follows that the literary activity of Jimūtavāhana lay between 1090 and 1130 A.D. The Kalaviveka seems to be his first work. The Vyavahāramāitrka would naturally come before the Dāyabhāga. He seems to have contemplated writing716 on ċuñādana also, as he says in the Dāyabhāga that a certain matter would be expounded by him in ċuñādana.

The most cogent argument that can be advanced against the above early date assigned to Jimūtavāhana is that neither Jimūtavāhana nor any of his compositions is mentioned by Bengal writers and works on Dharmāstūra belonging to the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries such as the Hāralata, the commentary of Kullūka etc. No satisfactory explanation can be offered of this silence. But is is a very precarious thing to conclude from this silence that Jimūtavāhana’s works did not exist during those centuries. It is safer to base conclusions about his date on the positive evidence contained in his works rather than rely upon the negative argument from silence in later works. When some of his commentators say that he criticises the views of Caṇḍēśvara, Miśra and others we should not take them seriously. The commentators had no idea of the exact chronological position of writers long anterior to them. All they mean is that Jimūtavāhana criticises views that were shared also by Caṇḍēśvara and others. Another important question is whether Jimūtavāhana who is certainly a little later than the Mit.

756 एनक्स्म्ह परिसरण (ज्ञान-) दुनि व्हैं व्ह्रेंगैं | व्ह्रायाम. 45.
criticizes it. The Vivāda-tāṇḍava of Kalākara says that Jimūtavāhana held that the view about the equal ownership of father and son in ancestral property was put forward for precluding the possibility of the uncle taking the whole estate of a man dying (in union) leaving a son or a predeceased son's son or for precluding the possibility of an unequal distribution of ancestral property by a father among his sons and that Jimūtavāhana took up this position, being blinded by his hatred of the Mit. The Viramitrodaya also says that Jimūtavāhana criticizes the Mitakṣara definition of vibhaga and the view of the Mit. about the times for partition. The Vyavahāramātrka also appears to criticizes several times views which were held by the Mit. and the correspondence is very striking. On this point this much may be said that the points selected for attack by Jimūtavāhana do occur almost in the same words in the Mit. but, since the Mit. is not expressly mentioned and since it is likely that other writers like Asahāya and Bāruci whose works have not yet been discovered might have contained the very same words that are found in the Mit., it is somewhat hazardous to assert that Jimūtavāhana criticizes the Mit. alone and no other work. All that one can advance is that it is quite within the bounds of possibility that Jimūtavāhana criticizes the Mit.

For Raghunandana one of the famous commentators of the Dāyabhāga, vide sec. 102 below.

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757 यत्र जीतुत्वालेन—स्योऽपि व च सति सनिक्षरां स्वतःप्रयोगं विद्व्यपीय ज्ञातनमालिकायेअरावियेयम् सन्यासायोगियम् पुराणां विद्व्यविभागानविक्रयाय या न त विन्दा समावार्त्य पुरावसनानमाय्यम् व तेन वैतालवियेय पीतांभंग्यंगिनयिता तत्विनानक्षणाश्चाच्छस्मान ।

folio 109 of the Mandlik collection ms. in the Fergusson College, Poona.

758 'यत्र जीतुत्वालेनैव भिन्नासाराक्क भीमाणो नाम ध्रुव्वनुवाचविषयः गामनेकस्वाभ्यानो न तद्विदेशस्य व्यवस्थापासनमिति निमित्तासन्धाराक्कमुखाः: तति दुर्योधनस्य व्रत, वरो p. 547:

'अत्र विन्युमन एकः कालो निद्रेः कारिव नरसारिति विविधस्य जीवाति चेत्तिनाति तृतीय इति निमित्ताराया जीतुत्वालेनोऽकु दश्यमुः ।' वरो p. 552.

759 विष्णुपरमार्थम् प. 396 'तदेव (ि) यथेन्द्र अवसिष्ठेव्यांहृतवात् यथेवः कर्मां अत्यन्तसन्धितमिनि महायं शास्त्रिप्रणालिनी गृहीतं निराधारमस्वदीया गृहिरं दीपः प्रकाश्य-शेषोत्तीर्थति तथा तत्रत्स्व दूरात्मकं किं तु शास्त्राय्यथाक्सममाश्चालीनावेव तेनें कर्मयाति ।; compare निमित्तारा on वाण्. II. 6 'अससिन्धु महायं शास्त्रिप्रणालिनी गृहीता न प्रविष्टस्यावदि निराधारमस्वक्रृते दीप्यकामेनायं स्वायं ह्यवहसनी-व्यादि । It is to be noted that these examples occur in अपरांक also.'
On the smṛti of Yājñavalkya Aparāditya wrote a voluminous commentary styled Aparārka–Yājñavalkya-dharmaśāstra-nibandha (published in two volumes by the Anandaśrama Press, Poona, 1903 and 1904). In a verse⁷⁶⁰ at the end and in the colophons the author is called Aparāditya, a Śilāhāra king, born in the family of Jīmūtavāhana of the Vidyādharā race. In the introductory⁷⁶¹ fifth verse also the author is styled ‘an ornament of the family of Jīmūta’ and is highly eulogised for his devotion to Śiva and his brilliant intellect.

Aparārka’s work, like the Mitākṣara, though professedly a commentary on Yaj., is really in the nature of a digest. It is far more voluminous than the Mit. It quotes profusely from the Grhya and Dharma sūtras and the metrical smṛtis. Several features distinguish it from the Mit. The Mit. is generally very chary of quoting from the purāṇas, while Aparārka contains long extracts sometimes extending over pages from several purāṇas, viz, the Ādipurāṇa, the Adityapurāṇa, the Kūrma, the Kālikapurāṇa, Devi, Nandi, Nṛsiṃha, Padma, Brahma, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhaviṣyat, Bhaviṣyottara, Matsya, Mārkandeya, Liṅga, Varaha, Vāmanana, Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Viṣṇudharmottara, Śivadharmottara, Skanda. The index at the end of the printed Aparārka gives the names of the various smṛtikāras quoted in the work. Another feature not found in the Mit. is that Aparārka quotes long passages of the dharmasūtras and explains them at length, e.g. on Yaj. III 294 (p. 1205) he quotes Gautama (Dh. S. 20. 2–9) and then offers a lengthy explanation; on Yaj. III. 294–295, he quotes long passages of Vasiṣṭha (Dh. S. 15. 11–14 and 17–21) and gives detailed explanations of them. It is probable he had not before him commentaries on these dharmasūtras. On p. 11, he

⁷⁶⁰ रासैं वस्त्र निर्दृष्टा स्तुब्धमभी कोशः स्मृतं सुल्खायो दुर्गमवानम श्लेष्टपरः सेना हितं मन्नित्रिसः।
शास्त्रायोर्मृत्यंतरितंतरिततिष्ठतिनागमायमयी सांसिद्धार्थश्चोष्णोसुमपरादिविरो
gives brief summaries in the style of the Śaṅkarabhāṣya of the tenets of the Śaiva, Paśupata, Pāñcarātra, Saṅkhya and Yoga systems. He
does not appear to have been an ardent admirer of the Advaita Vedānta
though he refers to the Śārirakamīmāṁsā. In one place he sets
out the arguments of those who hold that correct knowledge alone
leads to mokṣa and of those who hold that a combination of correct
knowledge and works is essential for mokṣa and leaves his readers to
choose for themselves whatever view they take. It is remarkable
that, while ever the Mit. names at least six nibandhakāras on
dharmāśāstra viz. Asahāya, Viśvarūpa, Bhāruci, Śrikara, Medhātithi
and Dhāreśvara, Aparārka observes a studied silence in the matter of
citing the names of his predecessors. He employs such vague
expressions as kecit, anye, apare, though he cites views that were
ascribed by the Mit. and others to Dhāreśvara and others, e.g. on
pp. 741-42 he says that the text of Yāj. ‘patni duhitaraḥ’ according
to some refers to the widow who submits to niyoga (this is the view of
Dhāreśvara); on p. 744 he refers to the view of some that the word
dubitr in Yāj. means only the appointed daughter (putrika).
This last was the view of Viśvarūpa and Śrikara. On p. 761 he
refers to the reading of some in Yāj. II. 150 as ‘sāmantā sthavirā ganāḥ’
which is found in Viśvarūpa (II. 154) and not in the Mit. Aparārka
names (p. 926) a Vāgbhaṭa-smṛtisamgraha and a Smṛtimīmāṁsā of
Jaimini (p. 206) from which two verses are quoted, variant
readings therein are noticed and detailed explanations thereof are
offered. He refers to several works and authors on astronomy and
astrology such as Garga, Kriyāśraya (p. 872), Sārāvalī. On
pp. 570 and 572 of the printed text occur two references to a
pusṭaka of rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha. That was probably a marginal

762 शास्त्रच तत्त्वाद्वा एतेनात्तत्त्त्वादन्याकाश: संसुत:—हस्ताक्षरवकास्किन्येऽव पराप्तत: सिद्धात्मकार्तितमाणि।
तत्त्वच तत्वाकार्यः। शारीरिकमिनिमांसाशास्त्रालिनां—
परिहर्ष पुस्तक एव। प. 975 on यात्रा। III. 68.

763 Viḍo pp. 1029-1034 on यात्रा। III. 205. On p. 1034 he says ‘तद्भवोमेत्याः—
न्यायां तद्वारायां’।

764 अः कैस्वित्तुषूः एवेवार्त्तस्माधाग्याचिन्हार्गुणस्मृतिहस्तिगच्चांतिद्विचर्यो
पत्नी दुहितिः हस्ताक्षर: चचन्मिति। . . . एवेन यसुक्तं केनानि पत्नी दुहितिः हस्ताक्षर:
दुहितिस्याप्रमुख पुस्तकोपवयति हि तत्त्वादन्ते चचन्मित्ययछ।

765 हि राजानकशिष्टिक्षणपुस्तके विषयः। D. 572.

M. D. 42.
note in a ms., the copyist or owner of which found on comparison with another ms. belonging to rājānaka Śītānātha additional matter. Aparārka quotes from Bhaṭṭa (i.e. Kumārilabhaṭṭa). Aparārka does not appeal as frequently to the doctrines of the Pūrvamīmāṁsa as the Mit. does and he does not generally enter into acute discussions of Pūrvamīmāṁsa in its application to Dharmasāstra as the Mit. does. It must be said that Aparārka is much inferior to the Mit. in lucid exposition, in dialectic skill, in subtlety of argument and in the ordered presentation of heterogenous material.

Some of the views that are usually associated with Jīmūtavāhana were propounded by Aparārka also. Aparārka bases the right to take a deceased person’s property on the superior spiritual benefit conferred by the claimant on the person deceased. In several other respects also Aparārka differs from the Mit., though in general the two closely agree. For example, Aparārka prefers the father over the mother as an heir (p. 745); Aparārka explains the word ‘apratisthitā’ in Gautama’s text (18.22) as ‘one who is issueless or is indigent or a widow,’ while the Mit. explains it to mean only ‘indigent.’

Whether Aparārka knew the Mit. is a vexed question. Some scholars while holding that Aparārka does criticize the Mit. explain away the non-mention of the Mit. by saying that Indian etiquette required a royal author not to mention the name of the servant of another king, while the existence of the master himself was ignored (Dr. Jolly in Journal of Indian History vol. III p. 17). It is doubtful whether any such etiquette ever existed and further Aparārka studiously avoids the express mention of every ancient commentator. Works of royal authors, such as the Madanpārijā or the Sarasvativilāsa, do not appear to have followed the etiquette. In

766 तत्थः यथौः भद्देन-धृत्यशुक्लाः तिवराः मधुमासादि वर्जयत्। नितापयेद्वादिन्द्रमेतिद्धंवयंग्यते। इति तदनेन विहृत्यते p. 76.

767 तत्थः मत्तांत्रेः पूर्वः धनायां यथौः मधुः। अनलारः सपिःसाब्यसह तत्थः धनं भवेदिन्ति।।। संस्कृतकामाकृतम्। पितामहानाथिकं चित्राणं चोद्यति। तत्तत्ततिजीवयणी तेषां। मात्रेके विश्वम्भरता। स सह मन्त्यसिंहः सापिः। तद्भव तु सोद्देश सारातिश्रेयोऽस्य। सामन्तालनोद्यति। समाः। तस्मांत्यसिंहं विषयायति। च नितापयेदिवसपिः नितापयेदिवसपिः संस्कृतकामाकृतम्। तस्मांत्यसिंहं विषयायति। p. 744-45.
my opinion the Mit. was known to Aparārka. Aparārka reads Yāj. III. 17 as ‘Vaitānopāsanāḥ kāryāḥ kriyāśca śruti-coditaḥ,’ explains the first word as a karmadhāraya compound, gives the explanation of this verse offered by others, disapproves of it and then says that others read ‘śruti-codanaḥ’ for ‘śruti-coditaḥ’.

Viśvarūpa reads ‘vaitānikaśrayaḥ... śrutidarśanaḥ’ and offers no comment on this verse beyond the word ‘spaṣṭārthametat’ (it is III. 15. in the Trivandrum ed.). The Mit. does contain the reading referred to by Aparārka and the śūtī passage ‘yāvaj-jivam’ etc. Aparārka refers on Yāj. III. 254 to the reading ‘samāṁ’

adopted by some, says that the latter explain the verse as prescribing the penance for three years and observes that the verse of Manu (IX. 92) does not apply, as the latter say, to him alone whose palate has merely come in contact with liquor (without his having actually swallowed it).

Viśvarūpa (III. 248) does not explain the verse as prescribing a three

768 अत्र केवल व्याख्याते-विताने वेद भवति वेदानां: तथा उपालने गृहे भवति आपस्सानां।

वेदानांभोजस्यि बैतानां । किया हृति। तदेनुष्ठानांसर्वसूत्रम। । । । । तदाः वेदानो-

पातं हि तथा शब्दं: स्पष्ट चुनावतानां । हृति। । । । । । । ।

यज्ञ इति: स्थलेनान्ति पातं कला हेतुपरवेणे व्याख्यातं तदोपि न युक्तं। परशु हि ते

मन्यन्ते:। वस्माभूत्या वाक्याधिकरणां जुध्युपालते, वाक्याः वर्णां दश्चूर्वर्त्तानें-

मासांः यज्ञस: हृदावतिरंतरं कार्यक्षेत्राय विश्वताल तुषित्वार श्रवणं शाप्त्यशोकं चेति न निवर्तं विधातुमिति। अपराकेश p. 891: compare the मिताल्परा। 'वितानो मैतिरा विश्वास्तत्र मया बैतानाः। वेदानांभोजः आविशेष्यां शुद्धाः पुराणांमासाः। किया उपालने।

...उपालनो गृहाधिपति मया आपस्सा। सायनाऍमधिमित्रका। प्रयत्ने तत्रैतानो-

पातान वैद्विष्ण: । किया: कार्यः। कथं बैदेकातुमिति बैदेकातु । विनिविदानातः। तथापि

वाक्याधिकारः जुध्युपालता दश्चूर्वर्त्तानें विद्याधिकारानां वैदेकातु । विदेकातु ।

769 ‘केतिरुः समारवें घुरुचनान्तं वर्षेश्चतर्वतेन व्याख्याति।... अस्मा-

देव च सुरापापनस्यकौस्तोत्ति वचनातु हस्तसुरापनस्येतु ब्रह्मित्वम गम्यन्ते न नुस्तत्सत्सु-

मात्रेषु यज्ञा भवति। अपराकेश p. 1073: compare the मिताल्परा। 'अथवा

पिन्क्यां विनिविद विसमां। वर्षेश्चतर्वतेन राजो भस्येत।... यज्ञ भस्यवचनं क्षणवचना

...सतनिनिष्ठा। सुरापापनस्य घुरुचनाः जटी ध्वनिः। हृति तत्सत्सुभाषिस्यपोषी। इरुवा अभूतिपूर्वे श्रवणस्। 'The printed text of याष्टः in the मिताल्परा

reads विनिविद्।... 'महायेति निघः'।। The printed अपराकेश reads 'महायेति समा निघः, while विनिविद् reads 'महायेति समा निघः। The remarks of अपराकेश show that he had a ms. of a comm. where the reading was महायेति समा निघः।
years' penance nor does he refer to the contact of wine with the palate. The Mit. however contains both these particulars. On p. 1084 also Aparārka seems to be referring to the view of the Mit.

The date of Aparārka can be settled within very narrow limits. The Smṛticandrīkā in several places quotes the views of Aparārka and sometimes contrasts them with those of the Mit. The Smṛti-candrīkā refutes the view of Aparārka that the words of Yaj. ‘jyeṣṭham vā śreṣṭhabhāgena’ are meant to comprehend all various modes of giving an additional share (uddhāravībhāga) to the eldest son on partition mentioned by Manu and others and it follows Aparārka’s explanation of ‘apratīṣṭhitā’ in Gautama’s text. It will be shown later on that the Smṛticandrīkā must have been composed about 1200 A.D. If the above conclusion that Aparārka knew the Mit. and criticizes it be correct, Aparārka must have flourished after 1100 A.D. and before 1200 A.D. Here epigraphical research comes to our help. We know from the commentary that the author Aparāditya was a Śilāhāra prince of Jimūtavāhana’s family. Inscriptions of the Śilāhāras show that there were three branches of that family, one ruling in the northern Konkan at Thana, the second in the southern Konkan and the third at Kolhapur (vide JBBRAS, vol. XIII p. 10-17 for the three branches). All the branches traced their descent from Jimūtavāhana. There is only a single inscription of the second branch which had ten kings reigning from about 808 to 1008 A.D. (JBBRAS vol. I, p. 209, E. I. vol. III. p. 292). There is no Aparāditya in this line. Vide E. I. III p. 207. 211 and 213 for several grants of the Kolhapur branch. Inscriptions

770 ‘तन्मापि बाल्यप्रस्फुट्क्षणियाऽन्तिमां गच्छतो नववार्षिक्षः वेठान्याकों शूरार्थिकं शूरीं नववार्षिकं गुहलमयं भवनीयस्यकों मन्यते । अपराक्रम प. 1084; the विनाशां कोण on या। III. 260 (a) ‘बाल्यप्रस्फुट्क्षणियां क्षणियामां भवतः सत्यं कामने एव।’

771 समयविशेषतः च्येष्ठे श्रेष्ठमाणेश्वरादित्यदशाभिनाध्यात्मकां तेन ज्योतिष विश्व उद्धार इत्यादि- ज्ञानिर्दिष्टाणां तत्तत्त्वमाणेन विविधात्त्वमाणेन सर्वेषोपनिमोऽविनाशात्मां भवस्ति। स्त्रिपितं II. p. 261; compare अपराक्रम p. 717 ‘ज्योतिषां विश्व... वाचिक: इत्यादिप्रदर्शात्मां तत्तत्त्वमाणेन विविधात्त्वमाणेन सर्वेषोपनिमोऽविनाशात्मां भवस्ति।’

‘अपराक्रमां अनपत्तिका तथापि तत्तत्त्वमाणेन धिष्टाः विविधात्त्वमाणेन ज्योतिषां विश्वात्मां। एवमपराक्रमां अनपत्तिका तत्तत्त्वमाणेन व्याख्यात्मां।’ अथ विषाणुवर्त्ता व्याख्या देव। स्त्रिपितं इत्यादिप्रदर्शात्मां भवस्ति।’

स्त्रिपितं II. 5. 285; vide स्त्रिपितं II. 218, 367, 377, 428 for other references to अपराक्रम। Vide चतुर्भुज III. 2, p. 495 for mention of अपराक्रम।
of the northern Śilahāras speak of two kings who are named Aparādityadeva. In JBBRAS vol. XXI, pp. 505-516 there is a grant dated 7049 (expired) of Aparādityadeva who donated a village named Vaḍavali in the Thana District to a brāhmaṇa studying the Mādhyandina recension of the Vājasaneyasaṁhitā. The king is there styled once as Aparājīta and several times as Aparādityadeva. He was son of Anantadeva and grand-son of Nāgārjuna and traced his descent to Jimūtavāhana, son of Jimūtaketu, far famed in legend and literature as an exemplar of self-sacrifice. In the drama Nāgāndaṇḍa. In this inscription Aparādityadeva is styled Śilahārānarendra and Jimūtavāhanāvayaprasāṣṭa as in the colophon of the commentary on Yāj. (vide note 760 above) and also Mahāmaṇḍalekvara and Tagarapuparamesvara. In the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol. V, part 2, p. 169 there is a grant made at Somnath-Patāṇ in Kathiawar of Vikramasaṁvat 1176 (1119-20 A. D.) while Aparādityadeva of the Śilahāra family was reigning, almost in the same words as in the grant in JBBRAS vol. XXI p. 505. In I. A. vol. IX, p. 33 there is a grant of Anantadeva father of Aparādityadeva dated in 7016 (i.e. 1094-5 A. D.). Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. I. part 2, p. 15 for a list of 20 kings of the northern Konkan branch from 810 to 1260 A. D. Vide also an inscription of Aparādityadeva dated 7051 (i.e. 1129 A. D.) in Festgabc Dr. Jacobi pp. 189-193 (1926). Therefore it appears that the dates of Aparādityadeva I referred to in these grants fall between 1115 and 1130 A. D. It was most probably this king who composed the commentary on Yāj. We know from the Śrikanṭhacarita of Maṅkha that king Aparāditya of Konkan sent Tejakanta on an embassy to an assembly of learned men in Kashmir during the reign of Jayasimha of Kashmir (1129 to 1150 A. D.). Aparārka's commentary continues to be the standard law-book used by the pandits of Kashmir (Jolly's Tagore Law lectures p. 24). Aparārka's work

773 जीृतकेृतन्त्रधो निवास कृष्णललिताः सन्ति भिक्षणसिद्धः। देहे निजं तृणमित्राकलयुप पराधो यो रक्षति सम महाकाल स्वरुपा शुक्लासुः॥ तस्यान्ये देहे कर्मान्तः स्वरुपार्जुष्मृणूत्तिविन्ध्यम्॥ प. 507.

773 द्रोतिन्तुदृि द्रुवहुस्वरुपानुपाहुः। शाद्रिनां दादार्दिः। तन्न श्रावरस्वाम यः भ्रमरपरराविही दृि तृणसिद्धे।।। मणिवाच परस्माः। कश्मिरार्द्धुक्कृतोमारसः॥ तन्न श्रावरस्वामो श्रावरस्वाममनुभन्तः।।। श्रीमण्डः।। चरित २५। १०५-१११।
betrays familiarity with Kashmir. I have already noticed the reference to rājanaka Śītiśaṅkha above. On a passage from Brahmāpurāṇa speaking of a śrāddha at Mārtanda-pādāmula, Aparārka notes (p. 903) that the latter is well known in Kashmir. It is therefore most probable that the work was composed about 1125 and was introduced into Kashmir when an embassy was sent from the Konkan king to Kashmir in the reign of Jayasimha. The dates of the second Aparāditya range from 1184 to 1187 A. D. (Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. XIII, part 2, p. 427; JBBRAS vol. XII, pp. 333-335 for an inscription of Aparāditya dated 1109 that i.e. 1187 A. D. (wherein he is styled Koṅkaṇa-cakravartī). It is difficult to hold that this was the author of the commentary on Yāj. The Smṛticandrikā is mentioned by Hemādri and hence could not be later than the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Therefore if Aparārka who is frequently cited by the Smṛticandrikā were to be regarded as having flourished about 1187 A. D., very little distance is left between him and the Smṛticandrikā in order that the former should come to be looked upon as an authority by the latter. Therefore it appears probable that Aparārka wrote the commentary on Yāj. in the first half of the 12th century (about 1125 A. D.). Vide Tri. cat. Mad. Govt. Mss. for 1919-22, pp. 4853-54, for the Nyāyamuktāvali of Aparādityadeva, which is a com. on the Nyāyasāra of Bhāsarvajña.

80. Pradīpa

The Smṛtyarthaśāstra of Śrīdhara enumerates the Pradīpa among its authorities after the Kāmadhenu. The Smṛticandrikā in a highly paronomastic verse appears to refer to a work called Pradīpa. The Sarasvativilāsa quotes the view of the Pradīpa

774 मारण्याबाद्ययु काश्मिरिणु प्रतिल्प्र | अपराक | p. 903.
775 Vide note 651 above.
776 पदे पदे प्रक्षयताः प्रदीपदिस्तिकतावरी | द्रष्याण्य हस्तिविये चन्द्रिका प्रतितमते || प्रदीप (lamp and a work) and चन्द्रिका (moonlight and the स्पृहिष्मिन्द्रिका) are paronomastic.
777 प्रातिपादानमपि परम्परारिदाश्वमिन्तिप्रदीपः | स. वि. p. 253; vide p. 361 for another reference to प्रदीप.
that even the suretyship debt of a person must be paid by his grandson. The Jivatpitkānirnaya778 of Rāmakṛṣṇa (about 1600 A.D.) quotes the Pradipa on the question that when brothers are separated they should perform separately the annual śrāddha of their father and other ancestors. Nandapandita in his commentary on the779 Śaḍaśīti cites the view of the Pradipa that the sūtra of Paṭīhinasi (a woman delivered of a son bathing after twenty nights from delivery is entitled to perform all religious rites, while one who is delivered of a female child is so entitled after a month) applies to the wife of one who is not a dikṣita (one who has consecrated the Vedic fires). It has been shown above (note 689) how the Pradipa criticizes Bhavadeva, according to the Viramitrodaya, which in several places cites the views of the Pradipa (vide pp. 78, 89, 215 & etc.).

The foregoing discussion shows that the Pradipa was probably an independent work on vyavahāra, śrāddha, śuddhi and other topics. Being mentioned by the Smṛtyarthasāra and Smṛticandrika, it cannot be later than about 1150 A.D. As it criticizes Bhavadeva it cannot be earlier than 1100 A.D.

Hemādri780 refers to the explanation of the word kāla occurring in a text of Gārgya offered by a Smṛipradipa. It is not unlikely that he means the same work as is referred to by others as Pradipa.

81. The Smṛtyarthasāra of Śrīdhara

This well-known work was published by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, in 1912 A.D. The principal topics discussed by it are: the acts allowed in former ages but forbidden in the kāli age; the number of sāṃskāras, the detailed treatment of Upanayana, the

778 प्रदीपिन. विश्वकालु पृथक कृत्यः मतिसंवत्तारिधिष्ठ. एकैनैवात्मकास्य तैत्तिर्योत्तरिष्ट. (in Bhadkamkar collection).
779 पौडीनार्था चूतिकान पूजार्थमितिप्रमाणमात्र सर्वकालीन कार्यसमस्तान्तरिष्टमात्री मूर्तिः। अद्वैतविशीष्यमात्रीति 5.8प. । पिनानिश्चितिका तौत 8a (in the Bhadkamkar collection); vide folio 38 b for another reference to प्रदीपिन.
780 यदाह गार्थं। प्रत्यक्षाधिकारं श्वसनम् बाहु शवदार्शने। परं ततो चरं कार्य हने शुद्धमुपविदन्त। स्मितमिश्रिताप्रथम कालास्त्रयं मृत्तिकाः। . . . स्मितस्त्रियाप्रथम कालास्त्रयं मृत्तिकाः। (कल) प. 355.
duties of Brahmacārin, holidays, marriage, its various forms, prohibitions on the ground of sapinda relation, discussion about gotra and pravara, daily duties such as saucas, acamana, brushing the teeth, bathing, the five yañas, daily saṁdhyā, daily worship; detailed treatment of śraddha, proper time, articles, and brāhmaṇas to be invited at it, various kinds of śraddha, discussion about various tithis; intercalary month; forbidden and allowed food; purification of various substances and of one's own body; impurity on birth and death; rites after death; rules about sanñaṣa; prāyaścitās for various grades of sins and lapses.

From the colophon it appears that Śrīdhara was himself a performer of Vedic sacrifices and was the son of Nāgabhārtr Viśṇubhaṭṭa of the Viśvāmitra gotra. This colophon does not however occur in the ancient ms. of the work in the Deccan College collection (No. 44 of 1870–71) dated sanhvai 1495 (1438-39 A. D.). In the 2nd introductory verse (vide note 564 above) the author tells us that Śrikanṭha and Śrikaraścārya filled the gaps in the smṛtis that were scattered about (i.e. they composed digests thereof with their own remarks). He also says (vide note 651 above) that he relies on the Kāmadhenu, the Pradīpa, the Abdi, the Kalpa-vṛkṣa (i.e. Kalpataru), Kalpalatā, Śambha, Draviḍa, Kedāra and Lollaṭa and the various commentators of Manu and other smṛti-kāras. In dealing with sanñaṣa he says that he would treat of the procedure of sanñaṣa following the opinion of Govindaśaṇḍa and of Baudhāyana.781 At the beginning of some sections (p. 48 and p. 49 on śraddha and prāyaścitta respectively) he again repeats the verse about Kāmadhenu and the other authorities. The Abdi named therein seems to be the saṁarthamahārpaṇa quoted in Hemādri, in the Vivadāratanākara and other works. He refers to Mitākṣara also (p. 56). For Lollaṭa see above (under Medhātithi). It appears that Śrīdhara also composed another and a larger work on dharmaśāstra. For example, Hemādri who782 knew

781 Vide note 723 above.
782 On the words of ज्ञोतिर्गैरः सौरासो विबाहाचा यक्षादी साषनः स्मृतः चतुर्गिर् (काल) p. 20 says आदिशब्दार्थः शैवारण वातितः। विवाहोपनयनमुद्य-अत्यन्तायतिधिगुणकरणायोगोऽसमाहिषुष्टमाधिश्वास्यसत्समविषयेदर्शिपतिं-हामस्यायिताविशेषदेवोपति। यक्षारितिविद्वार्येन वाणिज्योपनयनसाधनसत्तमी-ज्ञनानन्तकर्म-करण-कष्टविज्ञाप्तायत्रहिमयार्थस।
the Śrītyarhasāra quotes certain views as Śrīdhara’s which do not occur in the Śrītyarhasāra. The Prayogapārijāta, the Nirṇayasindhu, and the Saṃskārakaustubha quote the views of a work called Śrīdhariya which are not found in the Śrītyarhasāra. Śrīdhara seems to have been a writer from southern India.

The date of the Śrītyarhasāra can be fixed within approximate limits. As it names the Mit., the Kāmadhenu, the Kalpataru and Govindarāja, it is later than 1150 A. D. The Śrītyacandrikā and Hemādri783 both quote it as an authority. For example, the Śrītyacandrikā says that the Śrītyarhasāra holds that the Tulasī is among the things the use of which is to be avoided in brāddha. Therefore the Śrītyarhasāra must have been composed between 1150 and 1200 A. D.

82. Aniruddha

Aniruddhabhaṭṭa is one of the early and eminent Bengal writers on Dharmaśāstra. His Hāralatā was published in the Bibliotheca Indica series (1909) and his Pitṛdayitā alias Karmopadeśinipaddhati was recently published by the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad at Calcutta (No 6).

The Hāralatā deals with impurity on birth and death, with the acts allowed to be done or forbidden during impurity, with periods of impurity on death in a distant land or on the deaths of infants and women, with rules when two periods of impurity overlap each other, with impurity on the death of sapindas, the meaning of

783 स्स्यर्यसरे तुलस्यपि कर्मेतुके तत्त मूलं चिन्त्यं परिद्वृत्तिसमस्मुच्चये वुलस्यनिष्ठिया-स्यादाश्रमानां। स्मृतिचै। II. p. 485; compare स्स्यर्यसरं स्त्र. p. 53। 'प्रचु स्स्यर्यसरे-भिलिं पाणिभोमि सित्वमेश्वराविभावनुसा न संतति। (लनि।)' तत्र बिभावाभवों-किरेन्द्राश्नार्णिश्वनिश्वनन्यमेश्वरावी।।। षड्ष तत्रविभिन्न परिसूत्तिनन्य-क्षणं तत्र इति तदति भिक्ष्यस्।। स्मृतिचै। II. p. 463; vide 'or the very words quoted स्स्यर्यसरं स्त्र. p. 52। स्मृतिचै। II. 366 quotes some passages from स्स्यर्यसरं pp. 57 and 60।

784 vol. IV. p. 992 (पायथिन्), स्स्यर्यससरे कलिकूरे संस्तांत्रेयो नास्री-त्व्यसम्।।। स्स्यर्यससरे। compare स्स्यर्यससरं p. 2। 'संस्तांत्रेयोऽपि सुत्रुष्ण: प्रसूत्तिनः।।। कलिकूरे निमात्त्व: धर्मानु: क्षणावाहुक्तीविहितः।।।।। मदनपरिजान (p. 329) quotes the words संस्तांत्रेयोऽपि। expressly from स्स्यर्यससरं।

H. D. 43.
sapinda, persons who have not to observe periods of impurity, cremation and burial, offering of water to the deceased, observances during mourning, persons entitled to perform rites after death, observances after the period of mourning, persons to whom no water should be offered.

The Pitrdayita is a work intended for the followers of the Samaveda. Its contents are:—the duties on rising from bed, brushing the teeth, bath, sanadhya, tarpana, vaiśvadeva, parvina-sraddha, eulogy of gifts, sapindikaraṇa and other sraddhas, antyesṭi and rites during the days of mourning after death, the letting loose of a bull. The printed work appears to be the same that is described in the I. O. cat. at p. 474 as Karmopadeśiṇi. But the India Office Ms. appears to have certain various readings e. g. a reference to Kānadhenu and Kalpataru at the end of the section on antyesṭi does not occur in the printed text.784.

The first verse of the Hāralatā states that the author consulted the commentaries on Manu and other smṛtis.785 Besides the well-known smṛtikāras such as Manu, Yaśāvalkya, Nārada etc., the authors and works named in the Hāralatā are:—Asahaya as the Bhāsyakara of Gautama, Kānadhenu, Govindaraja, Bhojadeva, Viṣvarūpa and Śaṅkhadharas. The Pitṛdayita786 says that it was composed after consulting the Gobhilaghyasūtra, the Chāndogyapariśiṣṭa, the smṛtis, purāṇas, the sāstras of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha and various saṅgraha-works. In the work itself, besides the above, Kātyāyana, Varāhapurāṇa and the smaller (svalpa) Matsyapurāṇa are quoted.

From the last verse787 of the Hāralatā we know that Aniruddha was a resident of Vihārapāṭaka on the bank of the Ganges and was

784 कप्तनकामचेष्नाविसंपखरोहेत महोपाययेन विरचित सुद्रिगकरणेवेष्विविल: ।
    folio 114b.
785 प्रणयम पुण्हिकासं पुर्णचार्यप्रवर्तिता: । व्यासया मन्न्यादिश्वराणाः समातोप्य विशिष्टे ॥
786 न्योभिष्ठिस्हुमर्यम दृष्टी छन्दोपपिकाशयस: । दृष्टी स्वतं बदुहः परिसंप्यां पुराण-वाचयाति ।
    गीतग्रंधसाहे नानासंस्कृतवाचस्य चालोप् । युक्त्या वर्ण निर्दय्य
    झाला तर्क मतां च ब्रह्मात्म । रचिता पद्यार्येशिस्य सम्प्रग स्त्रोतेयाशीनी शिष्या ।
787 सुरायणातबिष्णुपांकै विषविशिष्यन: विषविशिष्यवदिभा । साहानिष्ठेन सतासुरस्थः
    विराज्यात्म हार्लेयमयिता ॥
a student of the doctrines of Bhatta (Kumārila). From the colophons at the end of the Hāralatā and the Pitṛdayitā it appears that he was a Dharmādhyakṣa and a Cāmpāhaṭṭiya (a section among Vārendras) Brāhmaṇa of Bengal. The ms. in the India Office has a colophon in which Aniruddha is styled Dharmādhikarāṇika (Judge). From the Dānasāgara of Ballālasena we learn (verses 6 and 7) that Aniruddha was a guru of that king of Bengal and rendered assistance in the composition of that work. The Dānasāgara was composed in take 1091 (i.e. 1169 A.D.). From this it appears that Aniruddha was at the height of his fame in 1168, i.e. his literary activity may be placed in the third quarter of the 12th century A.D. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that the Hāralatā names Bhojadeva, Govindarāja, and the Kāmadhenu as authorities and is therefore later than 1100 A.D. The Hāralatā is named as an authority in the Śuddhīviveka of Rudradhara. The Śrāddhakriyākaumudi of Govindānanda (about 1510-1545 A.D.) frequently quotes Aniruddha and includes him among ancient authors.

The Pitṛdayitā is named in the Śrāddhakriyākaumudi (p. 503). In the Āhnikattattva (vol. I, p. 421) and Śuddhītattva (vol. II, p. 314) of Raghunandana the views of Pitṛdayitā are quoted. There is a commentary on the Hāralatā called Sandarbhasūcikā composed by Acyuta Cakravartin, son of Haridāsa Tarkācārya (vide I. O. cat. p. 567, No. 1753).

788 इति भाम्पार्जीविनम्मोपायमावधानमावधानमेरिस्मिन्निन्द्रितिकालयमितिच्चत्वस्य जार्लता समाजा, इति भाम्पार्जीविनम्मोपायमावधानमेरिस्मिन्निन्द्रितिकालयमितिच्चत्वस्य जार्लता समाजा।

789 निदस्मुपकान्तीमित्रमण्डलवानसेनदेवेन। धृष्टिनीवधानस्वदलिकालयमेव झुझसागरे रखिता। इति at the end of the झुझसागर, vide I. O. cat. p. 542 and Mitra's Notices I. p. 151. This very verse is quoted by श्रीनाथ आचार्यमुलामणि. Vide JASB 1915, p. 347 n. 1.

790 स्नेन रानाकारवर्जितानमितिकाला वर्जितानंदेयोऽभर accidental स्नेन स्नेन न स्नेनमेव, तथापि तथात्समानसामां भवेक-मोहन समा भाषा:। I. O. cat. p. 563, No. 1743; Mitra's Notices vol. V. p. 25. No. 1736.

791 किं तु अनित्यादीनां प्रामाण्यवाद &c. आत्रिकायकौद्भुवी p. 388; vide p. 188' अतो गोविन्दगृहस्वाधित्यविद्माणाश्वाप्याजयिकैन खोडियनिरंतरस्वदारितिविवचारकिऩे। विन्देन स्त्रावनिताल्यसंसंसारं भोक्ते हृदयवेत।
In the proceedings of the ASB (for 1869 p. 137) a Cāturmāsyapaddhati of Aniruddha is noted. Mitra notices a work called Bhagavattattvamañjari on Vaiśṇava philosophy written by Aniruddha (Mitra’s Notices vol. III. p. 155, No. 2700).

83. Ballālasena

This famous king of Bengal compiled at least four works. His Ācārasāgara is mentioned in the Smṛtatnākara of Vedācārya and in the Madanapārijāta (p. 58). He also wrote the Pratiṣṭhāsāgara. Both these works are referred to as already composed in the Dānasāgara. The Dānasāgara deals with the sixteen great dānas and other lesser gifts. The subjects dealt with by the Dānasāgara are as follows: eulogy of brāhmaṇas, eulogy of the merit arising from gifts, proper objects of gifts, exceptions, the nature of gift, the donor, faith as to the utility of gifts, proper times and places for gifts, things proper to be donated, what cannot be gifted away, bad donations, religious rites and procedure followed in making gifts and in accepting them, the technical terms of the subject of gifts, the sixteen mahādānas, lesser dānas of various kinds (the author himself says at the end that he has described 1375 kinds of gifts), the names of various purāṇas and their extent. The Dānasāgara contains extremely valuable information about the Mahābhārata and the purāṇas. As it quotes extensively from the purāṇas, it serves as an excellent check for the textual restoration of purāṇas. For example it says that the Bhāgavata, Brahmāṇḍa and Nārada purāṇas do not contain dānavidhis and hence they are not drawn upon in the work. In another verse he says that it is well-known that the Viṣṇurahasya and Śivarahasya are of the nature of mere compilations and so have not been relied on in the work. The Devi-purāṇa, he says, is approved of by the heterodox systems and is not included in various lists of purāṇas and upapurāṇas and hence it is not included in the Dānasāgara. He says that the subject of the dedication of reservoirs of water and of temples has been dealt with at length in the Pratiṣṭhāsāgara, so it is omitted in the Dānasāgara and that the gifts made in accordance with the divisions of the year (into ayāna, season, month, pakṣa &c.) are not spoken of in their entirety in the Dānasāgara, as they are described in the Ācārasāgara. The work is mentioned in the Dānaratnākara.

792 Verses 55 and 56 of his दुन्दागार (J. O. cat. 542, No. 1704–5).
of Caṇḍesvara and in the Nirñayasindhu. His Adbhutasāgara has been printed by Messrs. Prabhakari and Co. (1905). The authorities on which he relies therein are noted below.793 The Adbhutasāgara is mentioned in Toḍarānandasāṁhitā-saukṛtya and Nirñaya-
sindhu. This was his last work which he left unfinished and which was completed by his son Lakṣmānasena. It deals with the rites and observances appropriate on certain celestial and terrestrial portents for removing the evil foreboded by them.

Ballālasena began the work in 1090 āśke and the Dānasāgara was composed in 1091 āśke. Therefore Ballālasena’s literary activity must be placed in the third quarter of the 12th century (vide notes 674, 676 above). Vide also IHQ vol. V, p. 133 for the date of Ballālasena.

It appears that Raghunandana believed that the Dānasāgara was really the work of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa though published in the name of Ballālasena.794 In the Dānasāgara itself it is distinctly stated that Ballālasena composed it under the directions of his guru (Aniruddha).795 In the colophon he is styled mahārājādhirāja and and nihṣaṅka-śaṅkara.

84. Harihara

From quotations in the Vivādaratnākara it appears that Harihara wrote on vyavahāra. For example, the Vivādaratnākara first quotes (on p. 220) the definition of ‘sāṁsaraṇa’ given by Bṛhaspati and then cites three verses of Kātyāyana defining a catuspatha and a rajamarga and prescribing punishments for causing obstruction and

793 आधर्षकर्षांत्ब, उत्तानक, कठमुदेत, कालाधिक, काश्यप, गर्व, वदर्गम, चरक, देशल, नारद, पराशर, पाषाण, बादराण, बालिमय, वृहस्ति, महासिद्धान्त, भार्याचर, महाराजक, यज्ञवल्क्य, राजपुत्र, वराहार्दिपश्च, वसन्तराज, विष्णु, विज्ञापि, विष्णुगुस्व, वैज्ञान, शालिनी, नदरिमाहार्य, तुड़ुम्बु, तुर्यसिद्धांत.

794 Vide एकादशीतत् (vol. II, p. 44) ‘विष्णुरिस्त्यानापेक्षाय द्वानसागरे अनिसिक- भृदेकतिरिद्वालय 7. The words of the द्वानसागर are; तेके मात्रेनालाहिष्णु- रहस्यं च विन्नस्तिम्। विमलिङ्ग न विश्रुतिः च संप्रहृत्यन्तिः।

795 अधिगतसंकलपुराणस्तुलिसार: श्रद्धया गुरोरस्मातु। कलिकापक्षरां द्वानितिप्रथम विध- 
तेन नु। कलिकापक्षरां द्वानितिप्रथम विध- 
तेन नु। कलिकापक्षरां द्वानितिप्रथम विध- 
तेन नु। कलिकापक्षरां द्वानितिप्रथम विध- 
तेन नु। कलिकापक्षरां द्वानितिप्रथम विध- 
तेन नु। कलिकापक्षरां द्वानितिप्रथम विध-
तेन नु। कलिकापक्षरां द्वानितिप्रथम विध-
तेन नु। कलिकापक्षरां द्वानितिप्रथम विध-
तेन नु। कलिकापक्षरां द्वानितिप्रथम विध-

गुरे; स्त्रिययाः स्वरूपाभम् द्वानिष्णाम्बं श्रद्धात्त संयते। वर्षो वर्षो में 10 of द्वानसागर I. O. cat. p. 548.
committing nuisance thereon. Then it notices that the verse 'yas-tatra' cited by it from Kātyāyana is cited by Harihara as from Prajāpati when the topic immediately preceding is 'sahsaraṇa'.

The Vivādaraṇākara quotes a sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita prescribing the punishment for sexual intercourse with a virgin against her will and Harihara's explanation of the word 'dvyaṅgulaccheda'.

From these it is clear that Harihara wrote some work on vyavahāra, which has not yet been recovered. He must have flourished earlier than 1300 A.D.

There is a commentary on the Paraskargṛhyasūtra composed by Harihara who is styled agnihotrin in the colophons. In one ms. copied in šake 1707 (1785-86 A.D.) he is described as the pupil of Vijnāneśvara. In the introductory second verse he says he relies on Vāsudeva. In the body of the work he refers (Gujarati Press edition) to Karkopādyāya (p. 200), Kalpatarakāra, Reṇudikṣita, and Vijnāneśvaracārya (p. 370). Therefore he is later than 1150 A.D. Harihara's views are mentioned by Hemādri, the Samayapradipa and Ācārādarśa of Śrīdatta and in the Smṛtisāra of Hariṇātha. Therefore this Harihara must be earlier than 1250 A.D. Whether he was really the pupil of Vijnāneśvara is doubtful. In his bhāṣya Harihara refers to words current in Kanoj. Hemādri mentions Harihara's explanation of nepālakambala wherein the latter says that it is well known among the northerners.

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796 इििहादिदिब्बः: संसरणानुषुलो भजपतिरिलिति मस्तके दृष्टि वस्त्रोति वायमध्यंतारितिविषति।

797 शास्त्राधिशिकिाः - कन्यायामसकामाया हथ्युतलेख्यो दृष्टाः। ... इििहरस्तु हथ्युत्वपरि- माणान्त्र्यान्तु हर्षाः।

798 तत्त्वाति अथोद्वो शाश्वैति न कुर्यान्तोपिष्टिः ह्यथे बहुस्वप्नधर्मं काश्मीतिसिद्धध्वि पाठो

799 तत्त्वाति अथोद्वो शाश्वैति न कुर्यान्तोपिष्टिः ह्यथे बहुस्वप्नधर्मं काश्मीतिसिद्धध्वि पाठो

800 समविधानार्याय काठपाथाविद्यासामायिति: पदधः। पदधर इति काठपाथाविद्यासामायिति:।

801 इििहादेन तु भर्षणीयाजोत्ते भर्षणीयाजोत्ते भर्षणीयाजोत्ते भर्षणीयाजोत्ते भर्षणीयाजोत्ते भर्षणीयाजोत्ते।
paddhati is mentioned in the Śrāddhatattva (vol. I, p. 281) and Harihara in the Yajurvediśrāddhatattva (vol. II, p. 488). We have seen above that a Harihara commented upon the Āśaucaḍaśaka of Vijñāneśvara. This fact together with his being not far from Vijñāneśvara’s time may have led to the belief that he was a pupil of Vijñāneśvara. It appears probable that the jurist Harihara who flourished before 1300 and Harihara the bhāṣyakāra of Pāraskara who flourished between 1150 and 1250 A. D. are identical. The views ascribed to Harihara by Hemādri in his section on śrāddha are not found in the bhāṣya on Pāraskara. Therefore Hemādri is referring to some other work of Harihara. From a passage of Hemādri it appears that Harihara wrote after the Mahāṛpava (Prakāśa). Hemādri also tells us that Harihara refuted the views of Jayantāsvāmi on a certain verse. The same Harihara who commented on Pāraskara also wrote a commentary on Kātyāyana’s Snānavijñānaisūtra wherein he mentions the Kalpatarukāra (vide D. C. ms. No. 101 of 1891-95). Several Hariharas are known. There is Hariharabhattachārya, the father of the great Bengal writer Raghunandana. A Hariharacārya composed an astrological work Samayapradipā in sake 1481 (1559-1560 A. D.).

85. The Smṛticandrika of Devannabhatta

This is a well-known digest on Dharmaśāstra. An English translation of the portion of it which is concerned with dayabhāga was published in 1867 by T. Krishnasvami Iyer at Madras. The text has been published by Mr. J. R. Gharpure (up to śrāddha) in Bombay and also in the Mysore Government Oriental series (up to āśauca). In the following Mr. Gharpure’s edition has been used and the Mysore edition for āśauca section. The Smṛticandrika is a very extensive digest. It is almost the earliest (except the Kalpataru) among digests on dharmaśāstra of which mss. have yet been discovered. The printed text deals with the topics (kaṇḍās) of Sanskāra, Āṃnika, Vyavahāra; Śrāddha, Āśauca. It appears that

802 अधानमान्यरी हृदिकृतं कृत्रिमप्रत्यावेषणकार्यातिक-पूर्वकं द्वितीयविक्षिप्ततमं बोधवनिष्ठं कैशिकानिवयत्नमतनिति भौपालय । चयवर्तम् III. 1. 183.

803 यह ज्योत्सनामिष्रतं भिज्ञरोपदस्ताः । अन्नभयं तु सैत्यावति अस्ततिकस्य क्षेत्रिक- बिद्वितिनिन्दति साधिते विवेचः । ... तदेक्षानतिसत्तातं श्लोकिकानान्वय- तलमत्र ततेन चूक्तस्तु । चुयवर्तम् III. 1. 1339.
he wrote on prāyaścitta also. In the colophons of mss. of the work the name of the author is variously written as Devanā, Devana, Devananda or Devagana (vide I. O. cat. pp. 405-406). He is also described therein as the son of Keśavādityabhaṭṭa and as a Somayajī.

The Smṛticandrikā quotes most profusely from numerous smṛti-kāras and affords valuable assistance in reconstructing some of the smṛtis and checking mss. and editions thereof. For example, it quotes about 600 verses from Kātyāyana on vyavahāra and about the same number from Bṛhaspati. Among works, commentators and authors of digests named it the following may be noted: Aparāka, Trikāṇḍi, Devarāta, Devasvāmi, Āpastambakalpabhāṣyārthakāra (Āśauca p. 84), Dhāreśvara, Dharmabhāṣya, Dhūrtasvāmi, Pradīpa, Bhavanātha, Bhaṣya on Āpastamba Dharmāstutta, Dharmadīpa or Pradīpa (Āśauca p. 63), Bhaṣyārthasāraṅgahākāra, Manusvṛtti, Medhātithi, Mitakṣara, Vaijayanti (a lexicon), Viśvarūpa, Viśvādarsa (Āśauca p. 164), Śambhu, Śrīkara, Śivasvāmi, Smṛti bhāskara, Smṛtyarthasāra. He mentions a Bhaṭṭācārya on Āśauca (p. 1, 2), probably Śrīnivāsa, the author of Śuddhidīpikā who wrote about 1159-60 A. D. (JASB 1915 p. 334). He quotes a passage from the work of an author, whom he styles Guru (probably his own teacher or father). The Smṛticandrikā often criticizes these works and authors and advances its own views after considering the positions of others. Devanābhaṭṭa was a southern writer and his work is according to judicial decisions of great authority in southern India. But it has been held that in spite of its high authority it cannot override the Mitakṣara even in the Madras Presidency.

The contents of the Smṛticandrikā are: various Dharmas, such as those of varṇas, āśramas; usages of countries; saṃskāras, garbhā-

804 तत्र इति…


806 Vide I. L. R. 3 Mad. 265, 269 (barren daughter not excluded by a daughter having sons), I. L. R. 35 Mad. 153 at p. 160 for this proposition.
dhāna, pūrṇasavaṇa, jātakarma, nāmakarana, cūḍākaraṇa, upanayana, marriage, etc., duties of student-hood and holidays; daily duties such as saucā, acamana, brushing the teeth, bathing, sanāḍhyā, śrāuta and śmārta rites; duties of householder; the five daily yajñas; rules about taking food, forbidden food; procedure of law courts, means of proof, ordeals, the various titles of law such as deposit, partnership, dayabhāga; detailed rules about śrāddha, its various kinds, persons entitled to perform śrāddhas, the brāhmaṇas proper to be invited at śrāddha etc.

The Smṛticandrikā refers to Vijñāneśvara with great respect. The Smṛticandrikā differs from the Mitāksāra. The Smṛticandrikā questions (vide note 638 above) the statement of the Mit. that unequal distribution by the father of ancestral property among his sons should not be resorted to, as it has come to be abhorred by the people. The Smṛticandrikā does not approve of the definition of śāya given by the Mit. The Smṛticandrikā does not accept Vijñāneśvara’s explanation of the word ‘apratiṣṭhita’ occurring in the sūtra of Gautama, but upholds Aparārka’s explanation of it (vide note 771 above). The Smṛticandrikā favours the theory of spiritual benefit in matters of succession and therefore among daughters prefers one that has sons over another daughter who is sonless. It criticizes the reasons advanced by the Mit. for preferring the mother over the father as an heir to their deceased son and says that both parents succeed together. Though the Smṛticandrikā in this way in some

807 व्यासवान चान्यथा विषेषेन्द्रयां... पक्षिन्यं खिमिदिति।
स्मृतिचः (आयांची p. 64). This is a quotation from मिताक्षरान् on यागः.
III. 20.

808 न च दुधिभदन यदह नानासंस्कारविनिविदायन्यं सं महति ततुच्यत इति
दुधिभदनविदर्णाय निताक्षरायामुक्तयुक्तम्। एवं हि पतुः सं पतिसंस्कारविनिविदाय
निविदायान्यं भवतीति तस्याः तस्याः द्रापवतापिति। ततो अदृष्टा: खिष्ठ इति श्रुति-
विद्योद्ध दुधिभदन इति। असलम्बन्ते तु बिमणाः सं स्मार्कसंस्कारविनिविदाय
निविदाय दुधिभदन इति बिमणाः पतस्तते न दृष्टयः। स्मृतिचः II. pp. 267-268.

809 एवं च दुधिभदन संसाङ्गकथानाकाइयांसंस्कारसंसरस्त्रात
स्मृतिचः II. p. 295.

810 चायदने दुधिभदन दुधिभदनविदर्णाय मातापितारी संसरस्य धनसाधारकमयादिनिविदायनमऽभांति। अन्योः सुरस्यमेवादिः। श्रीतापुरस्य पुलोष्णिः साधारणं &c. स्मृतिचः II. p. 297; vide note 638 above for the full quotation.

H. D. 44.
cases criticizes the Mit., it generally follows its lead. It holds, just as the Mit. does, that sons acquire by birth ownership in ancestral property. The author asserts that he puts forward no imaginary views but only such views as are based on (authoritative) texts. 811

As the Smṛticandrikā names the Mit., Aparārka and Smṛtyarthaśāra, its upper limit cannot be placed earlier than 1150 A.D. Their Lordships of the Privy Council say in Buddhasingh vs Laltu-singh 812 that Devanandabhatṭa is supposed to have been a contemporary of Aparārka. But this supposition is not quite correct. Since Aparārka is quoted several times as an authority to be preferred even to the Mit., it looks more probable that there is some distance of time between Aparārka and Devanandabhatṭa. Hemādri quotes the views of the Smṛticandrikā probably oftener than those of any other nibandhakāra. In one place 813 he does not approve of the explanation given by the Smṛticandrikā of a verse occurring in the Mahābhārata about a man with male issue performing śrāddha on the thirteenth tithi. In another 814 place Hemādri refers to the view of the Smṛticandrikā on the question whether the śrāddha on amavasyā is optional with śrāddha in dark half. Therefore it follows that the Smṛticandrikā must have been composed at least a generation earlier than Hemādri, i.e. before 1225 A.D. The Smṛticandrikā is frequently quoted by the Sarasvativilāsa, the Vīramitrodaya and other digests.

811 सर्वलोकक्षराभि कियते स्मृतिचन्द्रिका। स्मृतिमाशेषम् हि मया न किंचिदिः किस्मते। किं तु बाचानीं सर्वनो भाषें निरंयेते॥ इन्ट्रो. वर्णम ॥

812 J. R. 42. I. A. 208 at p. 223.

813 यद्यै महामारे दानमेचु-श्रानीम् तु भवेषश्रेष्ठ: कुर्वन्ति भावे अबोदशीर्मि। नाबवस्य तु पुत्रानोच्छ गमीयते नरा गृहे॥-हृदी पुनर्ममारणकर्म विषयायाम्यायुक्तय निर्द- करणे श्रद्धा तदपि नात्स्यमाधिकारः। यथाच शरीरवस्य न स्थितम् यथात् श्रद्धाया रामयानि तद्युक्तवः। चतुर्गेम (कलं) vol. III. 2. p. 482; the स्मृतिच does quote the text of the महामारत and remarks 'अवश्ये निबिन्ध्यं न स्थितस्य हृद्यते।' p. 369.

814 विशिष्टग्रन्थरण-अपरस्य शद्ध: संप्रेयतमात्रावथी विशेषोजि तत्त्व पृथक्तेन। उभयप्रकारोपप्रवेदीत न विकल्पे प्रभाविनित स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारः। चतुर्गेम (कलं) III. 2. 461; the स्मृतिच does contain the text quoted and remarks, अती परम् श्रद्धायामहामारविचवक्रेण आदेश वर्ण्यत त्रैति महामारत। इ. p. 390.
Several authors composed works styled Smṛticandrīka, e.g. there is a Smṛticandrīka of Śukadeva-miśra (I. O. cat. p. 471 No. 1549), another by Āpadeva (Mitra’s Notices, vol. VI, p. 301), another by Vāmadevabhaṭṭacārya (Mitra’s Notices, vol. IX, p. 137).

86. Haradatta

Haradatta’s fame stands very high as a commentator. He wrote a commentary called Anākulā on the Āpastamba-grhya-sūtra (D. C. Ms. No. 2 of 1866–68), a commentary on the Āpastambīya-mantra-pāṭha (vide Dr. Winternitz’s ed. of 1897, p. XIII), a commentary called Anāvilā on the Āsvalāyana-grhya-sūtra (published in the Trivandrum series), a commentary called Mitākṣarā on the Gautamadharmsūtra and a commentary named Ujjvalā on the dharmasūtra of Āpastamba. His commentaries are very good models of ideal commentaries. His commentary on the dharmasūtra of Gautama (printed by the Anandāśrama Press, Pooona) is more concise than that on the Dharmasūtra of Āpastamba (large extracts of which were published by Bühler in his edition in the B. S. series, the whole being printed by Halasyanath Sastri at Kumbhakonam and in the Mysore Government Oriental Library series). In his commentary on the Dharmasūtras he quotes verses from numerous smṛtis and from the purāṇas but hardly ever mentions by name any commentator or nibandhakāra. In his Anāvilā (page 9) he quotes the views of a Bhāṣyakāra who is probably Devasvāmin and mentions also a Caṇḍogagrhyabhāṣya-kāra (on I. 2. 3). In his commentaries on both the Dharmasūtras he frequently quotes the opinions of previous commentators with the words ‘anye, ‘ aparāḥ, ‘ kecit;’ vide G. Dh. S. II. 28, VII. 4 and 14, IX. 52, XI. 17, XII. 32 and 33, XXIV. 5, XXVI. 9, XXVIII. 7 and 44; Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 24, I. 2. 5. 2 and 18, I. 3. 10. 4, I. 3. 11. 20, I. 5. 15. 20. etc. From the fact that he mentions two interpretations on Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 2 with the words ‘ aparā āhā and ‘ ityanye and several interpretations on II. 7. 17. 22 it follows that he had before him two or three commentaries on Āp. Dh. S. In Bühler’s edition Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 38 appears to refer to a grhya-vṛtti, but in the Kumbhakonam edition the reading is different (viz. grhya gatam). He is very careful to
point out the un-Pāṇinean forms in the sūtras of Gautama⁸¹⁵ and Āpastamba, explains at great length all grammatical matters and generally prefers readings that are in consonance with the rules of Pāṇini. He very often says that the text of the sūtras, particularly of Āpastamba, as handed down by oral tradition was either wrong or followed Vedic usage as regards grammar.⁸¹⁶

From various references Haradatta seems to have been an inhabitant of Southern India or was at least very familiar with its usages. On Gautama XI. 20 he instances several usages of the Colas. On Gautama XV. 18 he gives a synonym in the Dravīḍa language for⁸¹⁷ a skin disease called ‘Kilāsa.’ On Āp. Gr. S. VI. 6 (the sūtra ‘nadinirdeśaśca etc.) he gives Kāveri and Vegavati as instances. On Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 15 (last sūtra) he refers to certain practices of the Dravīḍas observed when the Sun is in Aries or Virgo.⁸¹⁸ The Viramitrodaya classes Haradatta and the Śrīmadvirkakāra among southern nibandhakāras.⁸¹⁹ From his remark on Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 25 (the sūtra ‘anyatra rāhudaraśāt’) that the northerners do not recite that sūtra it appears that he affirms that he was a southerner.

Haradatta seems to have been a great devotee of Śiva. He begins his commentary on Gautama, on Āśvalāyana-grhya and Āp. Gr. with an obeisance to Rudra and his commentaries on Āp. Dh. S. and on the Āpastambīya-mantra-pāṭha (otherwise called Ekāgni-

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⁸¹⁵ e.g. on गो. दृष्टि XXV. 8 he says ‘वाच्यनसीति भी. पाठोस्थम् न रोपते।’

⁸¹⁶ e.g. on अ. दृष्टि I. 11. 31. 21 ‘पायत्याहार्यग्राह्यां काले चर्चया च ।’ he says ‘पायत्याहार्यग्राह्यां काले चर्चया च।’ Vide remarks on अ. दृष्टि II. 2. 5. 2 and II. 3. 7 also.

⁸¹⁷ क्षिळसालः त्वन्द्रोपो वाल्लीर्ति द्विपिदानां मस्तः।

⁸¹⁸ तत्र द्रुमिदा: कसमामेष्ये सतित्यादि-पूजामात्रानिः तूनि मण्डलादिकोश्यादिव-न्य हीरणानि।

⁸¹⁹ Vide वैरो. p. 705 शुद्धवनिजययाय यथ कपोलक: पत्ति हुहित हस्यात् भालां श्रीणां वनाधिकारस्तासामेव। अन्नात्मां तु शुद्धवनिजययाय धार्मिकादेविभूज वैसिद्धि-महाकाराहस्तादीशां दाः सा तालिकायनमूलाण जी०न०वांवाहिनिरस्त्यतिनिर्धार्यणां सिद्धान्ताय।
kanda, 25th and 26th praśnas of Āpastamba-kalpa) with an obeisance to Mahādeva. Burnell (Tanjore mss. cat. p. 170) tells us that according to tradition in Southern India, Rudradatta, the commentator of the Āp. Śrauta-sūtra, is the same as Haradatta. In his commentary on Āp. Gr. S. I. 13. 5 (ghosavad caturākṣaraṁ vā) he gives as instances of the names of males Hara, Rudra, Deva, Haradatta and Bhavanāga. In the colophons the Anāvilā is described as the work of Haradattācārya-miśra.

Ghose in his Hindu Law (3rd ed. Intro. p. XV) says that, like Medhātithi, Haradatta denies the heritable rights of widows and must have come before Vijñāneśvara and not after. But Ghose appears to be wrong. Haradatta first says that according to the acārya (i.e. Āpastamba) the sapindas of the deceased who took the property were obliged to maintain the widow of the deceased, while the view of Gautama was that the widow took, on failure of male issue, an equal share along with the sapindas, and then Haradatta says that he himself liked the latter view.820 He often gives interesting information. On Gautama XVII. 33 he tells us that asafotida is eaten by all, even though it is a matter for consideration whether being the exudation of a tree, it is to be regarded as due to cutting (and so forbidden).821 On Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 5. 14 he cites as an example of reviling (a-krosa) the following: 'the Taittiriya is a Śakha that is uchista (the leavings of food eaten), the Yajñavalkya and other Brähmana works are modern'.822 On Gautama IV. 5. he says that what distinguishes the Prājapatiya form of marriage from the Brāhma and others is that there is in the former a stipulation that the husband is not to enter into another order of life (āśrama) nor is he to marry another woman.823 On Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 12. 15 he says that whereas in the case of marriage with a paternal aunt's or maternal uncle's daughter, the act springs

820 On Āp. Bh. Bh. II. 6. 14. 2 'puṣāvāpane yāmatāśeṣā 'sapindāḥ' he says 'maṛyā

821 hukṣtu niyārtho māyāmānava no bheti bhūvyaḥ. sapīthā dhiṣa aham macyānti.

822 tāso chariṇputaḥśabāka vajra-vakrātadīnī maṁśhāntīvāmāntīvāmāntīvāmāntācābhāṣaḥ.

823 nāmāmanāṁ nāmāḥ śvetaṁ sarvāntaraśvathaṁ śvāntāṁ mantośe saṁyogas trīṣṭe. eva

bhaṣade: maṁśa-paṭaṁ śvēṣe.
from the fact that one is pleased thereby, there is no necessity to infer a śāstra (a Vedic passage) once existing but now lost (in support of such usage).  

The date of Haradatta is a rather difficult problem. Bühlert (S. B. E. vol. II. p. xliii) at first thought that Haradatta probably wrote in the 16th century, but in his 2nd edition of the Āp. Dh. S. he says (p. viii) that the Munich ms of the Ujjvalā written in Poona about 1600 A. D. shows the interpolated text found in all Devanāgari copies and that therefore Haradatta is older than at least 1450-1500 A. D. The Vīrāmitrodāyā frequently cites the Mitakṣārā of Haradatta on Gautama. Nārāyanabhaṭṭa (born in 1513 A. D.) in his Prayoga-ratna quotes Haradatta’s comment on Gautama VIII. 14-22 about sarṅskāras and his son Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa names both the Mitakṣārā and the Ujjvalā of Haradatta in his Dvaitanirṇaya. The Prayogapārījāta of Nṛsinha, which is quoted in the Prayogaratna of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and is therefore not later than the first quarter of the 16th century, cites Haradatta’s explanation of Āp. Gr. S. (on ‘pravāsād—etya putrasya sīrah parigrhyah japatī’ etc.) and contrasts it with Nārāyaṇa’s view. The Suboddhini of Viśvesvarabhaṭṭa (about 1375 A. D.) on Mit. (Yaj II. 132) quotes certain smṛti passages as found in the vr̥tti of Āpastamba which are found in Haradatta’s gloss. Hence it follows that Haradatta cannot be later than about 1300 A. D. The fact that Haradatta hardly ever names any commentator except perhaps Devasvāmin, the Bhāṣyakāra of Āpastamba-grhyā, and that he holds antiquated views about the widow’s right to succeed to her deceased husband’s estate are strong arguments in favour of the view that Haradatta is comparatively an early writer. Hardly any writer after Viśnunāśvara assigns the same position to the widow as Hara-

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824 भव्व विलेक्ष्यसमातुलसतिर्वियनयादीविसुध्ददिप्ततिः परोक्तस्तन्तपार्ति शास्त्र- मुत्तायें चतुर्वेष महेरेष महत्तिनीः सययासि।

825 Vide वीरो pp. 169, 655.

826 पूर्वमात्रे परम हित विस्मयशेषनार्थमोऽद्भूततो वाक्यवोऽवस्थ्यवर्णमस्तेश्वरवं विविषितः।

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This occurs in Buhler’s comment on आप. घ. घू. II. 6. 14. 1 (Bühler’s ed. of 1894, p. 81).
datta does. Hence it appears that Haradatta could not have flourished much later than 1100 A.D. So he must be placed between 1100-1300 A.D., very probably near the earlier limit than the later one.

One important question is as to the identity of Haradatta, the commentator of the Dharma and Grhya sūtras and Haradatta, the author of the Padamaṇḍari, a commentary on the Kaśikā of Vāmana and Jayāditya. Bühler felt uncertain about the identity. Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭa in his Dvaita-nīrṇaya speaks of Haradatta as expounding\textsuperscript{827} a karika of Hari (Vākyapadiya III. p. 260, Benares ed.) and also speaks of Haradatta as the author of the Ujjvalā and the Mitākṣarā without making any distinction between the two. This shows that he regarded the two as identical. Haradatta in his commentaries on the Dharmasūtras gives far more attention to grammar than almost any other commentator of Dharmāṣṭra.\textsuperscript{828} His grammatical disquisition on Ṛp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 18 (‘plāvanam ca nāmno’ etc.) is almost identical with the Padamaṇḍari on Pāṇini VIII. 2. 83 (‘pratyabhivyadēśādṛē’). On Ṛp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 17 he quotes a verse as from the grammarians for defining the location of the udīcyas.\textsuperscript{829} The Mādhaviya Dhatu-vṛtti mentions the Padamaṇḍari. From this it follows that the Padamaṇḍari was composed before 1300 A. D. Dr. Belvalkar places Haradatta, the author of the Padamaṇḍari, about 1100 A. D.\textsuperscript{830} The learned editor of the Anāvīla in the Trivandrum series points out that, as Haradatta is

\textsuperscript{827} ‘मनोजनिकाः—गुणविपयाः स्वातन्त्र्य वेषणे कर्माणि गतः। विषमालणसंज्ञायः स्वधर्मविपयां विषमालणनिधिभीते इ। अस्त्रायथः सर्वविद्या प्रचुरः।’ हेतुनिर्णयः।

\textsuperscript{828} Vide comment on आप. ध. च. I. 2. 5. 1 (तदलक्रमे वियाकर्म विनिकारति) where हरद्वार says ‘सपता: सकर्मायाणि मात्रे द्वषः सबवुद्रकः कृपितकेठि’ where he refers to the महामाय of प्रत्यवृत्ति (vide Keilhorn, vol. II. p. 69).

\textsuperscript{829} प्रायुक्ताः विभजने हस्त: श्रीरिदक्ष यथा। विचारा श्वस्वदिश्वर्यः सा न: पातु श्रावन्ति। हृति प्रयाण्यते। मध्यः पररत्वया उद्दीप्तिनिर्निर्णयानि उद्दीप्या:। हेतुमृद्रिः quotes on the same sūtra of आप. the same verse with the reading सरस्ती for शालावः and styles it the saying of the ancients (श्रावणी, III. 1. p. 1550). The modern Rapti, a tributary of the Sarayu, or is it the modern Shīrāvati near Honevar in North Canara?

\textsuperscript{830} ‘Systems of Sanskrit Grammar’ pp. 39-40.
quoted in the Puruṣakāra which in its turn is mentioned in the Dhātu-vṛtti of Mādhava and as Śaranañādeva, the author of the Durghaṭa-vṛtti, who wrote in 1095, cites the Jainendra and Kaiyaṭa but not Haradatta nor the Padamañjari, Haradatta wrote about the close of the 12th century A. D. These circumstances render it highly probable (if not certain) that Haradatta the commentator of the Dharmasūtras is the same as the author of the Padamañjari and that he flourished between 1100 and 1300 A. D. and probably about 1200 A. D. The Smṛticandrikā twice refers to the bhāṣya of the Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra. Its Haradatta’s commentary is styled vṛtti and not bhāṣya and the citations do not occur in his work. Hence it appears that the Smṛticandrikā did not know Haradatta’s works and the latter could not have flourished much earlier than the Smṛti-candrikā.

In the Padamañjari Haradatta is said to have been the son of Padma (Rudra)-kumāra, younger brother of Agnikumāra and a pupil of Aparājīta. In his Padamañjari Haradatta employs the word ‘kūcimaṅci’ which is a Telugu word. The Bhavisyottara-purāṇa printed in Grantha characters contains 12 chapters (54 to 65th) and the Śivarāhasya printed in the said characters has one chapter (17th) which set out the life (carita) of a Haradattacārya. It is there stated that Haradattacārya’s original name was Sudarśana, that he was the son of Vāsudeva and that he died 3979 years after Kaliyuga began (i.e. 878 A. D.). This Haradattacārya, being the son of Vāsudeva, was not the same as the author

831 अन्तः हि अधिकारां हर्ते हेतुपालां क्षमविद्ययुक्तं पूर्वपञ्चकोषमप्रस्तामतिकिरं तदाय वी. स्विनिचत् I. p. 25 (on आप. छिं. छ. II. 6. 15. 19-23); अन एव वैद्यवृत्तेऽवर्त्य विभेदिमिकिरस्तवर्त्य व्यासात्मकेन तदावृत्तेऽवर्त्य इत्युत्तम. स्विनिचत् II. p. 300.


833 या पुनर्विद्ययुक्तं संज्ञा: कृपितिविशेषाः न तात्ता शाखाच्याः। p. 10 of the Report on Sanskrit and Tamil mss. for 1893-94 by S. Seshagiri Sastri.

834 कांस्यां च नन्दसङ्कसाहितं विन्यासितं पूर्वे। माति बिलोधितमाति क्षमद्वृत्यं। पूर्वां विन्यासमेव व्यासायोजनपरं कृष्णासामाजितादिशिष्टं च तुल्यं। सार्वत वियानोज्जच्छलं॥। कृष्णाय is in the Tanjore District.
of the Padamañjari, who was the son of Padmakumāra. This earlier Haradatta may probably be the same as the Haradattaśārya cited as an authority in the Sarvadarsana-saṁgraha on the Nakulisā-pāsuptadarsana. Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 33) identifies without sufficient foundation the Haradattaśaerya of the Sarvadarsana-saṁgraha with Haradatta, the commentator of Āpastamba and Gautama.

A work called Hari-hara-tāratamya and another called Caturvedatātparya-saṁgraha are ascribed to a Haradatta. Of the latter there is a ms. in the Deccan College collection (No. 109 of 1871-72), which contains 154 verses of fine penmanship. The first and last are given below. Whether these two works were composed by Haradatta, the commentator of the Dharmasūtras, it is difficult to say. In the latter work the author sings a hymn of praise to Śiva as the supreme deity, points out how the Vedic mantras refer to him, how the various rites are meant for him, refers to the mythological representations of Śiva as Kīrāta, or as wearing skin etc. All the verses up to 143 are in the Vasantatīlakā metre, while towards the end there are a few verses in other metres such as Śikharinī and Rathoddhāta. He was a staunch Śaivite, though the hymn breathes a spirit of tolerance and sympathy for different religious and philosophical systems. He refers to the Maitrāyanī Śruti, Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa, Kātyāyanī-grha, Bhagavadgīta, the Purāṇas as supplementing the Vedas (vedopābrthhaka), the Sāṃkhya and Yoga.

835 तत् बिशिश्यमः मूर्दाकारोऽर्थं लाभः || भानतपोणित्वसिस्तितुष्टिवेदेष्ठाव पश्चादिष्वः || नवाह हरदत्ताचार्यः || शायं तपोष नित्यतं स्थिततः श्युक्तिः पश्चादिष्वः || &c. सम्भवन्तः संस्कारं pp. 162-63 (Govt. Oriental series, Poona).  

836 ययौ नमो भजति वस्य गुणाः सम्भव नारायणप्रियवदा वदुपासनाका। यो न: मनोदयति वृद्धिमनोहसि वस्य लाभन्यस्मितिरीवर संस्कारां। first verse: अतिष्ट- || प्रत्यापेन धारकतिः सिद्धुप्रतीति: वतत्त्वसुभित्वतः विष्णुसः सम्भवाय नमः last verse.  

837 Verses 144-145 are विष्णुतां कश्चिद्वयथाति मध्ये क्रमम् हृदि सुरालन्त्यां भजति नष्ठिः सर्वनिष्ठ: || तथाविष्णु मित्र नादा वर्षभिधिः शुद्धो भद्रो देवान्तर- || ग्रामेन्याम न सहेते। यो: शूर्य त्वथा: नमस्ति भृगुवाचार्याः सहितं प्रदूषितस्मान्याः || गुरुहित्वा देवान्तराजनामह्या पुष्पे न शक्ये न: संबन्धितानां तश्च विशेषात् ||  

No. 50.
87. Hemādri

Hemādri and Mādhava are the Castor and Pollux in the galaxy of daksinatya writers on Dharmaśāstra. Hemādri is a very voluminous writer. He is the author of the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, an encyclopaedia of ancient religious rites and observances. According to the statements contained in the work itself the author intended to treat Dharmaśāstra in five sections, called vrata, dāna, tīrtha, mokṣa and pariṣeṣa. The Pariṣeṣa-khaṇḍa was divided into four parts, viz., Devatā, Kālanirṇaya, Karmavipāka, Lakṣaṇasamuccaya. The Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica series. Four volumes containing 6 parts and covering about 6000 pages have been so far printed. The second and third volumes have two parts each. The fourth volume which deals with prāyalcītta does not appear to be the work of Hemādri. The work so far published is concerned with vrata, dāna, śraddha and kāla (the latter two being parts of the pariṣeṣa-khaṇḍa). That portion of the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi which was intended to treat of tīrtha and mokṣa has not yet come to light. It is extremely doubtful whether the author was able to carry out his gigantic scheme. Mss. of portions of the great work are described in the catalogues under various names, e.g. I. O. cat. No. 1379, p. 407 on śāntika-pauṣṭikāṇi is the same subject that is treated in vratakhaṇḍa pp. 1003ff., though there are considerable variations between the Ms. and the printed text.

Hemādri's is a standard work on the subjects with which he deals. He quotes most profusely from śrīnītis and purāṇas and names a host of writers. He appears to have been a profound student of the Pūrvamimāṃsā. The discussions in his work, particularly on śraddha and kāla, cannot be well understood without thorough acquaintance with the numerous nyāyas of the mimāṃsā.

statement\textsuperscript{845} that a person following any particular Vedic śākhā may enter into alliance by marriage with any other person of the same country following another Vedic śākhā.

Hemādri gives some account of himself in his work. The Mss. present great variations from the printed text. He belonged to the Vatsagotra.\textsuperscript{846} He was the grandson of Vāsudeva and the son of Kāmādeva. The introductions to the khaṇḍas contains fulsome praise of Hemādri. One verse says that Hemādri scored out by showering wealth on poor people the lines that Brahmā had drawn on their forehead at the time of their birth (foredooming them to eternal poverty) and that Brahmā acquiesces in such conduct of Hemādri.\textsuperscript{847} Another verse says that none existed, exists or will exist surpassing Hemādri.\textsuperscript{848} He describes himself as in charge of the imperial records of Mahādeva, the Yādava king of Devagiri (modern Daulatabad).\textsuperscript{849} In the colophon and the body of the work also he is described as the karṇāḍhitvara of Mahādeva, as highly honoured by the king and as a minister (mantrin) of the king.\textsuperscript{850} He gives in the introduction to the Vratakhaṇḍa a detailed pedigree of the Yādavas of Devagiri. In the section on kāla (vol. III, part 2) he starts with Saṅghana (i.e. Siṅghana

\textsuperscript{845} आयांवर्तोऽच समाजेश्वरासिनीः नानाशाक्ष्याशिवायिनामामुपपलिनेता युव परस्परविनियम-माना: सर्वतो विशालसंभवः। ... अतो न कुमादने नामि हिंदादने स्वाभाविकज्ञ-नियम हिंदि सिद्धम्। vol. III. 1, p. 381.

\textsuperscript{846} नवासेल्प्रियोति हस्यिने विशाखिनो मुनि:।। गोः परस्त्र बमुख विमहुण्डणो वस्सिते-मण्डलस्विताराचविकिकनियिनि:। शिवासुदे: हति। verses 1 and 2 of vol. III. 1. The D. C. ms. No. 312 of 1884-87 reads वस्त्रामिनानो मुनि: and it appears that विशाखिनो of the printed text is a mistake.

\textsuperscript{847} हिंदिविषाल्यो विशिष्टां जन्मसु भवते विस्मृत्य अनिच्छे। कुमारिनीमेव निहित-वैधेनां संच्छ प्राणाकुले विशिष्य।। vol. I, verse 15; vol. III. 1, verse 17.

\textsuperscript{848} नवासेरिसेष्वरात्सि न भविता ह्यमानियाः:।। vol. I. verse 20, vol. III. 1. verse 22.

\textsuperscript{849} अस्ति शस्त्रव्यवहारम् सोमविविधुमुण्डम्। महादेवं हिंदि ख्यातो राजासेवा मूलते।। ... तस्यात्म नाम ह्यमानी: सर्वविद्यकारमुण्डः। निन्दोवारत्वं यथा सर्वविद्यकारमुण्डः।। vol. I. verses 6 and 13. क्राण means a document. अर्कराण may also mean 'writing the word ārī' (on official documents).

\textsuperscript{850} The colophon is श्रीमहाराजाधिपतिस्वामि महादेवस्य सर्वशक्ति कार्यार्थः। &c; महादेव-मृणालामयो ह्यमानियाः। करोति निर्युणं पुष्पमञ्जीकरणविशेषः।। vol. III. 1, p. 1318.
of the inscriptions), then speaks of his son Jaitrapāla (i.e. Jaitugi), his son Kṛṣṇa (or Kanhara) and lastly of Mahādeva, son of the younger brother of Kṛṣṇa. This is not the place to go into the genealogy of the Yādavas. There are some discrepancies between the genealogy as presented by Hemādri and as gathered from the inscriptions and numerous copperplate grants of the Yādavas. Vide Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, part 2, pp. 248-249 for Hemādri and pp. 268-275 for extracts from the Vratakhaṇḍa, pp. 252 and 519 for two pedigrees of the Devagiri Yādavas and pp. 511-534 for history. The following may be consulted for the principal grants of the Yādavas:—Ind. Ant. vol. 17, p. 117 (Kalasbudruk plate of Bhillama dated sake 948 or 1025 A.D.), E. I. vol. III p. 110 (Bahal inscription of Śinghaṇa dated sake 1144), E. I. vol. III p. 217-18 (Gadag inscription of Bhillama dated sake 1113 i.e. 1191 A.D.), Ind. Ant. vol. 14, p. 68 (grant of Kṛṣṇa or Kanhara dated 1249-50 A.D.), Ind. Ant. vol. 14, p. 314 (Paithan plate of Rāmacandra dated sake 1193), E. I. vol. XIII, p. 198 (Thanaka plate of Rāmacandra dated sake 1194 i.e. 1272 A.D.), E. I. vol. XIX, p. 20 (Mamdapur inscription of Kanhara dated sake 1172 i.e. 1250 A.D. wherein his younger brother Mahādeva is described as yuvrāja). Mahādeva reigned from 1260 to 1271 and Rāmacandra, the son of Kṛṣṇa, from 1271 to 1309 A.D. Since in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi Hemādri is said to be the keeper of the state records of Mahādeva, that work must have been composed at some time between 1260 and 1270 A.D. There are contemporary records available showing that Hemādri was in high favour not only with Mahādeva but also with his successor Rāmacandra. The Thana plate of Rāmacandra (dated sake 1194, i.e. 1272 A.D.) records the grant of a village called Vaul in Sāsati (modern Sāsī in the Thana District) to thirty-two brāhmaṇas by Acyuta Nāyaka of the Gautama gotra and descendant of Jalhana, who was the governor of Konkan, and describes Hemādri as one who had attained a pre-eminent position in the government through the favour of Rāmacandra and as one who was in charge of all (state) records and was the foremost minister.

851 न्यासस्यसमस्तबिक्रमादिविरोधजन्ये सकलमूलविशिष्टविनिरोधार्थाय चक्रुकाल्कुमुदप्रद्योगे श्रीराम- चन्द्रेविरोधे तथावस्तुद्वादिविनिरोधार्थाय पाँचालिनीभीत्ति बहुति समस्तबिक्रमादि कार्यस्य निर्माणस्य च निर्माणार्थादिपद्यें मन्त्रिप्रभाविनः पुरस्तल्लोहणांश्री इत्यादि &c. E. I. vol. XIII at p. 302.
Hemādri is credited with a commentary on Śaunaka’s Praṇava-
kalpa.  He appears to have written a śādha-kalpa according to
the rules of Kātyāyana which is distinct from his Śrāddhakhaṇḍa
(video Calcutta Sanskrit College mss. cat., vol. II, p. 163, No. 217
and Stein’s cat. p. 105 ). Hemādri also wrote a commentary called Kaivalyadipīkā
the Muktaḥalā of Vopadeva, the famous
author of the Muddhabodha grammar. The Muktaḥalā embodies
the philosophy of the Bhāgavata purāṇa in 19 adhyāyas and 784
verses (and a few lines in prose in 5th and 6th chapters). Vopadeva
was a friend and protege of Hemādri, who wrote several works at
the encouragement of the latter. He says that he wrote the Hari-
lilā (published in the Calcutta Oriental Series No. 3 ), an index
of the Bhāgavata for pleasing the minister Hemādri. There is a
commentary on this work called Viveka with which both Hemādri
and Madhusūdana-Sarasvati had something to do.  Hemādri
also wrote a commentary called Āyurvedarāṣṭāyaṇa on the
Āṣṭāṅgahrdaya of Vāgbhaṭa.

853 this verse in Bhadkamkar collection; the last verse is
854 ms. in
Bhadkamkar collection; the last verse is
ms. in

855 The ms. in the Bhadkamkar collection folio 5 has  ‘this in the Bombay Asiatic Society Library ascribes the com.to
and says  it through  ‘the śaṭhyavikāyām rāmājanāya
yeṃhādri and saṁyātā
BRAH. cat. p. 389 No. 1157 ).
Altogether Hemādri was a towering personality. His name is associated throughout the Maratha Country with the construction of numerous temples having a peculiar style of architecture. He is also credited with having invented the Moḍi script. Within a few decades his Caturvarga-cintāmāṇi, particularly its dāna and vrata sections, came to be looked upon as the standard work in the whole of the Deccan and southern India. Mādhava in his Kalanirṇaya (p. 67) expressly mentions the Vratakhaṇḍa of Hemādri as an authority. This work was composed about 1340 A. D. In an inscription of Bhāskara alias Bhavadura, son of Bukka I, dated sāke 1291 (i. e. 1369 A. D.) the king is described as making various gifts following the composition of Hemādri. This is obviously a reference to his dānakhaṇḍa and establishes that long before 1369 A. D. Hemādri had become a standard author in the Telugu country. The Vanapalli plate of Anna-Vema dated sāke 1300 (about 1380 A. D.) describes Vema as giving the various gifts in Hemādri and his son as one who observed the vratas and dānas described by Hemādri. Pedda-Komaṭi--Vema is described in a grant of sāke 1344 as eager in bestowing gifts described in the rules of Hemādri. Hemādri is quoted in the Madanapārijāta, the Nirṇayasindhu and other works.

88. Kullūkabhaṭṭa

Kullūka's commentary on the Manusmṛti styled the Manvarthamuktāvali is the most famous of all commentaries on Manu. It has been printed several times. In the following the Nirṇayasāgara edition of 1909 has been relied upon. Kullūka's commentary is concise and lucid and his remarks are always to the point. He avoids all unnecessary discussions and is never prolix. He was not however original. He drew upon the commentaries of Medhātithi and Govindarāja and incorporated a great deal from them.

856 हेमाद्रिक्रियांतिमार्गा कुर्व्वानान्यन्यमेकान: | E. I. vol. XIV p. 102.
857 हेमाद्रिक्रियान्यकरोदोपन्याण्यग्रुः मूर्ति ख्विुज्ञुकक्षोभाय | and हेमाद्रिक्रियानमिती: Vide E. I. vol. III. pp. 59 and 61.
858 हेमाद्रिक्रियान्यक्रियान्यन्यमेकान: | E. I. vol. XI. p. 325.
859 ये तु न्द्राशिखालेन विविधकिशिनले तेधामपरार्कविज्ञानेचर्यानिर्कारकोहेमाद्रिक्रियात्मक परिशिष्टम: मतिभक्तिकर्मण: | मववपाणिनात p. 536.
into his own work without acknowledgment. For example, on Manu XI. 95 he simply summarises the remarks\textsuperscript{660} of Govindarāja and cites only one out of the several quotations that are found in Govindarāja's Manu-ṭīkā. He severely criticises both Medhātithi and Govindarāja, particularly the latter. He frequently pours ridicule on the latter (vide note 713 above). At the end of his commentary he says\textsuperscript{661} that Medhātithi's skill lay in expounding what texts were authoritative and of substance and what were not so, Govindarāja in concise words explained the hidden meaning of the brief text (of Manu), while Dharanidhara had his own method of explanation which was independent of previous tradition; and therefore he undertook to write a commentary that would clearly set forth the real meaning of Manu. He was very proud of his achievement and says that neither Medhātithi nor Govindarāja nor other commentators explained in the way he did and that explanatory material like his would be difficult to find elsewhere.\textsuperscript{662} He notices the explanations of Medhātithi and Govindarāja hundreds of times, discusses various readings and his commentary deserves to a considerable extent the eulogy pronounced by Sir William Jones\textsuperscript{663} “At length appeared Cullūca Bhaṭṭa, who, after a painful course of

\textsuperscript{660} 'पुंस एव ब्राह्मणस्य मद्यपितामहस्य न खिया ह्याःहुत्तदस्ततु । सुरागतानि स्वः ब्राह्मणस्य सुरूपिणि भवति नैना देवा पतितोऽकं नवतत्त हृद्य सरमुर्निति हृद्य पतितोऽकं न सा याति ... हीति महामर्तिर्यक्षवर्णे-भाग्यवर्णे अरी निरेष्यस्मरणात् ।' गोविन्दराज on Manu XI. 95: "अत्र केषितु ... ब्राह्मणस्य पुंस एव मद्यपितामहस्य न खिया ह्याःहुत्तदस्ततु पतितोऽकं न सा याति ... सुरूपे चोपजाते हीति बाह्ययाद्विध्वस्तितिविरोऽधातु ।' कुछक.

\textsuperscript{661} सारालाभनविनिविवधों मेधाविधिभाषुरी स्तोऽकं दुतु मिनुमलवनचन्द्रोन्निविन्दरानं जगो । ममप्रययिन्नाथिधरस्य बदुहुः स्वातन्त्रसमाताता सरि मानवसत्तस्माति तु कुसङ्गोऽकं याति: II. Vide his remarks about धरणीपर on Manu II. 83 and IV. 50. 'धरणीपरण तु एकाश्वररः बाह्य भाषामांसरं ततः हीति पतितं ... मेधाविधिमृत्तिनिमित्तुदाति किं यत्र: दिनांत्यातातरं तत्र द्वमानो धरणीपरः' and परंतरावमानाम् हिया बिन्दुःतःतु: । पदातरं व्यज्ञयमुद्रां धरणीपरः II.

\textsuperscript{662} मार्गिता द्वानुमलवनचन्द्रोन्निविन्दरानं सदाभाषामां सतु मुनिगिरिः तदनन्तं गुणाणं । मानवसत्तस्माति न्यायो गोविन्दराजो व्याख्यातारो न जगुयपराश्यतो दुर्लभं ॥ last verse of chap. XI.

\textsuperscript{663} Vide Pedda Ramappa v Bangari Seshamma I.L.R. 2 Mad. 286 at p. 291.
study and the collation of numerous manuscripts, produced a work of which it may perhaps be said very truly that it is the shortest yet the most luminous, the least ostentatious yet the most learned, the deepest yet the most agreeable, commentary ever composed on any author, ancient or modern."

Among the authors and works quoted by him (besides the usual smṛtis) are the following:—Garga (on II. 6), Govindarāja, Dharanidhara, Bhāskara (bhāṣyakāra of the Vedāntasūtras, on I. 8 and 15), Bhojadeva (on VIII. 184), Medhatithi, Vāmana (author of the Kaśikā), Bhāṭṭavārtika-kṛt (on XII. 106), Viśvarūpa (the commentator of Yājñavalkya, on II. 189 and V. 68). The Viśvarūpa that he quotes on Manu V. 215 is the lexicographer and not the jurist as Aufrecht (in his great catalogue) appears to hold.

He gives us a little information about himself in the introductory verse.864 He came of a Varendra Brāhmaṇa family of Bengal (Gauḍa) residing in Nandana and was the son of Bhaṭṭa Divakara. He wrote his commentary in Kaśi in the company of Pandits. On Manu VI. 14 he mentions the names of certain vegetables that were current in Malwa and among the Vāhikas.865

It appears that Kullūka also composed a digest called Smṛtiśāgara. A Ms. of a portion of it called Śrāddhasāgara exists in the Calcutta Sanskrit College (cat. vol. II. p. 405, No. 446). In this his Āsaucasāgara and Vivādasāgara are referred to.

I secured a transcript of the ms. of the Śrāddhasāgara in the Calcutta Sanskrit College through the kindness of the Principal. The Śrāddhasāgara deals with the following subjects:—definition of of śrāddha; whether it is of the nature of yāga, dāna and homa; various kinds of śrāddhas such as nitya, naimittika &c.; the proper and improper places for śrāddha; the proper times for śrāddha; Aṣṭakā-śrāddha; śūdras can perform aṣṭakā aud other śrāddhas; intercalary month; who are pankti-pāvana brāhmaṇas; meaning of

864 गोडे मन्ननानतिनामिनि छूजनेवन्ये चरण्या कुले श्रीमद्भविनासकर्मण तनयाम श्रूक्ष्यकहे-भोक्ता । काश्याचर्चनालिजलकुलन्यातीरी सम्य प्राणायामेन्यं कियते विषाण विदुः मन्याय- गुफ्काली ॥

865 मूलेण मालवेषा मस्तिष्के शाकं विबुधं वाहिकं वाहिकं मस्तिष्के शाकं ।

ll. D. 46.
nimantrana and amantrana; the number of brahmaṇas to be invited; the darbhas; śraddhadevatās; the sacred thread etc.

The Śraddhasāgara is full of Purvamimāṃsā discussions. The author says that he wrote it and the other two works (Vivādasāgara and Āśaucasāgara) at the order of his father. He quotes profusely from the Mahābhārata, the Mahāpurāṇas and Upapurāṇas and from the dharmastūtras and metrical smṛtis. He names the Kalpataru oftener than any other nibandhakāra. The other authors and works named are: Bhojadeva, Halāyudha (probably the author of Prakāśa on the Śraddhakalpasūtra of Kātyāyana), Jikana, Kāmadhenu, Medhātithi, Śāṅkhadharma. In one place we have a reference to Prabhākara and Kamalākaraţhata (on Kāla and Kāma being devatās) and in another place to Gauḍa-Maithila-Mayūkhabhaţhā (which are probably marginal notes creeping into the ms. or refer to authors other than the well-known ones). He refers to the opinion of his own guru in opposition to that of the Kalpataru.

The date of Kullūka cannot be settled with certainty. Bühler held that he lived probably in the 15th century (S. B. E. vol. xxv. p. cxxxii). Ghose (Hindu Law, 3rd edition p. XVI) and M. M. Chakravarti (JASB 1915, p. 345) are of the same opinion. In I. L. R. 48 Cal. 643 Sir Asutosh Mukerji places Kullūka in the 15th century (at p. 688). As Kullūka mentions Bhojadeva, Govinda-rāja, Kalpataru and Halāyudha he is certainly later than 1150 A. D. Raghunandana in his Dāyatattva and Vyavahāratattva, and Vardhamāna in his Daṇḍaviveka frequently mention his views. Śrīnātha’s com. on the Dāyabhāga refutes the view of Kullūka. The Śraddha-kriya-kauṃudi of Govindānanda refers to Kullūka’s explanation of the word ‘ākāṅkṣan’ as ‘Vikṣamāṇaḥ’ in Manu III. 258. The Rājāniti-ratnakara of Canḍēśvara quotes the explanation of Kullūka. Therefore Kullūka must have flourished before 1300

866 एवेऽदुमक दात्स्यतः स्वादिष्टतः कुषक्कःखुख्रेष्टपाटः, एवेऽदुमक्तस्याति स्वादिष्टतः जीत्तमात्रहस्तेन्तपाटः न युक्तः। भवन्तत्त्व (vol. II. p. 213); गमन: समाधि: समावा एव भेपुष्कद्ध: क्रस्त्रिष्ठि देव्य इति कुषक्कःखुख्रेष्टः। दुमकत्त (vol. II. p. 193).

867 अत एव कुषक्कःखुख्रेष्ट-राजावद्विघ नानां क्रस्त्रिष्ठातिपि: कि नस्यस्यत्तमकुषक्कःखुख्रेष्टः। राजानीतिरलाकेष (ed. by Mr. Jayaswal, 1924) p. 9. These are the words of कुषक्क on मनु 7. 1.
A. D. Kullūka in his by no means small work nowhere refers to the Dayabhāga, though he himself came of a Bengal family. This silence is explicable in two ways. As we have seen, Kullūka wrote in Kāśi and not in Bengal. Therefore if he flourished not long after Jīmuțavahana, it is quite natural that writing in Benares he had not heard of the Dayabhāga or read it. It has been shown above that Jīmuțavahana probably wrote about 1100-1150 A. D. Therefore Kullūka flourished between 1150 and 1300 A. D. and probably wrote about 1250 A. D. M. M. Chakravarti is not sure as to how early Kullūka flourished but opines that he could not have flourished later than the first quarter of the 15th century (JASB 1915, p. 345 n. 1).

89. Śrīdatta Upādhyāya

Mithilā has made extremely valuable and substantial contributions to Dharmaśāstra Literature. From the days of the Yājñavalkya smṛti down to modern times the land of Mithilā has produced writers whose names are illustrious. Śrīdatta Upādhyāya is one of the earliest among the mediaeval Maithila nibandhakāras. He is the author of several works which will be briefly noticed.

The Ācārādāra of Śrīdatta was printed in Beṇaras at the Divakara Press and by the Venkatesvara Press in Bombay in samvat 1961. It is a manual of the daily religious duties of the followers of the white Yajurveda (Vājasaneyins), such as acamana, brushing the teeth, morning bath, sanādhya, japa, brahmaṣayāṇa, tarpana, daily worship of gods, vaṇivadeva, feeding guests etc. Among the works and writers named are the following:—Ācāra-cintāmani, Kalpataru, Kāmadhenu, Kālikāpurāṇa, Gaṇeṣamīśra, Rājā (probably Bhojadeva), Smṛtimahārāṇava, Harihara and Halāyudha—nibandha. There is a commentary on this work called Ācārādārasabodhini.

868 अहोराप्रभवसो धर्म ह्रद वाजसनेयनाय | निष्क्रिये निवधो यो वर्मशाक्तिनिन्द्वृत्तम् || 2nd intro. verse in D. C. Ms. No. 343 of 1875-76; समूखकवनामोभो भाषालयमिति: || श्रीवद्वेष तत्त्वेष आचाये राज्य: हर्त: ||

869 Vide for गोरीस्वर and राजा ‘अधिवेश्यमाजग्ञानमि गोरीस्वर’ folio 15 b of आशाराश्चिर (D. C. Ms. No. 343 of 1875-76); ‘हर्ति राजालिकितिः मेलाकाईपुष्प-परिवित्तरत्र न प्रमाणमिल्यादूः’ folio 26 a; ‘हर्ताच बौधायनात्य राजालिकितिः परि बुधानसंमताविकितं स’ folio 29 a.
composed by Gauripati or Gaurīśa, son of Dāmodara Maithila, at Benaras in 1640 A. D (Dr. Bhandarkar's report, 1883–84, p. 347). In this work he uses several vernacular words; e. g. he says that 'Śala' tree is known as Sagavana (in the vernacular).

Another work of his is the Chandogāhnika on the daily duties for Sāmavedins. He refers to it in his Samayapradipa and Pitṛbhakti. A supplement to it named Chandogāhnikodhdhāra was written by Saṅkaramiśra, son of Bhavanāthamiśra (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI p. 10, No. 1989).

The Pitṛbhakti is a manual on the śrāddha rites for students of the Yajurveda. It was based on the Kātiyakalpa with Karka's bhasya thereon and on the works of Gopāla and Bhūpāla (i. e. Bhojadeva). It is frequently quoted in the Śrāddhayiveka of Rudrādhara. Among the writers named are (besides those that occur in the Ācārdaśa also): Pitṛhitakaraṇikāra, Nārāyaṇavṛtti (on Āśvalāyana Gr. S.), Mitākṣarā, Ratnakarandikā, Vidhipuspadama (26 a), Subhākara, Smṛtimāṇjari, Smṛtimāṇjūśā, Halāyudha’s Śrāddhadhyāya. This work first treats of the details of the Pārvanaśrāddha, then of ekoddiṣṭa, of the monthly śrāddhas, the śrāddha on the 11th day after death, of Sapinḍikarana, of abhyudayika śrāddha. It then proceeds to consider the definition of śrāddha.

The Śrāddhalakalpa was composed by him for the Sāmavedins. It is referred to in his Samayapradipa and Pitṛbhakti (folio 33b).

The Samayapradipa treats of the proper times for various vratas. It is divided into three chapters (paricchedas). The

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870 'शालूष्यः सगवन हति प्रसिद्धः ' folio 9b of the आचारदाश. Compare Marathi 'सागवान.'

871 'उकमस्माभिरभविकः ' folio 53a of समयपदीप D. C. Ms. No. 371 of 1875-76;

872 कात्यकरुणां सहकस्माभव्यं गोपालेवुपालमतादिर दृश्यः सत्त्र च वाच्यानि निधाय सम्म- मयजुष्टिविश्राहाभिभिण्ण विधाये 'I first verse of पितृभक्ति (D. C. Ms. No 153 of 1892-95).

873 'निर्णयिन्माधः अद्वितेः ' समयपदीप folio 49a (D. C. Ms. No. 371 of 1875-76).

874 'श्रीदेवेन ब्रजंदीनां सारामक्ष्य लिखते ' vers 3 of समयपदीप.
first is called Samayapariccheda and dilates upon the definition of
vrata, on the procedure about fasts, nakta and the vratas of Ganeśa
and other deities, the second is called Samivatsara-kṛtya-pariccheda
and treats of vratas from the pratipada to the amavasya in the
several months and the third is called prakirṇaka (miscel-
naneous) dealing with the vratas on sankṛanti (the
Sun's passage into another Zodiacal sign) etc. In this work Śrīdatta
often refers to the views of the Gaudas and contrasts them with his
own. He also refers to Gaudanibandha. No other writers or
works except those that are already enumerated under Ācārādarśa
and Pitṛbhakti are named in this work. On folio 7a there is a
name which is somewhat indistinct and appears to be 'Mitāmitrādī-
bhiḥ'. The Samayapradīpa is mentioned in the Kṛtya-ratnakara
(pp. 400, 479, 505) of Cāṇḍeśvara and in Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-
viveka.Śrīdatta is more frequently quoted in the Śrāddhakriyā-
kaumudi of Govindānanda than almost any other author or work.

As Śrīdatta names the Kalpataru, Harihara and Halāyudha's
work on Śrāddha he must have flourished later than 1200 A. D.
As Cāṇḍeśvara mention his Samayapradīpa, Śrīdatta must have
flourished before the first quarter of the 14th century. If Gaṇeśa-
miśra mentioned in the Ācārādarśa be the same as Gaṇeśvaramiśra,
The author of Sugatisopāna and uncle of Cāṇḍeśvara (which
appears extremely probable), then Śrīdatta flourished a short time
before Cāṇḍeśvara and must have composed his works between
1275 and 1310 A. D.

It appears that there was another Maithila writer called Śrīdatta-
miśra, son of Nāgeśvaramiśra, who composed the Ekāgniṇadana-
paddhati and one or two other works (Hp. Nepal cat. p. 129).
The Nepal Ms. of the Ekāgniṇadana-paddhati was copied in La-Sam
299 (Lakṣaṇapāṇasa era 299, i. e. 1418 A. D.). Vide Hp.
Nepal cat. XII, 45 and 129. So this Śrīdatta flourished towards
the end of the 14th century in the reign of Devasīmha son of
Śrīdatta.

875 समोद्विक्षितदानमाह श्रीदत्ताप्राचायकलसमयमयमिषि मविष्यपुलास्य । नुमोत्तत्वविवेक
p. 21 (Calcutta Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad ed.).
90. Cāndesaṅvara

Cāndesaṅvara is the most prominent figure among Maithila nibandhākāras on Dharmasastra. He compiled an extensive digest called Smṛtiratnakāra or simply Ratnakāra. This digest was divided into seven sections viz., on kṛtya, dāna, vyavahāra, śuddhi, pūjā, vivāda and grhaṣṭha.876 Out of these the Vivādaratnakāra dealing with dāyabhāga and the other titles of law (vyavahārapadas) has been printed in the B. I. series and has been translated into English by Mr. G. C. Sarkar and by Mr. Justice Digambara Chatterjee. The Vivādaratnakāra of Cāndesaṅvara and the Vivādacintāmāni of Vācaspati are of paramount authority in matters of Hindu Law in Mithila (modern Tirhut) so far as British Indian Courts are concerned.877

The Kṛtya-ratnakāra deals in 22 tarāṅgas with the discussion of Dharma (its real nature, its rewards, means of knowing it and the occasions for it), the various vrata and observances in the several months from Caitra, the observances in the intercalary month, various vrata on the several days of the week, the Sun’s passage into a new sign, eclipse on the new-moon day etc. This work is referred to in his Dānaratnakāra, which in its turn is quoted in the Grhaṣṭharaṭnakāra.878 The work has recently been printed in the B. I. series (1925).

The Grhaṣṭharaṭnakāra is a very extensive work in 68 tarāṅgas on the duties of householders. The Deccan College Ms. that I could consult is incomplete, has only folios 30, 72-133 and contains the last 23 tarāṅgas only. Some of the subjects dealt with are:— from whom gifts were to be accepted by grhaṣṭhas; duties and

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876 श्रीहत्यदानायकाद्विश्वशेषतिरिक्तिकविविधेशु गृहस्थसम्बन्धे। रत्नाकरो वर्णमुदी निश्चये। स्तरासुता-पुस्तकेन सर। वर्षोत्तरसाधी नै। वर्षोत्तरसाधी नै। तत्त्वादि नै। वर्षोत्तरसाधी नै।


878 अन्यकथितमेवतानुसार वृत्तान्तलकारे पुनः। माताविस्तरसासनम् गौरवासुदिपीतिः। इत्यतः तत्त्वादिनेतरसाधी नै। वर्षोत्तरसाधी नै। द्वारकातिसर्वादि द्वारकाति नै। वर्षोत्तरसाधी नै।
actions proper for Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras; the observances of a snātaka; yama and niyama; śauca; the observances of brahma-
carya; what ruins families; proper abode for a grhaṣṭha; what a grhaṣṭha should or should not speak or should or should not see; things not to be given to śūdras; the avoidance of anger, adultery and intermixture of castes (saṁkara); requiting of debts etc.

The Dānaratnākara contains 29 taraṅgas and deals with the following subjects:—meaning of dāna; what may or may not be gifted; fit objects of charity; the gifts called mahādānas; gifts of a thousand cows and heaps of corn; various gifts, such as those of food, books; gifts appropriate to certain months, nakṣatras and tithis; miscellaneous gifts; dedication of wells and tanks for public use; planting of trees.

The Vivādacandra is an extensive work (671 pages in print) in 100 taraṅgas on civil and criminal law and deals with the 18 titles of law such as dāyabhāga (on partition and inheritance), rādāna (recovery of debts) and others. It formed the basis of the Vivāda-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspāti and the Daṇḍaviveka of Vardhamāna. It is mentioned in his own Gṛhaṣṭharatnākara.879

The Vyavahāraratnākara deals with judicial procedure, such as the plaint, the reply, the burden of proof, means of proof, judgment etc. Vide Mitra’s notices, vol. VI. p. 66, No. 2036.

The Śudhiratnākara is in 34 taraṅgas and deals with impurity on birth and death, persons who have to observe no āśauca, meaning of sapinda, rites on death up to the end of the period of mourning, purifications of food and various substances. Vide Mitra’s Notices, vol. VII. p. 149, No. 2384 and I. O. cat. p. 412, No. 1389.


Besides this digest Caṇḍēśvara compiled several other works.

Kṛtyacintāmaṇi is one of such works. It is a question when it was composed. In his Gṛhaṣṭharatnākara he says that certain
architectural and decorative constructions called Śrivṛkṣa, Vardhamāna and Nandyāvarta have been spoken of by him in the Kṛtyacintāmaṇi. But the Kṛtyacintāmaṇi says that he has already composed the seven ratnākaras.

The Kṛtyacintāmaṇi is divided into sections called prakāśas. It deals with astronomical matters in relation to the performance of several religious ceremonies and saṃskāras, such as taraśuddhi, the intercalary month, garbhādhāna, simantonnayana, birth of a child on the Mula nakṣatra, the rites on the 6th day after birth, nāmakaraṇa, the movements of Saturn, Sun’s passage from one sign into another, the results of eclipses etc.

Another work of Cāṇḍeśvara, the Rājanitiratnākara, has been recently edited at Patna (1924) by Mr. K. P. Jayasval with a learned introduction dealing with the personal history of Cāṇḍeśvara, his relations with the Maithila kings and the mediaeval Indian literature on politics. It appears that Cāṇḍeśvara did not complete the writing of a work on politics when he compiled his great digest. He wrote the work at the command of the king Bhaveśa (or Bhaveśvara) of Mithila. The work contains 16 tarāṅgas (waves, i.e. chapters) on the following subjects:—definition of a king, different grades of kings, the eighteen vices or calamities for kings, duties of kings; the characteristics and duties of amātyas (councillors); the characteristics of purohita; the characteristics and duties of a pṛādvivāka (Judge); the members of the hall of justice (sabhīyas), their number and qualifications; concerning forts; the time and place and accessories of the settlement of royal policy; concerning the state treasury; the army; the commander-in-chief and the discipline of the army; ambassadors, allies, and spies; the general obligations of kings, conflict of Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, the six guṇas—saṁdhī etc., the maṇḍala of kings; the king’s power of punishment; abdication by king, the heir-apparent, impartiality of the kingdom; the eldest son’s right to succeed, the...

880 श्रीमृद्धार्धबालल्याश्रीः पासाध्विषेषः सुवर्णमदापदिलितप्रियः। कुतकिष्टाव्यावसायनीः सिस्मकाठा।

881 अन्नाध्यपादिलितप्रियः सुतवाष्ट्रासर्वलाकाराद्य। Intro. verse 12 of कुतकिष्टाव्याय: (I. O. cat. p. 511, No. 1261).

882 राजा सम्प्रदेयस्ते राजवालिनिवन्धकम्। ततोति महिम्रास्यामः श्रीमान्य सप्तेषाः।

कृती || 3rd intro. verse राजविलये।
seven constituent elements of the state; the state’s obligation towards the poor, the helpless etc.; the coronation of the heir-apparent or his investiture.

There are two more works composed by Caṇḍeśvara viz., the Dānavākyāvali and the Śivavākyāvali (vide I. O. cat. p. 1409, No. 3724 for the latter).

Caṇḍeśvara names in his works, particularly in the Kṛtyaratnākara and the Vivādaratnākara, a host of writers and works. In his great digest he drew largely upon five predecessors and incorporated often without acknowledgment much or almost all that was valuable in them. These five predecessors were the Kāmadhenu, the Kalpataru, the Pārijāta, the Prakāśa (i.e. Smṛtimahārṇava) and Halāyudha, all of which he quotes scores of times. At the end of the Vivādaratnākara he boasts that whatever is of the essence in the above five works and even more is comprehended in his single work the Ratnākara. Among the authors and works mentioned in his seven ratnākaras, those mentioned below deserve to be noted. In I. L. R. 12 Cal. 348 (at p. 356) the learned judges appear to hold that the Pārijāta mentioned in the Vivādacintāmaṇi is the Madanapārijāta. But this is obviously a mistake (vide p. 309 above on Pārijāta). Besides these in his Rājaniratnākara he names Kāmanda, Kullūkabhaṭṭa, Pallava and Pallavakāra, Śrīkara. What

883 कल्पनारुपे बातम्ब दिलाईते हताहुष्टे बातम्बर्ण मकाने। यत्साधाराभिषिक्तः च कवि- 

dhārait रतेनकर एक एव। यथा कामघनुरुवादिति वक्त्यस्वस्क (श्लो) यथा से निन- 

कलाय स पारिजातः। सै वैराज्ञेवमुदुष्टस्वस्कवर्धि विेन्येरण तुरुवाणीं कतमे 

मवनन्। (vide notes 653 and 703 for these two verses).

884 अद्याप, उद्यकर (commentator of मनु, vide विद्यादर्शा pp. 453, 560, 590), कल्पनाह, कामघेनु, कव्यसंस्कर, गोपाल, सहस्त्राभिषेक (वि. र. प. 46), नीम- 

नाथविभव, भानसागर (folios 18a भानरा), देवेलरसमा विकारणक, पारिजात, 

मकान, प्रतिमासंघ, भुक्त्यक (गृहस्थरो folio 78a, on गौतमस्वस्क), नाथकार 

(सक्तीविलित्), मागुरी (वि. र. प. 104), भूपतल, भुपालकव्यसंस्कर, भुपाल- 

पद्मि, मारवलाट्टी (गृहस्थरो 116 a), मित्र (वि. र. प. 595), भिताभ्रा, 

मुरारिज्ञ, मेघालिच्छ, राजमार्ग, लक्ष्मीप, वर्ष्टिर्निर्मक, कलपनाव, विवाहराज, 

भगवा, भूदा, संबंधार्थ, सागर (द्रान्नलाकर 10 b), स्वतिरस्रितेक, 

स्वतिरस्रितेकवर्य, इत्यार्य, इत्यादितिवर्णकम्ब. The कव्यसंस्कर, भुपालपद्मि and 

भुपालकनवस्तवस्कर seem to be the same work.

H. D. 47.
is printed as Nātasūtra in the Vivādaratnākara (p. 477) is really Lāta (i.e. Lātyāyana Śrautasūtra). Caṇḍesvara mentions many vernacular words (e.g. Krityaratnākara pp. 109, 111, 306, 338, 443).

We learn a great deal about the family and personal history of Caṇḍesvara from his works. The Vivādaratnākara in the introduction and in the colophon tells us that Caṇḍesvara was a mantrin (a minister), was entrusted with the office of minister for peace and war, that he conquered Nepal and weighed himself against gold on the banks of the Vāgviṭī in sāke 1236 (1314 A.D.). There are more or less similar colophons at the end of the Rājanītiratnākara and the other ratnākaras. The grand-father of Caṇḍesvara was Devāditya, who was minister of Harasiriṇhadeva of Tīrṛut and who belonged to the Kārnā family. One of the sons of Devāditya was Vireśvara who was also a minister for peace and war of the same king and is said to have made grants to learned Brāhmaṇas in Rāmapura (i.e. Simraon in Champaran District) and other cities (verse 10 of Krtyaratnākara). Mr. Jayasval points out in his introduction to the Rājanīti-ratnākara (j) that the correct name of the king was Harasiriṇhadeva. Another son of Devāditya was Gaṇeśvara who was younger than Vireśvara and who was also a great minister and author of Sugatisopāna. A copy of this work bears the date La-sam (Lakṣmanaṣena era) 224 (i.e. 1343-44 A.D.).

In the colophon of this work Devāditya is called 'mahāmaṭta' (mahāmātra) and Gaṇeśvara is styled mahārajādhirāja. In the

885 श्रीचण्डेशरमन्निधिस नसिनतागत प्रमाणम्बा नेपालाचिन्दुमुनिपालिपिनास्वेतकुम्पास्वेतकु...भिनां। वाक्यम् दारितस्ते सुधुनीसाम्य दुभत्यं। शुचौ! तर्मम् मातिस चोकोपयस्य-समवे वर्षतुलुपास्वेतेः॥ 3rd Intro. verse; at the end we have रसायणमुजनम्बमः। संभिते श्रद्धेशय तस्य सीते चवलम्बे चायत्तिस्मुन्तिः। अहिष्णु तुहिनाचैराचत्मा सश्रेष्ठी निपृतत्तिमुनानुमापाम्। सोमानां। इति समाक्षमचाचितिभियचिरकुण्डर-मन्नियदीर्दाराजसम्मवहित्तिमुनियियवेढ़ प्रवर्तिते विचारनावः। संपूर्णं।

886 आशिनीमण्डिताःसुकुमिके यममममावः।... देवदिवसः इति गुरोकमातितो मन्त्रशील-पूज्यमां।॥ 2nd intro. verse to क्षत्रियमानिः (I. O. cat p. 511, No. 1651): अहिष्णु स्वाक्षिस्तेषुमुनिपालिपिशीलिपिद्विशाली। निर्माणी निधिलम ममालविचार कार्यं-विशोध्यस्। । वर्ष 4 of नापरसाकर.

Sraddhaviveka of Rudradhara the Sugatisopāna is said to be the work of one who was pratihastaka (deputy) of Bhavaśarma. Caṇḍeśvara was the son of Vireśvara and like his father and grandfather became minister of Harisimhadeva. This must have happened about 1310 A.D., as he weighed himself in 1314 A.D. The Kṛtyaratnākara (verse 15) says that he touched the very idol of Paśupati in Nepal and worshipped it after conquering the country.

From the Vyavahāraratnākara it appears that Caṇḍeśvara was Chief Judge as well as Minister for peace and war. Caṇḍeśvara and his ancestors are highly praised for their liberality. In the Dānaratnākara (verse 2 at the end) he is said to have rescued the earth submerged in the flood of Mlecchas. This probably refers to the defeat of some Mahomedan generals. Harisimhadeva was routed by Ghausuddin Tughlak in 1324 and retired from Tirhut.

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888 Maithīpādā p. 4 (Benares ed. of 1920 संव. ) 'हित सुगतिसोपानादी मवधामेति-स्तलप्रथमे कमः .' ।

889 निर्जीव व्यवहारसागरसूत्राः यः माधविसाकः स्तुरत् विचारान्वयिणो धर्म नयन्युगलितम्ः।
लेनायं गृहसन्तोषविपण्डृढः वारिष्टसंख्यिताः।
श्रीवेदेत्यस्मिन्नाधि नितिनितः: श्रीम्भूरं रत्नाकरः।

Mitra's Notices, vol VI. p. 67. The second pāda has four syllables less.
The genealogy of ब्रजदेविंद्र's family is

क्रमांकम्

रामांकम्, minister of गृहिष्ठ and author of बिषायप्रस्तित.

890 यस्य दुनातिरक्तेष्व लोके निर्जीवार्थः। कर्पमुद्रः पारिजातः कामधेयः कङ्गिष्ट कङ्गिष्ट।
4th verse at end of दुनातिरक्तः; Mitra's Notices, vol. VI. p. 135; verse 21
of सफ्यरत्नाकरः says that ब्रजदेविंद्र dug a large lake in अभिरामपुरः.

891 तना स्वेखमांसवर्जः संतुमति वेनेन्द्रद्वारा लोलद्वारा।
into Nepal. Hence it follows that the seven Ratanakaras some of which (like vivada and dana) refer to his weighing himself against gold in 1314 A.D. and his high position at the court of Harisimhadeva were composed between 1314 and 1324 A.D. His Rajaimitiratnakara was composed at the command of Bhavesa. This last belonged to the line of the Kamesvara dynasty which began to rule Tirhut in the third quarter of the 13th century, in 1370 A.D. according to Mr. Jayasval (Introduction to Rajaimitiratnakara, r). Therefore the literary activities of Candesaara extended over about 50 years from 1314 and the Rajaimiti-ratnakara was probably his last work composed at a very advanced age. For the somewhat controversial and confused chronology of the Tirhut kings of the Karnata and Kamesvara dynasties, vide Hp. cat. (Introduction p. 31); Grierson in Ind. Ant. vol. 14, p. 182-196 and Ind. Ant. vol. 28, p. 57; JASB 1915 pp. 407-433 (M. M. Chakravarti); JBORS vol. IX, p. 300 and X, p. 37 (Jayasval).

Candesaara exercised very great influence over Maithila and Bengal writers. Misarumi, Vardhamana, Vacaspati-misra and Raghunandana very frequently quote him. The Viramitrodaya (p. 181) calls the Ratnakara 'Paurastya-nibandha' (eastern digest).

91. Harinatha

Harinatha is the author of a digest called Smritisara on several topics of dharmastra. No part of this work has been yet printed. In the India Office there are two mss. of the Smritisara (I. O. cat. p. 448, No. 1488 and p. 449, No. 1489). The first cites 67 authorities (pramapakah) on Dharmastra, out of which the Karmapadipa, the Kalpataru, the Kamedhenu, Kumara, Ganeshvaramisra, Vijanesvara, Vilamba (?), Smritimaunjasa and Harihara deserve special mention. This ms. contains the portion of the Smritisara on the samskaras, rites on death, sraddha and prayascitta. The other ms. deals with the principal topics of vivada (various titles of law) and vyavahara (judicial procedure), viz. partition, father's share  

892 The Pañji historian of Mithila thus describes the departure of Harivamsa

'वाणिज्यमायसारिनिखण्डकमर्यादिको धुर्जनमिरिकविवाहिः। 
व्यक्तव सुषुप्नेत्रिः 
हरितिहन्द्वयुर्देवेिप्रक्षेपवर्ग गिरि विवेषिः॥'.

893 The Dhanaratnakar, Purnaratnakar and Udbhirlatkar are quoted in the Sushrut of 

Ratuva (e.g. pp. 284, 299, 301, vol. 1).
on partition, larger share to eldest son, persons excluded from partition and inheritance, impartible property; strādhana; the several kinds of sons; succession to the property of the sonless; re-union; gambling and prize-fighting and other titles of law; various methods of dāṇḍa (punishment); the various units of measure etc.; judicial procedure i. e. the plaintiff, the reply, the means of proof, viz., documents, witnesses, possession, reasoning, oaths, and ordeals; review of judgment; minority and dependence; rules about succession according to various authors. This last portion appears to be a sort of supplement, wherein the views of Bālārūpa, Parijāta, Halāyudha, Kalpataru and of the Śṛṣṭisāra itself on the order of succession to a man dying sonless are set forth. Viśvarūpa and Śrīkara are named in the summary of Bālārūpa’s views and the Prakāśa at a later stage (folio 148 b). Bhavadeva-nibandha is also expressly named on possession.

No information is given in the mss. about Harinātha himself. He is styled in the colophons ‘mahāmahopādhyāya.’ In several places he refers to the views of the Gauḍas on acāra; e. g. he cites the view of the Gauḍas that on a fasting day or śrāddha day one should not employ the twig used in dantadhāvana and that when there is Ekādaśi on two days a house-holder should observe a fast on the first and a yati on the second. It appears that he was not a Gauḍa but rather a Maithila.

The India Office ms. of the vivāda portion of the Śṛṣṭisāra is dated sanvāvat 1614 (i. e. 1558 A. D.). Another ms. of the same portion (vide Mitra’s Notices, vol. V, p. 232, No. 1913) was copied in Lakṣmīnaśa sanvāvat 363 i. e. 1469-1470 A. D. Śūlapāṇi quotes the Śṛṣṭisāra in his Durgotsavaviveka. Misarumiśra in his Vivādacandra several times refers to the opinions of the Śṛṣṭisāra. Hence it follows that the Śṛṣṭisāra was composed before the last quarter of the 14th century. Cāṇḍeśvara in his voluminous work

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894 e. g. न बाधे कालसंवृत्राणिसंवृत्तिः स विक्र इति भवनातु भालसंवृत्राणिनिति स्मृतिसारः। गृहालेखियविभिस्मिति स्मृतिसारः। फोलो 5a of विषालमाहू (D.C. ms. No. 57 of 1888-84); अतं एव स्मृतिसारे यद्य पिनवेचेनिष्ठ्वे संसाौणं (संस्कृतेॊ) तदस संसुँह्वुः गुणविबच्वासंसुँह्वुः संसुँहिन्नरुः संस्रुँहीवशेषविभिस्मितिसुभाष्य। फोलो 37b; vide also 57b for another reference to स्मृतिसारः.
nowhere refers to Harinātha nor does the latter refer to him. Hence they were probably contemporaries or not separated by any appreciable interval of time. As Harinātha mentions the Kalpataru and Harihara, he must be later than about 1250 A. D. If Ganesvaramiśra\(^{805}\) mentioned by Harinātha be the author of the Sugatisopāna (which is extremely probable) who was an uncle of Cāndesvara, then Harinātha cannot be earlier than about 1300 A. D. and flourished at about the same time as Cāndesvara, viz, the first half of the 14th century A. D. Harinātha is quoted by Vācaspatimiśra in his Dvaitanirnaya, by Raghunandana (in Udvāhatattva vol. I, pp. 108, 119, Āhnikatattva vol. I, p. 240, Šuddhitattva vol. II, p. 240), Kamalakara, Nilakaṇṭha and a host of other later writers. In the Ekādaśitattva p. 45 Harinātha is spoken of as upajīvya by Vardhamāna and Vācaspati.

There are several works styled Smṛtisāra e. g. of Kesavaśarma (Mitra’s Notices, vol. II. p. 76), of Yadavabhūṣaṇa-bhāṭṭācārya (Mitra’s Notices, vol. IV p. 213 No. 1642), of Devayājṇika (D. C. Ms. No. 266 of 1884-87 and 344 of 1886-92, the latter being called Smṛtisārasaṅgrahā). Hence it often becomes difficult to say in the case of later works, what particular Smṛtisāra is being quoted.

92. Mādhavācārya

Mādhavācārya is the brightest star in the galaxy of daksinātya authors on dharmaśāstra. His fame stands only second to that of the great Śaṅkarācārya. He had a most versatile genius and either himself wrote or inspired his brother Sāyaṇa and others to write voluminous works on almost all branches of Sanskrit literature. As an erudite scholar, as a far-sighted statesman, as the bulwark of the Vijayanagara kingdom in the first days of its foundation, as a sannyāsin given to peaceful contemplation and renunciation in old age, he led such a varied and useful life that even to this day his is a name to conjure with. Among his numerous works two deserve special mention here, viz: the Parāśara-mādhavīya, his commentary on the Parāśarasmr̥ti and the Kālanirṇaya.
The Parāśara-mādhaviya has been published several times, the edition in the B. I. series and in the Bombay Sanskrit series being the best known. In the following the Bombay edition has been used. This work is very extensive and occupies about 2300 printed pages in the Bombay edition. It is not a mere commentary on Parāśara’s text, but is in the nature of a digest of civil and religious law. The original smṛti of Parāśara contains no verses on vyavahāra, but Mādhavacarya hangs, on the slender peg of a single verse of Parāśara calling upon the king to rule his subjects with righteousness, his treatise on vyavahāra that covers a little over a fourth part of the whole commentary (vide note 341 above an Parāśara). The Parāśara-mādhaviya is a work of authority on modern Hindu Law in southern India.\(^{896}\) His style is lucid and he generally avoids lengthy and abstruse discussions. Besides numerous smṛti-kāras and purāṇas he names the following authors and works—Aparārka, Devasvāmin, Purāṇasāra, Prapañcasāra, Medhātithi, Viva-raṇaktāra (on the Vedāntasūtra), Viśvarūpacārya, Śambhu, Śivasvāmin, Smṛticandrikā. The Parāśara-mādhaviya was amongst his earliest works. He tells us that there was no commentary on Parāśara before him.\(^{897}\)

The Kalanirṇaya of Mādhavacarya has been published several times. In the following the B. I. edition has been used. He states that he wrote this work after he composed his commentary on the Parāśarasmṛti.\(^{898}\) The work is divided into five prakaraṇas. The first (Upodghāta) deals with a scholastic disquisition on kāla (time) and its real nature; the 2nd (called vatsara) speaks of the year, its various lengths according as it is cāndra, sāvana or saura, of the two ayanas, of the seasons and their number, of the months (cāndra and saura), of the intercalary months, and the religious acts allowed and forbidden in intercalary months, of the two pakṣas (fortnights); the third prakaraṇa (pratipat-prakaraṇa) deals with the meaning of the word tīthi, duration of a


\(^{897}\) वास्तवत: पूर्वत: वास्तवता निगमात्:। मयातो माधवार्याण तद्वास्तवायां प्रस्तुते॥

\(^{898}\) वास्तवाय माधवार्याय ध्वास्तवार्यारात्रेः। तदनुव्रह्नकालोऽणिन्यं निगमं शकुन्यत:॥

9th Intro. verse.

4th Intro. verse of कालनिर्णयः.
tithi, the fifteen tithis of a pākṣa, two kinds of tithis, viz. sūdhā (i.e. not intermixed with another tithi on the same day) and viddha (intermixed with another tithi on same day), rules about the preference of the first tithi for particular religious rites and observances (for Gods and Manes) when intermixed with the preceding and following tithis, the fifteen muhārtas of the day and of the night; the fourth (dvitiyādi-tithi-prakaraṇa) extends the application of the rules about pratīpad to the tithis from the second to the fifteenth and decides on what tithi (whether intermixed with the preceding or the following) certain vrata, such as Gaurivrata on the third, Janmāṣṭami on the 8th, were to be performed; the fifth (prakīrṇaka i.e. miscellaneous) deals with rules about the determination of naksātras for various acts, the yogas and karaṇas and rules about sarāṅkrānti and eclipses and the actions proper for them.

The Kālanirnaya besides the names of numerous sages, purāṇas, astronomical and astrological writers mentions the following works and authors:—Kālādārsa (p. 83), Bhoja (as having composed in Aryan metre a work on the Śaiva āgama), Muhūrta-vidhāna-sāra (p. 341), Vatsesvarasiddhānta, Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa, the Siddhānta-siromani (of Bhāskaracārya), Hemādri (p. 67 his vratakhaṇḍa and ṛjuṇpāṇca).

A good deal about the family and personal history of Mādhavacārya can be gleaned from the above-mentioned two works and other treatises of Mādhavacārya. From the Parāśara-mādHAVIYA we learn that he was the son of Māyana and Śrimati, that Sāyana and Bhoganaṭha were his younger brothers, that he was a student of the black Yajurveda and of the Baudhāyana-sūtra-carāṇa and belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gotra. The introductory verses and the colophon of the Prāyaścitta-sudhanidhi of Sāyana corroborate most of these particulars. A verse at the beginning of the

899 श्रीमती जननी यस्य सुकृतिर्मौल्यम् पिता। सायणो बोगानाथश्च मनोबुधी सहोदरो।

900 यस्य बोधायं च श्रुत्य शास्त्रम् यस्य च याज्ञवल्ल। भारद्राजं कुलं यस्य सर्वं॥ स हि

Introductory verses 6 and 7 of Prāyaścitta-sudhanidhi.
Kalanirnaya tells us that Vidyatirtha, Bharatitirtha and Srikantha were his teachers.\textsuperscript{901} The Parashara-Madhaviya highly eulogises\textsuperscript{902} Madhava, compares him to divine and semi-divine councillors like Angirasa of Indra and says that he was the hereditary teacher (kulaguru) and mantrin of king Bukkana (or Bukka). The colophons to the several works of Sayana, the younger brother of Madhavacarya, show that these brothers were closely connected with four rulers of the Vijayanagar dynasty, viz. Bukka and his son Harihara, Kampa and his son Sangama. In the Yajñatantara-sudhānīdhi\textsuperscript{903} (ms. in the Bhau Daji collection) Sayana, the author of the bhāsyas on the vedas, is said to be the kulaguru of Harihara, son of Sangama. In the Guruvarnasa-kavya (Vāṇivilāsa Press ed.) it is said that Vidyāranya was the pupil of Vidyatirtha, that he composed Vedabhāsyas and published them in the names of Sayana and Madhava, that Harihara and Bukka were the most valiant of the five sons of Sangama (v. 48), that Vira Rudra was the sovereign of Harihara and Bukka and was defeated by the suratrāṇa i.e. sultan. The same work says that Vidyāranya founded Vijayanagari in śaka 1258, vaisākha śuddha 7 Sunday (i.e. 30th April 1335 A.D.) and crowned Harihara king.\textsuperscript{903a}

Burnell in his introduction to the Vamśabrähmaṇa started the theory that Sayana and Madhava were identical and put forward an esoteric meaning on the verse that states that Sayana and Bhoganatha.

\textsuperscript{901} सोइं पायं विवेकतीर्थयुद्धीमानायायिधीं परं मक्झुन सत्तमायायेनिष्णु। साध्यायेन श्रीभारतीप्रत्यो विद्यायेन पमानायेन हुदिं में श्रीकृष्टसमवाहिनयं। 2nd verse of कारानिषणयं.

\textsuperscript{902} हृद्वाविक्षितसो नलस्य सुमातिं ज्ञेयस्य मेधातिथिधिभिरुप्यो धर्मसंस्तय वैष्णुपुत्रां स्नोजानिमेंतिमिः। पत्नसुदृढ़कृष्णायांसचारो रामस्य गुणवालो युधस्य विभोभुक्तवरुस्ममेंन्त्री तथा माधवं। 4th verse of परां मा.

\textsuperscript{903} तत्त्वामूलत्वपुगुणसम्बन्धसाधनंद्वदिविलं। वर्णं शार्याभावां मायावार्तत्तुस्यं। उपेन्द्रस्य वस्त्रातिविप्लुः सुमनसाय मिष्यं। महाकुलानामाहृतं भाषावर्तं सहारसं। अभिताः। सकलं बेदवतेः च दृश्यरागियं। त्वत्ज्ञातिन तद्व्ययमयिच्येन प्रसिद्धिसं। Intro. verses 7, 8, 14.

\textsuperscript{903a} नानोपकृति ईः क्षेरे शाल्याज्ञातव्य याते धात्यमें शुभमयाविवे माती वैशास्यानात्म। युधिः परस्य गुणविवेचे वर्णार्ते हलमेस सत्यं श्रीविजयनाराको हिरंमें निर्मितमें। 6. पुरवेशाक्राम वी. 8.

H. D. 48.
were the younger brothers of Mādhava. But the facts as culled from the works of these two great men and the inscriptions of contemporary Vijayanagara kings are too strong for the hypothesis of Burnell and make it look absurd. The whole subject about the relationship of Mādhava, Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha has been carefully examined by Rao Bahadur R. Narsimharach in Ind. Ant. vol. 45 pp. 1-6 and 17ff and the theory of Burnell has been thoroughly refuted. Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha were as real personages as Mādhavācārya himself. Mādhavācārya in his later years became a saṃnyāsin and was named Vidyārāṇya. To the items of evidence adduced by R. B. R. Narsimharach for establishing the identity of Mādhava and Vidyārāṇya (Ind. Ant. vol. 45 p. 18) I may add one more. The Viramitrodaya ascribes the commentary on Parāśara composed by Mādhava to Vidyārāṇya. It has however to be noted that the Guruvarṇaśākāya (Vāṇivilāsa Press ed.) says (V. 41-44) that Vidyārāṇya was different from both Sāyaṇa and Mādhava.

The chronology of the kings of Vijayanagara has been a fruitful source of controversy. It is not necessary to go into that chronology in great detail here. It may be studied in such works as Sewell's 'Forgotten empire' and in E. I. vol. III. p. 36, E. I. vol. XIV p. 68, E. I. vol. XV p. 8. The following pedigree will be sufficient for the purpose of connecting Mādhava and his brothers with the kings of Vijayanagara. The earliest inscription is that of Harihara I dated sāke 1261 (1339-40 A. D.) wherein Harihara

904 भाष्यानं चेद् शब्दचन्द्र विबारण्यश्रीचरणं: पराशरस्मिनि कार्यं पेल्लुकुम्ब्ब्बिमानालकरस्त्वृतारुत्तरिक्ष्य त्म्माणोत्सरस्माहि श्रवणे हृदि। पी० 583; वैद्ये 672।

‘विबारण्यश्रीचरणरूपं पारस्मिनितत्त्वात्मार्थितिभिः इत्यादिसुमीतिभाष्यायेनु तौ व्रेणा दाप-प्रभाषणपीठवेत्त्वाया: प्रतेनास्तिति।’ This refers to the remarks in पूरा मा. vol. III. p. 538.

905 वर्धृणि प्रथमः साक्षा द्वितीयः साक्षा द्वितीयः (sāke 1261) क्रमभिः साक्षा द्वितीयः (sāke 1278) क्रमभिः साक्षा द्वितीयः (1379-1399 A. D.).
is said to be a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and is spoken of as ‘Śrī-Vīra-Hariyappa-Vodeyā.’ The colophon of the Mādhaviya Dhatuvṛtti describes Mādhava as the great minister of Saṅgamarāja, the son of Kampaṇarāja. The Bitraguṇḍa grant in śaṅke 1278 (1356 A.D.) by Saṅgama II at the request of his teacher Śrīkantaḥnātha shows that Bhoganātha who composed the contents of the grant was a narmasaciva (gay or humorous companion) of Saṅgama II. We saw above that Śrīkantaḥ was a teacher of Mādhavacārya and that Bhoganātha was the youngest brother of Mādhavacārya. Bhoganātha in order to be a poet and a narmasaciva of a reigning sovereign must have been a grown-up man in 1356 A.D. and so Mādhavacārya must have been quite an elderly person about that time. The Kālaniranaya tells us that in the cyclic year Īsvara following immediately after śaṅke 1258 śrāvanya was an intercalary month and that in the cyclic year Bhāva that preceded śaṅke 1258 (i.e., in śaṅke 1256) Fālguna was an intercalary month and then examines the intercalary months that occurred in the cyclic years up to Vikāra thereafter (i.e., up to śaṅke 1281). As the Kālaniranaya examines the intercalary months from śaṅke 1256 (i.e., 1334 A.D.) to śaṅke 1281 (i.e., 1359 A.D.), it follows that it was either composed during these years or immediately after this period. The Parāśarakālmādhaviya was composed before the Kālaniranaya. Rao Bahadur Narsimhachar states that in a copperplate grant dated 1386 A.D. it is said that Harihara (II) gave in the presence of Vidyāranya śripāḍa certain donations to three scholars who were the promoters

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907 Śrīmatyūpaṭṭavasudāpāpaṭṭatīrthebhāṣyāchāryaśriparāșarājanugutṣaṅkumāraṇāmaṇjinaṇaśudāpāpasaharṣāṇaṇaṇaśudāpāpaṇeśu saṃyagnaśācheśu. Tatha 1 E. I. vol. III. at p. 50.
(pravartaka) of the commentaries on the four Vedas (Ind. Ant. vol. 45 p. 19). Another inscription speaks of Vidyārāṇya in 1378 A. D.\textsuperscript{909} This shows that Mādhavācārya had become a saṅhīvyasīn at least in 1377 A. D. Tradition says that Vidyārāṇya died in 1386 A. D. at the ripe old age of 90. Therefore we shall not be far wrong if we place the literary activity of Mādhava–Vidyārāṇya between 1330-1385 A. D. From the remarks about intercalary months it appears that the Parāśaramādhaviya and Kālanir-ṇāya were composed between 1335-1360 A. D. There was a tradition among pandits that it was Mādhavācārya who composed bhāṣyas on the Vedas and ascribed them to his brother Sāyaṇa. Kāśīnātha, in his Viṭṭhala-rāmantra-śāra-bhāṣya says so.\textsuperscript{910}

Great confusion has been caused by identifying Mādhava–Vidyārāṇya with another scholar named Mādhava who was also a mantrin of Bukka, who was a great warrior and was governor of Banavase and the country round Goa on the western coast. In a grant\textsuperscript{911} of the village Kucara, also called Mādhavapura, dated śake 1313 (1391 A. D.), it is said that he routed the armies of the Turuśkas, wrested Goa the capital of Koṅkaṇa from them and re-established the temple of Saptanātha (i. e. Sapta-koṭīsvara). There is another inscription dated śake 1290 (i. e. 1368 A. D.) where the great minister (Maha-pradhabana) Mādhavāṅka is stated to have ruled over Banavase 12000 under king Bukkarāya (Ind. Ant. vol. IV, p. 206). Fleet is wrong in identifying the minister Mādhavāṅka with Mādhavācārya–Vidyārāṇya. Another grant from Goa (found by Dr. Bhu Daji) says that Mādhava-mantrin, son of Caunḍībhaṭṭa, established the līṅga of Saptanātha (JBBRAS vol. 9, p. 228). Vide E. C. vol. VIII, Sorab No. 375 dated śake 1268 (Sunday Mādhava 30, i. e. 11th Feb. 1347), where we are told that Mādhvamantrin was governor of Candragutti, capital of Banavase 12000, that he was minister of Mārāpa, younger brother of Harihara I and that he was a disciple of

\textsuperscript{909} Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. VI. Koppa\textsuperscript{30}.

\textsuperscript{910} कर्ष तवहि माधवाचार्यवेद्माधवाचार्याद्वै साधनादेः स्वाधातुर्वाम तिलितसामिति चेताप्येन &c. I folio 37 b of the विनिपंतवद्विताम्बोध (D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70).

\textsuperscript{911} गोवानिन्दयोऽकोऽप्रधानान्तर्वेदन्तर्वेदन्तः लम्बवर्णदृष्टेः विनिपत्तिति शुद्धसनातनमयसु कष्टम विकारसदिद्वाराशुचिः च: JBBRAS vol. IV, p. 115 (text), p. 107 (translation).
Kriyāsakti, a Śaiva teacher. In E. C. vol. VII, Shikarpur 281 dated šake 1290 Kārtika bahula 8 (i. e. 15th November 1368) Mādhava is said to have been a son of Cāṇḍa of the Aṅgirasa gotra and a minister of Bukka I and his guru is said to have been Kāśivilāsa Kriyāsakti.

From this it follows that the Mādhava mantrin who was a governor of Banavase and Goa and was living in 1391 A. D. was the son of Cāṇḍibhaṭṭa and cannot be identified with Mādhava-cārya who was the son of Māyana.

There is a ms. in the Bombay University Library of a work called Kālanirñayakārikā in 130 verses, which contains the introductory verses of the Kālanirñaya dealing with the contents, though in a somewhat different order. There are several commentaries on the Kālanirñaya, viz. Kālanirñayadipikā by Rāmacandrācārya composed about 1450 A. D., a commentary called Lakṣmī by Lakṣmīdevi, wife of Vaidyanātha Pāyagunḍa. There is a Vivaraṇa of the Kāla-nirñayadipikā, by Nṛsimha, son of Rāmacandrācārya (vide D. C. Ms. No. 99 of 1871-72).

93. Madanapāla and Viśvesvarabhatta

The Madanapārijāta compiled under the patronage of king Madanapāla by Viśvesvarabhatta is a famous work. Like Bhoja, Madanapāla seems to have been a great patron of learning and several works are attributed to him. At least four works on dharmaśāstra are ascribed to him (i. e. were written under his patronage) viz the Madanapārijāta, Smṛtimahārnava or Madanamahārnava, Tithinirñayasāra and Smṛtiukaumudi.

The Madanapārijāta is an extensive work printed in the B. I. series. There are 23 introductory verses, the first 13 of which give the genealogy of Madanapāla. In the printed edition these 13 verses are stated to have been added by Purohita Śri-Rāmadeva. The last of the introductory verses states that the work was composed after a careful study of Hemādri, Kalpavrka (i. e. Kalpataru), Aparārka, Smṛticandrīka, Smṛtyarthāsāra and Mitākṣara. That Madanapāla was only the patron and not the real author of the

912 देशविद्वान्युक्तसारपवयस्यया स्युतिष्ठितिः च। सत्तासारादीनांवलया बन्य-निष्कर्षेत् संसहति निष्कर्षे।
(pravartaka) of the commentaries on the four Vedas (Ind. Ant. vol. 45 p. 19). Another inscription speaks of Vidyāranya in 1378 A. D. This shows that Mādhavacārya had become a sannyāsin at least in 1377 A. D. Tradition says that Vidyāranya died in 1386 A. D. at the ripe old age of 90. Therefore we shall not be far wrong if we place the literary activity of Mādhava-Vidyāranya between 1330-1385 A. D. From the remarks about intercalary months it appears that the Parāsaramādhaviya and Kālanirñaya were composed between 1335-1360 A. D. There was a tradition among pandits that it was Mādhavacārya who composed bhāṣyas on the Vedas and ascribed them to his brother Sāyana. Kāśinātha, in his Viṭṭhala-rūmantra-sāra-bhāṣya says so.

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910 कतच तहि माधवचार्यवेदास्त्राद्भाषाविद्यारण्य (D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1868-70).

911 ग्रामाणन्त्र गुरुस्वामीप्रसादस्वामी मन्त्रेश्वरनाथविनः जय प्रभु प्रभूतिस्मृतम् तुष्क्षलोकयुक्तं दौष्ट्य निमं चिन्तिति: II उम्मुृतिमानिकारोढितिः शैवनाथादिशुत्युगं यथ: I JBBRAS vol. IV, p. 115 (text), p. 107 (translation).
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912 हेमाध्रीकल्पप्रकरणसूत्रसूत्रसारात् स्मृतिसूत्रानि कः || मिताक्षरादीनलोकः पत्ताविषयते सङ्केति नियमः।
work is made clear in several places. In the introductory verse 20 it is stated that the work was compiled through (lit. by the mouth of) learned men. In two places in the body of the work it is said that the author has explained the matter under discussion in his work called Subodhini, a commentary on the Mitakṣarā. Therefore the Madanapārijāta was really composed by Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, the author of the Subodhini. The Madanapārijāta contains nine stabakas (bunches i.e. chapters) on brahmacarya, the dharmas of householders, the daily duties (ahnika-kṛtya), the sanskāras from garbhādhāna onwards; impurity on birth and death, the purification of various substances (dravya-suddhi), śraddha, dāyabhāga (partition and inheritance) and prāyaścitta. In the portion on the Dāyabhāga it very closely follows the Mitakṣarā. Its style is simple and lucid. Besides the authors and works mentioned above it cites those noted below.

There is a work called Mahārṇava ascribed to Māndhātā, a son of Madanapālā. In several mss. of this work deposited in the Deccan College there are introductory verses giving the genealogy of Madanapālā that agree almost word for word with the introductory verses of the Madanapārijāta. Moreover two verses that speak of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa occur here also as well as in the Madanapārijāta and Subodhini. This work also is said to have been compiled by

913 śrīmaṇaṃ madunpūrvaṃkṣa-pārjīvaṃ nāma-māhīṃ śruti-pādānu-gaṃ nīcābhaṃ | varṇa-dharmam-sūkṣmaḥ- bhāṣeṣaṃ śrīmad-gaṇaṃ suhṛtī maṃsa-thānapati ||

914 vādha chāmamev kṣatrunāmaṃ bhāṣa-pradīpāṃ vaṇa-svārtha-śāstraṇa candana-sūtraṇa dvara-mahā- mārkaṇḍe | madunpārijāta p. 654; vide p. 603 also for similar words.

915 ānāsaṃagā, gāna-saṃgā, gopālā-prajā, śrīśumaya (on śrī, p. 607), śrīvarna (p. 772), nāraṇa, mandāśma, madhanāṁśa, nārāyaṇa, śrīmānaḥ (on śrī, p. 607), śrī-varna (p. 619), su śrī, śrītāma-sūtra (p. 554), śrītāma-prajāṃśa.

916 For the madunpārjīva vide D. C. ms. No. 131 of 1882–83 and Nos. 259 and 260 of 1886–1892. No. 260 does not contain the verses about the genealogy, but the two verses mātā puṣya and mātirēṣṇa (which are 21 and 23 in the madunpārijāta) occur in all the three; in No. 131 and No. 259 the verse mātā puṣya occurs in the introductory verses and the verse mātirēṣṇa occurs at the end of the work and in No. 260 the two verses are the 2nd and 3rd of the introductory verses.
Māndhātā through the learned. It is said to have been based on a study of the śruti, the smṛtis and the purāṇas. The work is divided into 40 taraṅgas (waves). The principal subject of the work is to describe how the various diseases which human bodies are heir to are the result of evil deeds done in past lives (this subject being called Karmavipāka in dharmaśāstra works) and to prescribe various rites and penances for the eradication of the evil results of evil deeds. Among the various rites and penances that are set forth in great detail may be mentioned the Kūṣmāṇḍa-homa, Rudraikādaśīni, Mahārudrābhīṣeka, Vināyakaśānti, the Navagrahayajña &c. The Mahārṇava mentions the Karmavipāka of Śatātapa, the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (folio 234 a of D. C. no. 259 of 1886-1892), the Mitākṣarā, the Karmavipāka-samuccaya &c. It is worthy of note that in the Smṛti-kaumudi the authorship of the Mahārṇava is claimed by the author himself and is not ascribed to Madanapāla's son.

The Tithinirṇayasāra is another work compiled under Madanapāla. Stein in his cat. of mss. at Jammu (p. 306) gives extracts from this work. The first fourteen verses are the same as those in the Madanapārijata. It appears to have been composed by Viśvanātha, which is most probably a paraphrase of the name Viśveśvara.

The Smṛtikaumudi contains an introduction of 17 verses, 13 of which set forth the genealogy of Madanapāla. The fourteenth verse tells us that Madanapāla composed works called Yantraprakāśa, Mahārṇava, Pārijata, Siddhāntagarbha and Tithinirṇayasāra. The 15th verse says that he composes the Smṛtikaumudi through

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917 तोषन हूँक्तविषाणानु दियुक्षुजेता तनोति मान्यता। विद्वृत्त्वै वतिमानानं सार्वनिःसनैं मह्यनि नाम।।

918 The work begins 'तत् ताधृश्वास्थनासुकलकृत्त्वैरंतिर्यािपिडितं निर्यात्सािनियुविस्तारार्थं धारणे नािम।'.

919 बनाश्रमोध्यक्षकालोक्ष्िमार्मिकार्थे निश्चयति।

920 श्रीकृष्णभासुभिया स्त्रियतमुनायाप्यवेदनं शास्त्रियत्नस्तिपादेन। अशस्य व्यवहारः
तिथिनिगच्छायापमि चन्द्रे कियोऽसिद्धे धक्किते प्रववाः।।

921 For the श्रीकृष्णकृष्ण, vide Aufrecht's Oxford cat. p. 275 b, I. O. cat. p. 594,
No. 1649 and D. C. ms. No. 51 of 1872-73.

922 वल्योन्नप्रकाशसमयाधि्णायामातिब्रह्मसत्त्वार्मचिन्तितिनिद्धित्यज्ञबालुष्मथः।
प्रभाष्य मे सकोऽत्ति।&c.
the learned. The 17 verse says that his predecessors have generally dilated upon the dharms of the three higher varṇas and the dharms of the śudra have not been dealt with by them as a principal topic, therefore he would clearly expound the dharms of the last varṇa. At the end of the ms. in the I. O. cat. it is described as the younger sister of the Madanapārijāta and of the Mahārṇava. This is not found in the D. C. ms. which was copied in samvat 1615. This work is divided into four kalollas, each kalollāsa being subdivided into kiraṇas (rays). The first kalollāsa has two kiraṇas, the second has four, the third and fourth five kiraṇas each. The subjects dealt with are: I two kinds of śudras, viz: the kevalaśūdra (simple śūdra) and one who is of mixed descent, being born of a śūdra woman from a man of the higher castes; the mixed castes; II. general discourses on the śūdra’s adhikāra for engaging in various acts and performing various rites, such as the study of the vedas and smṛtis, the performance of garbhādhāna and other saṁskāras and the consecration of sacred fires; saṁdhyāvandana; the śūdra’s capacity for attaining the knowledge of brahman; III. marriage; different forms of marriage, prohibited degrees of blood relationship (sāpiṇḍya), the various rites of marriage such as kanyādāna; such saṁskāras as nāma-karaṇa (naming the child), the duties of śūdras in ordinary and difficult times; āśauca for śūdras; the various śrāddhas for them; the letting loose of a bull in honour of the dead; IV. śūdra’s daily duties such as śauca, brushing the teeth, baths in the morning and at other times, brahmaya jña, tarpava, vātivadeva, daily śrāddha, dinner, &c.

The Smṛtikaumudi mentions among others Aparārka, Krtyakalpataru, Mitākṣara, Medhātithi, Yajñapārśva and Smṛtinyājarī. It also quotes from the Vedānta-kalpataru and the author claims the Madanapārijāta as his own work.

It has been seen how the four works set out above were composed under the patronage of Madanapāla and how they were

923 बिन्नस्थूले तनुपि विनाभिनित्रलोकन्याताक्षर्णा स्मृतिकौमुदी सः ||
924 अनेन जननी श्रद्धा स्मृतिसदविहिता कौमुदी महाधेमसहि ग्राम राजनिजातान्तु ना ||
925 यदुकस सत्यभाष्याचो व्यास्यालोकितं सत्त्वं द्रव्यालोकित सत्त्वं विश्वास्यप्राप्ती राज्यान्तरसंख्या ||
926 तदार्थातुपकारां (1) अवकाशेनेभया विस्तार अपादिकालपूर्णियाँ
927 सा कार्यालयिता मनोभाव ||
928 folio 3a of the D. C. ms. No. 51 of 1872-73; folio 55a of the same has 'अत्र च मायर्कानि मदनपार्जातेन्द्रमातिमिति'.

probably from the pen of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa. There is one more work on Dharmaśāstra which Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa composed in his own name without the shelter of a patron’s name. It is the Subodhini, a commentary on the Mitākṣara of Vijñānēśvara. The vyāvahāra portion of it has been published in Bombay by Mr. S. S. Setlur and also by Mr. J. R. Gharpure. Mr. Govind Das had seen portions of the Subodhini on the prāyaścitta section also. The Subodhini does not comment on each word of the Mitākṣara but explains only important passages. It is a learned work. This was the earliest composition of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, since it is mentioned even in the Madanapārijāta. The first verse of the Subodhini is also the opening verse of the Mahārṇava and of the Smṛtiikaumudi.

From the verses\(^{27}\) 21 and 22 in the introduction to the Madanapārijāta it appears that Viśveśvara was the son of Pedibhaṭṭa and Ambika, that he was of the Kauśikagotra and was the pupil of Vyāsvaṁya-muni. In the Subodhini also the verse ‘mātā &c.’ occurs at the end with slight suitable variations and the verse ‘mātiryeṣāṁ’ in the beginning. The second introductory verse in Mr. Gharpure’s edition makes Viśveśvara the son of Appabhaṭṭa,\(^{28}\) while Mr. Setlur reads ‘Petiḥbhāṭṭa’ which is probably a misreading for Pedibhaṭṭa. From his father’s name it appears that Viśveśvara was a native of the Dravida country\(^{29}\) and migrated to Northern India in search of patronage after he wrote the Subodhini. Viśveśvara is regarded as one of the leading authorities of the Benares School

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\(^{26}\) नमः सकलकल्याणभास्याय प्रिनाकि न। नमः रक्षमिनिसिद्धे देवताय निर्मा नमः।

\(^{27}\) मलिकः शास्त्र शास्त्रिजन्मीया व्यक्तिः परा शास्त्रं शास्त्रं जनगति जनजये कतिपये।

\(^{28}\) माता पुष्पप्रसिद्धिभविन्या वत्साविका नामः शाकल्यापरंतैर्यंत्रिणिः।

\(^{29}\) शोभनमदासः श्रीमान् महिमविशेषः सुभीः।
of modern Hindu law. Madanapāla belonged to the family of Tāka kings that ruled in Kāśṭhā (modern Kath) on the Jumna to the north of Delhi. The printed Madanapārijāta makes the family name to be ‘Kāśṭhā,’ but this is most probably a wrong reading, as in the Mahārṇava and the other works of Madanapāla the family name is distinctly stated to be Tāka. The pedigree of the family as gathered from the Madanapārijāta and the other works is given below. Some works such as the Mahārṇava omit mention of Sahajapāla. About Śādhāraṇa it is said that he brought about the remission of all taxes at the three tirthas (Prayāga, Kāśi and Gayā).


931 अक्षित महात्मविभोगमाधस्तिविस्तारिणी मुखि शकाशिष्याराजपाली। दिश्तीति विनिविदिता नगरिस्तिहा पश्चिम माति पुरुषशन्थरस्थि मिहा कोषम्बितुप्रभा नगरिस्तिहा। वस्त्रामननविबोधिता बहुतुः काश्याया निःकृत्तिर्तिष्यो महीशा। II verses 4-5 of Madanaparjāta, at the end of the Madun-Binaśdānavaṇṇa we read Tākavané mahātin Śūmiśyaṃ vishaḍe kāśēti nāma nāgare jāpyati pratiṣṭhāpya। Vide Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. p. 275 a (ms. of Madunaparjāta) where the reading is Tākakukulāmukhāṇe for Kālakukulāmukhāṇe of the printed text.

The pedigree is:

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  Tākapat
d  Ṣaṅkṣeṣṭha
   \     
  \     \   
  \     \   
  \     \   
  Tākapat or Ṣaṅkṣeṣṭha
                   
  \     \               
  \     \               
  \     \               
  \     \               
  \     \               
  Madunapat
                   
  \     \               
  \     \               
  \     \               
  \     \               
  \     \               
  Āryapati or Šrīpat
d  Maṇḍapati
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932 तीर्थयानीकरकविनिवित्तिकीकरणः। verse 10 of the Mahāśeṣa, D.C. ms. No. 259 of 1886-92; कौन्तेयाधिपतिविविधानाय तीर्थयानीकरकविनिवित्तिकीकरणः। verse 10 of स्मृतिकोषे।
In the Sūryasiddhāntaviveka of Madanapāla the father of Madanapāla is said to be Sahāraṇa, which is a Prakrit equivalent of Sadhāraṇa. Madanapāla appears to have been a very great patron of learned men and is said to have emulated the fame of Bhoja. Besides the four works described above he compiled several other works, the most famous of which is his dictionary of drugs called Madanavinodanīghaṇṭu. That work is very extensive, contains about 2250 verses and is divided into fourteen vargas, the last of which contains a prastāsi of his family. This work contains the names of medical drugs, the qualities of drugs and of dishes and of the flesh of various animals. Some of the words given as synonyms for Sanskrit words occur in the modern Marathi. We saw above that his Smṛtiśāstra refers to Yantra-prakāśa and Siddhāntagarbha, as two of his works. These two were works on astronomy.

Another work of his is the Sūrya-siddhāntaviveka or Vāsanānava, which is a commentary on the Sūryasiddhānta. There is a ms. of this work in the Bhaub Daji Collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society. Therein after giving his pedigree he says that by his works on Smṛtiśāstra, on astronomy and mathematics and on medicine he came to be known as abhinava Bhoja. In this treatise he refers to his own works already composed called Siddhāntagarbha and Yantraprakāśa. He also refers to a Rajamṛgānka.

933 Bhavavivaraṇadṛṣṭāntarpakṣasya nāma: विहारण:। उद्ययाय जन्मस्य शीत्तिते नृत्ती च। पुनःपशुमार्गम्। 5th Intro. verse of सूर्यसिद्धान्तविशेषे (BBRAS cat. part I. pp. 95-97.).
934 परस्परिसर्वता कलाकृतार्य विद्यामर्य च भूरियो निबन्धात। मदनेन महाभूमाध वेण
परिवारा मूलनौन्नेराजकृतं ॥ 18 verse of मदनपारिश्रमा; this verse, particularly, the 4th pāda, occurs in the तिथिनिर्देशसार (17th verse), स्मृतिकौमुखी (13th verse), the महाभर (13th verse in D. C. ms. No. 259 of 1886-92.).
935 Vide D. C. ms. Nos. 1065 and 1066 of 1886-92 for मदनपारिश्रमा. In No. 1065 there is no प्रभासित.
936 e. g. such words as दुहित्र (for दुहित्रपूर्ण ), लापसी, चेवर, हर, नागरमथा, इत्य, बदाम &c.
937 Vide BBRAS cat. part. I. pp. 95-97 for this ms.
938 पद्यानुवादिकृताय: मार्त्य: स्मृतिसर्वा गायिण्य चितकितिते च। जगति विपथते सिद्ध-मार्त्यार्थिविशेषज्ञ हृदि मथा यदैः। 7th Intro. verse.
939 अत श्रवणागोत्सवादिसन्न अन्मेयमस्तुते सिद्धान्तर्ग्नसंख्याकेन मदनविनोदपराणमि यथेष्रुणये।
of Bhoja and to Bhāskara's works. The ms. was copied in saṁvat 1459, i.e. 1402-3 A.D. In the colophon of this work his birudas (titles) are Paṇḍitapārijāta and Abhinava-Bhoja, and he is also styled Mahārājādhirāja.²⁴⁰ In the Madanapārijāta and the Mahārāṇava the birudas are Paṇḍitapārijāta and Kaṭāramalla or Kaṭṭāramalla. A work called Ānandasañjivana on singing, dancing, musical instruments and rāgas is ascribed to Madanapāla.²⁴¹ The king Madana, son of Sahāraṇa, who is connected with the restoration of Medhātithi's bhāṣya, must be this Madana.

A great deal has been written concerning the date of Madanapāla. The introductory verses giving the genealogy of Madanapāla must be held to be genuine, as they occur in the ancient ms. (D.C. No. 131 of A 1882-83) of Mahārāṇava copied in saṁvat 1645 (1588-89 A.D.) and in the still older ms. (dated saṁvat 1459) of the Sūrya-siddhānta-viveka. As the Madanapārijāta mentions the Smṛticandrikā and Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi not only in the introductory verses of the Madanapārijāta but in the body of the Madanapārijāta and the Mahārāṇava, Madanapāla must be certainly later than 1300 A.D. As the Smṛtikaumudi mentions the Vedāntakalpataru that was composed in the time of the Yādava princes Kṛṣṇa and Mahādeva, it follows that the work was composed after the third quarter of the 13th century. The Madanapārijāta is quoted in the Nrsimhaprasāda, the Antyeśtipaddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, the Āhnikatattava (pp. 326, 397, 479, vol. I) of Raghunandana, the Śrāddhakriyākaumudi (pp. 327, 489) of Govindānanda. Therefore it is certainly earlier than 1500 A.D. And if we rely on the date when the ms. of the Sūryasiddhāntaviveka was copied (viz. 1402-3 A.D.), it follows that Madanapāla flourished before 1400 A.D. The Madanavinodanīghanṭu²⁴² gives the date of its

²⁴⁰ इति श्रीपिल्लारिताभिसम्बन्धमोजयातिविवधानीविराजमाणि मदनपारिजात-महाराणव-सिद्धान्तार्थ-पन्नवाकाशयानकपद्धकर्मा श्रीमहाराजाधितिजेन श्रीमदनालोपेन विर-चित: श्रीदुर्गसिद्धान्तविविको वासनायु: समाप:।।; but at the end of the D.C. ms. of the स्मृतिकौमुदी, the solophon is simply इति तारायमदनालविव-चिताय शुद्धसम्बल्यांत्यिन्य श्रृतिकौमुद्या।।

²⁴¹ Vide Mitrā's Bikaner cat. p. 509.

²⁴² अन्धे बहुज्ञानगुरुपुरुषानि श्रीविक्रमाकर्मभोजः मासि वक्ष्यापरलिखि पाठां गुरां-शोभितः। verse 14 of the last वर्ग in D.C. ms. No. 129 of 1884-87 and No. 1066 of 1886-92. The last has a corrupt reading पाठां गुरुसाहिनी। Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 p. 47 for the date,
composition as ‘Brahmajagad-yugendu’ of the Vikrama era, **Magha** 6 of the bright half and Monday (i.e. 8-1-1375 A.D.). This was interpreted by Saradvrikar (Tagore Law Lectures pp. 297-298, ed. of 1922) as equal to 1231 of the Vikrama era (i.e. 1175 A.D.). He held that ‘yuga’ meant two. But herein he was entirely wrong. Besides, the date proposed by him is impossible, since it would lead us to hold that Madanapāla wrote in 1175 A.D. and since, as we saw above, he could not have flourished before 1300 A.D. It has been already shown (pp. 309, 369) that the view of Saradvrikar and others that the Pārijata mentioned by Candesvara is the same as Madanapārijata is quite wrong. Astronomical usage as found in Bhāskara and other writers always interprets *yuga* as meaning four (and not two) and hence the date of the composition of the Madanavinodanighanta is 1431 of the Vikrama era (i.e. 1375 A.D.). Vide Jolly’s Tagore Law lectures pp. 14-15, Dr. Bhandarkar’s Report for 1883-84 pp. 47 and 347 and S. B. E. vol. 25, p. cxxv n. 2. A ms. of the Sūryasiddhāntaviveka, which is one of the last (if not the last) works of Madanapāla is dated in 1402-3 A.D. Hence the literary activity of Madanapāla and of his protegee, Viśvesvarabhaṭṭa, must be placed between 1360-1390 A.D.

94. Madanaratna

The Madanaratna is an extensive digest on Dharmaśāstra no part of which has yet been printed. In the colophons of mss. it is also called Madanaratnapradipa or simply Madanapradipa. The work was divided into seven sections called *uddyas* on *samaya* (or *kalas*), *acara*, *vyavahara*, *prayaścitta*, *dana*, *suddhi*, *śanti*. The order of the various sections was the one indicated, the *samayoddya* being the first part. I have not been able to examine the mss. of all the *uddyas*.

943 e.g. भास्कराचार्य in his गुणितकालिक (कालमात्रकालिक verse 24) says ‘सदा-वदनतासारे प्राणकिलियुगम्येणौः’ कालयोग युगादेशः। where युग must mean ‘four’ and युग is employed for two.

944 द्वयोताः: समयवधवधवर्विद्विषक्षकोः। प्रमाणितस्य दूसरस्य शुद्धिशास्त्रयोगः समयम्॥ तद्रीत्र राजसिद्ध सर्वदर्शियोगातः। तत्त्वेतदेवदेवदेव दर्शनयोगः॥ verses 24-25 of ms. of समययोगः in Viśrambha collection I. No. 146 and verses 26 and 27 in the I. O. cat. ms. (p. 537 b) and Peterson’s cat. of Ulwar mss. No. 1410 and extract No. 326 at p. 181.
The Samayoddyota deals with the subjects usually treated of in works on kāla, vīś discussions about the year, the seasons, the months, the intercalary months, the rules about tīthi, the rules about the proper times for various religious observances, gifts, homa, the rules about kalivarjya.

There is a ms. of the Dānoddyota in the Ānandāśrama collection at Poona (No. 2378). The following are the subjects treated of:-
- eulogy of dāna; the nature of dāna, various kinds of dānas; the constituent elements (āngani) of dāna; the donor, proper persons for gifts, persons undeserving of gifts, what things cannot be given away, proper and improper times and places for dāna, measures of corn and other substances and weights and units of length &c., finding out the east and other directions, characteristics of a torāṇa, patakā and māṇḍapa, tula-purusa (weighing oneself against gold or silver), gift of a thousand cows and other magnificent gifts, dedication of a tank or well and planting of a garden &c. In this work the author refers to Kalpataru and to Hemāḍri as a dākṣīṇatyānibandhakāra.

Deccan College ms. No. 392 of 1891–95 deals with the śānti section. It treats of rites for propitiating gods and planets and averting the evil consequences of great or small portentous phenomena, such as Vināyaka-snāna, sūrya-śānti, navagraha-śānti, śāntis for birth on certain evil naksatras like mala, aślesa and evil astrological conjunctions like vyatīpata, vaidhya, samkrānti; rites for the safety of the foetus and of the newly born infant; ayutahoma; lakṣahoma, koṭhiboma &c. In this section sages like Uttara-Garga, Kātyāyana, Nārada, Baijāvāpa (on grhya), Mānava-sāṁhīta, Yajñāvalkya, Śaunaka and purāṇas like the Skanda, Bhaviśyottara, Viṣṇudharmottara are very frequently cited. Besides the following are among the authors and works referred to:—Apekṣitārthadhyotin, a commentary of Nārāyaṇa, Karmāvipākasamgraha, Karmāvipākasamuccaya, Kumāratantra promulgated by the son of Rāvaṇa, Prayogasāra, Vijñāneśvaracārya (in the plural).

A ms. of the Ācāroddyota is noticed by Burnell in his Tanjore cat. (p. 137 b). Stein (in his cat. of Jammu ms.) notices an incomplete ms. of the Vyavahāroddyota (p. 98 No. 2437). M. M. Haraprasad Sastri notices a ms. of the Prayaścittoddyota (Nepal Palmleaf and Paper mss. cat. XVIII and p. 223).
From the colophons at the end of the several mss. of the Madanaratna it appears that the work was composed under the patronage of king Madanasimha-deva, son of Śaktisimha. The king is styled mahārājādhīrāja and one of his titles is kōdana-paraśurāma (meaning 'who was a veritable Paraśurāma in wielding the bow'). The introductory verses to the Samayodhyota in the Viśram-bāg collection and the Ulwar ms. refer to Delhi-desa and its king named Mahipaladeva. Then verse 9 speaks of Dāmodara whose exact relationship with Mahipaladeva is not clear. Dāmodara is said to have made the yavanas of Mulasthāna (modern Multan in the Punjab) give up the slaughter of cows. The whole pedigree is given below. Śaktisimha is said to have eclipsed even Bhoja.

945 हृदि श्रीकोदकरशुरालोकदिळित्वादद्विलिविराजमानमानोत्तरतमद्ग्वराजाधिराजस्त्रिविस्तर-ममन्तमद्ग्वराजाधिराजस्त्रिविस्तरानिविशिष्टानुद्यवनंदके गर्भदेव न्तसि &c. in ms. (Anandārāma No. 2378); there is a similar colophon at the end of the śānti section.

946 तन्नानादकस्मिकोदकरशुरालोकदिळित्वादद्विलिविराजमानमानोत्तरतमद्ग्वराजाधिराजस्त्रिविस्तरानिविशिष्टानुद्यवनंदके गर्भदेव रसय । राजा राजावाति वरसमहरुहोरामामानोत्तरतमद्ग्वराजाधिराजस्त्रिविस्तरानिविशिष्टानुद्यवनंदके गर्भदेव न्तसि क्रस्ते । राजा राजावाति वरसमहरुहोरामामानोत्तरतमद्ग्वराजाधिराजस्त्रिविस्तरानिविशिष्टानुद्यवनंदके गर्भदेव रसय । राजा राजावाति वरसमहरुहोरामामानोत्तरतमद्ग्वराजाधिराजस्त्रिविस्तरानिविशिष्टानुद्यवनंदके गर्भदेव रसय ।

947 The pedigree is

\begin{verbatim}
| महिपालदेव  |
| दामोदर  |
| देवीदास  |
| द्वर्धेन्द्र  |
| शकिसिंह  |
| मदुनासिंह  |
\end{verbatim}
It is further said that Madanasimha called\textsuperscript{948} together four learned men, viz., Ratnakara, Gopinatha, Visvanatha and Gangadharabhaṭṭa and entrusted the composition of the digest to them. The colophons\textsuperscript{949} at the end of the Sāntyuddya in the Deccan College says that it was composed by Visvanātha, a resident of Benares and son of Bhaṭṭapūjya, a Śrimali Gurjara (Bṛhmana). There is a similar colophon at the end of the Prāyaścittodyota noticed by M. M. Haraprasad Sastri.

Since the Madanaratna mentions the Mit., the Kalpataru and Hemādri, it must be certainly later than about 1300 A.D. It is quoted as a great authority by the writers of the 16th and 17th centuries, such as Nārāyanabhaṭṭa, Kamalakarabhaṭṭa, Nilakanṭha and Mitramiśra. In the Vyavahāra-mayoṣṭha Nilakanṭha relies upon the Madanaratna as often as (if not oftener than) the Mitākṣarā. The Viramitrodaya\textsuperscript{950} says that the author of the Madanaratna refers to the views of the Mitākṣarā, Kalpataru, and Halāyudha. From this it follows that the Madanaratna was composed at some time between 1350-1500. Madanasimha and his ancestors are spoken of as ruling the country about Delhi. Though Madanasimha bears the high-sounding title of mahārājādhirāja it is highly probable that he was some feudatory chief under the Mahomedan rulers of Delhi. It is difficult to conceive of a period between 1300 and 1500 A.D. when a Hindu ruler was king of Delhi. It may be that during the troublous times of Muhammad Tughlak (1325-1351 A.D.), when the capital was transferred from Delhi to Doulatabad, or during the weak rule of the last kings of the Tughlaq dynasty (1388-1413 A.D.) Madanasimhas' predecessors might

\textsuperscript{948} तनाहूँ महानिशिप्षणिनां समिकाश्रवः करोणीतामुन्नम च सुखिये श्रीनिवासनाम था। मुर्थं परिष्ठमुन्नम्बलितमम् महर्षि च गद्धार राजा। शत्रिक (कृत) चमुन्णा सुरुतिना। (I. O. cat. p. 597, No. 1681, verse 53; this is verse 21 in the Viśāmbīrīga ms.

\textsuperscript{949} महाराजाधिराजस्य मदनमूर्त्य शारतादुप्रकोकः। श्रीमालि (लिंगा !) गुम्बर्य भद्रप्राप्तेन वा। भद्रप्रिय्यानयोंन काशित्तिनिवाससा। शान्तिकं पौषांकं धार्मिकं धार्मिकं प्रक्रियात्तित्तम।। The Ulwar ms. (Peterson’s Ulwar cat. No. 553) reads श्रीमहिनाभवरुपिन्य.

\textsuperscript{950} तत्र मदनमूर्त्यस्य निताकाराक्लन्तिहत्याधिस्या प्रस्ताक्लन्तिहत्याधिस्या संभवेन स्थापनतिं महात्मवस्तुय्य लिङ्गातसम्बन्धाविधितं दृष्णादृष्णा। &c. वीरे p. 626; vide वीरे pp. 5, 29, 36, 59 for references to मदनमूर्त्य.
have usurped some territory about Delhi and ruled over it. At all events it would not be far from correct if the Madanaratna be placed about 1425-1450 A. D. Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 37) says that the Madanaratna names the Ratnakara and the Madhaviya. M. M. Haraprasad Sastri (Report on palm-leaf and paper mss. from Nepal, Intro. pp. 31-32) tells us that the dynasty to which Madanasimhadeva belonged ruled over Gorakhpur-Champaran (Western Tirhut), that Madanasimhadeva was preceded by Śaktisimhadeva, whose predecessor was Prthvisimhadeva. The learned Sastri further says that a ms. of the Madanaratnapradīpa-prāyaścottoddyota applies the title ‘kodandaparasurāma’ to Madana (p. 223), that a ms. of the Amarakośa was copied in sańvat 1511 (1454-55 A. D.) when Madanasimha ruled over Campakāranyanagara (p. 51 of the body of the Report) and that a ms. of the Narasimhapurāṇa was copied in La-saṁ 339 (1457-58 A. D.) when mahārājādhirāja Madanasimhadeva ruled over Gorakṣapura i. e. modern Gorakhpur (p. 29 of the Report). The great similarity of the names Madanapala and Madanasimha misled J. C. Ghose (Hindu Law, vol. II, p. XIV, ed. of 1917) into holding that the Madanapārijāta and the Madanaratna were written under Madanapala. But it is clear from the ancestry of the two kings, Madanapala and Madanasimha, and the names of the real authors of the digests (Madanapārijāta and Madanaratna) that they have no connection with each other.

95. Śūlapāni

Next to Jimūtavāhana, Śūlapāni is the most authoritative Bengal writer on dharmaśāstra. Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti gave a very interesting account of his works and time in JASB for 1915, pp. 336-343.

The earliest work of Śūlapāni appears to have been his Dīpakalika, a commentary on the smṛti of Yājñavalkya. It is a very brief commentary. The portion on the dāyaḥbhāga section (Yājñavalkya II, verses 114-149) is contained in five printed pages (vide Ghose’s Hindu Law, edition of 1917, vol. II. pp. 550-554). In this commentary, besides the sages he names only a few writers and works on dharma, e. g. the Kalpataru, Govindarāja, the Mitakṣarā, Medhātithi and Viśvarūpa. He entertained somewhat archaic views on matters of inheritance. For example, he holds that the text speaking of the right of the parents to succeed before the brothers of the
deceased has reference to property acquired by the deceased from his father or grand-father. He explained the word 'apratīṣṭhita' in the sūtra of Gautama 'śrīdhanaṁ duhiṁnāṁ-apratīṣṭhitānāṁ ca' in the same way as Aparārka, Jimātavāhana and the Śrītīcandrika.951 He says that a full brother though not re-united succeeded before a half-brother though re-united.952 This explanation of the much canvassed verse of Yāj. offered by Śūlapāṇi is refered to by the Viramitrodaya.953 The Vyavahāratattva of Raghunandana several times refers to Śūlapāṇi's explanations of Yāj.954

Śūlapāṇi wrote several small treatises on topics of dharmaśāstra and intended them to form part of a huge digest called Śrītīviveka. Fourteen such works are known to have been so written with titles ending in the word 'viveka,' viz. Ėkādaśī-viveka, Tithi-viveka, Dattaka-viveka, Durgotsavaprayoga-viveka, Durgotsava-viveka, Dolayātra-viveka, Pratiṣṭhā-viveka, Prāyaścitta-viveka, Rāsayatrā-viveka, Vratakāla-viveka, Śuddhi-viveka, Śrāddha-viveka, Śaṁkarānti-viveka, Śaṁbandha-viveka (on marriage). Of these the Durgotsava-viveka seems to have been amongst his latest works, since he names therein five of his vivekas on durgotsava-prayoga, pratiṣṭhā, prāyaścitta, śuddhi and śrāddha. The Śrāddha-viveka is the most famous of his works and has been printed. His Prāyaścittaviveka and Durgotsava-viveka have also been published, the former by Jivananda (1893) and the latter by the Sanskrit Sahitya Parisad at Calcutta in Bengali characters. In the Durgotsava-viveka he deals with the worship of Durgā in Āśvina and also in spring (hence the deity is called Vāsantī). In the Durgotsava-viveka, besides such purāṇas as the Kālikā, Bhāvīṣyottara, Bhāgavata, Devī, he names a host of writers and works as noted below.955 In spite of Aufrecht's view

951 अनपस्य निर्धना अभिनुष्का दुर्भशाय। ता विना अन्यतः पुत्रपीतादिः।;
952 असंस्तुष्यति सोदर एव गृहीतान्तु संस्तुष्यः सापलन्तरः।;
953 'याचत्वशक्यवृन्दिनिर्दिष्टकायं शूलपाणि। अन्योदयं संस्कृतहि नामोद्धेष्यां महावान। असंस्तुष्यति सोदर एव गृहीतात्। न तु संस्तुष्यः सापलन्तरं &c.7 परो। pp. 682-683.
954 एवं संस्तुष्यति वेदित्यन्त द्वियदैवलोकस्य राजा न नार्त्यवांशित शूलपाणिविमोक्षपायाय। व्यवहारलयः।;
955 They are: काल्पुकुमृति, कालमाधविक, कालविवेक, कालदृश्य, चक्रनायणिणी, निद्रण, जीतुदाहन, व्यापित्विष्णु, वांग, डचकपित्यम्यांस्य, वर्णनं, तस्मात्त्रांश, शास्त्रित्वक, शीर्षकमिति, महंतोयायनं, संवाक्यायदिः, समवयत्रौ (Of श्रीदृष्टं), तार-समुखच्छ, स्युतिसागर।
the Satvatsara-pradipa is not his own work. A Sarasamuccaya is also mentioned in Hemadri (Dana-khandha page 135). The Smritisagara is probably the same as the Govindarnava of Sesa Nrshimha or the work of the same name which Kulluka appears to have composed. Srikaramisra is probably the ancient author referred to even by the Mitakshara.

The Sraddha-viveka has several commentaries by eminent writers such as Srinatha Acaryacudamani and Govindananda. So there are commentaries on the Prayaascittaviveka. Besides the above, the works and authors mentioned in the other vivekas are noted below.956 The Sraddha-viveka of Sulapani is referred to (as Gauḍiya-Sraddha-viveka) by Rudradhara,957 by Vacaspati in his Sraddha-cintamani, by Govindananda in his Sraddhakriyakaumudi and by Raghunandana in several of his tattvas.

We know very little about the personal history of Sulapani. In the colophons of his works958 he is styled Sahudivala (or -nā) Mahamahopadhyaya and Raghunandana also calls him Mahamahopadhyaya. The Sahudivala was a degraded section of the Rādhīya Brähmanas in Bengal from the days of Ballālasena. As Rudradhara calls him Gauḍiya, it follows that Sulapani was a Bengal Brähmana. There is a tradition that he was the Judge of king Lakṣamanasena of Bengal. But this is impossible as the following discussion about his date will show.

There is some uncertainty about the exact age of Sulapani. As Sulapani names the Ratnakara of Candesvara and the Kalamadhaviya, he must be later than about 1375 A.D., since some time must have elapsed before a work from Vijayanagar came to be regarded as an authority in Bengal. As Sulapani’s works are mentioned by Rudradhara, Govindananda and Vacaspati, the former must be earlier than about 1460. In this connection it has to be noted that Govindananda not only comments upon Sulapani’s

956 कप्पतक, कामधेतु, श्वचिन्तामणि, गोविन्दराज, धर्ममद्र, परिजात, मदेश, मुक्त- बलभीम, नेत्रदेस, महाराजशक्ति, निताक्ष, मधुलिखित, राणाकर, श्वस्त्र, श्वतिः- मदरी, इत्यादिः.
957 Vide folio 25 a of the Benares edition of सशेषर्म अष्टविषयक (printed in संवत 1920).
works but probably looks upon Śūlapāṇi as an old writer along with Aniruddha.959

A ms. of the Prāyaścittaviveka was copied at Benares in take 1410 (i.e. 1488 A. D.).960 From all these data it follows that Śūlapāṇi flourished between 1375 and 1460 A. D.

From the Śuddhītattva it appears that Śūlapāṇi wrote Pariśīṭa-dipakalikā (probably a commentary on a Gṛhyaparīśīṭa)961.

96. Rudradhara

This is a well-known Maithila writer on Dharmaśāstra, who composed several works. His Śuddhi-viveka has been published several times (at Benares in 1866, in 1878 and by the Venkaṭēsvara Press in Bombay, satvat 1978). That work is divided into three paricchedas and deals with purification from impurity on birth and death, the persons liable to undergo purifications, the meaning of the word putra, purification of the body and of various substances when polluted, purification of cooked food and water and women in their menses. He tells us that after962 having examined seven works (nibandhas) on śuddhi and being encouraged by his father and brother he composed the Śuddhīviveka. He further says that he made the effort for the benefit of those who were not disposed to go through such works as the Ratnākara, Pārijāta, Mitākṣarā and the Ṣāralata.963 Besides these he mentions the Ācārādharma, Śuddhipradipa, Śuddhi-bimba, Śrīdattotpādhyāya, Smṛtisāra and Harihara.

The Śrāddhāviveka of Rudradhara is the most famous of his works. It was printed at Benares in satvat 1920. The work is

959 यथा माधवानागादानवेश्वरसेवकों तथा वेदीति मन्त्रो नातीवुऽकम् तद्विद्वृत्तपाणिपुरुषाः प्राचायसंसास्तम। p. 71 of शाश्वतवाक्यांमूर्ति। The word प्राचाय may here mean ‘eastern writers.’

960 शाश्व दुस्तासमुद्रिकाशदस्यं असाय सवेदि गति में धीमुः धीमान्ति।

961 अन एक पिनितुविता-परिपीतकाश-दुर्लभापिताश-परिपीतकाशकामुक्तिकु मन्त्राभिमान-पुर्बकाशिन्यं स्वेदिवत्र शुद्धितम (vol. II, p. 380).

962 गृहो सतिनिस्तव उपि-पिनितविता: पिनितकथा अवतरितः

963 सत्तयेव रतनारंगान्तिपितत्वातिक्षरांत्रिग्नदुःष्टयेऽ तथापि तथा।
divided into four *paricchedas*. He first defines śrāddha, and then treats of several topics, viz. the varieties of śrāddha, the procedure at śrāddhas, the *mantras* that are recited, the proper time and place for śrāddhas, the Brāhmaṇas worthy to be invited at śrāddha and the proper food etc. Among the numerous works and authors referred to in the work the undermentioned ones deserve notice. He refers to his own Śuddhiviveka as already written.

In several places he tells us that he follows a different tradition on certain matters from that of the Pitrbhakti or of the Sugatisopāna. He points out that the *prasātika* is a kind of grain known in Madhyadesa as Śāthila.

For his Vratapaddhati, *vide* Mitra’s Notices, vol. VI, p. 15, No. 1995. He says that he was urged by his brother’s advice to write the work and that he follows the Samayapradipa.

Another work of his is the Varṣakṛtya which deals with festivals and fasts.

He was the son of Mahāmahopādhyāya Lakṣmīdhara and youngest brother of Haladhara. His works are quoted by Vācaspati in his Dvaitanirnaya, by Govindaṇanda in the Śrāddhakriyākaumudi, by Raghunandana in several of his *taṭvas*, by Kamalākara and Nilakaṇṭha.

As Rudradhara mentions the Ratnākara, the Smṛtisāra, Śrīdattapādhyāya and the Śrāddhaviveka of Śūlapāṇi, he is certainly later than 1425 A.D. A ms. of his Vratapaddhati is dated in Lakṣmaṇa *sahitvat* 344 i.e. 1463 A.D. Besides he is quoted by Vācaspati and Govindaṇanda. Therefore he must have flourished between 1425 and 1460 A.D.

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964 कृत्तिहर, गोविन्दगृहस्थ्राण्य, वन्नमिपरिष्ठिहरीतीक, परिजात, पिन्धेक्ष (of श्रीको- पाध्याय styled भारी), मुन्नमलम, नोरानन, मध्यम, राजार, भ्रातुकल, भार्यमहाव, भार्यविष (हरीय i.e.of श्रीरवाण), सुगंतसपाण (styled मध- मायितपिकलकमा ), स्मृतिसार, इत्यादिनिषध्यम.

965 प्रसातिकाः मध्यवर्ध शाहीला हति महिसे शाक्य च folio 21 b of the Benares ed. of संस्कृत 1920.

966 एस श्रीबालुषरयोगदानमिलति समयप्राप्तिबाणसारी परमा: | at the end of the भक्ति.

967 Vide M. M. Haraprakas Śastri’s cat. of palm-leaf and paper · Nepal mss. XIII and p. 78.
The Rudradhara who was a pupil of Cāṇḍēśvara and author of
the Kṛtyacandrika, the Vivādacandrika and the Śrāddhacandrika
appears to be a different author.

97. Misarumisra

Misarumisra is famous for his works called Vivādacandra and
Padārtha-candrika (on the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system). There is a
ms. of the Vivādacandra in the Deccan College (No. 57 of 1883-84).
That work deals with the titles of Law (vyavahārapadas) such as
ṛṇādana (recovery of debt), nyāsa (deposit), avśāmivikraya,
sambhūya-samutthana (partnership), dāyavibhāga, strīdhana; and
then with procedure, viz. the plaint, reply, pramāṇas, witnesses,
possessions etc. It frequently quotes the Ratnākara (on vivāda
and vyavahāra) of Cāṇḍēśvara and several times criticizes him.
Besides numerous smṛti writers the other authors and works named
are: Pārijāta, Prakāśa, Balarūpa (often), Bhavadeva and Smṛtisāra
(frequently).

In the mss. and colophons the name of the author seems to be
Misarumisra. He tells us that he wrote the work under the orders
of princess Lachimādevī, wife of prince Candrasimha who appears
to have been the younger brother of Bhairavasimhadeva of the
Kāmeśvara dynasty of Mithilā. The work was probably called Vivādacandra
to connect it with the prince Candrasimha. The Vivādacandra first speaks of king Bhavēsa of the Kāmeśvara dynasty, then
of his son Harasimhadeva, then of his son Darpanarāyaṇa and the
latter's queen Hitār or Dhīra and then of Candrasimha and his queen
Lakhimā or Lachimā. We saw above that Cāṇḍēśvara who had
weighed himself against gold in 1314 A. D. wrote in his old age

968 - Intro. verse 2 in Mitra's Notices vol. IX p. 12 No. 9901; vide I. O. oat.
p. 454 No. 1500 'इति महानिरोपयायार्थां सिद्धनिरसा, रितो विनाच्छेदः समापताः'.

969 - Intro. verses in the Deccan College ms.
under Bhaveśa his work on Rājanīti. Lachimādevi was queen of the
great-grandson of this Bhaveśa, who became king of Tirhut in the
third quarter of the 14th century. Therefore Candrasimha must
have flourished about the middle of the 15th century and Misarumisra’s work must be assigned to that period. M. M. Chakravarti
points out (JASB for 1915, p. 425) that for Dhirasimha, a son of
Darpanārayaṇa, there is an authentic date, viz. 321 of the Lakṣmaṇa-
sena era in Tirhut (i.e. 1438 A.D.), when a ms. of Śrīnivāsa’s
Setudarpani (com. on Setubandha) was copied during Dhirasimha’s
reign.

That the Vivādacandra is a work of authority on Hindu Law in
Mithilā has been recognised from very early days in the British
courts.970 The Vivādacandra held that the word stridhana was to be
applied to such woman’s property as was technically so called (by
the sages) and not to all property that comes to a woman.971

98. Vācaspatimiśra

Vācaspatimiśra is the foremost nibandha writer of Mithilā. His
Vivādacintāmaṇi has been recognised by the High Courts in India
and by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as a work of
paramount authority on matters of Hindu Law in Mithilā.972
Vācaspati was an extremely voluminous writer and appears to have
composed dozens of works. In the Śrāddhakalpa alias Pitṛbhakti-
taraṅgini, almost his latest work, he says that he wrote in his youth
ten works on śāstra and thirty nibandhas on śruti and composed
the work in question in his declining years.973 At least eleven
works of his bearing the title ‘cintāmaṇi’ are known. They are
briefly noticed below.

The Ācāracintāmaṇi deals with the daily rites of Vājasaneyins.974
The Āhnikacintāmaṇi is quoted in his Śuddhicintāmaṇi. The

970 Vide 2 Moo. I. A. p. 132 at p. 147 and p. 152 (where there is a citation
in English from the विवादचन्द्र).
971 ‘सीवने परिमाचिकमेव न सर्पम्’ folio 33 a of the D. C. ms.
972 Vide 11 Moo. I. A. 139 at p. 174 and 487 at p. 506, I. L. R. 30 All. 267 at
973 शास्त्रे दत्ता स्तूती बिर्धिक्षेत्र देव बोलने॥ निर्मितात्तो चर्मे वरस्वेष निमित्ति
vide I. O. cat. p. 556 No. 1730.
974 इवराजश्चितो एवं हुट पाणिरविनयम्। निःपर्यन्ते हि न नय। शीवाच्छलिसंगम।
Krtyacintamani was published in Bengali characters at Benares in the year 1814 (vide JASB. for 1915, p. 395) and deals with the festivals that are celebrated on different days in the year. The Tirthacintamani has been published in the B. I. series. It is divided into five prakatas, viz. Prayaga, Purusoottama (Puri), Ganga, Gaya and Varanasi and deals with such topics as the purpose of pilgrimages, the preliminaries of pilgrimage, the various rites to be performed at the several tirthas, the subsidiary sacred places at the principal tirthas etc. He mentions the Kalpataru, Ganesvaramisra, Jayaarsama, the Mitaksara, Smritisamuccaya and Hemadi. In the introduction he explicitly states that he composed the work after carefully examining the Krtyakalpadruma and Parijata, the Ratnakara and other works. The Dvaitacintamani is mentioned in his Krtyacintamani. The Niticintamani is mentioned in the Vivadacintamani (p. 72). The Vivadacintamani (text) was published at Calcutta in 1837 (which edition is used in this work) and was translated into English by Prasannakumar Tagore (in 1863) with a learned preface. It explicitly states that the author carefully studied the Krtyakalpadruma, Parijata and Ratnakara. The work deals exhaustively with the eighteen titles of law (vyavaharapadas). The principal authors and works, besides the usual smritis and puranas, mentioned in the work are noted below. In this work he mentions several vernacular equivalents for Sanskrit terms. The Vyavaharacintamani deals with judicial procedure, viz. the four principal topics thereof, viz. bhaa (the plaint), uttara (reply of defendant), kriya (evidence),

975 श्रीयसकल्पकारपालिकाकराकराधीनवस्त्रेक्ष्य चलनात्। प्रणय मूर्द्धा मुखुदलन्य वार्षिकतिथि भवति लिखित श्रीकृष्णदिनाकरारकन्तामणि नामान्तर।

976 श्रीयसकल्पकरुण ... चलनात्। चाचवति। श्रीप्रज्ञाकल्पकारपालिकाकरितादिचित्रोद्भवे।

977 अभ्यस्तत्, गृहस्थरत्नाकर, बलबंधित, मकास, बालकिच्छ, भव्यकार (of भक्तिसिद्धिहृदय, p. 67, the same quotation occurring in the ज. र. p. 234), मिताव्रज, मेघादिधि, रत्नाकर, लक्ष्मीर, स्वतिनित्र, इत्यादि। Note the following words 'कुश्तकेशाकर: गोपुरम इति मलिङ्ग।' (p. 63), 'आरक्षक: कोटाल इति मलिङ्ग।' (p. 95, i. e. Kotwal in Marathi), 'संक्रम: साक्ष इति मलिङ्ग।' (p. 101; compare Marathi सच्चाक).
nirṇaya (decision). The Śuddhicintāmaṇi was printed at Benares in Bengali characters in *sake* 1814 (JASB for 1915, p. 396 n 2). The Śādrācārācintāmaṇi deals with the duties of śūdras (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 22, No. 2001). The Śādrāhacintāmaṇi is a standard work and was printed at Benares in Bengali characters in *sake* 1814.

Besides the works and authors enumerated in the foot-note above, the others mentioned by him in his several Cintāmaṇis are noted below.379

Besides these there is a group of Vacaspati's works with the title 'nirṇaya'. The Tithinirṇaya380 starts with an invocation of the highest Being (paramātman) while most of his works are begun with an obeisance to Hari or Kṛṣṇa. It first divides *tithis* into śuddha and viddha (commingled with another tithi) and then discusses all the *tithis* from the first to the fifteenth and also *amavasya*; it deals with the questions as to the rites of that *tithi* which is *kṣaya*, with śivarātrivrata, naktavrata, holidays, fasts, jayantivrata, holīka festival etc. The Dvaitanirṇaya,381 as its name implies, is concern-
ed with the settlement of some doubtful points of Dharmaśāstra such as the names to be given to brāhmaṇas and the other varṇas, doubts on gifts and consecration of tanks and wells, doubts about daily bath, śaṁḍhya, devapāja, vaibhūdeva, daily offerings to manes, about judicial proceedings and the taking of interest, about various vratas like ekādaśī and janmāṣṭami, about intercalary months, about the proper time for marriage and upanayana. The Mahādāna-nirṇaya expatiates on the sixteen munificent gifts such as weighing against gold and silver. In the introductory verses Vācaspati gives the genealogy of his patron’s family from Bhaveśa, whose son was Harasiriḥdeva, whose son was Narasimha, whose son Bhairavendra bore the biruda (appellation) Hari-nārāyaṇa. A verse at the beginning and one at the end attribute the work to Bhairavendra and to Rūpanārāyaṇa respectively. Rūpa-nārāyaṇa was the biruda of Rāmabhadra, a son of Bhairavendra. Therefore it looks probable that the work was commenced in the reign of Bhairava and was completed in the reign of his son Rāmabhadra. M. M. Chakravarti says that Bhairava himself bore at one time the biruda Raṅgaṇārāyaṇa. M. M. Haraprasad Sāstri (Nepal cat. p. 90) mentions a Vivādanārṇya of Vācaspati. The Sudhānirṇaya of Vācaspati deals with impurity on birth and death, the religious acts that must be performed even in times of impurity, sapinda relationship, periods of impurity for the principal varṇas and mixed castes; periods of impurity on abortion, the deaths of infants and women, accidental deaths etc., over-lapping of several periods of abhava; impurity arising from carrying a corpse; rites after the death of a samnyāsin; impurity from contact of lower castes, such as washermen and caṇḍālās, freedom from impurity at tirthas and marriages etc.


983 श्रीवाच्चस्तिधीरूं सहकारित्य समासाय | श्रीमेरेतेन्द्रूपति: स्वयं महादानानिर्णयं संगु दृश्यते ||
श्रीदण्डालमण्डबिमियालकते महादानानिर्णयंवेश्चु ||
बिषाध्युवाचिष्ठविक्षेपितनामाभक्तम्
माकित्रत भुपतीनाम् || at end.
Besides these, Vācaspati appears to have either composed or contemplated writing seven works called Mahārṇava on kṛtya, acāra, vivāda, vyavahāra, dāna, śuddhi and pīṭhyajña. Of these the Kṛtyamahārṇava is found and deals with festivals and fasts and the proper times therefor (vide JASB for 1915, p. 398). He also wrote the Gayāśradhapaddhati, the Candana-dhenupramāṇa and the Dattaka-vidhi. Probably his last work, as stated above, was the Śrāddhakalpa alias Pitṛbhaktitarangini.

Apart from the works on dharmasāstra, Vācaspati wrote also on the systems of philosophy. But it is not necessary for our purpose to go into that question.

Most of his works styled 'cintāmaṇī' are mentioned by Raghunandana in the tattvas (e.g. Kṛtyacintāmaṇī in Ekaśāsitattva, Vivāda- and Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇī in Dayatattva). The Śuddhicintāmaṇī is quoted in the Śuddhitattvārṇava of Śrīnātha-acārya-cūḍaṇāmi, the Śrāddha-cintāmaṇī is quoted in the Śrādhha-kriyā-kaumudī (pp. 265, 475) and in the Śuddhi kaumudī (pp. 89, 93) of Govindānanda, the Vivāda-cintāmaṇī is quoted in the Viramitrodaya (p. 697) and the Vyavahāracintāmaṇī is criticized in the same work (p. 288). His Pitṛbhakti-taraṅgini is mentioned in the Śuddhitattva and Śrāddhatattva. Vācaspati vouchsafes very little information about himself or his family. In the colophons of his works he is generally styled mahāmahopādhyāya and miśra or sanmiśra. In the colophon of the Śudrācāra-cintāmaṇi he is described as the pariśad (the adviser of the king in finally deciding difficult points of Dharmaśāstra) of Mahārajadhiraaja Hari-narayana. We saw above that his Mahādānanirṛṣaya connects itself with two kings Bhairava and his son Rūpanārayana. At the end of the Śrāddhakalpa we are told that Vācaspati who was the pariśad of Rāmabhadradeva alias Rūpanārayana, son of Hari-
nārāyaṇa, composed the work at the bidding of his patron.\textsuperscript{985} Vardhamāna in his Daṇḍaviveka says that one of his gurus was Vācaspati.\textsuperscript{986} It is probable that it is this Vācaspati that is meant. But as against this we must remember that Vācaspati in his Śrāddhakalpa quotes Vardhamāna Upādhyāya on śrāddha. Vardhamāna wrote his Daṇḍaviveka while king Bhairava was reigning and his Gaṅgākrtyaviveka for Rāmahadradeva. So Vācaspati was an elder contemporary of Vardhamāna.

Prasannakumar Tagore assigned 1423 A. D. as the time of the Vivādacintāmani (vide preface p. xxviii). Ghose in his Hindu Law (vol. II p. xiv) says that Vācaspati wrote the Śrāddhacintāmani by order of queen Jayā, widow of king Bhairavadeva and

\textsuperscript{985} समस्तेपादित्वमहाराजाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहाराजाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्मजसमस्तेयाधिकारिमहीनितारणात्म�

\textsuperscript{986} व्याघ्रयामणिकामिनी: व्याघ्रयामणिकामिनी ग्रंथं से गुप्तं। वेदविषेक verse 6.
mother of Puruṣottamadeva,¹⁹⁷ that Harinārāyana (i.e. Bhairava) ruled from 1513 to 1527 and that the latter was killed by Nasratshah, the Pathan king of Bengal. M. M. Chakravarti holds that the literary activity of Vācaspati lay between 1450 to 1480 A. D. Since Vācaspati mentions the Ratnākara (of Caṇḍeśvara) and Rudradhara as his authorities he must be later than about 1425 A. D. Vācaspati’s works are quoted by Govindaṇanda and Raghunandana. Therefore Vācaspati is certainly earlier than 1540 A. D. The ms. of the Māhādānanirṇaya found in Nepal is dated in 392 of the Lakṣmanasena era (Monday of Vaiśākha, dark half, 12th tiibri i.e. 22nd April 1511 A.D.). The ms. of the Śuddhiniṛṇaya (Mitra’s Notices vol. X, p. 58, No. 3308) was copied in savīvat 1416, which must in this particular case be taken as equivalent to sāke 1416 i.e. 1494-95 A. D., since Vācaspati could not have flourished about 1360 A. D. (which corresponds to Vikrama sāvīvat 1416). Hence the period assigned by Chakravarti for the literary activity of Vācaspati appears to be correct. That date is further corroborated by the fact that Vācaspati wrote under Bhairavendra and his son Rāmabhadradeva, that were 4th and 5th in descent from king Bhaveśa of Mithilā, who as we saw above began to rule over Mithilā in the third quarter of the 14th century.

This Vācaspati who flourished in Mithilā in the latter half of the fifteenth century is very often confounded with other authors bearing the same name. The great philosopher Vācaspati who was author of the Bhāmati on the Śārīrakabhāṣya of Śaṅkara and of several other commentaries on other systems of philosophy flourished in the first half of the 9th century as he wrote his Nyāyasūcini-bandha in 898 (most probably of the Vikrama era).²⁹⁸ There was another (Candraśekhara) Vācaspati who wrote the Smṛtisārasamgraha (cat. of Calcutta San. College mss. vol. II, p. 181, No. 203) and flourished in the first half of the 18th century.

¹⁹⁷ Compare विभौधका(८) पुरुषिव श्रमोरिर देहवामणर्थः। देवसिनामिर्भा जयति जयालम ग्रहदेवी॥ श्रीमेवेत्रधरणप्रतिपर्वतान्त्रिकाः राजाविराजपुरकोठश्वरमातां। नारायणसति निषिद्रचरितां निलुल्लपं हृदे विनिर्मितनिमित्तिविधिवस्तुणो विष्णुयन्निदम्॥ verses 5 and 7 of द्वेतनिर्णयः, Mitra’s Notices, vol. I p. 149.

²⁹⁸ न्यायसूचिवियासमोठरावकारि सुधियां गुदे। श्रीवाचस्पतिप्रिणेण वस्तुवृत्तसुवस्तरी॥
This is an encyclopaedic work on dharmaśāstra, no part of which has been yet printed. The Benares Sanskrit College has a complete ms. of this vast work. I could examine the whole of it. Besides, the Deccan College collection has two mss. of portions of it, viz. of the Dānasaṅga (No. 353 of 1875-76) and of the Tirthasaṅga (No. 352 of 1875-76). The Dānasaṅga and Śāntisāra are also noticed in Mitra's cat. of Bikaner mss. (pp. 429-430) and six sections out of twelve are noticed in the I. O. cat. p. 434 No. 1467. Unless otherwise stated the references here are to the Benares Sanskrit College ms.

The Nṛsiṁhaprāśadā is divided into twelve sections called 'śara' on saṅskāra, āhnika, śraddha, kāla, vyavahāra, prāyaścitta, karmavipaṅga, vrata, dāna, śānti (the averting of evil foreboded by natural portents and other strange occurrences), tīrtha and pratiṣṭhā (consecration of temples, idols etc.). Each section begins with an invocation of Nṛsiṁha (the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu) after whom the work is named Nṛsiṁhaprāśadā (the fruit of the grace of Nṛsiṁha). In the Saṅskārasaṅga, after invoking Nṛsiṁha, the introduction tells us that when king Rāma ruled in Devagiri (modern Daulatabad), Śāmavit was ruler of Delhi and that after the latter Nijāmāsaṅga wielded power over the world. Then after pronouncing an eulogy on Nijāmāsaṅga (verses 10-13) the author

989 संस्कारसारः प्रथमो द्वितीयस्वाभिकागानिधः। श्रावणस्वतीयस्तु चतुर्थः कालिनांण्यः।
पञ्चमो व्यवहारसः प्रायोगिकामिधो तत्र (torn) नाशकः। (समस्तवचनाशकः)॥
अष्टमो ब्रह्मसारः पूर्णोकामिधायकः। नवमो वृत्तसारः सर्वार्थिचिकारः।
दुशमः शालिसांब्रो व ते यथ एकादशः स्रोतः। देशभिषेषार्थै धारशः। परकीनिंति।
verses 17-20 of संस्कारसारः।

990 e. g. verse 8 of the संस्कारसारः. The first verse of आदिकारः 'is भ्रामण्य श्री-
नृसिंहः (हं तु II) दोषाविन भूमिना। श्रीनृसिंहभक्षादेव दिनागुरुंभूमियते॥ the
अधिकारः begins 'श्रीनृसिंहः नमस्तुः दलाधिकारिणि। श्रावणसः भक्तुः सर्वबंधिनि-
तुष्टः॥'

991 श्रीलोकगिर्य पुरुषवप्रपाधिविद्वद्वारे राजानि श्रावणबंकन्त्र वर्षो राजा स विधिस्वरः।
विद्विद्वानुपरिभ्रमः। भूसः समवप्रजामहाद्वं महान्। सम्प्रदेशान्तर्गतात्मविहिमा। राज्यं को
चालन्ति॥ Verse 9.
speaks of himself. We are told that the author was Dalapati (or Daladhiśa), son of Vallabha, of the Bhāradvāja-gotra and of the Yaṅavalkiya śākhā (i.e. Śuklayajurveda) and that he was the keeper of the imperial records of Nebajana (?). There are elaborate colophons at the end of almost each section (called sāra) in which we are told that Dalapati was the pupil of Sūryapāṇdita, that he was a great exponent of the Vaiṣṇavadharma, that he was the chief minister and keeper of the records of Nijāmasāha, who was the overlord of all Yavanas (Mahomedans) and ruler of Devagiri. In some colophons he is styled Mahārajadhīrāja. It is doubtful whether Dalapati or Daladhiśa was the real name of the author or was merely a title. It is not unlikely that Sūryapāṇdita said to be the guru of the author is the same as Sūrya, the father of the great Maratha saint Ekanātha, who wrote his Bhāgavata at Benares in saka 1495 (i.e. 1573 A.D.) and who states that he was born in a family of devout Vaiṣṇavas.

The Nṛsimhaprasāda names numerous authors and works. In the beginning of the Saimskārasāra, he mentions a host of writers and works that he consulted. Besides these he mentions Some-

992 वोः श्रीमनाराज्यशक्तिविदकालीकारार्यत: पभवार्ता जाकृतामातुः पद्मया व: शाश्वालकृतः।
श्रीमनोजनसारसरकारणायिनः सतामणि: श्रीमद्वमकमुखिरं विजयने श्रीमनालुधारः। वर्षे 14 देख रङ्कारसार। दीपको त्रिम स्त्रोतराय। पद्मयाः पद्मपुष्पकारणायिनः शरीर द्वारकसरके विनितनुः श्रीमनान्दुधारः।

993 e. g. at the end of the नारायण ॐ श्रीमत्मोहपतमहाराजाधिराजसारमुरीसुधीरमेवगिरिपुजारियवर: शस्त्रसारसरकारणायिनः श्रीमनकारणाधिराजा।

994 कालदृश्यसारसरकारणायिनः नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण ॐ नारायण OLUMN 3b.
śvara (commentator of the Tantravārtika) and Kāladipa in the Saṁskārasāra; the Purāṇasāra in the Āhnikasāra; Pārijāta and Vādibhayankara in the Vyaṇahārasāra; Kāmika, Jñānaratnāvali, Balārkodaya in the Dānasāra.

The contents of some of the sections of the Nṛsiṁhāprasāda may be set out here. In the Saṁskārasāra the author treats of the meaning of dharma, śruti, smṛti, the authoritativeness of purāṇas, kalivarjya (usages prohibited in the kali age), punyāhavacana, madhuparka, vṛddhiśreṇḍha, garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, jātakarma, nāmakarana, upanayana, marriage and other saṁskāras, the duties of brahmaśīrasins, snātakas, householders, vānaprasathas and saṁnyāsins. In the Āhnikasāra the author after dividing the day into eight parts speaks of the actions appropriate to each viz: in the first getting up from bed at the brahma-muhūrta, śauca, brushing the teeth, decoration of the hair, bath etc; in the second study; in the third, looking after dependents and pursuit of one’s livelihood; in the fourth midday bath, brahmayajña, tarpana, vaiśvadeva, daily śreṇḍha; in the fifth dinner and foods prescribed and forbidden; in the sixth and seventh reflecting over itihāsa and purāṇa; in the 8th decision about worldly affairs, evening saṁdhya etc. In the Kalasāra (which is incomplete in the Benares ms.) he defines the nature of kala and gives rules and decisions about months, tithis and such festivals as Navarātra, Jauṁśṭami etc. In the Vyaṇahārasāra the author deals with the meaning of vyayaḥāra, the eighteen titles of law, the four-fold method of deciding dharma, the pramāṇas (means of proof), dāyavibhāga etc. In the Vratasāra he speaks of the several principal vratas in each month, some of which are for both men and women, some for men only and some for women only. In the Dānasāra he dilates upon the nature of dāna, its varieties, the various results of dānas, the proper time and place for dānas, proper recipients of dāna, what things can be the subjects of gifts, units of gold, silver etc., the description of kuṇḍa, maṇḍapa and vedi, the sixteen great dānas such as tula, hiranyagarbha, brahmāṇḍa, kalpapādapa etc. and three atidānas, viz. land, cows and learning; gifts of images, food, ornaments, bed-stead etc.; gifts on sāmkṛānti and eclipses etc. The Tirthasāra is interesting for this that as the author hailed from Devagiri he speaks principally of tīrthas of the Deccan and Southern India. In this work he speaks
of Setubandha, Puṇḍarika\textsuperscript{995} or Paṇḍarika (modern Pandharpur in the Sholapur District, it seems), Gayatirtha, eulogies of Godāvari, Kṛṣṇā-Venyā, Narmadā, Malaprahārīṇī etc.

The Nṛsiṁhaprasāda being a work from the Deccan held the view that marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter was sanctioned by the Veda and was not to be censured.\textsuperscript{996} It says that where there is (irreconcilable) conflict between the smṛtis and purāṇas there is an option.\textsuperscript{997}

As the Nṛsiṁhaprasāda relies upon the Mādhaviya and the Madanapārijāta, it is certainly later than 1400 A. D. As it is mentioned as an authority in the Dvaitanirnaya of Śankarabhaṭṭa and in the Mayūkhas of Nilakanṭha it must be earlier than about 1575 A. D. If by the Dipikāvivaraṇa which it enumerates among its principal authorities is meant the com. of Nṛsiṁha, son of Rāmacandrācārya, on his father's commentary of the Kālānirnaya (which is most probable), then the Nṛsiṁhaprasāda must be later than about 1500 A.D. Dr. Bhandarkar\textsuperscript{998} says that Rāmacandrācārya lived about 1450 A. D. A ms. of the Dipikāvivaraṇa was copied in saṁvatsara 1604 (1548 A. D.).\textsuperscript{999} The Benares Sanskrit College ms. appears to have been copied for Rāmapaṇḍita Dharmādhikari at Benares, who is said to have been the father of Nandapāṇḍita\textsuperscript{1000} (see sec. 105 below). At the end of several saras either saṁvatsara 1568 (1511-12 A. D.) or 1569 occurs as the date.\textsuperscript{1001} This may be said to be the

\textsuperscript{995} श्रीमान्य तदे देवी दुःखिणे तीर्थं स्थलम्... अवरी अन्नी चरणं कर्मीकुश्कुशीयोऽि।
श्रीमतिः सत्वति भृगपतिणायायोणमन्त्रति। पौष्ठिककैति स्मातं तौरीयं तीर्थपूजऽस्मातं।
पाण्डुप्रक्षुलन्ते एको।

\textsuperscript{996} कहनली भालुकुलविमलविषयम् वेदानिहिततया न दोष इति... कितर्य बश्यामुः।
संस्कारसारा फौल९।

\textsuperscript{997} बाबा स्मलिपियोगोरितिस्मश्य बिकस्य। संस्कारसारा फौल९।

\textsuperscript{998} Report, 1883-84, pp. 58-60.

\textsuperscript{999} Vide I. O. cat. p. 530, No. 1662.

\textsuperscript{1000} Vide Benares 'Pandit' (New series) vol. V. pp. 377-78 for an announcement about the गृहभ्रमणसार by a learned descendant of नन्दपूछालत।

\textsuperscript{1001} At the end of the colophon of the आहिकोसार we have the date 'संवत् 1556 सम्य आहिकोसारम् दूधभराशे' and on the back of that part of the ms. the date 'संवत् 1519 वेधाशस्वदि ु शुके' i.e. 7th May 1512 A. D. At the end of the क्रियामार्पण, we have 'संवत् 1569 सम्य काल्पुरी
अखिलनकृतिलोकराजसारस्यभागे'। At the end of the तीर्थसार we have 'संवत् 1568 सम्य वेधाशस्वदि द्वितीया र्यो।'

H. D. 32.
date of the actual composition of the work or of the copying of the ms. for Râmapandita. It seems difficult to believe that Râmapandita for whom the ms. was copied in 1511-12 A. D. was the father of the famous Nandapandita. We know that Nandapandita composed his Vaijayanti in 1623 A. D. Râmapandita must have been a man of middle age before he could order the copying of a huge ms. like the Nâsirîhaprasâda. If he did this in 1511-12 A. D. his son could hardly have been alive 120 years later. Therefore it looks probable that the dates (samvat 1568 and 1569) are not the dates when the ms. was copied for Râmapandita, but rather the dates of the composition of the original work or of the copying of the ms. from which Râmapandita got his own ms. copied. At all events it is clear that the Nâsirîhaprasâda could not have been composed later than 1512 A. D. As the author was a minister of Nijâmasâha who ruled over Devagiri, it appears that he is referring to Ahmad Nizam Shah who ruled from 1490-1508 A. D. or to his son Burhan Nizam Shah (1508-1533 A. D.), most probably the former.1002 It may be taken as certain that the work was composed between 1490 and 1512 A. D.

100. Pratâparudradeva

The Sarasvatîvilasâ was compiled by Pratâparudradeva, a king of the Gajapati dynasty who ruled at Cuttack (Kaṭakanagari) in Orissa. The Dâyabhâga portion of this work was published with an English translation by Rev. Thomas Foulkes in 1881. An edition of the whole of the vyâvahâra section of the Sarasvatîvilasâ has recently been published in the Mysore Government publication Series. Through the kindness of the Editor, Dr. Shamasastri, I was able to secure the printed sheets of 352 pages before publication. In the following reference is made to the paragraphs of Foulkes’ edition and the pages of the Mysore edition.

After invoking deities the work starts with the prastâti of the king and his family (pp. 2-11). Descent is traced to the Sun himself through Daśaratha, Râma and his sons. Kapîlendra was the founder of the Gajapati family whose son was Puruṣottama. His queen was Rupâmbika. Pratâparudradeva or Vira-Rudra-deva

1002 Vide Lane-Pooles ‘Muhammadan dynasties’ (ed. of 1925) p. 320 for the names and dates of the Nizam Shâhs.
was the son of Puruṣottama. He is spoken of as having given protection to Sultan (Suratrāṇa) Husanshah who threw himself on his mercy. 1003 In the colophons 1004 the king is styled Gajapati, Gauḍeśvara (king of Gauḍa), lord of Kalabariga (modern Gulbarga) in the KARNĀṬAKA country of nine crores (probably of revenue) and as the protector of Sultan Husanshah of Jamunāpurā. It is significant that the same titles are applied to Puruṣottama 1005 in his Pottavaram grant of šāke 1412 (1490 A. D.) and in other inscriptions. Pratāparudradeva, while ruling his capital 1006 KAṬAKA-nagara, called together an assembly of Pandits and compiled an extensive digest of civil and religious law. The royal author feels qualms of conscience on the question of eulogising himself and his family but stifles them easily by saying that a poet can also be an appreciative critic of his own productions. 1007 He boasts that he composed the work for saving scholars the trouble of bringing harmony among the conflicting dicta of Vijnānayogi, Aparārka, Bāruci and others, that there was no work that could equal his own and that his literary effort would make his predecessors' works afford illustrations of the maxim that when a certain purpose is served by one the existence of others is superfluous. 1008 Then it

1003 p. 11 ' शरणागतसचारसाहित्यसमाहितार्णाश्चर्यपादः '.

1004 इसे एव ब्राह्मणपति-गोविंदर-नवकोटिकर्णक-कल्याणगिरिश्वर-सरणागतसचारसाहित्यसमाहितार्णाश्चर्यपादः -राजाभक्तसचारसाहित्यसमाहितार्णाश्चर्यपादः -पर्सलवर्धमनपरमानांनायांसाहित्य नस्तिसमधैं सरस्वतीविलाससे भवद्वारकाण्ड & c.


1006 ' स चायं चारुन्नं गजपतियंस्थानविह्यायोयां ... सूक्तानाकं कठकनगरीं समानान्तः ', p. 11.

1007 अस ब्राह्मणपति-गोविंदरनवकोटिकर्णक-कल्याणगिरिश्वरसचारसाहित्यसमाहितार्णाश्चर्यपादः संहद्धार्थवेदनं न्यूनकथनक्रियेकरं कविं 

1008 ब्राह्मणपति-गोविंदरनवकोटिकर्णक-कल्याणगिरिश्वरसचारसाहित्यसमाहितार्णाश्चर्यपादः संहद्धार्थवेदनं न्यूनकथनक्रियेकरं कविं 

is said that the vyavahāra-kāṇḍa was first taken in hand even before the ācāra-kāṇḍa following the special desire of the king Vīrātrudra Gajapati. But it appears from references in the vyavahāra-kāṇḍa itself that before that part was finished the ācāra-kāṇḍa had been completed. The Sarasvativilāsa, being a work composed under the express orders of a king for the benefit of his subjects, makes the nearest approach to the Austinian conception of law as a command addressed by political superiors to political inferiors and enforced by a sanction.

The principal topics dealt with in the Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa are: the hall of justice, the method of judicial procedure, the plaint, the reply, documents, possession, rūdāna, dayavibhāga, sāhasa and other titles of law. In the beginning of the work he sets out at great length the views of ancient writers on politics about the constitution of the maṇḍala, such as those of Parāśara, Uśanas, Viṣṇu, Bṛhaspati, Viśālākṣa, Manu etc. He generally follows the views of Vijñānesvara on dayavibhāga, but here and there strongly criticizes him, e.g. he says that Vijñānesvara gave a very far-fetched interpretation of Yajñaviśalya’s verse ‘ṛikthagrāha ṛṇam dāpyah.’ The Sarasvativilāsa is a work of authority in Southern India on matters of Hindu Law, though inferior to the Mitakṣara. It informs us that, though the Smṛticandrikā passed over the ordeals of water and poison on the ground that they had gone out of vogue, in Utkala the ordeal of water alone was resorted to and in Śūrasena (Mathurā) and Magadha (Bihar) the ordeal of poison alone was administered.
Besides the usual dharmasūtras and other smṛtis, the principal authors and works named in the Sarasvativilāsa are noted below.\textsuperscript{1014} The Sarasvativilāsa presents in the case of the dharmasūtras, particularly of Viṣṇu and Gautama, great variations from the printed texts of these works (vide sec. 10, p. 70 above). The Sarasvativilāsa in scores of places gives the conflicting views of Bhāruci and the Mitākṣarā (for which see under Bhāruci, sec. 61). The Sarasvativilāsa also contains valuable information about the views of such authors as Asahāya, Bhavadeva and Śrikara whose works have not yet come to light.

Burnell (introduction to Vaiṣṇa Brahmaṇa p. vii) took Pratāparudradeva to be the king of that name who belonged to the Kakatiya-Gaṇapati dynasty of Warangal and who was carried captive to Delhi in 1322 A.D. But in this he was wrong. It has been shown above that the king connected with the composition of the Sarasvativilāsa belonged to the Gajapati dynasty that ruled at Cuttack and not at Warangal. Pratāparudradeva ruled from 1497 to 1539 A.D. Therefore the Sarasvativilāsa must have been composed in the first quarter of the 16th century. Foulkes thinks (Intro. p.xx) that the work was composed about 1515 A.D. His argument is that though the commentary of Mādhavācārya was written about two hundred years before the Sarasvativilāsa, the latter is entirely silent about it in his work and that the reason of this is to be sought for in the rivalry of the two dynasties of Pratāparudra and Kṛṣṇarāja of Vijayanagara which was set at rest by a marriage alliance about 1516 A.D. Vide Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar’s ‘sources of Vijayanagar History’ (p. 116), where we are told that the daughter of the Orissa king married to Kṛṣṇadevarāja was named Jaganmohini (according to some) or Tukkā (according to others) and Sewell’s ‘A forgotten empire’ p. 320. Another argument advanced by Foulkes for 1515 A.D. as the date of the work is that during the latter part of his reign Pratāparudradeva had come

\textsuperscript{1014} अमरकृ, अस्तख्य, कक्षिभाष्य, कुलके, गुह (भमाक), चन्द्रक (िे. स्वतिचन्द्रक), देवराज, देवसामी, धराष्ट्र, नवक्षेत्रक, प्रदीप, अन्निकाक, मवेद, भवान, भार, भाराकार, यहापुरि, नेवालिच, राजलसाक, तल्लिसाप, राजराज (called आयुषिक as contrasted with भारक), बिहानेम्बर, वृत्तकार (िे आपू आलू), बेहानस-संहिना, शंकिकानाथ, भीक, संमहक, सोमचंक, सोमेश्वर.
under the influence of the great Vaiṣṇavite saint Caitanya, who made Puri his residence during the last years of his life and that the Sarasvativilāsa has in the beginning an invocation of Śiva. Caitanya was born in śāke 1407 Falguna Full-moon (i.e. in 1486 A.D.); vide Bhandarkar’s ‘Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism’ (p. 83) and Caitanya is said to have gone to Puri about 1510 A.D. and died in 1533 A.D. (Beames in Ind. Ant. vol. II, p. 1 ff.). Both these arguments are not of much weight. As a matter of fact in some mss. there is an invocation of both Viṣṇu (Hayagriva) and Śiva; vide Descriptive Cat. of Government S. mss. at Madras vol. VI, p. 2426 No. 3221. The latest work of certain date that the Sarasvativilāsa names is the Śrīmatīandikā and it is rather matter for surprise that no work belonging to the 14th and 15th centuries is quoted or named by the Sarasvativilāsa. But this circumstance alone is hardly of any worth in face of the positive statement in the work itself that it was composed by Pratāparudradeva Gajapati. Vide JBORS. vol. V, pp. 147-148 and Ind. Ant. for 1929, pp. 28-33 for information about the Empire of Orissa and its emperors, Kapilendra (who died in 1470 A.D.), Puruṣottamadeva (1470-1497) and Pratāparudra-deva.

There is a ms. of a work called Pratāparudrabālitsa or Praudharapālitsa (D. C. ms. No. 48 of 1872-73) which is ascribed to Pratāparudra, ruler of Utkala, whose capital was Kaṭaka on the banks of the Citrotpalā. It mentions Kapileśvara Gajapati, his son Puruṣottama, father of Pratāparudra. In the colophon the king is described as ‘Gajapati-Gauḍeśvara-navaḵti-karṇaṭa-kalabarageśvara-rūpa-nārāyaṇa’ &c. The work is divided into five Prakāsas on Padārthanirṇaya, Vatsarādinirūpāṇa, Tithinirūpāṇa, Vratanirṇaya (such as Navarātra &c.), Viṣṇubhakti. He expressly mentions as his authorities Hemādri, Kalpataru, Ratnākara, Mitākṣara, Mādhava, Anantabhaṭṭa, Śrīmatīandikā, Aparārka, Pārijāta, Kālādāśa, Devadāsa. Here there is an express mention of Mādhava which refutes Foulkes’ theory set out above.

101. Govindaṇanda

Govindaṇanda wrote several works out of which four have been printed in the Bibliotheca Indica series, viz: the Dānakaumudi, Śuddhikaumudi, Śraddhaakaumudi, Varṣakriyā-kaumudi. The last work deals with tithinirṇaya, vratas on several tithis all the year
round, festivals like Durgotsava, Kojāgara etc. All these works appear to have formed part of a general digest called Kriyākaumudi. Besides these he wrote a commentary called Arthakaumudi on the Śuddhidipikā of Śrīnīvāsa which was printed in Bengali characters, and also a commentary called Tattvārtha-kaumūdi on Śūlapāṇi’s Prāyaścitattaviveka (published by Jivānanda at Calcutta). His works are of great utility on account of the numerous authors and works quoted therein. The following deserve special mention. He was the son of Gaṇapatibhaṭṭa and was styled Kavikaṅkaṇacārīya. From the introductory and final verses of his works it appears that he was a Vaiśṇava. His father was a resident of Bagri in the Midnapur District of Bengal.

Since he quotes the Madanapārijāta, the Gaṇgā-vākyāvali, Rudradhara and Vācaspati, he must be later than about 1500 A.D. He is quoted by Raghunandana in his Malamāsatattva and Aṁhnikatattva. So he cannot be later than 1560 A.D. His Śuddhi-kaumūdi examines intercalary months from sake 1414 to sake 1457 (i.e. from 1492 A.D. to 1535 A.D.). Therefore it appears that he wrote his Śuddhikaumūdi immediately after sake 1457 (i.e. 1535 A.D.). He wrote the Śrāddha-kaumūdi and Varṣa-kiṛṭi-kaumūdi after the Śuddhi-kaumūdi. Therefore we shall be very near the truth if his literary activity be placed between 1500 and 1540 A.D.


1015 कुलक, चण्डीदास, (oom. of काम्यकाश), गल्पवाच्यवाहकीकार, मदनपारिमाल, राजमातृष्ठ, स्थापत्य, वाचमोनोपायवाच्य, वाचस्पति, विशारद, शुद्धिविवेक, साहित्यकार.

1016 अन एक विषुष्मैरस्िसा—समाहें साहित्य सस्त्रान्वसालिकितस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िस्िs. विषुष्मिकासा काम्यकाशं गल्पं। तथा चुदुद्धविपिनकथयुद्धशास्त्रास्तः वेशासी मल्लास। तत्त्व: परं धार्मिकपिनकथयुद्धशास्त्रास्तः भावे उनसमयस्त्त्वमासी मल्लास। ... तत्त्वः परं धार्मिकपिनकथयुद्धशास्त्रास्तः वेशासी परसपिमासी मल्लास इत्यादुपतयेने व्यविचारे दुर्योगे। शुद्धिकोणी p. 266; vide p. 270 for intercalary month in sake 1449 and 1457.
Raghunundana is the last great writer of Bengal on dharmaśāstra. He compiled an encyclopaedic work on the different branches of dharmaśāstra styled Smṛtitattva, divided into 28 sections called tattvas. He cites the names of over 300 authors and works in his encyclopaedia, which have been collected together by M. M. Chakravarti (JASB for 1915 pp. 363–375). His wonderful mastery over smṛti material and his erudition displayed in the Smṛti-tattva earned for him the appellation smartabhāṣṭācārya or simply ‘śmart’ from later writers. For example, the Viramitrodaya refers to him in that way and so does Nilakantha in his Vyavahāramayukha. His Smṛtitattva was printed at Serampore in Bengali characters so far back as 1834–35 A. D. and it has also been published by Jivananda (in two volumes). Some tattvas have been separately published as e. g. the Vyavahāra-tattva and the Dāyatattva (published at Calcutta in 1828 by the Department of Public Instruction). His Dāyatattva was translated into English by Golapcandra Sarkar. In his Malamāsatattva the names of his tattvas are given. Vide Mitra’s Notices, vol. III. p. 50 No. 1081 and I. O. cat. p. 420 No. 1405 for an enumeration of the tattvas and for reference to the volumes and pages in the Serampore edition. The tattvas are not arranged in the verses quoted below according to their chronological order, but according to the exigencies of the metre. In this work I have used Jivananda’s edition.

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1017 vide viro p. 697 on gānām’s sūtra ‘kriyāhā dhyāna padma marga sthāpita smṛtī’ etc.; bhavah (text p. 112 of my edition) ‘smṛti parinaśanaḥ ca-vyākhyātā’.

1018 mātimūrye na va śrava śūnyo ḥ ca bhadrasatśaṁ. māpasākṣaś ca viśvaḥ ca niyam śamāśaśaṁ. durgānmandaś ca ṣaevaś ca kārāyateś ca bhavati. maṁ pitaṁ pārighadāyō ujñānādāyō vatsyāyādaś ca bhavati. maṁ pārighadāyō ujñānādāyō vatsyāyādaś ca bhavati. maṁ pārighadāyō ujñānādāyō vatsyāyādaś ca bhavati.

The 28 tattvas are on māmisthā (intercalary month). dṛṣṭa, bhūjā, sāṃkara, māyaśīla, viśvarū, niyam, jñānaśruti, śrūgaṇa, śvadṛśa, éka-dṛṣṭa, yamāśruti, bhrāṭraśaṁ. mādhyamabhiśeṣāni (3 tattva on dṛṣṭaṁ guṇo, vyuṣṭo, mat) bhavati. mām bhavati (two on dṛṣṭaṁ guṇo and mām bhavati). dṛṣṭa (i.e. pārigha), ujñānā, vatsyāya, ṣaevaś ca bhavati. maṁ pārighadāyō ujñānādāyō vatsyāyādaś ca bhavati.

In the Serampore edition mādhyamabhiśeṣāni is not printed (vide Chakravarti in JASB 1915 p. 363). In Jivananda’s edition also the mādhyamabhiśeṣāni is not included and the jñānādyatā seems to be included under līlādhyatā.
It is not feasible to give even brief summaries of Raghunandana’s tattvas. Their varied names indicate the subject matter. But one of them, the Dāyatattva, deserves special mention. It treats of partition made by father, partition among brothers after their father’s death, persons not entitled to a share, property not liable to partition, evidence of separation, stridhana and its devolution, inheritance to one dying sonless etc. His Tithi-tattva contains a description in Sanskrit of the game called Caturāṅga played on the full moon of Aśvina by four players.

Besides the 28 tattvas Raghunandana is said to have composed several other works. There is a commentary on the Dāyabhāga attributed to him. Colebrooke suspected its genuineness, but the colophon of the commentary1019 gives the same details about Raghunandana as are found in his admitted works. It is to be noticed that the Dāyatattva of Raghunandana sets forth the same principles of Hindu law that are peculiar to Jīmūtavāhana, though in matters of detail they disagree in a few cases. The Viramitrodaya styles the author of the Dāyatattva a follower of Jīmūtavāhana.1020 It has been held by the Calcutta High Court that Raghunandana’s is the best commentary on the Dāyabhāga and that the authority of Raghunandana is acknowledged and respected universally in the Bengal School.1021

Besides the above, Raghunandana wrote also Tīrthatattva or Tīrthayātrāvidhítattva, the Dvādasayātātattva (on the principal festivals at Jagannāthapuri, one in each month), Tripuṣkaraśānti-tattva, Gayaśraddhāpaddhati and Rāsaśrātrapaddhati. His works however are not very much in vogue elsewhere than in Bengal.

Raghunandana was the son of Hariharabhaṭṭācārya and was a Bengal Vandyaghatiya Brāhmaṇa. He was a pupil of Śrīnātha-acārya-cudāmanī, whose works are frequently quoted in the several tattvas (vide Chakrabarti in JASB for 1915 p. 351 n. 2). According to tradition Raghunandana and the great Vaiṣṇavite saint Caitanya were pupils of the same teacher, Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, who was

1019 इति श्रीकार्या विनिर्देशप्रारम्भायस्यज्ञरुपरुसन्नभाषायव्यक्ता द्वादशाकारः समावा।
1020 जीमूतवाहस्य भाज्यदिविवाहेषु यदि तद्यथा वेत्ता न तु तदस्वाभावयः।
सर्व धन्योऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽसमयोऽ
the shining light of the new logic (navyanyāya) at Navadvipa and were residents of that place (Sarvadhikari’s Tagore Law Lectures, first edition p. 403ff.).

Among the authors and works quoted in his encyclopaedia by Raghunandana those noted below deserve mention.\textsuperscript{1022}

Aufrecht placed Raghunandana between 1430-1612 A. D. Dr. Jolly (Tagore Law Lectures p. 10) places him early in the 16th century. In I. L. R. 48 Cal. 643 (F. B.) at p. 695 it is said that Raghunandana belongs to the latter half of the 15th century. As Raghunandana’s works are quoted and criticised by the Virami-trodaya (pp. 79, 531, 683, 697, 703 etc.,) and by Nilakantha, Raghunandana is certainly earlier than 1600 A. D. As he names Madhavacārya, Śulapāṇi, Rayamukta, Rudradhara and Vācaspati, he is later than about 1500 A. D. If tradition is to be believed that he was a fellow-student of Caitanya he must have been born about 1490 A. D. Caitanya is said to have been born in 1485 or 1486 A. D.\textsuperscript{1023} In his Jyotistattva he mentions \textit{Shāke} 1421\textsuperscript{1024} in connection with the position of Viṣuva. That shows that the work was not composed probably very much long after that date (i. e. 1499-1500 A. D.) In the same Tattva (vol. I. p. 568)

\textsuperscript{1022} अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्हीत, अन्तर्ही...
for calculating ravi-saṅkrānti he takes śaka 1489 as the basis (i.e. 1567 A.D.). So that Tattva was composed just about that year. A ms. of the Chandoga-śrāddha-tattva was copied in śaka 1497 (1575-76 A.D.) and a ms. of the Matha-pratiśṭhā-tattva was copied in śaka 1498 (i.e. 1576-77 A.D.).

Therefore he must have flourished before 1575. Thus he flourished between 1490 and 1570 and his literary activity, which must have been spread over a long period if we consider the number of his works, lies between 1520-1570. Vide an interesting discussion about his date in JASB for 1915, pp. 354-357 by M.M. Chakravarti who places Raghundandana between 1510-1565 A.D.

103. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was the most famous of the celebrated family of the Bhaṭṭas of Benares. For a detailed account of the family and the contribution of the several members thereof to dharmasāstra, vide my Introduction to the Vyavahāramayukha (v-xvi). M.M. Haraprasad Śās.ri has brought to light a biography of this family written by Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, a son of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (Ind. Ant. for 1912 vol. 41, pp. 7-13). Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's father Rāmeśvarabhaṭṭa whose gotra was Viśvāmitra migrated from Pratiśṭhāna (Paithan) in the Deccan to Benares. Rāmeśvarabhaṭṭa was a very learned man and his learning drew to him students from the whole of India. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was born according to Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa's biography in śaka 1435 in the month of Caitra (i.e. about March 1513 A.D.). Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was the eldest of three sons, the other two being Śrīdhara and Mādhava. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa learnt all the sāstras at the feet of his father. Pandits all over India looked up to him as their leader and patron and he was an assiduous collector of Sanskrit mss.

It is said that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa brought down by his holiness rain in a season of drought and thereby induced the Mahomedan ruler that had razed the temple of Viśveśvara at Benares to the ground to allow him to rebuild it. For his erudition and piety Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was honoured with the title 'Jagadguru' and his family was given the first place of honour in the assembly of learned Brāhmaṇas and at the recitations of the Vedas. It was Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and his equally worthy descendants that raised dākṣinātya pandits to the

position of high eminence at Benares which they still hold. Nārāyanabhaṭṭa wrote numerous works on dharmaśāstra among which may be mentioned the Antyeṣṭipaddhati (printed by Nirṇayasaṅgara Press), the Tristhalisetu (dealing with the ceremonies to be performed generally at all sacred places and particularly at Prayāga, Kaṭi and Gayā) and the Prayogaratna (printed at the Nirṇayasaṅgara Press, 1915 A. D.). This last contains detailed descriptions and rituals of the saṃskāras from garbhadhana to vivaha. His are standard works on the subjects they deal with and are used even now almost throughout the whole of India. He composed a commentary on the introductory verses contained in the Kālamadāvha (vide Madras Triennial cat. vol. III. Sanskrit C. p. 4114 No. 2852) and a commentary on portions of the Śāstrādiṣṭikā of Pārthasārathi-miśra. He composed a work on ordeals which is referred to in the Vyavahāratattva of Nilakanṭha (vide p. 457 of my edition and Bikaner cat. p. 387 No. 832 for a Divyānuṣṭhāna-paddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa) and also paddhatis on the dedication of gardens, tanks etc. He exercised a profound influence over later writers directly and indirectly through his sons and grand-sons.

As he was born in 1513 A. D. and composed the commentary on the Vṛttaratnākara in 1545 A. D., his literary activity must be placed between 1540 and 1570 A. D. This is further corroborated by the fact that his grandson Kamalakarabhaṭṭa composed the Nirṇayasindhu, one of his earliest works, in 1612 A. D.

There is a work on dharmaśāstra called Dharmapraṇītti composed by a Nārāyan. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal holds that this was composed by jagadguru Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (JBORS for 1927, vol. XIII, parts III-IV, p. IX). The same view is held by M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri (Ind. Ant. for 1912 p. 7). But this identity is extremely doubtful. The benedictory verses in the Dharmapraṇītti are different from those of the Prayogaratna and Tristhalisetu, the method of treatment and the style are different and the colophons are also different. The author of the Dharmapraṇītti does not mention his ancestors as Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa does. Nilakanṭha in his Vyavahāramayūkha

1027 The introductory verse is Nārāyaṇa namsahastram kamaḥ ca sarvasvam | gnanārtha
puṁsaḥv śrīmānāśrīnāmavyaḥ || dharmakrutvaśeśe kāraṇe kālo nārāyaṇeḥ tu. I. O. cat. p. 480
No. 1560.
finds fault with the Dharmapraṇātī by saying that certain quotations therein are unauthoritative.

104. Ṭodarananda

Rāja Ṭodaramalla, the celebrated finance minister of Akbar, compiled an extensive encyclopedia of civil and religious law, astronomy and medicine. The several parts of that encyclopedia dealing with acāra, dāna, vyavahāra, śraddha, viveka, prayāscittta, samaya were called saukhyas. An account of some of the saukhyas that were available to me may be concisely given here. The Vyavahārasaūkhya (D. C. ms. No. 366 of 1875-76) begins with an invocation of Śiva, speaks of the pārastika emperor (Akbar) of Hind (India) and then deals with the several topics of judicial procedure such as the king’s duty to look into disputes, the sabha, judge, meaning of the word vyavahāra, enumeration of 18 vyavahārapadas, time and place of vyavahāra, the plaint, the reply, the agent of the parties (pratinidhi), prayakalita, the superiority of one mode of proof over another, witnesses, documents, possession, inference, ordeals and oaths, grades of punishments and fines. TheVyavahārasaūkhya does not dwell on the exposition of the several titles of law. Besides the smṛti writers, it principally relies on the Kalpataru, the Parijata, Bhavadeva, the Mitakṣara, the Ratnakara, Harihara and Halayudha. The several sections are styled harsas.

The Vivāhasaūkhya (D. C. ms. No. 868 of 1884-87) is concerned with the astrological aspects of marriage (e.g. the proper year, month, day, sign, nakṣatra &c., for marriage). It names numerous authors and works, some of which are noted below.¹⁰³⁰


¹⁰²⁹ श्रीमान्हैन्वासीकरणशिष्टम्य राजामणि राजा टोडरमण्डलविरिणरीयमितापेअक

¹⁰³⁰ उस्त, चणेबर (ोऽ राजामणि), बुद्धविचित्रामणि, जयतुह, श्रीविद्या,

The Śrāddhasaukhyā (D. C. ms. No. 257 of 1884-87) is an extensive work and deals with the usual topics such as the different kinds of śrāddhas, the time and place for śrāddha, the proper brāhmaṇas, sapindikaraṇa &c. The sections of this work also are divided into hāras. Besides those enumerated above the authors and works mentioned are noted below.1031

The Jyotiḥsaukhyā (D. C. ms. No. 915 of 1886-92) constitutes the Saṁhitā branch of Indian astronomy and deals with such topics as the results of eclipses, the appearance of comets, the rise of Agastya, Ursa major, the signs of the Zodiac &c. It frequently refers to Kāśyapa, Garga (or Vṛddhagarga), Parāśara, Mayūracitra, Varāha. The colophons state that Ṭoḍaramalla was a scion of the Taṇḍala (or - na) family and that the work was compiled by Nīlakanṭha at the order of Ṭoḍaramalla.1032 This Nīlakanṭha appears to be the author of the Saṁjñiṭantra on which a commentary was written by his son Govinda in 1622 A. D., in which it is stated that Nīlakanṭha was honoured by Akbar and had composed the Ṭoḍarānanda.1033 In the Tājīka-Nīlakanṭhī of Nīlakanṭha it is stated that the author composed works on the three branches of Jyotiṣa which gave delight to Ṭoḍara.1034

The Jyotiḥsaukhyā was composed in śaṁ 14941035 (i.e. 1572 A. D.). The ms. of the Vyaḥārasaukhyā bears at the end the date saṁvat 1638 (1581-821036 A. D.) which seems to be the date of its composition. Ṭoḍaramalla was a man of versatile genius. He distinguished himself as an able commander as well as a great

1031 कर्क, त्रिकाण्डमण्डल, नारायण, प्रकाशक, मांकिँ, वर्धमान, वासुदेव, श्रावस्तिक, श्रद्धार्थ, स्मृतिसारिकार.
1032 इति श्रीमयामाराजीयारश्चेन्द्रशास्त्रीलक्ष्मीनाराजीकोरडरत्नसम्बर्तियो श्रीदेवप्रौढनीलक्षणः। विशिष्टते दोहरानन्देद व्योतिसुलुके संहितासङ्कल्पे &c. folio 23a.
1033 Vide cat. of BBRAS ms., part I, p. 187 No. 262.
1034 बनाम प्रभृति हि भूमिवलयो शिष्याशिष्येश्वरहृद भूमिपलसुमोहितवयोक्ष्योपयोगोपरायणानि। श्रीदेवभूमिस्थाना हि दोहरामोгерानन्देद व्योतित्विशिष्ये स्मृत्यते सुधारितशास्त्राध्यक्षे प्रायः || 9th verse, Peterson’s cat. of Ulwar ms., extract No. 502.
1035 ‘तथा च सांसारिकः शकः १३६५ द्वितिकप्रधिष्ठितः ४७२० ’ folio 38.
1036 ‘संवत् १६१३ सम्ये कुरुसुदि २ स्त्रुतार ’ D. C. ms. No. 366 of 1875-76.
financier and statesman. For a brief account of his life, vide Blochmann's translation of the Ain-i-Akbari, vol. I, pp. 351-352. It is there stated that he was Khetri by caste, that, though it is generally stated that he was born at Lahore, he was really born at Laharpur in Oudh (p. 620) and that he died at Lahore on the 11th day of 998 of the Mussulman era\(^{1037}\) (i.e. 1589 A.D.). The Marathi magazine 'Itihāsasamgraha' publishes an inscription on a stone found in the Draupadikunda at Benares wherein it is said that Toda of the Tanjana family constructed that beautiful reservoir in 1646 of the Vikrama era\(^{1038}\) (i.e. 1589 A.D.). Therefore it follows that literary works were compiled under the patronage of Todarmal between 1565-1589 A.D.

105. Nandapandita

Nandapandita was a voluminous writer on dharmaśāstra. An account of his principal works on dharmaśāstra is given below, particularly because most of them are yet unpublished.

He composed a commentary called Vidvanmanohara on the Parāśarasmrī. He expressly mentions therein that he follows the commentary of Madhavaśārya.\(^{1039}\) This commentary is referred to in his Vaijayanti.\(^{1040}\)

He also appears to have written a commentary called Pramitākṣāra or Pratitākṣāra on the Mitākṣāra of Vijñānesvara.\(^{1041}\) This com-

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\(^{1037}\) Vide also 'Akbar' in the Rulers of India series (1890) p. 134 where the date of his death is given as 10th Nov. 1589 A.D.

\(^{1038}\) Vide ed. by the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, vol. I, part 4, p. 20. नन्दपण्डितसमूह: विद्वानमनोहराः (1646) वक्तरें वृक्षितनिराधिष्ठिती दोषारोपणं।।

\(^{1039}\) विद्वानमनोहराः (विद्वानमनोहरम्) १६४६ महामहोपाध्याय विद्वानमनोहराः।।

\(^{1040}\) विद्वानमनोहराः प्राचीन महामहोपाध्याय विद्वानमनोहराः।।

\(^{1041}\) विद्वानमनोहराः प्राचीन महामहोपाध्याय विद्वानमनोहराः।।

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\(^{15.9}\) he says 'स्वरिष्यां: पुनःसंस्कारामाध्योपाधितोत्स्सामां सर्वस्त्रं भितासाराध्यामां श्रीमान्यामां साक्षात्त्रामां श्रीमान्यामां श्रीमान्यामां श्रीमान्यामां।।

\(^{16}\) 'क्रिष्णस्वम भितासाराध्यामां भितासाराध्यामां श्रीमान्यामां।।

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\(^{15.42}\) विद्वानमनोहराः प्राचीन महामहोपाध्याय विद्वानमनोहराः।।

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\(^{96}\) b of the I. O. ma. (of वैज्ञानिकी) on विद्वानमनोहराः (16.1 'विद्वानमनोहराः प्राचीन महामहोपाध्याय विद्वानमनोहराः।।

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\(^{93}\) b of the I. O.
mentary was probably not completed, as only fragments are found with his descendants.

Nandapanḍītā also composed a work called Śraddhakalpalata, which is referred to in his Šuddhicandrika and in the Vaijayanti. In this work he refers to a city called Sādhāraṇa (probably modern Saharanpur) where the Sahagila family ruled. He speaks of Sinhamalla, Vasāvana, Rūpacandra, Bhūpacandra and Paramānanda as successive members of the dynasty and says that he was urged to write the work by the last of them and that he relies upon the Śraddhadipika of Govindapanḍītā. At the end of the ms. of the Vaijayanti in the Deccan College Collection it is said that the Vidvanmanohara, the Śrītisindhu and the Śraddhakalpalata were the commentaries composed by Nandapanḍītā. But from the contents given in the India Office Catalogue it does not appear that the work was a commentary. It is divided into five sthāvakas and deals with the usual topics, viz. what is śraddha, the proper time and place for it, the proper brāhmaṇas, various kinds of śraddhas &c. The principal authors and works named therein are given below. The Šuddhicandrika, a commentary on the Šaḍaśi: or Šaņucaṇi:ṇaya of Kauśikādityya, is also one of the works of Nandapanḍītā. It is referred to in his Vaijayanti. The Bhadkamkār collection made by Prof. Velankar contains a ms. of this work and it has recently been published in the Chowkhamba S. series. The principal authors and works quoted therein are noted below.

1046 Kālaśiṇha, kālaśa, chandrasāśi, dharmaśeṣat, mahāśeṣa, nityapipityamā, purāṇasūkhikā, śraddhakalpalata, śraddhipikā, śraddhakalpalata, śraddhīkā, śraddhīkā, śraddhīkā, śraddhīkā.
1047 On vēṇu 22.8 'Vīṣṇuprāṣṭānu śraddhadipikāyuśmin: ' folio 125 b of vēṇu.
1048 Aṃsūpanāha (On pārsakāgva), dharmaśeṣa, nityapipityamā, purāṇasūkhikā, mahāśeṣat (1), mahāśeṣat, mahāśeṣat, mahāśeṣat, mahāśeṣat, mahāśeṣat, mahāśeṣat, mahāśeṣat.
Another work of Nandapanḍita is the Smṛtisindhu, which seems to have been an extensive digest of smṛti material. Portions of it have been recovered. In the Deccan College Collection there is a ms. of the Saṁskāra-nirñayataraṅga of the Smṛtisindhu, which, according to a verse at the end, was composed by Nandapanḍita at the command of king Harivamśa-varman of the Mahendra family and son of king Maṅgo.  

It appears that he compiled a summary of the doctrines of his work Smṛtisindhu. That summary was called Tattvamuktāvali. It is almost certain that the fragment of the Tattvamuktāvali noticed in the BBRAS cat. at p. 217 is part of this work. That fragment contains 8 verses on upākarma and three on holikā with commentary and the verses are numbered from 557 to 564 and then 607-609. If the above surmise be correct, the work was a large one and contained over 610 verses. Two of the verses name Hemādri and Pārijāta.

The Vaijayantī or Keśava-Vaijayanti is a famous work of his. It is a commentary on the Viṣṇudharma-sūtra. Extracts from it have been published by Dr. Jolly in his edition of Viṣṇu. This is an extensive work. The following account is taken from the ms. in the India Office Library (vide cat. p. 393 No. 1342 for a brief description). In this work he refers to a Brāhmaṇa dynasty of the Vasiṣṭha gotra at Vijayapura (Vijayanagara ?) in Kārṇaṭa country, in which was born Kṛṇḍapanayaka, whose son was Keśavanāyaṇa, whose son was Ananta alias Vāvarasa, whose sons were Keśava and Rudra. Keśava, son of Kṛṇḍapa, seems to have gone

1049 'अर्तित श्रीहिंदिष्क्रमणंपरितिप्रत्येकस्वार्थमोक्ष्मानं महेन्द्रवाच्चमानिवृत्तायणमिणि: साध्वविन्तत-मणि:। निःसृष्टेन निषप्तराजसूयवन्तकस्तिस्वयमावर्तन्त्रः तत्त्त्वाक्षरमः नन्दुपालित हस्तम दमके स्वतः।।' D. C. ms. No. 612 of 1883-84: vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 p. 353 for extract.

1050 Vide Mitra's Bikaner cat. p. 476 No. 1204 for a ms. of the तत्त्वमुकावली with the commentary बालमूर्ता. The last verses are: तत्त्त्वमुका: समुद्रय स्तुतिसिम्योऽस्वबन्धत्। तत्त्त्वमुकावलीसिम्योऽस्मस्मेनमन्दुपालित।। तत्त्त्वमुकावलीवाह्या बालमूर्त्वा रत्ना।। बाललीलावर: रुणम: श्रीवतासलया सदा।।

1051 It begins भागे भागे कुर्म्युपकारप्रधाननाम:। 557; verse 561 is चतुर्दशो-मययुगः पारितांसत्तुः। and 564 is प्रेमाक्षरप्रथुमासां प्रकर्ष्म केशबामपि।

H. D. 54.
to Benares with his sons and grand-sons and made extensive gifts of all kinds. There is a hyperbolical description of his great gifts (mahādānas including tula, i.e. weighing against gold or silver). Keśavanāyaka enjoined upon Nandapaṇḍita the task of composing a commentary on the Viṣṇusūtra. In the colophons at the end of the chapters of Viṣṇu, Kondapanāyaka is styled Mahārajādhirāja and it is said that Nandapaṇḍita was encouraged in the task by Keśavanāyaka alias Tammasanāyaka. At the end of chapter 101, we are told that Keśavanāyaka, Nandapaṇḍita's patron, secured mokṣa by breathing his last on the Manikarnika in Benares. There are six verses at the end one of which says that in the Kali age there is no one more liberal than Vāvarasa (a son of Keśavanāyaka) and no one more learned than Nandapaṇḍita. As he wrote on the encouragement of Keśava, the commentary is also styled Keśava-Vaijayanti. Among the authors and works mentioned in this commentary are Devasvāmi, Budhāsmeṛti, Bhavadeva, Mādhava-cārya, Vācaspāti, Sarvajña, Subodhīni (com. on the Mit.), Haradatta, Hemādri. In the Vaijayanti he refers to no less than six of his works viz: the Vidvan-manohara, the Pramitakṣara, the Śraddha-kalpalatā, the Śuddhicandrikā, the Dattaka-mimāṁsā (vide note 1040 above). But in the Dattaka-mimāṁsā itself he refers to his Keśava-Vaijayanti as already composed. Therefore it follows that both works were probably being composed at the same time. The Vaijayanti is one of the leading authorities of the Benares School of modern Hindu Law.

1052 श्रीविष्णुविष्णुश्रीकामण्डालादीयों पुजार्थ परिवर्तयुत्: चर्मः: गम्भीरवेर्दित गव: क्षयप्येऽऽदित्रोऽस्मवेन निवेषा॥ (verse 63).

1053 भर्मवर्गीय कोठीश्वर विश्वनाथ संतोषमस्तस्तो नेव नाम वद्वा तद्वा रचयितुं विच्छुद्देश- भवाहित: ऐक्षतत्त्व च रामशिवायंत्र श्रीकेशव: क्षमतात्त्वसांसादी नम्भप्रमहर्त्रमतिभोज्या भ्युक्तः श्वयमः॥ verse 91.

1054 कान्तो वाणासांमन्त्रसृजित: पुजे: गुणे: स्वयम्भा नोलस्त: श्रीविष्णुकिंकिष्कुरि तनुवाचनो न हयाविदत॥

1055 कल्याणवाणास्यो वदान्त्यो न महीतेऽयः श्रीनन्दप्रमहर्त्रधो विश्वामायो न जालुविदित॥

1056 'अस्तहत्तत्त्व विच्छुद्देशादिकार्यों केशवेज्ज्यानम्भवेष्युः' (on priority among the twelve kinds of sons) p. 112 of दुस्तकमीमासा.

1057 Vide I. L. R. 16 Cal. 367 at p. 372.
Nandapanḍita, though he generally follows the Mitākṣarā, was not a slavish admirer of Viṣṇu. He does not accept the explanation the Mitākṣarā gives of Yāj. II. 17 (sākṣiśūbhayataḥ etc.). Similarly on Viṣṇu 8. 12, 22. 41, 23. 11, 27. 2 he emphatically says that the Mitākṣarā is wrong. He prefers the father to the mother as an heir (on Viṣṇu 17. 6–7) and seems to have placed the paternal grandmother as an heir after the mother but before the brother (folio 101 b). He explains sapinda relationship in the same way as the Mit. does. He says that the word ‘bhrātāraḥ’ in Yāj. should be explained as standing for ‘brothers and sisters’ and that in the father’s line, after the brother and brother’s son, the brother’s grandson succeeds and, on failure of the brother’s grandson, the paternal grandfather, his son and grandson are heirs one after another, i.e. in each line three generations succeed and then there is a devolution in favour of the next higher line. This view is opposed to that of the Subodhini and the Smrticandrī, which take only the son and grandson of each paternal ancestor. Vide my notes to the Vyavahārakāmakāra for fuller details (pp. 253–254). Nandapanḍita stands alone among modern nibandhakāras in having recognised a uterine brother (i.e. the son of the same mother but of a different father) as an heir. It is remarkable that Nandapanḍita.

1058 एते पूर्ववत्त्वेऽस्त्रासंस्कृतत्तयासंस्कृतकरणं मन्यमानो विज्ञानेवेशोपरि परास्तः | वेजयन्ति on विज्ञु 27. 2.

1059 पिण्डो देहो जनः स समानो येषां ते सपिण्डालेषा मात्रः सपिण्डतः | वेजयन्ति on विज्ञु 22. 5 (folio 124 a).

1060 Vide वेजयन्ति on विज्ञु 17. 8 (folio 102 a). The important portion is 'तत्र प्रथमं समानातिपितृक्का भातरो गृहीयत् | पिण्डववाचिक्षेण प्रथासांतरत्वात् | तदभवे समानातिपितृक्का भगियो गृहीयत् | ततात भिज्ञामतुस्तत्रात्सर्वप्रकृत्या संतित्वित्ततात् | मिन्द्रोदराणाः मात्रा मिन्द्रोदराणां पिता विकृत्ततात् | तदभवे तु तेनि गृहीयत् | ... तता ज्ञानी प्रथमं समानातिपितृक्का: पश्चादसामानातिपितृक्का बीजस्य प्राधान्यात्मप्रसादस्तेषु कम्यायाचकारात् | तथा | एकम् देव पत्नी | नवैकस्यां हो पुष्यमन्त्रमकेः पुष्यस्यन जनितोन्नताः च प्रद्वन्ध्यात्मपिताम्मायु नुस्तास्यनासारोग्यमात्राय पुष्यतः | तत्रेकस्य गृहीयत् | तत्र पूवद्यत्वारसात्मन्माति तत्रां समानातिपितृक्क्युक्त एव प्रथमं गृहीयत् | तदस्य समानातिपितृक्को मिन्द्रोदरोपि गृहीयत् | सीजपाशांतात् | तद्भवे समानातिपितृक्को मिन्द्रोदराकारीति'.
pañdita preferred a person’s predeceased son’s widow (i.e. widowed daughter-in-law) as an heir to that man’s own daughter.\textsuperscript{1061}

The Dattaka-mimāṃsā is the most famous work of Nandapañdita. It was translated very early by Sutherland (comprised in Stoke’s Hindu Law Books). In the following the edition of Bharata-candra Siromāṇi (published in 1885 with his own commentary) has been used. In this work he lays down rules as to the person who may adopt, when he may adopt, who can give in adoption, who may be adopted, the motives of adoption, the necessary ceremonies of adoption, the results of adoption. Among the authors and works quoted or referred to those mentioned below may be noted.\textsuperscript{1062}

From very early days of the British rule in India the Dattaka-mimāṃsā came to be regarded as the standard work on adoption. In Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramalinga\textsuperscript{1063} the Privy Council says “Again of the Dattaka-mimāṃsā of Nandapañdita and the Dattaka-candrikā of Devaṇābhaṭṭa, two treatises on the particular subject of adoption, Sir William Macnaghten says that they are respected all over India; but that, when they differ, the doctrine of the latter is adhered to in Bengal and by the southern jurists, while the former is held to be the infallible guide in the provinces of Mithilā and Benares.” That this estimate is somewhat too strongly put has been said by the Privy Council itself in Bhagwansingh v. Bhagwansingh\textsuperscript{1064} ‘to call it infallible is too strong an expression and the estimates of Sutherland and of West and Bühler seem nearer the true mark; but it is clear that both works must be accepted as bearing high authority for so long a time that they have become embedded in the general law.’ The Privy Council further lays down ‘their Lordships cannot concur with Knox J. in saying that

\textsuperscript{1061} वेजयन्ति on बियु 17. 4 (folio 100a) अभ्यस्तमण्डे अभ्यस्तमण्डे: सत्ततामन्त्रे अभ्यस्तमण्डे मण्डे सत्ततामान्त्रे सिद्धात्ममान्त्रे (१)। तदभावे क हत्याय। तदभावे दुहितुरामिं। तेषां पुत्रादिस्थापनानाममेव दुहितिरो धर्मे गृहिणेयः:। Vide I. L. R. 16 Cal. 367 at p. 376 where this view is referred to.

\textsuperscript{1062} अपराध, कत्तुतह, देवसापि, प्रयोगपारिजात, तत्तद्वारी, विद्यावर, श्रवीतिः, वाच-वृत्त: वेजयस्ति, सर्पाः, सुप्रोब्धिः, शबबसामि (comm. on सत्रासारत्री, समिष्टि-चन्द्रका, हरद्र, ज्ञापयः.

\textsuperscript{1063} 18 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 457.

\textsuperscript{1064} L. R. 26 I. A. 153 at p. 161.
their (of the Dattaka-mimāṃsā and Dattaka-candrikā) authority is open to examination, explanation, criticism, adoption or rejection like any scientific treatises on European jurisprudence. Even in those parts of the Bombay Presidency where the Vyavahāramayūkha is a work of paramount authority, the Dattakamimāṃsā has on the subject of adoption been preferred in certain matters to the Vyavahāramayūkha. For example, the Bombay High Court, following the Dattakamimāṃsā, has laid down that among the three higher castes a man cannot adopt his own daughter’s, sister’s, or mother’s sister’s son. The view of the Vyavahāramayūkha, on the contrary, is that he can take these in adoption. The limits to which Nandapanḍita will be followed by the courts are laid down in Ramachandra v. Gopal; ‘The authority of Nandapanḍita must be accepted except where it can be shown that he deviates from or adds to the smṛtis or where his version of the law is opposed to such established custom as the Courts recognise.’

Several views expressed in the Dattakamimāṃsā have been set at naught in the various provinces by the British Indian Courts. Nandapanḍita held that a widow could not adopt at all. Except in Mithilā this view has nowhere been entertained in India and the Courts have held that the Law of Benares, Bengal, Madras and Bombay is different. Nandapanḍita put forward the position that the brother’s son must be preferred for adoption over any other saṅgoltra or sapinda. This has, however, been treated in all provinces as no more than a mere recommendation and that failure to observe it entails no legal or religious consequences whatever. The expression ‘putracchāyā’ in ‘putracchāyāvaham’ occurring in the text of Śaunaka was explained by Nandapanḍita to mean ‘similarity to a son born’ and he said that the similarity consisted in the possibility of being begotten by means of niyoga and the like. Sutherland wrongly introduced the word ‘marriage’ after

1065 L. R. 26 I. A. 113 at p. 139.
1066 I. L. R. 33 Bom. 619 at p. 624.
1067 अनेक विधाया मर्शुज्ञानांसंस्तवाद्य अविनिष्कार गम्यते।
1068 संहितार्थमेषयथिष्ठयति न भ्रातुपुत्र एव पुरुषाकारयेति।
1069 पुरुषाय दुःसाहसयं तत्थ निबोगविना स्तवस्यादन्योपयति यथा भ्रातुशेषिन्द्रसनो- भ्रातुपुत्रस्य। ततथ भ्रातुपत्रृवज्ञामातुक्षौहिमाहिमिन्दोविना निरास।
niyoga in his translation and some of the High Courts in India, following this wrong translation, evolved the rule that no one could be adopted whose mother the adopting father could not have legally married in her maiden state.¹⁰⁷⁰ But the Bombay High Court has laid down that the rule is restricted to the three specified cases of the daughter's son, the sister's son, and the mother's sister's son.¹⁰⁷¹ From the text (brāhmaṇādītraye nāsti bhāṣīneyāḥ sutāḥ kvacit), Nandapanḍīta evolved the curious rule that a widow cannot adopt to her deceased husband her own brother's son. But the Privy Council has refused to follow this dictum on the ground that the gloss of Nandapanḍīta is an extension not based on the authority of any smṛti and has upheld such an adoption.¹⁰⁷²

About the personal history of Nandapanḍīta we do not know much. Mandlik in his Hindu Law (LXXII, n. 3) gives what information he could gather from descendants of Nandapanḍīta living in Benares. According to him the founder of the family was Lākṣmīdhara who was a resident of Bidar (now in the Nizam's dominions) and who went to Benares. Nandapanḍīta was the sixth in descent from him. Dr. Jolly visited at Benares Pandit Dhunḍirāja Dharmādhikārī who was 9th in descent from Nandapanḍīta (Tagore Law Lectures, p. 15) and Mandlik's information also was gathered from persons who were 9th in descent from Nandapanḍīta. Mandlik also gives a detailed genealogical tree. We learn from several works of Nandapanḍīta and their colophons that he was also named Vināyakapanḍīta and was the son of Rāmapanḍīta of Benares who is styled Dharmādhikārī. Nandapanḍīta also is described as Dharmādhikārī in the Sanskāranirṇaya-taraṅga of the Smṛtisindhu (vide note 1049 above). It appears that Nandapanḍīta was at different times patronised by rich patrons from different parts of India. He composed the Śrāddhakalpalatā for Paramānanda of the Sahagila family of Sādhāraṇa, the Smṛtisindhu for Harivamśavarman of the Māhendra family and the Vaijayanti for Keśavanāyaka of Madhurā.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Vide I. L. R. 11 Mad. 49 (F.B.), I. L. R. 27 All. 417, I. L. R. 43 Mad. 830.
Mandlik notes that Nandapandita is credited with the authorship of 13 works. Eight works of Nandapandita have been named and described above. Mandlik names six of these. Besides these he is said to have written Navaratra-pradipa, three sections of a work named Harivamśavilása (viz. dānakautuka, āhnikakautuka and saṁskāra-kaūtuka), Bālabhūṣa, Tirthakalpalata, Kālanirṇayakautuka, Kaśiprakāśa, Madhavānanda. But we saw above (note 1050) that the Bālabhūṣa is only a commentary on the Tattvamuktāvali (probably composed by another writer). The Kaśiprakāśa was certainly composed by Nandapandita as he is described in the India Office ms. to have been the son of Rāmapandita. 1073 That work was composed at the order of one Sarvabhaṭṭa, who was the guru of Kṛṣṇaṇayaka of Madhura. In Mitra’s Notices two works, Jyotiḥsāstrasamuccaya and Smārtasamuccaya, are described as composed by Nandapandita, son of Devasarman and Vṛnda. 1074 The latter seems to have been an extensive work and dealt with tiḥinirṇya, intercalary months, marriage, sāpinda relationship, the saṁskāras, daily observances, antyeṣṭi (funeral rites), āśrama, suddhi, āraddha, praṣaṅcita, dayabhaga and vyavahāra. Though the name of the father, Devasarman, creates suspicion in one’s mind, both these works must be regarded as the works of Nandapandita, son of Rāmapandita, as in the Smārtasamuccaya the author refers his readers to his Dattaka-mimāṃsā for the subject of adoption. It is not unlikely that just as Nandapandita had the alias Vināyaka, his father Rāmapandita was also called Devasarman.

Mandlik (Hindu Law lxxii, n. 3) notes that on a copy of the Madhavānanda-kavya composed by Nanda the year samvat 1655 (1599 A. D.) is given, probably in Nandapandita’s own handwriting. The Vaijayantī was one of Nandapandita’s latest works. That work, we are told, was composed at Kaśi in Vikrama samvat 1679 (Nov. 1623) on the Full moon of Kārtika when the sun was in Scorpio and the moon in Taurus. 1075 Therefore the literary...
activity of Nandapanḍita must be placed between 1595 and 1630
A. D. Mandlik in his Hindu Law (p. 281) says that the
Vaijayanti of Nandapanḍita is referred to in the Vyavahāramayūkha
of Nilakanṭha. I have not been able to find the reference in the
latter work.

106. Kamalākarabhāṭṭa

Kamalākarabhāṭṭa was one of the foremost scions of the Bhaṭṭa
family. He was a grandson of the famous Narāyaṇabhāṭṭa and
a son of Rāmakṛṣṇabhaṭṭa. He was one of three brothers, the eldest
being Dinakara alias Divākara and the youngest was Lākṣmana-
bhāṭṭa, who studied under Kamalākarabhāṭṭa. Kamalākarabhāṭṭa's
father Rāmakṛṣṇa also was a very learned man and a profound
mimāṃsaka and his mother Umā immolated herself as a satī.
Kamalākara was a man of profound erudition and composed works
on almost every śāstra. In some of his own works there are high
eulogies of his learning and proficiency in Tarka, Nyāya, grammar,
mimāṃsa (in both the schools of Kumārila and Prabhākara), Vedānta,
Poetics, dhārmāśāstra and Vedic sacrifices. He composed more
than twenty-two works. At the end of his Vivādatāṇḍava, it is said
that he composed the Nirṇayasindhu, a commentary on the
Vārtika (of Kumārila), a work on the mimāṃsā (śastratattva) and
a series of 20 other works. At the end of a ms. of the

1076 बिनुमाधवपावाजरोत्तमपीलक्ष्मिणप्रसादः। ज्ञायते सरः महादिवकरसुपासः \n6th Intro. verse of निर्न्यासिन्धु।

1077 अत्थित्त न्यायानाथयेन कमलाकरसादवात्। आचारर्न युथियम् यथार्थम् वितम्ये। \n7th Intro. verse of आचारर्न।

1078 यो भारतम्भावक्षणपर्वम्: बालाष्ट्रपदस्व निकिरत्मपि ममस्या। योत्र श्रम: किल
हत: कमलाकरो धर्ममुनासनु मुखसि बुद्धार्थमहण:। 6०६०६०कमलाकर।

1079 तद्भजुस्तकरिष्यः: फल्पिनिगमिनिः: पाणिनिनि पद्ये न्याये माय: नागेन भक्तिपरिहिमा
रागाज्ञानमात। प्राथ: माधवर्त्ये पदं प्रथंतुक्ष्रमालोकालसिन्धु:। भृति साहित्यकाम्ये
पद्यरसालनिलिपिमात्रेश्वे यथ। from काल्यकालावल्लभ D. C. ms. No. 433 of
1895-1902.

1080 वेनाकारी मोडकाप्रार्ककम्य टीकाचाियमधिडाल्मा। श्रीभाष्यबोधवर्त्तिना
निर्णयेषु सिन्धु: शास्त्रेत तत्त्वकोङ्कुण्डे च। Vide I. O. cat. p. 455 No. 1502; also vide
D. C. ms. No. 129 of 1883-84 for a ms. of कमलाकर's commentary on the
first पाद of the 2nd chap. called माधवम् of the तत्त्वपार्थिक।
Santiratna in the Bhaú Daji collection there is a list of 22 works of his out of which the Nirnayasindhu is said to have been the first.\textsuperscript{1081} More than half of these works are concerned with topics of Dharmasästra, viz. the Nirnayasindhu, the Dänakamalakara, Santiratna, Púrtakamalakara, Vratakamalakara, Prayaścittaratna, Vivađatandava, Bahvrcānaka, Gotapravaradarpāna, Karmavipākaratna, Sudrakamalakara, Sarvatirthavidhi. The Sudrakamalakara, the Vivađatandava and the Nirnayasindhu are the most famous of his works on dharma-sästra. Brief references may be made here to some of the works of Kamalakara-bhāṭṭa other than the three mentioned above. It appears from the introductory verses of the Vratakamalakara that Kamalakara intended to compose a digest on dharma called Dharmatattva in ten paricchedas\textsuperscript{1082} and not only carried it out but added some more works on dharma. It will be noticed that nine out of these 10 sections are enumerated under the same names at the end of the Santiratna quoted above, the one not named being the section on acāra. Burnell mentions a work called Ācāradīpa by Kamalakara on daily duties and on the same page notices another work on ahnīka by Kamalakara.\textsuperscript{1083} It is difficult to say whether both are names of the same work. It is not unlikely that the acāra section of the digest Dharmatattva is the same as the Bahvrcānaka enumerated at the end of the Santiratna. There is a ms. of the Bahvrcānaka at Bikaner.\textsuperscript{1084} It deals with daily duties commencing with rising

\textsuperscript{1081} Vide Burnell’s Tanjore cat. p. 135 b.
\textsuperscript{1082} Vide Mitra’s Bikaner cat. p. 355 No. 767.

H. D. 55.
from one's bed at the *brahma mubarta*. In this work Kamalakara-
bhaṭṭa refers to his own Prāyaścittaratna, and to the Madanapārijāta,
Madanaratanā, Madhava and Śūlapāṇī. The Pūrtakalakāra\textsuperscript{1085} was an extensive work and dealt with the dedication of tanks, wells,
trees and gardens to the public, the dedication of Āsvattha tree andive sacred trees, dedication and laying the foundation of public
buildings, consecration of sacred images, of Śalagrāma, of temples
and flags, repairing of images, accidental breaking of temples,
consecration of Vināyaka, pacification of planets, coronation of
kings and emperors. In this work he mentions his own Dānakalakāra.

The Šāntiratna or Šāntikalakāra is a huge work.\textsuperscript{1086}

It deals with various rites for propitiating Vināyaka, the nine
planets, and for averting the consequences of portentous occurrences
and evil omens, birth on such constellations as *mula*, the observances
known as Ekādaśini, Laghurudra, Mahārudra, Śatacaṇḍi &c. He
refers to his own Nirṇayasindhu in this work.

For his Gotrapravaradarpana or Gotrapravaranirṇaya, vide I. O.
cat. p. 579 No. 1780. He follows the Pravaramaṇjari in this work.
This work is referred to in his Nirṇayasindhu.

In the Bombay Asiatic Society’s Library there is a ms. of his
Saṃskāra-prayogakalakāra which appears to be over and above
the 22 works enumerated above.\textsuperscript{1087} He starts with an enumeration
of the 48 *saṃskaras* mentioned by Gautama, deals with the several
saṃskāras of puṁsvana, jātakarma, marriage &c., and with
utsarjana and upākarma, propitiatory rites on the first appearance of
menses, the Aṣṭakā śrāddha &c.

His Śastratattva-kautūhala or Tattva-kalalakāra appears to have
been a work of considerable interest dealing with the bearing of the
doctrines and maxims of the Mīmāṃsā system on ritual and dharma-
śāstra.\textsuperscript{1088} A ms. of it is dated *samvat* 1695 caitra śukla 4 Friday
(i. e. 9th March 1638 A. D.).

\textsuperscript{1085} Vide Mitra’s *Notices* vol. V. p. 138 No. 1881 for *पूर्वकम्पड़क*; in the
Bombay Asiatic Society’s collection there is a portion of this.

\textsuperscript{1086} Vide I. O. cat. p. 568 No. 1758 and BBRAS cat. p. 234 No 729 for *शालिङ्ग*.

\textsuperscript{1087} Vide I. O. cat. p. 514 No 1630 for *संस्कारकम्पड़क*.

\textsuperscript{1088} Vide Mitra’s *Notices*, vol. III. p. 335 No. 1831 for *तत्त्वकम्पड़क*. 
For the Prāyaścittaratna, vide Bühl's report, 3, p. 108.

I was able to secure a ms. of the Vivādatāṇḍava from the Mandlik collection in the Fergusson College at Poona. That work closely resembles in method and matter the Vyavahāramayūkha of Kamalakara's cousin Nilakaṇṭha, the section on ordeals being almost the same in both. It treats of the following subjects: the sabha; members of the sabha; Judge, amātya; the scribe and the accountant; conflict of smṛtis; the plaint, the reply, the modes of proof, viz., documents, witnesses, possession; modes of punishment; the principal and secondary sons; the enumeration of the eighteen titles of law; partition of heritage and detailed description of the other titles. Like the Vyavahāramayūkha, the Vivādatāṇḍava quotes the Madanaratna as frequently as (or perhaps more frequently than) the Mitākṣarā. The other writers and works quoted are noted below.1089 As it mentions several works of his own, viz. Nirṇayaisindhu, the Dānakamalakara, the Prāyaścittaratna and the Śudra-dharma (i.e. Śudrakamalakara), the Vivādatāṇḍava was one of his latest works. On several points he differs from his own cousin Nilakaṇṭha. For example, he prefers the mother to the father as an heir and does not give the sister a high place among the gotraja heirs as Nilakaṇṭha does. The Vivādatāṇḍava has been frequently noticed in judicial decisions.1090

The Śudrakamalakara (also called Śudra-dharmatattva or Śudra-dharmatattvaprakāsa) has been printed in Bombay several times (with Marathi translation). I used the Nirṇayasāgara edition of 1895. In this work he refers to his own Dānakamalakara, Pūrtakamalakara, Prāyaścittaratna and Nirṇayaisindhu. Out of about two hundred authors and works quoted therein, prominent ones are noted below.1091 This work is a standard treatise on the duties and religious observances of Śudras.

1089 अपराक्रम, कल्पत, गोविन्दराज, जीमुलवालन, दिध्यतस्व (of गोइट i.e. घुनाक्कुल), भीष्म, मनुकार, माध्यम, रस्ताकर, विक्रम, विरोधणि, विरोधमिश्रहायां.


1091 आचार्यबुद्धामणि, लिखितस्व, मदनलाल, माधवीय, रुपनारायणीय, श्रीद्विवेक (of स्वर्ग), श्रुत्पाणि, भीष्म, स्त्रितकोपुरी, भिक्षुभाष्य.
He first starts with the discussion that the Śūdra is not authorised to study the Vedas, but that he can listen to the recitation by Brāhmaṇas of śṛṇīs and purāṇas and religious rites are to be performed for Śūdras with Purānic mantras. Then the following subjects are dealt with:— worship of Viṣṇu and other deities by Śūdras and the observances of vratas and fasts by them; Śūdra can make gifts of works of public utility (pūtra); Śūdra can adopt a son; the conflicting views as to the number of saṃskāras for a Śūdra, most authors holding that he is entitled to ten saṃskāras (without Vedic mantras), viz. garbhadhāna, puṁsavana, sīmanta, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, śīśuniśkramaṇa, annapraśana, cūḍākarma, karṇavedha and vivāha; the five great daily yajñas were to be performed for the Śūdra according to the Vaiṣṇavaśākha;¹⁰⁹² śārddhas for Śūdra (to be performed with uncooked food); actions prescribed and forbidden in the case of Śūdras; the details of various rites and saṃskāras of Śūdras; the daily duties of Śūdras; impurity on birth and death; rites after death; duties of wives and widows; persons of mixed castes who have to follow the rules laid down for Śūdras; rules for those who are born of pratiloma connections; about Rāyasthas.

The Nirṇayasindhu or Nirṇayakamalakara is the most famous of Kamalakara’s works. It is a monument of erudition, industry and lucidity. It has been judicially referred to as a work of authority.¹⁰⁹³ I have used the Nirṇayasāgara edition of 1905 (with Marathi translation). In the whole range of nibandhakāras there is hardly any other writer, except perhaps Nilakanṭha and Mitramiśra, who lays under contribution as many works as Kamalakara does. In the Nirṇayasindhu about one hundred śṛṇīs and over three hundred nibandhakāras are mentioned by name. In the introductory verses he expressly says that he pondered over the views of Hemādri, Mādhava and other learned writers. The work is divided into three paricchedas. The following is a very concise

¹⁰⁹² This is interesting & तथा धूमाणि पश्चात्प्रायस्थ मविनि। ... ते च वाजस्नेवि-शास्त्राय काष्ठं। धूमा वाजस्नेवि तहि गोइन्दिष्ये दश्येक्षे। हरिधन्वाय विभाष-पकरणेवेत्युतम्। श्रुत्कनलकार प. 51; vide शुभकाळकार (Jivananda vol. II p. 634) and महामात्रकार (vol. I, p. 792) for an explanation of this.

statement of the contents of this voluminous work. The principal subject is to give decisive opinions as to the proper times for various religious acts; the various views about the year being solar, lunar, sidereal etc., months of four kinds, lunar, solar etc., saṃkrānti rites and gifts; intercalary month; kṣayamāsa; about tithis, śuddhā and vidhā (combined with another tithi on same day); vrataś; the various vrataś and festivals during the twelve months of the year; the pūjās from garbhādhāna onwards; saptārṇa relationship; consecration of images; auspicious times (muhārtaś) for various actions such as sowing operations, buying horses and cattle &c.; śrāddha; impurities on birth and death; rites after death, rites for sati; sami'sa.

The time when Kamalākara flourished can be determined with great accuracy. We saw above that the Nirnayaśindhu was one of his earliest works and that it is referred to in several works of his. According to a verse at the end of the Nirnayaśindhu the work was composed in 1668 of the Vikrama era on the 14th day of the dark half of the month of Māgha when cyclic year was Raudra (i.e. on the 20th February 1612 A.D.). In a ms. noticed by M. M. Haraprasāda Śastri the same verse is read differently, so as to refer the composition to Vikrama saṁvatsara 1678; but it is clearly a copyist's error or misreading, since the cyclic year Raudra cannot tally with Vikrama 1678.1094 We saw above that a ms. of the Tattvakamalākara is dated 1638 A.D. Kamalākara was a voluminous writer and therefore we shall be not far wrong if his literary activity be assigned to the period between 1610 A.D. and 1640 A.D. This date is corroborated in several ways. His grandfather Narāyaṇbhaṭṭa was born in 1513 A.D. and he quotes in his Nirnayaśindhu the Tordaṇānanda compiled in the last quarter of the 16th century. Gagābhaṭṭa alias Viśvesvarabhāṭṭa, who officiated at the coronation of the great Shivaji in 1674 A.D., was Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa's nephew.

1094 शुद्धावल्लभसुरमिति गस्वे नर्मदविक्रमतोप याति रैसै। तपसि, शिवतिथिद्वाः समालिः। रूपिगतिपत्रहोरीनिर्देशः। ॥ ६०६ वर्ष आठ संवतः। विदेशीय अन्तर्निहित। ॥ ६०६ वर्ष आठ संवतः। विदेशीय अन्तर्निहित। ॥ 6th verse at end; vide Notices of ms. by Haraprasad śastri vol. X, p.384, No. 4233 where the reading is बुधावल्लभसुरमिति.
107. Nilakanṭhabhaṭṭa

In my introduction to the Vyavahāramayukha (Poona, 1926) I have dealt exhaustively with the personal history of Nilakanṭha, his works, their contents, their position in dharmaśāstra literature, the period of Nilakanṭha’s literary activity and his position in modern Hindu Law. In the following a brief résumé of the conclusions there arrived at is given.

Nilakanṭha was a grandson of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and a son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa. Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa was a profound mīmāṁsāka and composed several works on mīmāṁsā, viz. a com. on the Śāstradīpikā, the Vidhirasaṇaṇadūṣaṇa, the Mīmāṁsābālaprakāśa. He also wrote Dvaitanimaya (vide Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol. III part 2. pp. 67-72 for an account of it) and the Dharmaprakāśa or Sarvdharmaprakāśa. Nilakanṭha composed an encyclopaedia of religious and civil law, styled Bhagavantabhāskara, in honour of his patron Bhagavantadeva, a Bundella chieftain of the Seṅgara clan, that ruled at Bhaṛeṣa near the confluence of the Jumna and the Chambal. This work is divided into 12 sections (called mayukhas ‘rays’) on samśkāra, ācāra, kāla (or samaya), śrāddha, niti, vyavahāra, dāna, utsarga, pratīṣṭhā, prāyaścitta, sūdhi, śanti. These have been printed at Benares and some of them have been printed in Bombay at the Gujarati Press and by Mr. Gharpure. Besides this encyclopaedia he composed also a work called Vyavahāratattva, which is a summary of the Vyavahāramayukha, and probably a work styled Dattakanimaya. The Vyavahāratattva has been for the first time published by me as appendix I to my edition of the Vyavahāramayukha.

Nilakanṭha is one of the foremost nibandhakāras. Being brought up in a family that had made the study of mīmāṁsā its own for several generations, he is very acute in applying the maxims and rules of mīmāṁsā to dharmaśāstra. He stands unsurpassed by any mediaeval Sanskrit writer on dharmaśāstra in mastery over the vast smṛti lore, in lucidity of exposition, in conciseness and ease of style, in clarity of vision and sobriety of judgment. Though he admired the learning and labours of such predecessors as Vijñānēśvara, Hemādri and others, he does not slavishly follow their dicta and expresses his dissent from them most frankly.
His Vyavahāramayūkha is a work of paramount authority on matters of Hindu law according to the decisions of the Bombay High Court in Gujerat, the island of Bombay and northern Konkan. Even in the other parts of the Bombay Presidency such as the Maratha country and the Ratnagiri District the Vyavahāramayūkha occupies a very important place though it is subordinate to the Mitākṣara. The general principle on which the Bombay High Court acts in construing the rules laid down in the Mitākṣara and the Vyavahāramayūkha is that the two works are to be harmonized with one another wherever and so far as that is reasonably possible. Though the Mitākṣara is a paramount authority in the Maratha country and the Ratnagiri District and though it is silent about the sister’s right as a gotraja heir, the courts, in deference to the authority of the Vyavahāramayūkha, have assigned to the sister a high place as an heir even in the Maratha country and in Ratnagiri. Among the other Mayūkhas, the Saṃskāramayūkha has been frequently relied upon by the courts. The Prāyaścittamayūkha and the Pratiṣṭhāmayaūkha have also been relied upon in the High Court.

The period of Nilakanṭha’s literary activity can be settled within very narrow limits. He was the youngest son of Saṅkarabhaṭṭa. In the Dvaitanirṇaya, Saṅkarabhaṭṭa quotes the views of the Ēōdānanda which, as we saw above, must have been composed between 1570 and 1589 A.D. So the Dvaitanirṇaya could not have been composed before 1590 A.D. Nilakanṭha, the youngest son of Saṅkarabhaṭṭa, could hardly have commenced his literary career earlier than Kamalākarabhaṭṭa who was the second son of Saṅkarabhaṭṭa’s elder brother. Kamalākara composed his Nirṇayasindhu in 1612.

1099 Vide Parami v. Mahadevi I. L. R. 34 Bom. 278 at p. 283 (for Mahāvīra-mahāvīra) and 22 Bom. L. R. 334 (for Pritihatmyūkha).
A. D. - So Nilakantha's literary activity must have commenced a good deal after 1610. One ms. of the Vyavaharattattva bears the date sāṃvat 1700 (1644 A. D.). This shows that the Vyavaharattattva was composed not later than 1644 A. D. The Vyavaharattattva refers to the Vyavahrāmamayukha as already composed. Hence we may say, without being far from the truth, that Nilakantha's literary career falls between 1610 and 1645 A. D. This date is confirmed by the fact that Nilakantha's son Śaṅkara wrote the Kūṇḍabhāṣakara in 1671 A. D. and Divākarabhāṣa, the son of Nilakantha's daughter, composed his Ācārārka in 1686 A. D. It appears that there was probably a rivalry between the two great cousins Kamalakarabhāṣa and Nilakantha. On many matters their views diverged. Though the Nirṇayasindhu is said to have been composed in 1668 of the Vikrama era, yet from the references to several works of his own in the Nirṇayasindhu it looks as if Kamalakara revised it from time to time by adding on references to his own other works and to those of others. The Nirṇayasindhu (III pariccheda, section on Dattakagrahaṇa) emphatically says that he who asserts the absence of ownership in one's son in spite of Vedic indications is a fool.1100 It is not unreasonable to suppose that this is a hit at Nilakantha who must have been younger than Kamalakara and who tries hard in his Vyavahāramayukha to establish that there is no ownership in one's wife and children.

108. The Viramitrodaya of Mitramiśra

The Viramitrodaya is a vast digest composed by Mitramiśra embracing almost all branches of dharmaśāstra. Excepting the Caturvarga-cintāmāni of Hemādri, this work is probably the largest known on dharmaśāstra. But it surpasses in interest and usefulness even Hemādri's work since it deals with vyavahāra also. It was divided into sections called prakāśas. So far the prakāśas on vyavahāra, parībhāsa, saṃskāra, rājaniti, āhnika, pūjā, tirtha and lakṣāna have been published, the first by Jivananda (Calcutta 1875) and the rest in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series. The text of the dayabhāga portion of the Vyavahāraprakāśa was also published by Golapchandra Sarkar Sastri with an English translation (Calcutta 1879). It appears that

1100 'पुनः सत्यावचनं सदर्म नूतनं एव ' निर्मवल्लिपु ,\\n कृत्यकार स्वयंहलिकाः प. 83 'मा-\\n द्वारिष्ठ नायकायें सत्यावचनं तथासा गुरूभिने तद्भावाद्।’
Mitramiśra wrote on prayāścitta also. But that work has not yet been met with. The very names of the sections of the Viramitrodaya convey an idea of the subjects dealt with in them. The Lakṣaṇaprakāṣa deals with the auspicious signs of men, women, the several parts of human body, elephants, horses, thrones, swords, bows and with the characteristics and qualities of the queen, the ministers, the astrologer, physician, doorkeeper, description of śālagrāma, siva-līṅga, rudrākṣa beads etc. In the almikaprakāṣa he dilates upon the daily duties beginning with one’s rising from bed on brāhma-muhūrtta, śauca, ācamana and ending with going to bed. The Vyavahāraprakāṣa is probably the largest nībandha on vyavahāra. This is divided into four parts. The first part deals with the meaning of vyavahāra, the constitution of the sābha (court of justice), the appointment of judges, conflict of dharmaśastra and arthaśastra, assessors, the various grades of courts, the procedure about plaints and defendant’s replies and their faults; the burden of proof and the means of proof. The second gives a detailed exposition of the means of proof, viz. witnesses, documents, possession and ordeals. The third treats of the eighteen titles of law including dayavibhaga and the fourth very briefly speaks of those matters which were to be started suo motu by the king and not by a private individual. The dayavibhaga portion of the Vyavahāraprakāṣa occupies a little more than one-fourth of the whole of the work.

In the Tīrthaprakāṣa he deals with the nature of tīrthas, the utility thereof for men, the persons entitled to undertake pilgrimage, the proper times for pilgrimage, the ceremonial acts to be performed at tīrthas such as shaving, fasts, bathing, gifts, the description of the several vārṣas and āvīpas and of sacred rivers like the Ganges, Narmadā, sacred places like Gayā, Prabhāsa, Badri, Puṣkara and Puri.

In the Pujāprakāṣa he speaks of the definition of paja, persons entitled to perform paja (worship of gods), the rewards of paja, proper times and places for paja, śālagrāma, the proper articles and clothes for the worship of idols, proper flowers, fragrant substances, naivedya, the detailed method of worshiping Viṣṇu, Śiva, the Sun, Durgā, Brahmā etc. In the printed edition there are no introductory verses here.

1101 अतोद्वादः दृष्टान्तकृत्तीनां स्वेदोपि निष्क्रान्तमित्वादि प्रभूसर्वभकारे (पकरे 1 ) विषेष्यम् : वीरो p. 640 ( स्थानक्षर section, Jivananda ).

B. D. 56.
In the Saṁskāra-prakāśa the author enumerates the saṁskāras and describes in detail garbhādhaṇa, puṁsavaṇa, anavalobhana, simantonnayana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, śiśunīkramana, annapraśana, cūḍā, upanayana, vivāha etc., the duties of brahmacārins, gotras, pravaras and sapindya, all astrological matters in connection with marriage, pīṇdapitrīyajña, sarpabali, aṣṭakāśrāddha, śūlagava.

The Rajanitiprakāśa treats of the definition of rajan, the proper time and procedure of coronation, the daily routine for kings, the qualifications of ministers, commander-in-chief and the dependents of the king, forts, capital, palaces, the four expedients of sāma etc., the six guṇas, auspicious and evil signs, marching for battle, Kaumudi and Indradhvaja festivals etc.

In all his works Mitramiśra mentions hundreds of authors and works. The portion on vyavahāra is full of long-drawn controversies in which he refutes the views of numerous predecessors. The Viramitrodaya enters into polemics far more frequently than Nila-kanṭha. He generally upholds the Mitakṣarā of Vījñāneśvara against all its critics, particularly the writers of the Bengal school. But he does not slavishly admire the Mitakṣarā in every thing. Now and then he rebukes even Vījñāneśvara. For example, he does not approve of what the Mitakṣarā says about the son called Kanina.1103 He finds fault with Vījñāneśvara's explanation of the verse ' anyodarayastu' as extremely forced and far-fetched and as simply exhibiting the author's pedantry.1103 Out of the host of works and writers that he names in the vyavahāra section the important ones are noted below.1104

1102 या तु भित्तासरसा चंदनायागममन्सकल्लोणि मातामहा० तदा सोहुनेतिष्ठ । भवस्वा यज्ञ ताबिष्ठ । मन्ति ति बस्मकारथरायुऽर्थात । बौधा p. 606.

1103 विज्ञनेश्वरामार्ये मानवसंदर्भान्येद्यं संस्कृती नायनेर्दर्भः धनं हर्दिंतिर राजने योगी- बाबर्चनन्द वयस्यवृत्त्वकादारिदिना फलेमस्तम्नेब्रह्मातृकेंब्रमात्रस्तिसम्पर्वित- मानसु। बौधा p. 681 ; vide बौधा pp. 183, 668 for other criticisms of the भित्तासरसा.

1104 अपरार्ये कृपावृत, गोपाल, चंद्रेश्वर, जीतमहाल, तारामर्दिशिष्ठ (of उद्ययं), दुर्गदनार, पारस्थिर, नायवेदिक, पारिजात, पारसारिष्ठ, पंक्ता, पन्तौर, पन्तख, मन्तख, मदनहल, माधव, भित्तासर, मेथाया, रविन्धन, रविशक, भक्तिवल्लि, भान्नि, बहुस्ति, बालसतत्र, बिज्ञनोपविन, विद्यार्थ्य, व्यवहारक, व्यवहारितगुण (of अर्जुन), गुणविकाल, शान्तिरक्ष, शांतिविल्लि, अमृत्यु, सोमैश्वर, स्वतित्तिष्ठा, स्मृतित्तिष्ठ, इत्यादि.
The Viramitrodaya is a work of high authority in the Benares School of Hindu Law. The Privy Council has laid down that the Viramitrodaya is properly receivable as an exposition of what may have been left doubtful by the Mitakṣāra and declaratory of the law of the Benares school.”

Similarly it has been said by the same high tribunal that the Viramitrodaya may be referred to even in Bengal where the Dāyabhāga is silent. But where the text of the Mitakṣāra on any point is quite clear, the gloss of the Viramitrodaya on the text of any sage which is in conflict with the rule laid down in the former cannot be referred to for the purpose of casting a doubt on the clear rule of the Mitakṣāra. The Viramitrodaya is inferior to the Vyavahāramayūkha in Western India and its doctrines are not followed in those provinces when in conflict with those of the other two works. Their Lordships of the Privy Council say in Vedachala v. Subramania although the Smṛti-candrika in the Southern Presidency is regarded as the most authoritative commentary on Vijnānesvara’s work, the Viramitrodaya holds, as in Western India, a high position. It supplements many gaps and omissions in the earlier commentaries and illustrates and elucidates with logical preciseness the meaning of doubtful prescriptions.

There is a ms. of the Dānaprakāśa in the Deccan College (No. 305 of 1884-1887). It is an extensive work and contains the usual topics about gifts.

Besides the digest called Viramitrodaya Mitramiśra composed a commentary on the smṛti of Yājñavalkya. There is a ms. in the Deccan College (No. 58 of A 1883-84) which contains portions (with gaps) of the commentary on the three kāṇḍas (ācāra, vyavahāra, prāyaścittā). From the portion available it appears that

1105 Vide Gridharitā v. The Bengal Government 12 Moo. I. A. 448 at p. 466 (where following the Viramitrodaya the maternal uncle was held to be an heir as a bandhu); vide Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramlinga 12 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 439.

1106 Moniram v. Keri Kolitani I. L. R. 5 Cal. 776 (P. C.) at p. 789 (where it was held that unchastity in the case of a widow subsequent to her inheriting her husband’s property does not work forfeiture of her rights).


1109 I. L. R. 44 Mad. 753 (P. C.) at p. 764 = L. R. 48 I. A. p. 349.
the commentary was of considerable extent, though not as voluminous and as full of polemics as his digest. The ācāra portion had at least 446 folios (with 6 lines on each side and 30 letters in each line), the vyavahāra at least 257 and prāyaścitta a great many more than 153. Besides the works noted above he quotes the Karma-pradīpa and the Smṛtisāra. In this work he does not quite approve of the reasons for the preference shown to the mother over the father as an heir by the Mitākṣara, viz. the occurrence of the word ‘mātā’ as the first word when the word ‘pitarau’ is dissolved and the greater propinquity of the mother as compared with the father, since the latter can beget sons from another wife. The commentary gives three varieties of dāst. Vide I. O. cat. p. 371 No. 1288 and Peterson’s 2nd report pp. 49-53 for further details about this commentary.

In the Ācāraprakāśa he quotes besides some of the works mentioned above the following also, viz. Kullūka, Prayogapārijāta, Prāyaścittaviveka, Madanapārijāta, Śrīdatta (vide I. O. cat. p. 437 No. 1471).

In the introductions to the several sections of his digest and also in the colophons therein Mitramiśra furnishes considerable information about himself, his family and the family of his patron. Mitramiśra was the son of Paraśurāmapaṇḍita and grandson of Haṁsapaṇḍita. Haṁsapaṇḍita seems to have been a native of Gopācala (Gwalior) and was endowed with the rare combination of wealth and learning. One Caṇḍeśvara of Kāśi was the guru of Paraśurāmapaṇḍita. Mitramiśra indulges in hyperbolic describ-

1110 तथा च भिन्नभाष्यम् मातृवन्द्यम् पूर्वनिर्भावात् विनिषेधयथा वैतमेवाजनकलेणाध्यामान- प्रत्यासंतिसंचाबैति मित्राप्रदीपहि चिन्त्ययथा। फौल १४९ दे मो. अतन्त्र। सेक्षन दियाषालो जीवनान्द। विन एवम्। संगीतस्वप्नवन्ध युन्मात्रन्तरगति निरूपणम्। वेदयथा। चिन्तित। विनान्न च व्याख्यातिपदितुत्त्ववा भोगविवचयसंबंधितिः। फौल २४७।।

1111 दूसरी प्रवृत्तिरूपम् विनान्नमंगलगौरान्ती। सा च स्विन्या। एकेन पुनः स्मृतस्वप्नवन्ध युन्मात्रन्तरगति निरूपणम्। वेदयथा। चिन्तित। विनान्न च व्याख्यातिपदितुत्त्ववा भोगविवचयसंबंधितिः। फौल २४७।।

1112 नाकृत्वर्तु मुख्य तथा। परिच्छेदाकृत्व नानामले- व्यत्याते न हि तेषु विविधम्। कार्यम् च कार्यम्। पस्थलं प्रश्नप्राता। नानां मद्दीयं चित्रं धर्मोपययैसाविनिर्दिष्टार्थेः। वर्णम ३० दा। चाल्प्रकाशाः।
tions of his own learning and naïvely tells his readers that they need study only his work and may neglect all other nibandhas. Mitramiśra was commanded by Virasimha to compose his great digest. The introduction to the Āhnikaprakāśa starts with king Medinimalla who was a scion of the Kāśirāja family. His son was Arjunadeva who became ruler of Bundelkhand. His son was Mālahāna, whose son was Pratāparudra (founder of the capital Orchha). His son was Madhukarasāha, whose son was Virasimha. Virasimha’s son was Jujhāra who is described as ‘young’ (yuvā in verse 23). His son was Vikramārka whose son was Narasimhadeva. There is no such introduction to the printed Pūjāprakāśa and Narasimhadeva is not mentioned in the introductions to the other prakāśas. From the article of Mr. Lala Sitaram in the Calcutta Review (May and July 1924) further information can be gathered about Birsinghdeo (i.e. Virasimhadeva). In the article it is shown how and under what circumstances Virasimha killed Abul Fazal, the friend of Emperor Akbar and a great literary genius. We are told there that there is a work called Virasimhadeva-carita composed in Vikrama year 1664 (1607-8 A.D.) by Keśavadāsa, author of Kavipriyā and Rasikapriyā. Virasimha was 7th out of the eight sons of Madhu-

1113 स्वस्तिः श्रीयुतविरामिश्रितप्रमाणयायामादतुकः
श्रीमित्रामिश्रितप्रमाणयायामादतुकः जितिदित्यो कीवानिं नमित्यो ||
नानानिर्मितप्रमाणयायामादतुकः जितिदित्यो संस्कृतत्वो जितिदित्यो
संस्कृतत्वो जितिदित्यो कृत्यं प्रकाशं चर्म || 2nd Intro. verse to व्यवहारमकाश (Jivananda).

1114 राज्यम् पाप नूतारसिम्हृप्रमाणयायायो मूर्तते—
सत्यमीरिगुणानः समजनि श्रीकिरकारो द्रुपः |
तस्युन्नरसिम्हृप्रमाणतयुः कीविस्तिन विषा
स्मने राज्यपवित्रादिसिद्धम् मयायो महोजित्यो किम् || verse 27 of आदिकपकाश.

The colophon at the end of the first part of व्यवहारमकाश is इतिः श्रीमतस-कसामात्मकाद्रोहारमिद्विरूपज्ञानीयोत्तरिणिः पराध्युकालशीताराजानिर्माणमुनियोत्तरिणिः।

Vide Pogson’s ‘History of the Boondelas’ pp. 10-11 for Arjunadeva and his descendants,
karasāha. Not only was he a soldier, but he was a great builder. He built the palace forts of Orcchha and Datia, the temple of Keśavadeva at Mathura, several lakes called Birasāgara, Simhasāgara and Deosāgara (after the three parts of his own name). He is said to have ruled at Orchha from 1605 to 1627 A.D. From the introduction to the commentary on Yājñavalkya it appears that Viraśirha commanded Mitramiśra to write it and that a learned man Sadānanda, the ornament of Tirabhuhti (Tirhoot), was also connected with its composition. It will be seen that the title Viramitrodaya very cleverly suggests that Mitramiśra wrote it under the patronage of Viraśirhadeva. The title may mean 'the rise of Vira and Mitra' or 'the rise of the friend of Vira' or 'the rise of the sun, viz. Vira'.

The time when Mitramiśra flourished can be easily settled on account of his relations with Viraśirhadeva. In his Ahnikaparakāṣa he mentions the great-grand-son of Viraśirha. Therefore that section must have been written when Viraśirha was advanced in age. Viraśirha ruled at Orchha from 1605 to 1627. Hence the literary activity of Mitramiśra must be placed in the first quarter of the 17th century. This date agrees with the fact that he names Vācaspati and Raghunandana. We thus see that Mitramiśra was almost a contemporary of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa and Nilakaṇṭha. The two latter do not refer to him nor does Mitramiśra name them.

In the Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudi of Anantāśrama1116 of Puṇya-stambha ( Puṇtāmbe ) on the Godāvari, a commentary on the Rasamaṇijari of Bhānudatta, the author gives a pedigree of his patron. He describes the Kāśirāja family at Benares, in which was born Prataparudra whose son was Madhukarasaha, whose son was Viraśirhadeva. Ananta wrote the commentary for Candrabhānu, a son of Viraśirhadeva, in 1635 A.D. This corroborates the dates above given by Mr. Lala Sitaram. Therefore it is almost beyond doubt that the literary activity of Mitra-miśra lies between 1610 and 1640 A.D.

1115 I. O. cat. p. 371 No. 1288  'विषय मलावसारं वितरितविनिर्देशा पाणिन्यकोकिमुक्तं
वाः स्वव्यधेः रचितं व स आदिविष्कारोपिश्रृः ।
उपर्युपकरकालेत्तर्वस्थुकरं श्री-
सदुत्त्वपीमानां श्रीमानों मित्रिकारक रजगुप्तां विष्वबदेशदीपिकं

1116 Vide I. O. cat. p. 356 No. 1224,
Anantadeva compiled a vast digest called Smṛtikaustubha divid- ed into several sections on saṃskāra, ācāra, rājadharma, dāna, ut- sarga, pratiṣṭhā, tithi and saṅvatsara. The section on saṃskāras and that on rājadharma are also called Saṃskāra-kaustubha and Rāja- dharma-kaustubha. Each Kaustubha is subdivided into parts called didhiti. The Saṃskāra-kaustubha is the most popular and most well-known work of his. It has been printed several times, the best editions being that of the Nīrayasāgara Press (1913) and that issued at Baroda (1914) under the patronage of H. H. the Maha- raja Gaikwad (with a Marathi translation by Sastri Venkatacarya Upadhyaya). I have used the latter. The Saṃskāra-kaustubha is recognised as an authoritative work by the highest court for India. The following is a very brief summary of the contents:

The sixteen saṃskāras, the first being garbhādhāna, the astro- logical aspects of the first appearance of menses and the various propitiatory rites therefor; the proper times for garbhādhāna and the several rites connected therewith; puṇyāhavācana, nāndiśrāddha, maṭrīkāpūjana; nārāyaṇabali and nāgabali; pañcagavya, kṛcchra and other prāyaścittas; cāndrāyaṇavrata; adoption, who is entitled to adopt, who can be adopted, rites of adoption, gotra and sāpiṇḍya of the adopted son, mourning to be observed by the adopted, succession of the adopted; putrakāmeṣṭi; puṁsavana; anavalobhaṇa; simantonanayana; rites on the birth of a child or son; impu- rity on birth; propitiatory rites for evil aspects at birth; nāmakaraṇa; nīṣkramaṇa; annaprāśana; piercing the ear; celebration of birth day; caula; upanayana, proper times for it, the necessary materials for it, the gāyatrī, the vows of a brahma-cārin; samāvartana; marriage, sāpiṇḍya for it, gotras and pravaras, proper times for marriage, forms of marriage, vāg-niścaya, simānta-pūjana, madhuparka, kanyā- dāna, vivahahoma, saaptapadi, homa on the entrance of the married couple etc.

The portion of the Saṃskāra-kaustubha on the subject of adop- tion is frequently cited separately as Dattakadidhiti and is so entered in the catalogues of mss. It is a treatise of great importance and deserves to be studied along with the Dattakamsār, the Vyava-
hāramayūkha and other similar works. The more important of his views are set out below. Like the Dattakamāṁśa he recommends that the nephew is the most suitable for adoption, then one may select any sagotra, sapinda, then an asagotra sapinda, then a sagotra but sapinda, then any one of the same caste though not sagotra, but a daughter's or sister's son cannot be adopted nor can a brother, a paternal or maternal uncle be adopted. A Śūdra may adopt a daughter's or sister's son. The person to be adopted must not be an only son or the eldest. A wife can adopt with the consent of her husband and a widow does not require the express permission of her husband. The boy to be adopted may be below five or above five and may be taken before or after the cauda ceremony is performed in the natural family. Anantadeva refers to the view of some that the verses of the Kālikāpurāṇa on this subject are not found in several mss. and so are unauthoritative and tells us that others hold that the whole passage refers to the adoption of an asagotra boy. Anantadeva himself holds, like the Vyavahāramayūkha, that even an asagotra boy may be adopted after his upanayana is performed in the natural family. When the ceremony of cauda and the rest are performed in the family of the adopter, the adopted boy belongs to the gotra of the adopter, but where the upanayana alone is performed in the adoptive family or the adoption is made after upanayana the boy belongs to both gotras. But this holds good only as regards obeisance, śraddha etc. while for marriage every adopted boy has to avoid the gotra and pravara of both families. If a natural son is born to the adopter after he takes a boy in adoption, the adopted boy becomes an equal sharer with the aurasa, if all the sāṃskāras up to upanayana are performed by the adoptive father for the adopted boy, or he takes only a

1118 एवं श्राच्छ श्राच्छु कालिकापुराणपुस्तकव्यापनानांतापीदतावदित केषितां। अन्ये हु समु- ल्लोचित अध्यक्षायप्रसाद विवर्तायत्वद्विभिन्नतापदितानां तत्तत्त्वातित्वापि तत्त्वातित्वातित्वापि अतः सम्मानस्य दृष्टस्य नाय निहम हस्ति परिमित्तति दृष्टस्य मनोविद्याद। यथैत्तरतु नायोऽस्पद्यम् द्विभिन्नतापदितानां संस्कारोत्सवं दृष्टव्याप्तान्वितिष्ठ दृष्टि श्रावः पुराणविवेचनानयद्विभिन्नतापदितानां संस्कारोत्सवं दृष्टव्याप्तान्वितिष्ठ श्रावः संस्कारोत्सवं पप. 169-170; compare व्यवहारमूल p. 114 for remarks on the कालिकापुराण passage. The निजान्वितिष्ठ appears to regard the कालिकापुराण verses as genuine and holds on their strength that the adoption of a boy after upanayana is prohibited.
fourth share if only some of the satāṃskāras ending with upanayana are performed by the adopter and he gets no inheritance but only provision for marriage if he was adopted after upanayana is performed in the natural family. Anantadeva, disagreeing with Nilakanṭha, holds that a girl may be adopted.\textsuperscript{1119}

Like the Nirṇayasindhu and the Mayūkhas of Nilakanṭha, Anantadeva in the Satāṃskāra kaustubha and elsewhere names several hundred authors and works. It is not necessary to set out the whole lot. His authorities are practically the same as those of the former. He principally relies among nibandhas upon the Mitākṣara, Aparārka, Hemādri, Madhava, Madanaratna, Madanapārijāta. The Smṛtikaustubha was divided into several didhitis (rays, parts). In the Smṛtikaustubha published by the Nirṇayasāgara Press it is expressly stated that the tithidīhitī has been already\textsuperscript{1120} expounded. At the end also it is said that the work is only the complete abdadīhitī (i.e. portion dealing with satīvatsaras of five kinds). The year is said to be of five kinds, cāndra, saura, sāvana, bārhaspatya and nākṣatra. The printed work treats of the several rites, observances, festivals and vrataś on the important tīhis of the twelve months of the cāndra year with the intercalary month and observances thereof, the rite proper to saura year and saṅkrāntis (the sun’s passage from one sign into another), the rites of the sāvana year, the rules about rites when Jupiter is in the sign of Leo, the rites of the nākṣatra year, the actions forbidden and allowed in Kali age according to Anantadeva and discussion of the views of Hemādri, Madhava and the Madanapārijāta thereon.

The Rajadharmakaustubha\textsuperscript{1121} was divided into several parts (dīhitī). The first deals with the characteristics and defects of

\textsuperscript{1119} द्वस्तकपुष्या अपि स्त्रीकार उक्तविषिताः कार्याः। नह्यामि पुनिसंस्मृतिभिरिगितपुनिः।। पुनाम पुम इथाशैवनिमयोगमूलकृः। द्वास्तकपुष्याः।।

\textsuperscript{1120} तिथिप्रतिष्ठितकामायमन्नोपयोधिप्रतिष्ठितम्। अवर्गस्तववशुस्तेनामाधिकतुष्णसतात्।।

Intro. verse 20 of स्त्रुतिकोशम.

\textsuperscript{1121} Vide Mitra’s Bik. cat. p. 444: No. 955 at the end राजा (वाजा) बहुदबुङ्कमूर्ते। कृपशस्त्रा नृत्यमणुरे। दोषितम्य प्रथममण वैद्यनाथपति।।

\textsuperscript{H. De 576}
kings, the qualities and characteristics of queens, ministers, purohita, astrologer, the rites to be performed at coronation, duties to be observed after coronation. Another portion of the same work deals with vyavahāra viz., the sabhā, the judge, the plaint, the reply, means of proof, ordeals etc.

It is unnecessary to go into details about the other treatises on prāyaścitta, pratiṣṭhā &c. Anantadeva also wrote several prayogas such as the Agnihotraprayoga, Cāturmāsyprayoga. In the Bhadkamkar collection there is a ms. of a drama called Kṛṣṇabhakti-candrika composed by Anantadeva in which the characters are a Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Mīmāṁsaka, Tārki &c.

In the Śrītikaustubha (Nirṇayasagara edition of 1909) Anantadeva gives a pedigree of his patron’s family. The family claimed descent from the moon. Whether the first three kings mentioned in the Śrītikaustubha were related as father and son is doubtful. Lākṣmanaścandra is said to have been the son of Rudracandra and it was he who conquered several chiefs wielding sway over the Himalayan territories. Trimallacandra, the successor

\[\text{1132 Vide Aufrechte's Oxford cat. p. 272b where there is a reference to प्रतिष्ठा प्रचलित है 'अध राजधाम' उच्चन्ने तथा राज्याभिषेकदीपितकलक्षणालिको राज भास्त्यलिखितिभिशस्य कर्मकारण दुर्गुपहनिर्माण ... बन्धुं सन् निर्माण द्वारा निर्माण किये हुए हैं'; vide also Mitra’s Notices, vol. II. p. 21 No. 556 for the same.}

\[\text{1133 The pedigree is as follows:—}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{काजवंचन्त्र} & \\
\text{कलयाणवंचन्त्र} & \\
\text{अचवंचन्त्र} & \\
\text{लक्षणवंचन्त्र (son)} & \\
\text{भ्रमणचन्त्र} & \\
\text{शीलचन्त्र} & \\
\text{बाजपाङ्गुर} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{1134 तेनानेकहिमाणित्वाभिध्वपुराण दुष्कर्मनिष्ठ भवे राज्ये कृत्यकारी दुष्कर्मनिष्ठा शापायि शिवंदुष्टि II verse 5.}\]
(and probably the son) of Laksmanacandra, is praised for his continual liberality to the learned men of Benares. It was at the command of Baz Bahadurcandra and for pleasing him that Anantadeva compiled his Smrtikaustubha. At the end Anantadeva tells us that Baz Bahadurcandra conquered several mountain forts in the Himalayas. After giving a pedigree of his patrons' family Anantadeva gives some information about himself. He was a descendant of the great Maratha saint Ekantha whom he describes as endowed with Vedic sacrifices and as a devotee of Krishna.

That this Ekantha is the same as the great Maratha saint is vouchsafed by Kasinatha, author of Dharmasindhu, in another work of his. Anantadeva was the great-great-grand-son of Ekantha and he was the grandson of Ananta and son of Apadeva, the author of the Mimamsnyayaprakasa alias Apadevi.

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Verse 6.

Verse 17-18.

Verse 2 and 3.

Verse 13 of Smritikaustubh.

The pedigree of Anantadeva is:

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1125 Verse 6.

1126 Verses 17-18.

1127 Verses 2 and 3.

1128 Verse 13 of Smritikaustubh.

1129 Vide his Viharanubhutasamskara跋h (D.C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70).
Mimāṃsā lore seems to have been a hereditary endowment in the family as in the case of the Bhaṭṭas of Benares. In all his works, particularly in the Samskārakaustubha, Anantadeva applies at every step the maxims and doctrines of the Pūrvamimāṃsā for the decision of doubtful points of Dharmaśāstra. Anantadeva had a younger brother Jivadeva whose Gotrapravaraniṇṇaya he draws upon in the Samskārakaustubha while dealing with sāpiṇḍya for marriage. Bhandarkar notices an Āśaucaṇṇīṇṇaya of Jivadeva in which the Nirṇayasindhu is cited as an authority.

- West and Bühler in their digest thought that Anantadeva flourished about the same time as the author of the Nirṇayasindhu. But this requires some correction. Baz Bahadur, the patron of Anantadeva, seems to have been a scion of the Candra (or Chand) family and ruled over Almora and Nainital from 1638 to 1678 A.D. It is said in the Imperial Gazetteer that the first of the Chandra-rājas was Somachand who hailed from Jhūsi near Allahabad and came to the Himalayan regions in the 10th century and that in 1563 the capital was transferred to Almora by Kalyancand, whose son Rudracandra was a contemporary of Akbar and made his obeisance to the latter in 1587 A.D. at Lahore. The Smṛtikaustubha does mention the ancestors Kalyanacandra and Rudracandra of Baz Bahadur. Between Baz Bahadur and Rudracandra there are three names. Supposing that they are the three direct ascendants of Baz Bahadur and allowing a period of 25 years for each after Rudracandra’s known date of 1587 A.D., we get the year 1662 A.D. for Baz Bahadur. We are told in the Gazetteer that in 1672 Baz Bahadur introduced a poll tax, the proceeds of which he remitted to Delhi as tribute. Therefore Anantadeva must have been patronised by Baz Bahadur between 1645 and 1675 A.D. A greater approximation can be made in another way. The saint Ekanātha finished his Marathi Bhāgavata at Benares in the year 1495 and 1630 of the Vikrama era on Kārtika full-moon day (i.e. 9th November

1130 अथ गोपालपरिनिष्ठो मदुज्जीववेष्कल्य एवासिस्वचरे पद्यावेषि | संस्कारकौलस्यम प. 697.
1131 Vide Bhandarkar’s Report, 1883-84, p. 58 (for जीवितेष ),
1132 Vide Digest p. 24 (3rd ed.) and p. 25 (4th ed.).
1133 Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India vol. XVIII. p. 324 and vol. V. p. 245.
1573) as he himself tells us.\textsuperscript{1134} Anantadeva was the fourth in descent from him (exclusive of Ekanātha). Counting 25 years for each of the four generations, Anantadeva should have been a grown up man in 1673 A. D. There are controversies about the dates of the birth and death of Ekanātha, the commonly accepted dates being śaka 1450-1521 (b. 1528-d. 1600 A. D.).\textsuperscript{1135} The date of his death is śaka 1521 Falguna dark half 6th day (25th February 1600). Others give 1548-1599 A.D. as the dates. Whichever date is correct, the literary activity of Anantadeva must be assigned to the third quarter of the 17th century. This date is confirmed by the fact that in the Āsaucanirṇaya of Jiva-deva, younger brother of Anantadeva, the Ṉirṇayasindhu composed in 1611-12 A. D. is cited as an authority.

110. Nāgojibhaṭṭa

The learning of Nāgojibhaṭṭa was of an encyclopaedic character. Though his special forte was Vyākaraṇa (grammar) he wrote standard works also on poetics, dharmaśāstra, yoga and other śāstras. The total number of his works is about thirty. On dharmaśāstra he composed several works, viz. Ācārenduśekhara, Āsaucanirṇaya, Tithinduśekhara, Tirthenduśekhara, Prāyaścitenduśekhara or Prāyaścittasārasamgraha, Śraddhenduśekhara, Sapinḍimaṇḍari and Sapinḍyadipikā or Sapinḍyanirṇaya. Of his far-famed works on the Paninean system, such as the Mahābhāṣya-pradipoddyota, the Pari-bhāṣenduśekhara, the Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntamaṇḍūṣā (in large and small recensions), the Subdenduśekhara (big and small) and of his

\textsuperscript{1134} वाराणसी महामुक्तिकेश्वर । विक्रमशक वृषभानु ।
शके सोम्यवर नित्योतर । टीका एकाकार जनाईङ्कुपम ॥
महामान्तितलिकासीं । शुक्लपुर्णमेसी ।
सोभम्बार विषयोंगदीसी । टीका एकदम्पति समास भाली ॥
व्यासेंत्राचं श्रुत संवक्त । दप्त्रकारण्य शैरामक्षेत्र ।
पतिहान गोदारांगटिर । शेषपूव उचार नो एका ।
शास्त्रीयाध्यायकं दैम्य । संस्कृतां चौद्विंश वेष्णाणां ।
श्रीमुख संवक्ताचं नाथ । टीका अपूर्वे सें जाहित ॥

verses 552-555 of the last अवधार (Nirṇayasīgara edition).

\textsuperscript{1135} Vide Mr. Bhave’s महाराजाध्यास्त संस्कृत ed. of śaka 1846 part I p. 245 and Mr. L. R. Pangarkar’s life of Ekanath (Marathi) chap. II (ed. of 1911).
commentaries on the Kavyaprakāśa-pradipa, the Kuvalayananda, the Rasagaṇḍāhara, the Rasataraṅgini, the Rasamaṇjari, nothing can be said here for want of space.

For his Prāyaścittenduśekhara, vide. Mitra’s Notices vol. V, p. 23 No. 1735, where detailed contents are given; for the Śrāddhenduśekhara, Ulwar cat. extract No. 360 p. 139, for the Tirthenduśekhara, Ulwar cat. p. 120, extract No. 312.

Nāgojibhaṭṭa was the son of Śivabhaṭṭa and Satī and was a Mahārāṣṭra Brāhmaṇa surnamed Kāla (Kale). At the beginning and end of several works of his (such as the Rasagaṇḍāhara-maramprakāśa, the Maṇjūśa) he tells us that he was patronised by Rāma of the Bisena family,\(1136\) the ruler of a city named Śrīnāvāra (which seems to be on the Ganges above Allahabad). He was the pupil of Haridīṣita,\(1137\) son of Vireśvara and pupil of Rāmāśrama and grandson of the great grammarian Bhaṭṭojo-dīṣita.\(1138\) Tradition says that he composed the grammatical work Śabdaratna and ascribed it to his teacher Haridīṣita in gratitude. In the\(1139\) commentary on the Pravṛddhamanorāma Haridīṣita refers to the Śabdaratna as his own work and to the Śabdenduśekhara as that of his pupil.

Bhaṭṭojo-dīṣita was a pupil of the Mīmāṃsaka Saṅkarabhaṭṭa and of Śeṣa Śrīkṛṣṇa and almost a contemporary of Jagannāthapāṇḍita. Bhaṭṭojo’s pupil Nilakaṇṭha Śukla wrote a work in saṁvat 1663 (Dr. Belvalkar in 'Systemis of Sanskrit Grammar', p. 47). Therefore he flourished in the first half of the 17th century. Nāgojibhaṭṭa was a pupil of Bhaṭṭojo’s grandson. Therefore Nāgojibhaṭṭa must have flourished towards the end of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century. Nāgojibhaṭṭa’s literary activities, looking

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\(1136\) बाष्कारां कस्ततेशरिक्क्षुतुशुशचाभासः। नामेशशा शृङ्खलेत्वरामतो लघुवाचारः॥ रस-फलाधरममपकाशः।

\(1137\) अशीतेच्छकिधावाश्चुपीनुष्ठिरिज्ञितिदाहः। अति निर्देशः।

\(1138\) तथा तथा ततौ प्रतिथित्रुत्र प्रत्ययस्य रक्षेत्तरे मेघकारे ममकाले। निःस्तरेन दंकितान्यर्थौ समुपत्तिर्यु न्यायरूपमेव हरिधे-रेज न दा फिनिमानात्योऽक्ष्य बैरेवाहरः॥ 2nd Intro. verse to the शक्तरान, I. O. cat. p. 174 Nos. 651-52.

\(1139\) विस्तरतु अत्र अस्माते शब्दर्णे मदत्तेशरिक्षुतस्य धुयोऽरावः। श्रुङ्खलः। अति निर्देशः। विस्तरतु अत्र अस्माते शब्दर्णे मदत्तेशरिक्षुतस्य धुयोऽरावः। श्रुङ्खलः। अति निर्देशः।
to his vast output, must have extended over a long period of more than 50 years. The pedigree\textsuperscript{1140} from Bhaṭṭojidikṣita, through a succession of teacher and pupils or father and son, is given below. \textit{Vide} introduction to the Rasagāṅgadhāra (Nīrn. ed.); Trivedi's introduction pp. 18-20 to the Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣana of Kṣṇabhaṭṭa, a nephew of Bhaṭṭoji (B. S. series); Dr. Belvalkar's Systems of Sanskrit grammar pp. 46-50 and Kielhorn's preface to the Paribhāṣenduśekhara p. xxv (where the succession of teacher and pupil is brought down to the days of Kielhorn himself) for further details. In the Indian Antiquary, vol. 41 p. 247, Mr. S. P. V. Ranganātha

\textsuperscript{1140} The pedigrees are:—

(a) शेषकरहण

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<td>नागेशाम्ब (pupil)</td>
<td>शारणकरहण (son)</td>
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<td>भागी (pupil)</td>
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(b) लक्ष्मिपिर

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Svāmi makes Bhaṭṭoji a pupil of Śeṣa Vireśvara and not of Śeṣa Krṣṇa. But the passage of the Manorāmākucamardana, if properly interpreted, makes it clear that Bhaṭṭoji was the pupil of Śeṣa Krṣṇa and not of Vireśvara.

A ms. of Nāgojībhāṭṭa's commentary on the Rasamaṇijari is dated sanvāt 1769, Magha 7th bright half, Wednesday, i.e. 21st January 1713 A.D. (vide I. O. cat. vol. III p. 365). It is not unlikely that Nāgojībhāṭṭa first composed his commentaries on the comparatively easy śāstra of poetics and that he then worked upon Dharmāṣṭra and Vyākaraṇa. The edition of the Rasagaṅgādhara in the Kavyamālā series says that there is a tradition that Nāgoji was invited by king Savai Jaising of Jaipur to a horse-sacrifice in 1714 A.D., but that Nāgoji declined on the ground of Kṣetra-saṁhyāsa. Therefore his literary activity must be placed between 1700 and 1750 A.D. Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Śāstri says (Ind. Ant. vol. 41 p. 12) that Nāgoji died about 1775. But this appears rather improbable. If one of his works was copied in 1713 A.D. he could hardly have lived up to 1775, unless he was about 100 years old at that time.

III. Bālakṛṣṇa or Bālambhāṭṭa

The Lakṣmīvyākhyāna alias the Bālambhāṭṭi is a commentary on the Mitākṣara of Viṃāṇesvara, ascribed to a lady named Lakṣmidevi. The commentary is a voluminous one and displays uneven workmanship. The commentary on the ācāra section of the Mitākṣara is the most learned part of the whole book and is almost an

1141 इह केषित... शेषवंशावसंसारान्त भीरुपणितानां विराजाणिलयोऽपि: पाठुक्योऽपि: प्रासा- दासानिदित्वाकानुशासनाः। तेनु च पारस्मांरः पदवः प्रववेदतु... तज्ञवद्धिशासितं अक्ष- यामकाशामात्यायनस्याणायिनभमानवेद्य स्वस्वयः। यत्नं निर्माणता भवते। नरेन्द्रमात्यायाः किरःे। सां व विक्यामकक्ष्यतां पाठाः: अस्मदस्यपांितवीर्यर्गाणो नन्यन्दृढ़िताय द्वमति- निरुक्षां पुराणायांभवितिस्तिते इति p. 3 of the Intro. to the Rasagāṇādhara. If पाठुक्य means 'pupil' here as Mr. Ranganath Svami contends (Ind. Ant. vol. 41 p. 251), why should the dual be necessary or be used and not the singular or plural? The पाठशालाकाशी is a com. on the प्रक्यायामकोन्दी of Rasagāṇādhara. Vide Journal of Oriental Research vol. III, part 2, p. 146 where it is said that Jagannāthā was a pupil of वीरमा, son of शेषभार, who lived under the patronage of Giridhārī, son of Toḍarmal and that Bhaṭṭoji was pupil of शेषभार and later of अयुर्वीर्यित.
independent work. The acāra portion has been published by Mr. J. R. Gharpure. The vyavahāra portion of the Bālambratī was published by Mr. S. S. Setlur, Advocate, Bombay in 1911 and by Mr. J. R. Gharpure (1914). This portion of the commentary explains the Mitakṣara word by word and also engages in lengthy discussions on important topics. The portion of the commentary on the prāyaścitta section has not yet been published; but Mr. Govinda Das who examined it (vide Mr. Gharpure's edition of the acāra portion, p. 27 at end) reports that it is meagre as compared with the preceding sections. In the following Mr. Gharpure's edition has been used.

In the Bālambratī the author quotes by name a host of writers and works. As the Bālambratī is almost the latest work on Dharmashastra worth special mention in this work, no useful chronological purpose will be served by giving the names of all such writers and works. It may however be stated that he names the Nirṇyasindhu, the Viramitrodaya, the Mayūkhas of Nilakaṇṭha, the Saṃskārakautubha, Siddheśvarabhaṭṭa the nephew of Nilakaṇṭha, Khanda-deva the author of Bhṛtadipikā on the Mimāṃsāsūtra, the Kayasthadharmapradipa of Gagabhaṭṭa and the author's father's commentary thereon.

Of the Bālambratī ascribed to Lakṣmīdevi, West and Bühler say 'she generally advocates latitudinarian views and gives the widest interpretation possible to every term of Yājñavalkya. Her opinions are held in comparatively small esteem and are hardly ever brought forward by the śastris, if unsupported by other authorities'. For example, in the Bālambratī the word 'bhrātarāḥ', occurring in Yājñavalkya's verses laying down the order of succession to a man dying without male issue, is interpreted as including sisters and the author says that sisters succeed immediately after brothers. This dictum of Bālambratī taken along with the words of the Vyavahāramayukha seems to have influenced their Lordships of the Privy Council in Vinayak v. Lakshmibai on the question of the rights of the sister as an

1143 'भानुपूर्ण हेमकन्याम् भाुथिकटिंत्रीयम् पूर्व भावात् तदवाते स्वस्तम्.' Bālambhaṭṭi p. 309 (Gharpure) on याय. II. 135; 'तत्त्वाति स्वति भावात् पुत्राः कर्मायां स्वस्तुः पुजाः कृत्वामेवत्थः.' p. 310.

H. B. 58.
heir. In *Sakharam v. Sitabai* Sir Michael Westropp C. J. went so far as to say on the construction of the term ‘brethren’ in the Mitākṣarā as including sisters, which construction was adopted in that case (in *Vinayak v. Lakshmibai*) both by the Supreme Court and the Privy Council, “we must treat the Mitākṣarā also as preferring sisters to half brothers, whom it brings in after brothers.” But this was a mere obiter dictum, since the case in which these observations were made was governed by the law of the Vyavahāra-mayūkha which expressly prefers full sisters to half brothers. It has been laid down in several cases in Bombay that Bālambhaṭṭa’s doctrine that the word ‘brothers’ includes ‘sisters’ has not been accepted in that Presidency and that Sir Michael Westropp was under a misapprehension as to the exact drift of the Bālambhaṭṭi which nowhere says that the term ‘brothers’ excludes half brothers and which does not bring in the full sister before the half brother, but expressly says that the full brother inherits first, then the half brother and then comes the sister. The Bālambhaṭṭi not only brings in the sisters after full and half brothers, but places the sons and daughters of sisters after the sons and daughters of brother’s, full or half. This is in direct conflict with the order of succession expressly mentioned by the Mitākṣarā and the Bombay High Court has refused to give the sister’s son the place which the Bālambhaṭṭi assigns to him and treats him as a mere bandhu. The Bālambhaṭṭi is regarded as of little authority in the interpretation of the Mitākṣarā in the Bombay Presidency and its interpretations cannot be accepted without due caution and examination. Even in the Benares School where the Bālambhaṭṭi has been accepted as one of the leading authorities, the authority of Bālambhaṭṭa has been held to be inferior to that of Nandapandita in matters of adoption, it being held that a widow cannot adopt in the Benares School without express authority from her husband (while Bālambhaṭṭa holds that she can adopt without such authority). Similarly it has


1145 I. L. R. 3 Bom. 353 at p. 363.


1147 *Vide* Bhagwan v. Warubai I. L. R. 32 Bom. 300 at p. 312.


been held that the Bālambhaṭṭī cannot prevail over the views of the Viramitrodāya and that a daughter-in-law is not in the line of heirs at all though the Bālambhaṭṭī says that she is so. 1150

The author of the Bālambhaṭṭī is somewhat of an enigma. Such women as Śīlā, Vijā, Avanti-sundarī have been worshippers at the shrine of the Muse of Poetry. A lady has been associated with the composition of a work on Mathematics, viz. the Lilāvati. Inspiration for several works on Dharmaśāstra was, we know, derived from queens and princesses, as in the case of the Vivādacandra compiled by Queen Lakṣmīdevi through Misarumīśra, the Dānavākyāvali compiled by Mahādevi Dhīramati of Mithilā through Vidyāpati, the Dvaitanīrṇaya composed by Vācaspati at the bidding of queen Jayā, wife of king Bhairavendra. It gives one great pleasure to contemplate that at least one work on Dharmaśāstra, the Bālambhaṭṭī, is claimed by a lady as her own. But this pleasure receives a rude shock if the question of the authorship of the Bālambhaṭṭī is dispassionately considered. The introductory verses no doubt start by saying that Lakṣmī, the wife of Vaidyanātha Pāyagunda, and the daughter of Mahādeva of the Mudgala gotra and surnamed Kheraḍā, composed the work, her maiden name being Umā. 1151 The colophon at the end of the ācāra portion says that the work was composed by Lakṣmī, the daughter of Mahādeva and Umā, the wife of Vaidyanātha Pāyagunda and the mother of Bālakṛṣṇa. 1152 At the end of the vyavahāra section in the printed editions we have the words ‘mother of Lālakṛṣṇa’ but this is obviously a misreading of the mss. or a mistake of the copyists. The pretense that the work was composed by a lady is made extremely plausible by

1150 I. L. R. 9 Cal. 315 at p. 324; vide also I. L. R. 16 Cal. 367 at pp. 370-77 (about brother’s widow).

1151 श्रील्मशिरमोरण नला शृणकीलविन शिशुपत्रः | सर्क्रुमुलाकाबवप्राप्तयांचकः || महादेव: सुरुकस्य वेदमूलोज्यबदविव || श्रीतमोरणोऽतिपुरो दैविको राजपूज्यो || पन्नी तस्य हुमाहृः शास्त्ररूपः काल्यका || पायुग्रादपश्वयास्तरपली पतिबला || भितारायणा विवृत्ति तनुते स्वरसंविदे || बालमग्नी, Intro. verses of आचारकाण्डः.

1152 श्रीमितालितालालमार्गवाने महादेवबालाबङ्काधिपतिवानाथाः भ्रातोबालकजननी- पायुग्राहाः इन्द्रपालप्रवलीकोविशिष्टे लक्ष्यसमिषे आचारकाण्डः। Vide for an identical colophon at the end of the व्यवहार section, I. O. cat. p. 369-370 No. 1382 and Aufrecht’s Oxford cat. p. 262 b.
the frantic efforts made in it for the rights of women in matters of inheritance. But this pretence is not kept up in the body of the work at all. In several places the author of the Bālambhaṭṭi refers to the Manjūṣā and other works of his guru and to works of his father. We know that Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa was a pupil of Nāgojibhaṭṭa, who composed several Manjūṣas (on grammar) and a work on prāyaścitta. Therefore it follows either that the Bālambhaṭṭi was composed by Vaidyanātha himself and ascribed to his wife or that the work was composed by Bālakṛṣṇa alias Bālambhaṭṭa, son of Vaidyanātha, and was ascribed to his mother. Nāgojibhaṭṭa who certainly attained a very advanced age was the guru of Vaidyanātha as well as of the latter's son Bālakṛṣṇa. That Bālakṛṣṇa or Bālambhaṭṭa Pāyaguṇḍa was a learned man like his father Vaidyanātha follows from several circumstances. He wrote a work called Upākṛtītattva. Gopāla alias Manudeva, in his commentary called Laghubhūṣanakānti on the Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣanasaṅgāra, styles Bālambhaṭṭa Pāyaguṇḍa his guru. Looking to the colophons where Lakṣmī is referred to as the mother of Bālakṛṣṇa and to the fact that the work is known as Bālambhaṭṭi, we must conclude that it was composed by Bālambhaṭṭa and not by his father Vaidyanātha. What motive impelled Bālambhaṭṭa to publish the work in the name of his mother it is difficult to say. Tradition

1153 e.g. Aśāpā. p. 448 'अथ मनुवाये नागौपायेकतन याजेश्विनायामधूच्च यस्माद्' दैवजस्ये याजिवविनिर्धारितम्। बिद्याविद्यनेन चैत्याः प्राणमहस्त्राणीपरां जशुपुष्करणेऽति भविष्यति िस्य। D. 814 'तथा उपायादेशस्वविवशस्य स्वामित्वं वैषयवत्वं किं तु युद्धमयेऽति युद्धरक्तमंत्रं यत्र न महं चतुर्वत्तं। स्तुतीयं चतुर्विद्युश्रोतः। कार्यविनिर्धारिते। ... तत्सः गाणमहवृक्तकारप्रथमदृश्ये पिल्लितकारनकारणदृश्येति च स्वामिति नेह । प्रकृत्यं। । The first passage is not properly arranged in Mr. Gharpure's edition; vide p. 415 for स्वामिति भविष्यति नेह ।

1154 यथानाथा पायण्डो नत्वा नागित्वम् गुहश् वयभवो भवाभवो तत्वं कृत्तमस्य तत्वादिद्वदीपी। Vide I. O. cat. p. 163 No. 610 for the प्रामाण्य, a com. on महोदयः। शास्त्रार्थतत्वः।

1155 Vide Stein's cat. p. 303 शेषाप्रा भवाभवो तत्वा वाणेवाय वाणेवाय। पायण्डो गालक्षण: प्राह तत्वाय प्रा िस्य।

1156 वाणेवाय पायण्डो सकाय कर्मचारिण:। पायण्डो प्राणेवाय। O. cat. p. 189 No. 717.
says that he did so to console Lakṣmīdevī in her bereavement on
the death of a child. Vaidyanātha composed several commentaries
on grammatical works such as on the Mahābhāṣyaprātipādyota of
Nāgojībhaṭṭa, on the Paribhaṣenduṣekhara (com. called Kaśikā and
Gadā), on the Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhāntamāniṣā (com. called Kalā),
on the Laghuśabdenduṣekhara (com. Cidasthīmālā), on the Laghu-
śabdaratna (com. Bhāvanprakāśa). Mr. Govinda Das (p. 27 in
Mr. Gharure’s edition of acāra portion) says that these works were
really composed by Bālaṁbaṭṭa and ascribed to his father. In
these grammatical works the names of Vaidyanātha’s parents are
given as Mahādeva and Veṇī.

The I. O. cat. (pp. 458–59, No. 1507) notices an incomplete
work called Dharmāstriṣasamgraha compiled by Bālaśarman Pāya-
guṇḍa, son of Vaidyanātha and Lākṣmī and patronised by Cole-
brooke. The work dealt with topics of civil law, viz. definition
of vyavahāra, sabhā, the judge, the sabhyas, the relative strength of
smṛtis etc., return of debts etc. It breaks off at folio 79. On the
ms. there is a note in Colebrooke’s own hand (which is not com-
plimentary to the honesty of Bālaśarman) dated 1st May 1800
“fresh sheets were received from Bālaśarma Pāyaguṇḍa on this
date. This is little else but the Viramitrodaya revised. As it is a
scarce book and very little known Bālaśarma and his pupil Manu-
deva did not suspect I could detect the plagiarism.”

The foregoing shows that Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyaguṇḍa was a Deccani
Bṛāhmaṇa, that his father and mother were Vaidyanātha and Lākṣmī,
that his maternal grandfather was Mahadeva, also a Deccani Bṛāhmaṇa
surnamed Kheradā, that he was the pupil of Nāgojībhaṭṭa and that
he was a pandit of Colebrooke. Mr. Govinda Das is not right when
he identifies (p. 27) Vaidyanātha the commentator of several
grammatical works of Nāgojībhaṭṭa with Vaidyanātha the author of
several commentaries on Alakāra works (such as the Udāharaṇa-
candrikā on the Kāvyā-prakāśa and the Prabhā on the Kāvyapradipa).
The reasons are two. Vaidyanātha, author of the Udāharaṇacandrikā,

1157 श्रीक्रृष्णा बिजयने रणस्तुतमी || ॥ श्रीशं नाथा श्रीरूपात सिद्धिशालयो निषच्यसत ||
was the son of Rāmabhaṭṭa, son of Viṭṭhala Tatsat, while Vaidya-
nātha the grammarian was a son of Mahādeva and Venī. Besides
the Udāharaṇa-candrika was composed1158 in sanhvati 1740 Kārtika
śuddha 8, Wednesday (i.e. 17th October 1683). We saw above
that Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa was a pupil of Nāgoji, who flourished
towards the end of 17th and the first half of the 18th century.
If Vaidyanātha, the writer on poetics, were the same as the com-
mentator of Nāgoji, he could not have composed a work on
poetics so early as 1683 A.D. Dr. Belvalkar (Systems of Sanskrit
Grammar p. 60) says ‘Lakṣmīdevi, the wife of king Candrasimha
of Mithilā, was probably his patroness in whose honour he is report-
ed to have composed a commentary on the Vyavahārakāṇḍa of the
Mitākṣara.’ This throws to the winds all chronology. We saw
above (pp. 399 and 404) that the Mithilā princess Lakṣmī or
Lachimādevi flourished in the first half of the 15th century, while
the Bālambhaṭṭi quoting as it does writers and works like Gāgabhāṭṭa
and the Kaustubha could not have been composed before 1700 A.D.

Mr. Govinda Das says that a ms. of the ācārakāṇḍa of the
Bālambhaṭṭi in the Benares palace library is dated sanhvati 1831 (i.e.
1774-75 A.D.). The I.O. cat. (pp. 458-459) notices that Bālambhaṭṭa
was about 80 years old when Colebrooke entrusted the
Dharmāsastra-āṅgrāha to him about 1800 A.D. Besides both
Bālambhaṭṭa and his father Vaidyanātha were the pupils of Nāgoji-
bhāṭṭa. The ms. of the Upākṛṭītattva (Stein’s Jammu cat. p. 302)
is dated sanhvati 1848 i.e. 1791-92 A.D. and the ms. of the Lāghu-
bhūṣanakāṇṭi of Bālambhaṭṭa’s pupil is dated sanhvati 1856 (i.e.
1799-1800 A.D.). Hence it follows that Bālambhaṭṭa must have
flourished between 1730 and 1820 A.D. Mr. Govinda Das says
that Bālambhaṭṭa died at the age of 90 and gives his dates as 1740
to 1830 A.D. (p. 29 of Mr. Gharpure’s ācāra section of Bālamb-
haṭṭi at the end).

1158 Vide I.O. cat. p. 329 No. 1151 for the udāharaṇa-candrika and its date
vidyādeśamunimāsāmimābhātīka kārtikika śiti। kūpāśāyāmim bhojya bhayānsāyābhūyaśt śh;
vidē Stein’s cat. pp. 60, 61, 62, and 80 for commentaries on the kāhyāprakāśa,
kūkalayā, chāyā-prakāśaיח and the kāhyābhāṣya by bhadānā, son of rāmacandra.
Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya or Bābā Pādhye composed an extensive work called Dharmasindhusāra or Dharmābdhisāra, which is popularly known as Dharmasindhu. It is now the leading work in matters of religious observances in the Deccan and has been referred to even in judicial decisions.\textsuperscript{1159} It has been published several times. In the following the Nirnayasāgara edition of 1926 with Marathi translation has been used. He says that he consulted former nībandhas and, following the order of the subject matters in the Nirnayasindhu, composed the work which sets forth only the established conclusions after eliminating the original smṛti texts.\textsuperscript{1160} At the end he says that the work is not meant for learned men conversant with nīmāṁsa and Dharmaśāstra, but for men whose intellect is not sharp and yet who want to know the established conclusions on matters of dharma. The work is divided into three pariccudas, the third being the longest and split into two parts. The first deals with kala in general, viz. the kinds of year, month, the saṁkrāntis, intercalary months and kṣayaṁasa, what tithis are proper for what rites, conclusions about tithis from the first to the 15th and about amāvasyā, eclipses; the second deals with the festivals, fasts and observances of particular months from Caitra to Phalguna; the third in the first part speaks in detail about the saṁskāras from garbhādhāna to marriage, sāpīṇḍya, gotras and pravaras, duties of brahmaśārin, the daily duties from rising to going to bed, the five daily mahāyajñas, consecration of sacred fires, idols and dedication of tanks and works of public utility, kalivarjya; the latter part of the third pariccada dilates upon the details of śrāddha, impurity on birth and death, the rites after death, the duties of widows, saṁnyāsa.

Kāśīnātha was a very learned man and a great devotee of God Viṣṇubā at Pandharpur in the Sholapur District. He wrote several other works, such as the Prāyaścitendushekhara (Bühler 3. 110), an exposition of the Vedastuti in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (X. 87).

\textsuperscript{1159} I. L. F. 49 Bom. 739 at p. 756.

\textsuperscript{1160} नवायतान्तरकोषन्तरविशिष्टां विभागाः प्रतिवद्य सत्यमरणं समस्या || 3rd Intro. verse: 
लत्थ्यमन्तरसमस्यां विभागाः प्रतिवद्य सत्यमरणं समस्या ।
काशीनाथान्तरकोषां विभागां समस्या ।
यत्वतान्तरकोषां विभागां समस्या ॥
last verse: द्वितीय नवायतान्तर निर्खणितां निर्खणितां निर्खणितां 
मात्रेण मुख- 
नवायतान्तरकोषां विभागां समस्या ॥ 6th Intro. verse.
and a work called Viṭṭhala-rāmantrasārabhāṣya. In the latter he takes several Rk verses (such as Rgveda I. 95. 1-11 and I. 164. 31) and explains them as applying to God Viṭṭhala.

We know a good deal about the family of Kāśinātha Pādhya from his own works and from the biography of the great Marathi poet Moropant published by Mr. L. R. Pangarkar (ed.of 1908, chap. 16 pp. 107-119). His family hailed from Golavali, a village in the Ratnagiri District. They were Karhādā Brāhmaṇas and had the Joshi and Upadhye vṛtti of seventy-two villages in the Saṅgameśvara taluka of the Ratnagiri District. At the end of the Dharmasindhu he says that his grandfather was Kāsyupādhyaśya who had two sons Yajñēśvara and Ananta. Ananta was a very pious man and a great devotee and left his native land Koṅkana, and resided at Pandharpur on the banks of the Bhīmā. The Dharmasindhu does not give the reason for Ananta’s migration from Koṅkana. But it is said that the Pādhyaes had a dispute with another family about the upadhye vṛtti, took it for decision to the Peshwa’s Court at Poona and were defeated, on which they cursed the Peshwa, vowed not to stay in the territories under the Peshwa’s rule and migrated to Pandharpur. The Dharmasindhu was composed in sāke 1712 i.e. 1790-1 A.D. Kāśinātha was related to the great Marathi poet Moropant, as his daughter Āvādi was married to Rāmakṛṣṇa, the second son of the poet. He had great veneration for Moropant and refers to the Mantrabhaṅgavata of the latter.

1161 Vide D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70 dated s’aik 1731. In this बिलुल is derived as ‘विन् तेजदून ज्ञान तेन ठान: भूमिः तानु लाभिस्वभीतिः.’

1162 ‘अचलाष्ट्र: यतोन्निष्ठालाः प्रतिष्ठा: ’। ते पैतृकी द्राक्षःप्रिसददशाशकाशाके धारिता वागधारके एकत्रितात्मा ज्ञाता हैति &c.’ अनमलिन्य प. 3.

1163 एकलाय परारोणकथाय पवेष कृत्यय वर्णाद्वन व्ययपेति चमकातारसिष्ठयोनुभावसिद्धे नापलिंहि ज्ञाय:। अतं एव श्रीमद्भद्यविलकविन्वेशम भम्मयभवगते मन्मयय - रामायणे व द्राक्षाद्वास्मन्तवपय:। भीमांजरामरसिष्ठिःप्रिसददशाशकाशाकवाणी करणोप निपण्य वर्णाद्वरसिष्ठीयणे कथायं बोधधे भो मन्मयुपदृष्टि बोधपदीति चमकाक- विशिष्टाद्वन्द्वकाश्ययोपयते। बिलुलक्ष्युत्तथाय चिो शा D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70.
Kaśinātha became a sānnyāsin and died in śaṅke 1727 i.e. 1805-6 A. D. 1164

113. Jagannātha Tarkapaṇcanāna

After the British took over the administration of Bengal from the Nabobs, attempts were made to compile easily accessible digests of the personal law of the Hindus. The Vivādārṇavasetu1165 compiled in 1773 for Warren Hastings by several pandits was translated into English from a Persian rendering and was published in 1774 A. D. as Halhed’s Gentoo Code. But this was a very unsatisfactory work. Another attempt was made at the instance of Sir William Jones by Trivedi Sarvorusarman who compiled in 1789 A. D. a digest of civil law called Vivādasarṇava1166 in nine tarāṅgas. But the most famous of such digests that owed their inspiration to the British is the Vivādabhaṅgārṇava compiled by Jagannātha Tarkapaṇcanana of Triveni on the Ganges, son of Rudra Tarkavāgīśa. This digest was suggested by Sir William Jones and two parts of it on contracts and succession were translated by Cole-

1164 The pedigree is:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>माकार उपाध्याय 07 पाण्डे</th>
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<tr>
<td>नारो</td>
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<td>अत्यन्त</td>
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<td>कान्युपाध्याय</td>
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<tr>
<th>सेवर अत्यन्त died s'ake 1696 = अमृतपूर्ण who became a sātt</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>काशिनाथ alias भाषा</td>
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<tr>
<td>died s'ake 1727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विहर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>died about s'ake 1747</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1165 The विषादार्णसैतु is published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press in Bombay (s'ake 1810); vide also I. O. cat. p. 458.

brooke in 1796. The translation was first published in 1797 A. D. and is known to the legal profession as Colebrooke's Digest. This work exercised great influence over the courts in their administration of Hindu Law in the early days. The work is divided into dvipas, each dvipa being subdivided into rajnas. The principal topics dealt with are: recovery of debts, deposits, sale without ownership, partnership, rescission of gifts, non-payment of wages, rescission of sale and purchase, emancipation from slavery, disputes between master and servant, duties of man and wife, inheritance and partition. Jagannātha is said to have died at the venerable age of 111 in 1806. 1167 Though Jagannātha exercised great influence in moulding Hindu Law in Bengal, his work has been held from very early times not to have any binding authority in Western India. 1168

114. Conclusion

In the foregoing pages most of the classical works and the most prominent writers on Dharmaśāstra during a period of about twenty five centuries have been passed in review. The number of authors and works on dharmaśāstra is legion. All these numberless authors and works were actuated by the most laudable motives of regulating the Aryan society in all matters, civil, religious and moral, and of securing for the members of that society happiness in this world and the next. They laid the greatest emphasis on the duties of every man as a member of the whole Aryan society, as a member of the particular class to which he belonged and very little emphasis on the privileges of men. They created great solidarity and cohesion among the several classes of the Aryan society in India in spite of their conflicting interests and inclinations and enabled Hindu society to hold its own against successive aggressions of foreign invaders. They preserved Hindu culture and literature in the midst of alien cultures and in spite of bigoted foreign domination. There is no doubt that the authors on dharmaśāstra in their desire to evolve order out of chaos and to adjust and harmonise the varying practices of people with the dicta of ancient sages were guilty of the faults of raising hair-splitting arguments, divisions and

1167 Vide 'Dawn of new India' by Mr. Brajendranath Banerjee, 1927, Calcutta (pp. 81-91).
sub-divisions and also of thinking that religious rites and formularies were the be-all and end-all of human existence. But living as most of the later writers did in the midst of aggressive and violently unsympathetic cultures and rulers and possessing no powerful central government that sympathised with their ideals, they were driven more and more to revolve within their own narrow grooves and could not see far in order to regulate society in a free and buoyant spirit. In spite of these defects, the work done by the writers on dharmaśāstra should excite our admiration and entitles them to the regard of all those that are interested in the study of the vicissitudes of Hindu society for thousands of years.
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APPENDIX A.

List of Works on Dharmasāstra

It is necessary to say a few words about the methods followed in preparing this list of the works on dharmasāstra. Purely śrāuta works have generally been excluded, except where they have been profusely quoted or relied upon by dharmasāstra writers. Works of the Tantra class and the Purāṇas have been passed over, inasmuch as they form in themselves independent and extensive branches of Sanskrit literature requiring an exhaustive and detailed treatment, which from considerations of space had to be abandoned here. All individual prayogas, māhātmāyas, vidhis, vratas, śaṅtis, stotras have been omitted, except where the names of the authors are well-known or there is some importance or peculiarity attaching to them. Purely astrological works on jātaka, and tājika have not been included, but works of the muhūrta class that are closely connected with everyday religious practices have been included. Though the grhyasūtras and their commentaries were not dwelt upon in the body of the present work, they have been included in this list as their subject-matter is closely allied to dharmasāstra. Only works up to about 1820 A. D. have been entered here. Works on politics (arthasāstra) have also been included. I am afraid that all the restrictions set out above have not been rigorously observed in the following and crave the indulgence of scholars in this respect. I must gratefully acknowledge, as everyone engaged in preparing a similar list on any branch of post-Vedic literature must do, my indebtedness to the monumental Catalogus Catalogorum of Dr. Aufrecht. But even that catalogue leaves many things doubtful and necessarily gives meagre information. For removing such doubts I was compelled to read and compare the original catalogues of Sanskrit mss. such as that of the India Office, the Notices of Sanskrit mss. by Dr. Mitra and and M. M. Haraprasāda. Besides the third part of Aufrecht's Catalogue was published in 1903. Since then several other catalogues, such as the Descriptive Catalogues and Triennial Catalogues of the Madras Govt. mss. Library, Notices of mss. ( new
series, part III) by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstri, Catalogue of Palmleaf and Paper mss. of Nepal Durbar Library by M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri, Hultzsch’s Report (part III), Catalogue of Central Provinces Sanskrit mss. by Rai Bahadur Hiralal and Catalogue of the mss. collected by the Bihar and Orissa Govt. (vol. I), have been published. Moreover I have consulted hundreds of mss. from collections like those at the Deccan College (now in the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute at Poona), at the Ānandāśrama Institution (Poona), the Bhadkamkar memorial collection started by Prof. H. D. Velankar in Bombay at the Wilson College and the vast collection of the Baroda Oriental Institute. In preparing this list I give wherever possible and desirable the names of the authors and of their ancestors, the names of the works quoted by them or of the works that quote them, the age of the work (or of the mss.) their contents &c. In most cases the very name of the work indicates its subject-matter. In spite of all this many doubtful points are still left. Various circumstances tend to create confusion in preparing such lists as are offered here. The same work appears under two, three or even more names in the mss. and the catalogues. Sometimes the names of the authors and even their fathers’ names are the same as in the case of Divākara, son of Mahādeva and Śaṅkara, son of Nilakanṭha. Very often portions of a large work appear separately as distinct works in the Catalogues. The same author appears under several forms, as Narasiṁha and Nṛsiṁha, Nāgeśa and Nāgoji. I have made great efforts to remove such doubts as far as I could and hope that I have been able to make my own humble contributions to the work so ably done by Aufrecht and others. I do not give references to catalogues in the case of each work, nor do I give all possible references to catalogues against each entry. Only in important cases have I given references to catalogues. It has been my endeavour to give earlier references to works and authors wherever I could than those given by Aufrecht and to find out the age of a work or author by resort to various devices. Only a detailed comparison with Aufrecht can show this, which task I must in all humility leave to the readers who will use this list. One more feature of this list to which I wish to draw the attention of the reader is that I have pointed out what works have been printed. In doing this I generally refer only to well-known series and editions like the Bombay Sanskrit series,
the Benares Sanskrit series and have not set out editions to which very few can have access. For those who want exhaustive information on this point, the catalogues of printed works in the British Museum Library which have now been brought up to 1928 will be found helpful.

Besides the abbreviations given at the beginning of this work, the following abbreviations have been employed in this list and the next.

a = author of.

Anan. sm. = The collection of smṛtis published by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona.

Ānān. P. = Ānandāśrama Press (Series of books).

Ano. = Anonymous.


Baroda O. I. = Collection of Mss. at the Baroda Oriental Institute.

Ben. S. Series = Benares Sanskrit Series.

Bhad. col. = Bhadkamkar Memorial Collection made by Prof. H. D. Velankar of Wilson College, Bombay.


Burnell's Tanj. Cat. = Classified Index to the Sanskrit mss. in the palace at Tanjore by Dr. A. C. Burnell (1880).

C = commentary (of a work under which this letter occurs).

CC = commentary on a commentary.

Ch. S. Series = Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.

com. = commentary or commentator, according to context.

C. P. cat. = Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit mss. in the Central Provinces and Berar, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal (1926, Nagpur).
G. O. Series = Gaikwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.
Hultsch's R. = Reports on Sanskrit mss. in Southern India by Dr. Hultsch, parts I-III.
Jivananda sm. = collection of smṛtis edited by Jivananda in two parts.
m. = mentioned (by or in).
N. = Notices of Sanskrit mss. in Bengal vol. I-XI (vol. I-IX by Dr. R. Mitra and X-XI by M. M. Haraprasād Śastri).
pr. = printed.
q. = quotes.
Stein's cat. or Stein = Catalogue of the Sanskrit mss. in the Raghunath temple Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, by Dr. M. A. Stein (1894).
Ulwar cat. = Catalogue of mss. in the Library of the Maharaja of Ulwar, by Dr. Peterson.
List of Works on Dharmaśāstra

Anātha gives propitiatory rites (Śānti) for any particular ātṛṣa of a man’s rāsi.

Aṣṭakaśāstra by Śaṁśuṇāyaśa śiṣṭāνान्त-वागीश; composed in Śake 1636 (अष्टकातिरत्नस्वरूपी) on intercalary months, how to calculate them and on the special duties performed in them.

Aṣṭamāhāyātādī.

Aṣṭakaśāstra by Aṣṭaka (? m. in śiṣṭā-नान्त of बेरुत्तनाथ). Divided into kāṇḍas on dharma and vyavahāra.

Aṣṭakaśāstra-m. in कालाविभेद of जीतुितंतान, in अपराध.

Aṣṭakārā.

Aṣṭakārāपुन्नसृति.

Aṣṭakārāपरिवर्त्य by कमलाकार.

Aṣṭakārā on ceremonial performed to make up for omission in the daily performance of āuपासाना.

Aṣṭakārāपत.

Aṣṭakārाधिकारम्.

Aṣṭakārाधिकारसाधनापदिक by ब्रह्मानाथ, son of रामचन्द्र, son of वीरस. About 1683 A.D.

Aṣṭakārाधिकारपदिक.

Aṣṭakāśāstra by वेदाणे, son of रामचन्द्र and grandson of सरस्तीवहु; names विष्णुत्तम, अलंक, स्न्यय-सार, वरदान. C. by author. C. called श्रीपिका by रामालालयजव.

C. by वैदिक सापाॅन (this is probably the same as the author’s own com.).

Aṣṭakāśāstra by श्रीराम of बल्लङ्गोत्र. Aṣṭakāśारवेशम by मधुरानाथ. Aṣṭakāśारवेश by मधुरानाथ (in 65 verses). Aṣṭakāśारवेश by वीर (निर- or निर-राध of the कौशिकीगोथ).

C. स्त्रीसारवेशकाशा by रामचन्द्र हुप. Aṣṭakāśारकार (in 11 khaṇḍas).

Aṣṭakāśār. Aṣṭakāśारिक ascribed to याज्ञवल्क्य.

Aष्ठकाशार or तानसार by ब्रह्मदेवराघु (Baroda O. I. No. 7129 C.).

Aṣṭakāśār. Aṣṭakāśार by नीलकण्ठपदिक, son of अष्टकाशारकार of माराजा-गोत्र (in 6 प्रकरण.).

Aष्ठकाशारवेशम by रामचन्द्र, son of अनन्त of माराजालकुल, in two parिवंदेज.

C. refers to माराजालकुल.

C. by हुष्ठिरत.

Aष्ठकाशार.

Aष्ठका.

Aष्ठकाशारपदिकम.

Aष्ठकाशारपदिक (Hultsch R. I. No. 270).

Aष्ठकाशारपदिकम (from प्रयोगम of माराजालकुल).

Aष्ठकाशारपदिक (from पाराभान्नम).

" (from शास्त्रालिक).
History of Dhammadātra

अथिकामत्सकरण
अथिकामात्मनिर्धारण—vide महमात्मनिर्धारण
अथिकामात्मनीकरण:
अथिकमात्मनीकरण attributed
कोकक.
अध्यायोपकर्मनिषय.
अनम्नतान्वय—m. in सत्यसंपर्क.
अनन्ततत्त्वतपाति (from the द्रतक of शकु.
अनन्ततत्त्वपाप.
अनन्ततत्त्वपाप of अनन्ततत्त्वपापक, son of विचारण, sur-
नमेतमांसिक प्रयोग.
नातालिक.
अनाकुला, com. of हरदश on आपतमय-
चत्याग्नित.
अनन्ततत्त्वपाप.
अनाकुला विचारण.
अनन्ततत्त्वपाप of शीनक.
अनन्ततत्त्वपाप of शीनक.
अनन्ततत्त्वपाप of शीनक.
अनन्ततत्त्वपाप of शीनक.
अनन्ततत्त्वपाप of शीनक.
C. by आपतमय (Baroda O. I.
No. 12537).
अनन्ततत्त्वपाप.
C. by रक्षान.
अनन्ततत्त्वपाप or चत्याग्नित, written
under अनुपसिन्हा राठोर by मार्गित दाशील, son of मार्गित, son
of शिखर, divided into six parts,
आपतमय, सत्यसंपर्क, सत्यसंपर्क, बलस-
List of Works on Dhar mahāśāstrā

This page contains a list of works on Dhar mahāśāstrā. The text describes various works by different authors, their dates, and their contributions. The content is in Sanskrit, with occasional English notations. The list mentions works such as "Aneśvīryāvācārā, of the Bhāratavāsika, by Vindākāra, of the Bhāratavāsika, N (new series) vol. III. p. 3."

The text refers to works attributed to Rāmaśāstrā, Kṛṣṇaśāstrā, and others. It notes that some works are based on earlier texts, such as "Aneśvīryāvācārā, by Vindākāra, of the Bhāratavāsika, N (new series) vol. III. p. 3." The list also includes works translated or commented on by other scholars, such as "Aneśvīryāvācārā, by Vindākāra, of the Bhāratavāsika, N (new series) vol. III. p. 3."
History of Dharmatrata

there are 149 verses on acceptance of gifts and śāras connected therewith.

Arbhabhrati by Pāṇinik.

Arbhabhrati (on marriage with the Arka plant before marrying a third wife on the death of the first two). BBRAS. cat. p. 240.

Arbhabhrati.

Arbhabhratikara.

Arbhabhrati.

Arbhabhratikara (on worship of Kārttikeya).

Arbhabhratikara by Harishchandra.


Arbhabhratikara of Kārttikeya; vide sec. 14.

C. Pratapdasa of Abhinava Giri (ms. on chap. 8-36 of 2nd Adhikāra).

C. Nityananda of Mahavajrasamhita.

C. Srimaul by Gopinathasamhita (Tri. S. S.).

Arbhabhrati m. in Rajneetisalakara of Chandaśāstra.

Arbhabhratikara (Baroda O. I. No. 3742).

Arbhabhrati of Hemacarya; 1088-1172 A.D. (printed at Ahmedabad, 1906).

Arbhabhrati.

Arbhabhrati.

Arbhabhrati—Ano. Gives denominations of ten classes of satirya-sins and their duties. N (new
List of Works on Dharmatāstra


अवसानकालाध्यक्षेित.

अश्वयाचार्यनिष्ठा (or rather शुचिचार्यनिष्ठा)
by नन्दप्रनाथ. Vide sec. 105.

अशीष्ठविनिष्ठा by उमांलाघ (B. O. cat. No. 10 p. 7).

अशीष्ठवकामव-विदेि उद आशीष्ठवमकाम.
Many works on आशीष्ठव indiscriminately use the words आशीष्ठव and आशीष्ठव.

आशीष्ठवसार by सन्ध्विः तामीविभाग; mentions कथियालिपि, भीमोपाध्याय, मह-वर्णमंडल and स्थितिसमन्बय.

आश्रयमुण.

आश्रयपदर्भ.

अन्तःनिजपाप (from शौककस्तीित )
BBRAS cat. vol. II. p. 240.

अन्तःनिजपापनिष्ठ- (acc. to शौकक)
BBRAS cat. vol. II. p. 240.

अथवा.

अटकारमगुि.

अटकारमगुि-सब.

अटकारोचाजाताध्य-विदेि सूतकरिणिि.

अटकारोचाजस्वीपतिति by रजुिपाल, son of माधव (Baroda O. I. No. 12586 A). About 1550-1625 A. D.

अटकारोचाजस्वीपतिति quoted in स्थितिसमन्बय-सागर.

आश्रयाधिपतिनिष्ठ (Baroda O. I. No. 12743).

आश्रयाधिपतिनिष्ठ.

आधारश्रेष्ठ (Baroda O. I. No. 3854).

आधारश्रेष्ठातिनिष्ठ (Stein p. 82).

आधारश्रेष्ठमयापयस्य (Stein p. 82).

आधारश्रेष्ठसंस्कारा: by चन्द्रेश.

आधारश्रेष्ठस्पसिनिि.

आधारश्रेष्ठस्पसिनििसार: (Baroda O. I. No. 10214).

अति-मोद्यपविधिपरिषिका by अहोि.

अधिकांशसंगोद्भिधि- probably the same as अति-मोद्यपविधिपरिषिका above.

अधिकांशसंगोद्भिधि by अहो-वादनाणनिष्ठ.

आधिरक्ष (from जन्नप्रकाश Baroda O. I. No. 5478).

आधिरक्ष.

आधिरक्षप्रयोग.

अथधृति.

आधिरक्षभवेंध (Ms. in Benares S. college) by केशावसार, called after आहिर्या, wife of लघुवेंध, son of महाविराज ; seems to refer to Ahilyabai, the famous ruler of Indore in the latter half of the 18th century).

आविद्वंतिषित (Pr. at Adyar by Schrader).

आविद्वंतित by हेमाभार्य, शाखाभाग portion, pr. at Lucknow in 1891.

आविद्वंतित by विहाल वीित- Part of वहालानिष्ठ (q. v.).

आविद्वंतित on प्रायमित in 12 chapters. (I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 380 No. 1304).

आचारकाय.

आचारकायाति by गोपाल (Baroda O. I. No. 11133 ).
History of Dharmaśāstra

आचार्यमनोबी by राजाराम son of सीमेन्हर (Vaiśṇavite treatise on good conduct and devotion to Viṣṇu)
ms. (N. vol. viii. 191) dated संवत 1782 (1725-26 A.D.).

आचार्यशत (Baroda O. I. No. 12796).

आचार्यसक्तक by भिक्षुसक्तक.
आचार्यसक्तक by पद्मानाथ.
In 1367 A.D. he composed his उपास grammar and his पुरोहितविचार in 1375 A.D.

आचार्यसक्तक by रामचरितमान.
आचार्यसक्तक by प्राचर्य.

आचार्यसक्तक by श्रीनाथाचार्यचूदांतमणि, son of श्रीकृष्णाचार्य (on duties of शुद्ध and छुआन), ms. copied in शाके 1410 (1488-89 A.D.), m. by रूपनवन; flourished about 1475 A.D.; vide I. O. cat. p. 524 for date शाके 1410 of the ms.

आचार्यज्ञोद्धारalias मारवंगकाश्य by भान्तर, son of सारस्वतद्वार्म and pupil of विहि उशेपोत्तम काशिवर of रविशेष; divided into 8 परित्वहित in relation to the duties of the eight parts of the day for Vaiṣṇava; composed under मारवं, youngest of the three sons of a chief named नारद, king of लक्ष्मण on the banks of गूढाती on the Western coast of India. Later than 1500 A.D. Vide Mitra’s Notices V. p. 97 and I. O. cat. p. 506.

आचार्यज्ञोद्धार by स्वामः.
आचार्यज्ञोद्धार by श्रीमतिनाथ; m. by रूपनवन, श्रीरत्न.

आचार्यराधेन्द्र by विनाम्मचिसार.
आचार्यराधेन्द्र by हरिसाहद son of मकरस्व (Stein’s cat. pp. 83 and 301).
आचार्यसक्तक quoted in प्रज्ञाविज्ञायिका and निर्विशेष; earlier than 1500 A.D.
आचार्यसक्तक by गणपत्र in 108 verses. Vide D. C. Ms. No. 135 of 1886-92 for a fragment.

आचार्यमण्डन by श्रीमत=same as आचार्यशत; vide sec. 89.
आचार्यमण्डन of बोपेव, m. in पुराणिनक-रौढ़ोत.
आचार्यमण्डन.
आचार्यमण्डन part of the स्वतिकौशल of अनंतदेव.
आचार्यमण्डन—or श्रीमत by कमलाकार resident of कोर्पागा० (Kopargaon) on the Godavari.
आचार्यमण्डन by नागदेव on अर्हिका in 8 अध्याय; quoted by नीतिविज्ञात in his आचार्यसक्तक and by अंचलविहितहरिदर on काव्याचार्य’s ललालविनिग्रह; ms. (B. O. cat. No. 22) dated 1436 A.D.
आचार्यसक्तक of गंगाविज्ञात, patronised by विनाम्मचिसार; ms. copied 1752 A.D.
आचार्यसक्तक.
आचार्यसक्तक by कमलाकार.
आचार्यसक्तक, a com. by हरिसाहद on the आचार्यमण्डन of श्रीमत.
आचार्यसक्तक—from सारस्वतद्वार्म (Baroda O. I. No. 10910).
आचार्यसक्तक by विनाम्मचिसार, composed under king रामराम of श्रीरत्न; solves doubts on श्रीमत. About 1500 A.D.
List of works on Dharmaśāstra

Achārārthavaniit by Āṇya Śrīśīkṣa, a native of Gīrīmāgur; composed in the time of Shahajī (1684-1711 A.D.); divided into four kāndas on Ācharāra, Āchara, Āchara and Ācharaśāstra.

Ācharārānīnaivya by Gopāla.

Ācharārānīnaivya-- in 66 verses on duties of Āchara, origin of Āchara &c.

Ācharārākhāśika by Mādhavārāṇi.

Ācharārādhānta by Vasudevanāth.

" " by Viṣṇuvarāṇi.

" " by Śrīharṣarāṇi.

Ācharārakāśa by Bhakṣaṇa, son of Āṇya (Baroda O. I. No. 12789).

Ācharārakāśika quoted in Aḥaṃvaka-mānasam.

Ācharāradeśa by Nāghavind, quoted in Āḥaṃvaka of Rājunyānta.

Ācharāradeśa by Nāgarjuna. He wrote Viṣṇuvarta also.

Ācharāradeśa by Bhūṣana.

Ācharāroṣanī.


Ācharārasyaśāstra of Bārbhravya, the first part of his com. on Parasārasūtrita.

Ācharārāṣṭra by Viṣṇuvarāṇi.

Ācharārāṇi m. in Aḥaṃvakāra of Rājunyānta.

Ācharārāṇi by Mahāmāyā (first part of Mahāvibhakti).

H. D. 65.

Ācharārāṇi by Prajñārāṇi, son of Rājunyānta, son of Narāyana. He was younger brother of Kapila-karmānta and so flourished 1580-1640 A. D. Pr. at Nir. P.

Ācharārāṇi by Candraśāstra.

Ācharārāṇi quoted by Rājunyānta in Aḥaṃvaka-tantra.

Ācharārākhāśika.

Ācharārākhāśika by Rājunyānta in Aḥaṃvaka-tantra.

Ācharārākhāśika by Rājunyānta in Aḥaṃvaka-tantra. He wrote Viṣṇuvarta also.

Ācharārākhāśika.

Ācharārākhāśika by Maṇaśāstra.

Ācharārākhāśika by Mahāvibhakti (part of Mahāvibhakti).

Ācharārākhāśika quoted in the Mahāvibhakti (p. 58), Śrīvatsa-Rājunyānta, and in author's own work Viṣṇuvarta (composed about 1168 A. D.).

Ācharārāṇi—m. by Bṛhami (III. 2. 900).

Ācharārāṇi by Prajñārāṇi, son of Rājunyānta, son of Narāyana; seems to be the same work as Ācharārāṇi above.

Ācharārāṇi by Mahāmāyā, son of Narāyana.

Ācharārāṇi by Mahāmāyā (Nāgarjuna). About 1300 A.D. (pr. at Benares, saṁvatsara
1920 and by Ven. P.); m. in the छन्दाविषेषक of स्त्रयार and mentions कालाखः, कलसत्तु and हरिहर; vide sec. 89.

C. by गौरीपति, son of दासोदर, composed in Benares in 1696 संवत (1640 A.D.). Pr. by Ven. P.

C. आचार्यशिक्षा by हरिलाल.

आचार्यशिक्षा, abridgment of the आचार्यशिक्षा.

आचार्यशिक्षा—a part of धर्मसारसंहितानिधि by विश्वबार, son of महादेव, son of वालकुम्भा; refers to औसतकाल author of शहीद who was his maternal grandfather; composed in संवत 1743 (i.e. 1866-87 A.D.).

C. by तकनाल.

आचार्यशिक्षा (अनुवादक सदृष्टि) Of आचार्यशिक्षा by the author's son बैयानाय who wrote अनुवादक to दासोदरावाही and आचार्यशिक्षा also.

आचार्यशिक्षा by मधुरानाथ.

आचार्यशिक्षा by रामचन्द्रमहादेव.

आचार्यशिक्षा अनुवाद of अम्बेकर, son of नारायण, surnamed महेंद्र. Composed in शाख 1760 (1838 A.D.) at सतारा (modern Satara). Pr. in अनन्दप.

आचार्यशिक्षा अनुवाद by नागेशंदु, son of शिवभूति and सती. Vide sec. 110.

आचार्यशिक्षा by टौरानाथ.

, , part of मदननंदकाबिद्य by मदननंदकाबिद्य.

आचार्यशिक्षा first part of the परशुराम- पद्धत by सुणदेव, son of नारायण- पद्धत जनानिकारित at Benares at the bidding of परशुरामसिद्ध, who was a शाक्तपीथवाहिण्य and son of होलिल (१) सिद्ध, who was given the title नारायानकाल by the Emperor. The 25th संप्रदाय speaks of the origin of शाक्तपीथ- वाहिण्य. N (new series) vol. II. pp. 10-12.

आचार्यशिक्षा by मधुरानाथ कुल.

आचार्यशिक्षा, of वैशानकाचार्य son of महादेवतांतराचार्य (Madras ms. contains only the chap. called पंचाकालकम dealing with rites and worship performed by वैशानक during the day divided into five parts).

आचार्यशिक्षा by कुल.

C. on हरिलाल's आचार्यशिक्षा quoted by रघुनाथ and in मदननंदकाबिद्य.

आतिथ्येशि.


आतिथ्येशि अनुवादकारिका.

आतिथ्येशि अनुवादकारिका (Baroda O. I. No. 5803.).

आतिथ्येशि अनुवादकारिका.

आतिथ्येशि अनुवादकारिका by आक्ष्यप्रस.

आतिथ्येशि अनुवादकारिका by काम्याप्रस.

आतिथ्येशि अनुवादकारिका - D. C. Ms. No. 138 of 1888-92.

आतिथ्येशि हरिलाल in 9 अध्याय (I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 380 No. 1305.). There is another in 6 chapters (I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 381, No. 1308.).

आतिथ्येशि म. by विभवसु, जेबापि.
List of works on Dharmatattva


Aparthyanubandha (ms. in Bom. University Library) in 14 adhyayas and 141 khandikas; ends with anadhyaya (school holidays); m. in Nitisadha.

Aparthyanubandhata by Vashdev, son of Shripathi (Baroda O. I. No. 7603). Mentions Hemadri and Vairagya.

Aparthyanubandhata attributed to Tulajiraja (1765-88 A.D.).

Aparthyanubandha - Vide Sutravyacharya.

Aparthyanubandhata - m. in Nitisadha of Vamslvata.

Aparthyanubandhatavide - Pramityacharya.

Aparthyanubandhata -

Aparthyanubandhata in Sutramgara, or Vikaranamandana by Aksharamah, son of Kumara Svamin. It contains four kandas on Abhidhara, Pratiriky, Rasangam, Aadarana (pr. B. I. series).

C. Vide Stein (Cat. p. 12).

C. Pradakshina or Vikaranamandana - Vicharan ano. (Is it same as above?)

Aparthyanubandha (ed. by Winternitz and tr. in S. B. E. vol. 30).

C. Annastra by Haridas (pr. in Mysore G. O. L. Series).

C. by Kark.

C. Karpitakarika (pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1916).

C. Suktaanubandhata by Kunsanacharya (pr. at Kashi S. series).

C. Pradakshina by Talakunsthamvatsir (pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1902).

Aparthyanubandhata -

Aparthyanubandhata -

Aparthyanubandhata in Sutramgara, or Vikaranamandana by Aksharamah, son of Kumara Svamin. It contains four kandas on Abhidhara, Pratiriky, Rasangam, Aadarana (pr. B. I. series).

C. Vide Stein (Cat. p. 12).

C. Pradakshina or Vikaranamandana - Vicharan ano. (Is it same as above?)

Aparthyanubandha (ed. by Winternitz and tr. in S. B. E. vol. 30).

C. Annastra by Haridas (pr. in Mysore G. O. L. Series).

C. by Kark.

C. Karpitakarika (pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1916).

C. Suktaanubandhata by Kunsanacharya (pr. at Kashi S. series).

C. Pradakshina by Talakunsthamvatsir (pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1902).
आपस्म्भार्थस्थिति (in verse in 10 chapters) pr. by Jivananda.

आपस्म्भार्थस्थिति, quoted by विज्ञानेश्वर, हेमाधि, माधव, हरदास.

आपस्म्भार्थक by काशीनाथभद्र.

आपस्म्भार्थक by गोवर्धन कविमण्डल.

आपस्म्भार्थक by स्वरूप तीर्थो.

आपस्म्भार्थमनस्वास्थ्यस्थिति by Dr. Winternitz.

आपस्म्भार्थमनस्वास्थ्यस्थिति.

आपस्म्भार्थक by गणेशभद्र महाकवि.

आपस्म्भार्थक by गणेशभद्र.

आपस्म्भार्थमनस्वास्थ्यस्थिति—see जलाशयारामोत्सर्ग-पद्धति.

आपस्म्भार्थमनस्वास्थ्यस्थिति by मदनराजाचर.

आपस्म्भार्थमनस्वास्थ्यस्थिति by शिखरभद्र.

आपस्म्भार्थमनस्वास्थ्यस्थिति (Baroda O. I. No. 5424).

आपस्म्भार्थस्थिति.

आपस्म्भार्थस्थिति by वैज्ञानेश्वर.

आपस्म्भार्थस्थिति m. by निर्मलसिद्ध.

आपस्म्भार्थस्थिति of श्रीदत.

आपस्म्भार्थक by बेड़ूरोही.

आपस्म्भार्थक, part of विनायकोपयोग.

आपस्म्भार्थक by वैयक्तीक वीक्षित (a part of स्वतंत्रकारण).

आपस्म्भार्थक, ताही गक्षपारी by गक्षपार.

आपस्म्भार्थक.

आपस्म्भार्थक by वेदाक्राम, son of लक्षानाथ or सिद्धभद्र, son of राम-भद्र (Stein's cat. p. 83).

आपस्म्भार्थक by श्रीरामचारिका-भाष्याचार्य.

आपस्म्भार्थक—vidic श्रीरामचार्य.

आपस्म्भार्थक by महादेव, son of विश्व-नाथ of the अगस्त्यभाषय, in 48 verses. Hultsch R. II. p. 143

C. by शिखरभद्र (महाजन), son of विश्वभाष.

आपस्म्भार्थविविधा.

आपस्म्भार्थक, मनस्य—see विनायकोपयोग; pr. at Aligarh.

C. वीर by रघुभद्र, whose guru was श्रीदत; quotes स्वतंत्रकारण-निष्णांक.

C. by धृष्टदेश (Baroda O. I. No. 3883 is dated संवत 1579, 1522-23 A.D.).

C. by शृद्ध.

आपस्म्भार्थक alias दशाश्चार्य by विज्ञानेश्वर; vide under दशाश्चार्य also.

C. विवरण by शृद्ध.

C. by रघुनाथ, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर; composed in A.D. 1578.

C. (विवरति) by विज्ञानेश्वर, son of लक्ष्मीर्र; mentions विनायकोपयोग and वाचस्पति, शृद्ध (Stein's cat. p.302 for extract); later than 1650 A.D.

C. by शृद्ध.

C. by श्रीराम.
C. by हरिहर (I.O. ms dated संवत 1589 i.e. 1532 A.D.; vide cat. p. 565).

अाशौरचनिर्णय, part of the स्थितकोषभ by अनन्ददेव.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by a prince of कोटिलका-पुरी (Cranganore).

C. by author.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by अशोकशिवायार.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by विवेकवर्धन गामामत्त. N. VI. p. 136. Portion of दिनकाेंद्रयोत on आशौर.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by दयामहंदित-भट्टचार्य.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by कम्बासु दुर्जित, who consulted हेमांत, माधवेश, पाण्डे, विराजत.

अाशौरचनिर्णय or परदेशीत. Aufrecht II. p. 11 identifies परदेशीत with अभिनवपदेशीत.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by आदिवाचार्य or कौशिकाकाब्य.

C. छविचनिर्णय by नन्दपाणित (pr. Ch. S. series), between 1590-1625 A.D.

अाशौरचनिर्णय of कौशिकाकाब्य (in Bhadkamkar collection); contains 146 verses, refers to 86 verses of कौशिकाकाब्य and adds certain texts of गोबिन्द.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by गोविन्द, composed in संवत 1535 (1613 A.D.); quoted by him in छविचनिर्णय. N. IX p. 267.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by गोविन्द, son of शुड्ड-पाचार्य who is styled मातामह also by गोविन्द.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by जीवदेव, son of अनन्ददेव; born on the Godāvari; probably brother of अनन्ददेव.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by अम्बक ग्रंथ; son of रघुनाथ, son of नारायण of the आशौरसगोत्र (divided into आशौर).

(pr. at Nir. P.). Quotes निषेध-सिन्धु and नागोतिमटिय; about 1760 A.D.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by नामोर, son of शिव-भट्ट.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by भट्टर (1560-1620 A.D.).

अाशौरचनिर्णय by मादव son of रामेश्वर; about 1515-1570 A.D.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by रघुनाथ.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by रघुनाथपाणित; vide दिनकाेंद्रयोत.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by रामचन्द्र.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by वरद, son of श्रीनिवास.

Refers to आशौरचनिर्णय and अाशौरचनिर्णय as his authorities.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by वीरधर.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by वेश्वर; see अप-निर्णय.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by वेदान्तरामारामाजुरतांत्रक, son of वेष्वर.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by बैरवानेमान (Is it same as आशौरचनिर्णय?).

C. by शालकेशार (Baroda O.L. No. 6380 b.).

अाशौरचनिर्णय by श्रीनिवासतर्कवादी.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by सोमवास.

अाशौरचनिर्णय by हर.

अाशौरचनिर्णय or स्थितकोषभ by रायस रेखराम.
History of Dharmanā�ra

आशीर्विन्यो or स्वतितसंग्रह.
आशीर्विन्यो or स्वतितसंग्रह, a com. on some work of बृहदेश.
आशीर्विन्यो संग्रह (Baroda O. I. No. 12600).
आशीर्विन्यो प्राथमिक by मधुरराग.
आशीर्विन्यो प्राथमिक.
आशीर्विन्यो by वद्वर्ण मधुराचार्य, probably the same as that m. in श्रीकृष्ण श्री मुनि and so before 1500 A.D.
आशीर्विन्यो (from घर्मनिमत्तकलानिर्देश) by ग्राहीचन्द्र.
आशीर्विन्यो.
आशीर्विन्यो माला by गोपालसिद्धान्त.
आशीर्विन्यो.
आशीर्विन्यो संस्कार by राधानाथसरस्वत.
आशीर्विन्यो संस्कार.
आशीर्विन्यो by रामेश्वर.
आशीर्विन्यो by वद्वर्णाचार्य or वद्वर्णाचार्य, son of राधानाथ of the हरिबोध, with his own com. Vide अन्तनिर्देश above. Hultzsch R. II. No. 1499.
C. आशीर्विन्यो by रामाजनदीर्धित.
आशीर्विन्यो by नीलकण्ठ.
आशीर्विन्यो by बृहसपातर्यांम (probably same as बृहसपाताचार्य above).
आशीर्विन्यो संस्कार— see above आशीर्विन्यो.
आशीर्विन्यो संस्कार by महाप्रजापति.
आशीर्विन्यो संस्कार by सत्यप्रकाशिक (Baroda O. I. 5862).
आशीर्विन्यो संस्कार by वद्वर्ण मधुराचार्य.
आशीर्विन्यो संस्कार by मधुराचार्य.
आशीर्विन्यो संस्कार by रामचन्द्रसेलर, son of षुमलावरण.
आशीर्विन्यो संस्कार by बृहसपाताचार्य; quotes आचार्यविजय, अग्निविन्य, अग्निवेक, अभिनव-प्रख्याती.
आशीर्विन्यो संस्कार by मधुराचार्य; Vide under विशमचार्य.
आशीर्विन्यो संस्कार of कुंद्रक— m. in जयंचाल सागर.
आशीर्विन्यो संस्कार by वल्शर.
आशीर्विन्यो संस्कार.
आशीर्विन्यो संस्कार by सत्याविन्य sur- named दादाचन्द्र, son of महासिद्ध, compiled for prince जयसिंह (of जयंचाल सागर). The author also wrote विक्रमचालचिन्तन.
आशीर्विन्यो quoted in वारस्मग.
आशीर्विन्यो by वरुण (pr. in Tri. S. series).
C. anonymous. Names निर्जेशकार, मारक, on गौतमभास्कर and सहस- स्वरूप.
आशीर्विन्यो by गभेर.
आशीर्विन्यो by गभेर; see आशीर्विन्यो.
आशीर्विन्यो by गभेर.
आशीर्विन्यो by गभेर.
C. अनाविन्य by इवत (pr. Tri S. series).
List of works on Dharmakāstra

C. by आनन्दरायसापेश्वरय्यस्वर, minister of Tanjore king Shahji and Sarfoji I.
C. by गद्रपर.
C. विमलोदयमाला by जयन्तरामालिन, father of अमितन्त्र and son of काला, son of कल्याणरामालिन. N. vol. X. p. 163. About end of 8th century.
C. by देवशासिन; m. by नारायण. About 1000-1050 A. D.
C. by विष्णुदेशामिन. Follows देव-सामी, नारायण and others.

आम्बलायनयुज्यकारिका in 22 adhyāyas and 1296 verses.
C. विष्णु by a pupil of कुष्ठेव or उपेशमुख.
C. by नारायण.

आम्बलायनयुज्यकारिका by कुयालर्तशामिन (? कुमारशामिन). Refers to नारायणवृत्ति on आम्बलायनयुज्य and to जयन्तरामालिन. B.B.R.A.S. cat. vol. II. p. 203; pr. in Bombay, 1894.

आम्बलायनयुज्यकारिका by रघुनाथदीक्षित.
आम्बलायनयुज्यकारिकाविही by गोपाल.
History of Dharmakṣetra

अालिखक by आनन्द, son of प्रभाकर, of the दुष्टकुल.
आालिखक by आपदेव.
आालिखक by कमलकर son of रामकृष्ण. Sec. 106; same as वृक्षालिखक.
आालिखक by गणपर.
आालिखक by गोपालकर्मकारार्य.
आालिखक by छुट्टीर वुंतिङ्ग for followers of मध्याचार्य.
आालिखक by जानाभाकर. He wrote आालिखकसंस्करण also.
आालिखक by दिवाकरभट्ट.
आालिखक by वचारभट्ट.
आालिखक by कटुजा (from चतुर्विपट्टि-मलटीका).
आालिखक by रघुनाथ, son of माधवभट्ट.
आालिखक by बिलाचार्य.
आालिख (मौभायनीय) by विश्वपतिभट्ट.
आालिख by वैनाथ दीक्षित.
आालिख by ज्ञराज (for followers of बड़भाकर).

आालिखकारिक.
आालिखकारिक of विकार, m. in मलमास-तत्त्व of रघुनाथ and so before 1500 A. D.
आालिखकारिक (from हरिवंशावलीस).
आालिखकारिक by जीनवास pupil of यदयाचार्य (Baroda O. I. No. 8809). This is a com. on सपा-चरसुति of आनन्दसरी.

आालिखकारिक by काशिनाथ.
आालिखकारिक by कुलमणि श्रुकु (Is it चक्तग्राक or चन्द्रग्राकारी? ).
आालिखकारिक by request of गोकृत-वण्वर्मय.

आालिखकारिक by गोपीनाथ.
आालिखकारिक by विद्याकर, son of महादेव काल, son of रामेशभट्ट; mentions शवार्जीय (pr. at. Nir. P. with extracts from सपा on Vedic mantras). Same as संसेव-पालिखकारिक.
आालिखकारिक by देरवाराम.
आालिखकारिक quoted by रघुनाथ in आालिखकारिक (and so earlier than 1500 A. D.).
आालिखकारिक or आालिखकारिक by रघुनाथ; pr. by Jivananda.
C. by मयुरवर.
आालिखकारिक of रामकृष्ण (pr. with मार्ली tr. in Bombay, 1876).

आालिखकारिक.
आालिखकारिक by अचल residing, at आनन्दपुर, son of बसराज, son of गोविन्द, son of लक्षमीदेव, son of अनंत surnamed महोद. About 1518 A.D.
Vide Ulwar cat. extract No. 291.

आालिखकारिक by विद्वाम. Sec आालिखक-संस्करण.
आालिखकारिक by रघुनाथ सपा-सपासपा, son of माधव, son of रामेश; he was younger brother of विश्वनाथ and प्रभाकर.
आालिखकारिक by विद्वाम, दीक्षित. Vide यह-स्थान below.

आालिखकारिक by अनन्तभट्ट.
आालिखकारिक from the बीरमित्रोदय.
आालिखकारिक quoted by कलाकार.
आालिखकारिक by कलाकार of कुपराम (Kopargaon on the गोवारी). There is confusion of authorship in Baroda O. I. No. 277.
List of works on Dharmakṣetra

आधिकार्योग by काशीदीक्षित, son of सबाधिकारिक्षित; quoted by अनन्त in his सुक्रकारणम्.

आधिकार्योग by गोपर्षन कविमण्डल (for आपस्तम्बीयोः).

आधिकार्योग by मनोहरभाद्र, son of महादेवभाद्र (for हिरण्यकेशीयोः).

आधिकार्योग by रथुनाथ, son of माधव, son of रामेशवरभाद्र; his younger brother प्रभाकर composed रसप्रभा in 1583 A.D. at the age of 19.

आधिकार्योगगङ्गलिनया by विनयभद्रविश्विष्णु, son of मुहर्तभाद्र resident of वेंड़ (modern Wai in Satara District). Mentions महेश्वरिधिक्षित, आचार्यक.

आधिकार्योगगतिः—mentions कस्मलकर (I. O. cat. III. p. 555).

आधिकार्यक by इण्ड्रभाद्री सर्वनारायण.

आधिकार्यकस्त्रीयक by श्रीमत, son of हरिपणिन्त, son of श्यामराय at दुर्योधन (modern Puntoambé) on the Godāvari; composed in शाक विपश्यकरोदनुमिते i.e. 1598 A.D.

आधिकार्यक (on daily duties).

आधिकार्यक by ब्राह्मण कविरामारभाद्र. In three प्रकाश.

आधिकार्यक चक्र by गणाधरभाद्र (Baroda O. I. No. 12306–7).

आधिकारिक by कस्मलकर.

आधिकारिक by माधवभाद्र.

आधिकारिकसंहिता of कौबुष्मातासा.

आधिकारिकसंहिता of ग्रामाधव.

आधिकारिकसंहिता by वास्तु, written for Lālā Thakkura. H. D. 66.

आधिकारिकसंहिते by शिवराम, an abridgment of ब्राह्मण's आधिक.

आधिकारिकसंहिते of अनन्तभाद्र; son of नागेशभाद्र, son of जयभाद्र, for शुक्रकारणम्.

आधिकारिकसंहिता by दुलपवर्तिकाः (2nd chap. of दुलपवर्तिकाः).

आधिकारिकसंहिता by बालभाद्र (probably same as author of आधिकारिकसंहिता below).

आधिकारिकसंहिता by हवर्षनाथचार्य.

आधिकारिकसंहिता by हरिराम.

आधिकारिकसंहिता by बालभाद्र, son of विश्वनाथभाद्र दत्तार.

आधिकारिकसंहिता of गौतम in 17 खण्ड्स on duties of बालभाद्र; vide बब्रास. cat. p. 204 No. 651.

आधिकारिकसंहितांग्राह.

आधिकारिकाचाराराध्य by रामानन्द बाचस्वति, great-great-grandson of तीन्द्राचार्य of the family of सर्वनारायण; compiled under राजा कुशांचर्य of Nādia about 1750 A.D.

आधिकारिकाचाराराध्य by बालदेवभाद्राचार्य, son of रथुनाथ, on duties and ritual of the वेपासा school of वेपासा.

आधिकारिकाचाराराध्य quoted by रथुनाथ in आधिकारिकाचाराराध्य.

हन्तवतांग्राह.

हिठिकां by वामोर.

ईशानसंहिताम in समयस्रोत.

ईश्वरसंहिता quoted by र्रुनज्ञ in तिथिरच.

उत्तरका by हरदन, com. on आपत्ति-दर्शनमल.

C. कालाधुनदीका by वेब्यक्तिवर.

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उसरकालाण्यत्व by कालिवर्त (on marriage, विवाहसंबंध &c.).
उसरकालापूर्वकत्व by वारुणकुर्म.
उसरकालकाल (कालवीय).
उसरकालापूर्वकत्व attributed to हृदयगर्ग.
उसरकालकालकर्त of कमलाकरकेश.
उसरकालकेश.
उसरकालकेश, part of स्त्रितकृतसूत्र of अनन्तदेव.
उसरकालनिपटं by हृदयगर्ग.
उसरकालपूर्वकत्व by अनन्तदेव.
उसरकालपूर्वस्वलन by नारायणमहत्तु.
उसरकालपवित्र by नीलकृष्ण (pr. by J. R. Gharpure in Bombay).
उसरकालमहत्त्व by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणमहत्तु.
उसरकालनिपटं by हृदयगर्ग.
उसरकालनिपटं by अनन्तदेव.
उसरकालनिपटं by हृदयगर्ग.
उसरकालनिपटं by अनन्तदेव.
उसरकालनिपटं by गन्धरव, composed in साेक 1554 i.e. 1632 a. n. (Baroda O. I. 2375).
उसरकालमहत्त्व.
उसरकालमहत्त्व by अनन्तदेव.
उसरकालमहत्त्व by गन्धरव.
उसरकालमहत्त्व by ज्ञानानाथमिश्र.
उसरकालमहत्त्व (नन्द) quoted in माला-संस्कार.
उसरकालमहत्त्व (Baroda O. I. No. 8016).
उसरकालमहत्त्व.
उसरकालमहत्त्व by गन्धरव.
उसरकालमहत्त्व by ज्ञानानाथमिश्र.
उसरकालमहत्त्व by गन्धरव.
उसरकालमहत्त्व—see विनायकस्वर.
उसरकालमहत्त्व—see विबाहस्वर.
C. by कालिवर्त-वाचस्पति-महावर्ज.
(printed in 1877 at Calcutta in Bengali characters and in 1916).
उसरकालमहत्त्व by गोपालनाथस्वराण.
उसरकालमहत्त्व.
उसरकालमहत्त्व by गणेशभक्त.
उसरकालमहत्त्व N. vol. II. p. 77.
उसरकालमहत्त्व—vide संबन्धत्वस्वराणकारक.
उसरकालमहत्त्वस्वराण.
उसरकालमहत्त्व by नोपीनाथ (Baroda O. I. No. 10226).
उसरकालस्वर.
उसरकालस्वर by हृदयगर्ग.
उसरकालस्वर (स्वराणा-स्वराणा-सत्यात्मक) by हृदयस्वराणी.
उसरकालस्वराणी.
उसरकालस्वराणी by विस्मयनाथ.
उसरकालस्वराणी by गोमित्र.
उसरकालस्वराणी by रामकृष्ण.
उसरकालस्वराणी by हृदयस्वर.
उसरकालस्वराणी by रामकृष्ण (for वाजसमशीय followers).
उसरकालस्वराणी by विस्मयनाथ.
उसरकालस्वराणी.
उसरकालस्वराणी.
उसरकालस्वराणी by स्वराणी.
उसरकालस्वराणी.
उसरकालस्वराणी (Stein’s cat. p. 12).
उसरकालस्वराणी (कत्वायनीय) by वेदनाथ.
उसरकालस्वराणी by हृदयस्वर.
उसरकालस्वराणी (आयपरम्पीय).
List of works on Dharmakṣṭra

Upanāmaپ (आम्बड़णीय.)
Upanāmaप by बारकनाथ, son of तीकामुद्र.
Upanāmaचिथिश्य.
Upanāmaचिथिश्य by बालभाद्र alias बालकन पाभवर्ग; ms. dated संवत 1848 (1792 A.D.) in Stein’s cat. p. 302.
Upanāmaचिथिश्य by बालभाद्र.
Upanāmaचिथिश्य by बालभाद्र.

Upanāmaपुल्लार.
Upanāmaपुल्लार by एकरोतस (ms. No. 3862 in Baroda O. I. is dated संवत 1764).
Upanāmaपुल्लार.

कर्मभाजिक by काशीनाथ. Also called कर्मभाजिकचाँगिरक.
कर्मभाजिक by हशराम.
कर्मभाजिकचाँगिरक by काशीनाथ.
क्रमयोग by महुराम, son of विश्वनाथ होसिंग (following तीर्थर्याण). Baroda O. I. No. 8515 ms. dated 1676 (साके�).
क्रमिमताशरूस- same as मिताशरा.
क्रममोक्षण.
क्रमदक्षण.
क्रमसाक्षित.
क्रमविनिर्णियम by अवतारदेव.
क्रमिवर्ण.
क्रमिवर्णकारिका.
क्रमभद्री; see संकारभासकर.

क्रमश्चत्वारिधान (rite for inducing rainfall). Baroda O. I. 11047 A and C.
क्रमस्तुप्तस्तुति- vide sec. 40.

एकरोतसविचारित by होसिंग.
एकरोतसविचारित by मेम (Baroda O. I. No. 5661).
एकरोतसविचारित by महुराम, son of शीलकुट, son of खुकुरुढ़. About 1640-1680 A.D.
एकरोतसविचारित (युक्तेश्वरी) also known as मन्नपाठ, मन्नपाठाक and मन्नपाथ. (pr. in Mysore G. O. L. series, 1902). Vide आपसमाजभाषानमन्नपाठ.
एकरोतसविचारितमन्नपाथाय by हरसङ्क.
एकरोतसविचारित of श्रीदत्तमिश्र; ms. copied under इंदिरंग of मिन्निला in सं. 399 i.e. 1418 A.D.
एकसाहायक.
एकसाहायक (chanting of एकाधाप्य eleven times).

एकरोतसविचारित by राजानन्द.
C. by काशीराम वाचस्तति.
C. दीप by राघामोहन गोस्तामी, a friend of Colebrooke, residing at शिंतिपुरा. He was a descendant of श्रेष्ठ, associate of विदेश.
एकरोतसविचारित (several works are so called and are ano. in the catalogues).
एकरोतसविचारित or निर्णियसार by धरणीप्रभान, son of हुरारि; composed in साके� 1408 (1486 A.D.); refers to महाराणाधिराज बीतामुद्र; mentions अन्नमुद्र; बोसुवपाणित, विभूषण.
(verses on varieties of शुद्ध व विश्व एकादशी), विभावनेश्वर (three लघु लघु verses on एकादशी). Baroda O. I. ms. No. 12052 is dated संवत 1620.

एकादशीनिर्णय of हरि, son of नारसिंह, of अहीर family, at विराटनगर (Wai) on the Krishna.

एकादशीनिर्णय by शामी, son of नीलकण्ठ (part of सुधाचारसंग्रह).

एकादशीनिर्णय (a pupil of आनंदगिरि).

एकादशीनिर्णय by शामी—sec. 95.

एकादशीनिर्णय by वेंकटनन्द.

एकादशीतापांचप्रमाणात.

एकादशीहोमनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. 8332).

एकादशीहोमनिर्णय by रामनवरन (Baroda O. I. 8656).

एकोहिलाचारात.

एकोहिलाचाराप्रभायोगेश.

एकोहिलातारण्य by रत्नारणभिभु, son of गंगोत्रीसिंहवर, composed for securing the favour of the king of सिंधुला.

पैंचमातानिर्णय by गोपेश्वर.

कृत्तिकप्रकाश by बरलाहि.

कृत्तिकारकारमायत्रित (from संस्कृतीर्षित of अनन्तदेव).

कृत्तिकारकल्पबद्धी by विभवाध.

कृत्तिकारकल्पबद्ध by विभवाध.

कृत्तिकारकल्पबद्ध (according to श्रीकृष्णपुराण माध्यमिकसंग्रह).

He was गोमतीबालाकातीप.

कृत्तिकारकल्पबद्ध by बाळबद्धामान.

कृत्तिकारकल्पबद्ध of कमलरामभद्र, son of गोपेश्वर; sec. 106.

कृत्तिकारकल्पबद्ध or प्रयोग by श्रीकृष्ण-वृद्धिविद्या, son of यज्ञवर (according to सामवेद).

कृत्तिकारकल्पबद्ध by विद्या.

कृत्तिकारकल्पबद्ध or अन्येष्ठिपद्धत by नारायणभद्र, son of रामराम.

कृत्तिकारकल्पबद्ध.

कृत्तिकारकारिन्य.

कठपलिष्ट quoted by हेमाश्रि in परी-वेशस्व.

कठपलिष्ट quoted by हेमाश्रि in परी-वेशस्व and संस्कृतमुख.

कठपलिष्ट by वैविद्यतार्थकृषम, m. in प्रयोगविशिष्टका. It is a com. on श्रीकृष्ण.

कणस्वति m. by हरस्त्र on घ. र., आचारमयस्त, आचारमयस्त.

कवितातीतोपाप.

कवितातीतीतितिपथि.

कवितातीतिपथि.

कवितातीतिपथि.

कवितातीतिपथि.

कवितातीतिपथि.

कवितातीति m. by नि. नि., संस्कृतमुख of संग्रह.

कवितातीति.

कवितातीति.

कवितातीति in 10 अधाप्त, each with 100 verses, on degeneration of श्रीकृष्ण in Kali, भाद्र, purifying ceremonies, adopted son, विभव, gifts, penances.
List of works on Dharmakāstra

कर्मसीरिका m. in आयुतायकामचेन्द्र.
कर्मपाठक by काल्यानस्वर.
कर्मप्रभाषक m. by रघुनाथन in जयोतिषलय.
कर्मप्रभाषकā of पाकार्य गुरुनाथ (on पाकार्य, कुष्माण्डहोम, उद्वसीकार-विधि, शूलगाँव).
कर्मधीप attributed to काल्यान or गोविंद. Also called, उद्वोगरिशिष्ट; quoted by सुभाषि, माधव, रघुनाथन, कष्टाकर.
C. by आशादिविद् or आशाक्षे, son of बाबा.
C. परिशिष्टकार by नारायणोपाध्याय, son of गोप (B.I. series 1909).
C. by विष्णुभार, son of विवाह.
कर्मशाfrीका, a पठित to पारस्करसुबुध, by काल्यान.
कर्मकायसिद्ध by वेदकुलविज्ञान.
कर्मसूत्र (Ulwar cat. No. 1277).
कर्मचारी 108 stanzas on duties of householders.
कर्मविखयक.
कर्मविखयक by ग्रहेश who is said to have instructed नारद on the fruits of कर्म in 12 अध्याय (Ulwar cat. extract 293).
कर्मविखयक by भ्रम who is instructed by मुहू.
कर्मविखयक by मुहू who is instructed by वियत.
कर्मविखयक by माधवचार्य.
कर्मविखयक by माधवाचार्य—see महाराणविखयक.
कर्मविखयक by मौखिकस्वप्नात् m. in कर्म-विखयकसारस्यम् and शूलसहस्राच्छ; earlier than 1380 A.D.
कर्मविपाक by रित to अर्जुन (Ulwar cat. No. 1278 and extract No. 293).

कर्मविपाक by रामकृष्णचार्य.
कर्मविपाक by विश्वेशवरस्त्र- see महाराणकर्मविपाक; m. in भविष्यत p. 242.
कर्मविपाक by शाकुरमदु; son of श्रीकृष्ण मदु (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 575).
कर्मविपाक by the eldest son of कालह्रेव, son of पण्डानाम. Vide under सार्वास्तकर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाक from the ज्ञानभास्कर.
कर्मविपाक from साहातस्यस्ति (pr. Jivananda II. p. 435 ff).
कर्मविपाक from the चूर्यचार.
कर्मविपाकनिक्षितसात्सुत्सागर by पण्डित ब्रह्मचार.
कर्मविपाकप्रेरिपारी.
कर्मविपाकअश्रुः.
कर्मविपाकसहायाः; vide महाराणकर्मविपाक, कर्मविपाकमन by कमलकार, son of रामकृष्ण.
कर्मविपाकसंहिता (pr. at Venk. P.), a part of ब्रह्मपुराण.
कर्मविपाकसंहिता from महाराणकर्मविपाक, quoted by शाकुर in कर्मविपाक and in मदनराज.
कर्मविपाकसूचिः m. in महाराण of महापादु; son of मदनराज and in नियासराज्यीप. Earlier than 1350 A.D.

कर्मविपाकसार quoted by शाकुर in कर्मविपाक and in नियासराज्यीप pp. 140 and 207.
कर्मविपाकसार by दलपतिराज (about 1510 A.D.).

कर्मविपाकसार by बिनकर, son of रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणबन्धु (I. O. ms. dated संवत 1696; vide cat. p. 573). About 1585-1640 A.D.

कर्मविपाकसार by शूर्यराम.
कर्मविपाकसारह by eldest son of कालह्रेव or कालह्रेव, son of पण्डानाम; vide under सार्वास्तकर्मविपाक and कर्मविपाक.
कर्मविपाकार्य by शाकुर. See कर्मविपाक.
कर्मविपाकसारहर.
कर्मसंहिता m. in अहि अष्टकामपेऽ.
कर्मसंहिता by विलक्षण दीपित: vide under यजुर्वेदम. Said to have been born about 1519 A. D.

कर्मसिद्धिसिद्धान्त by उदयनम (Baroda O. I. 8361) on आद्य, स्वातिक एवc.

कर्मदानपरिष्ठति by मदनेव (vide sec. 73).

C. संसारपदरियस्य.
कर्मवेदिनी of अर्जुन (sec. 82); quoted by रचनमुनि and कमलकार.
कर्मवेदिनी of हलार्जु (sec. 72).
कलानिधि m. in स्वति तरास्वात्र of पिन्हेन.
कलिका- vide श्रीपुलिका; quoted by कमलकार.
कलिकमवेदिनीय.
कलिकमवेदिनी by कमलकारस्तु.
कलिकमवेदिनी by विश्वेश्वरस्त्री.
कलिकमवेदिनी by विश्वेश्वरिती in two parts, first on worship of विन्दु and 2nd on श्रीवत्स, संगम-ल्यानफल एवc.
List of works on Dharmasastra

कलिकुगमार्गम by दामोदर, eldest brother of नीलकण्ठ; quoted in आवारमवृक्ष. About 1610 A.D. Mentions मांसकृमांता of नारायण-भुत, आजिमपालिका of his father, रामचन्द्राचार्य, आजिमपालिका etc. (Baroda O. I. No. 10793).

कलपत्रक by लक्ष्मीपर; vide sec. 77.

कल्पुद quoted in मदनपारिजात and by देवसाग.

कल्पुद— see दानकल्पुद; रामकल्पुद and आजिमकल्पुद; quoted by ब्रजेश्वर and मदनपारिजात (who both mean कल्पत्र of लक्ष्मीपर).

कल्पता—vide कल्पकल्पता.

कल्पता by होल्डू (?); quoted by श्रीर, आजिमसंग्रह of रामकृत्त्व, by रुद्रनन्द in मदनमातात्त्व.

कल्पकस्वाम.

कल्पस्वतित quoted in पराकारस्यस्वतिका and मकःकरिभाष्य on गी.-प्र.

कल्पस्वतित by कुतामुदु.

कल्पराजकौतुक by कल्पराजमिति.

कल्पस्वतित quoted in हेमाध्रि, माधव, विजयनेवर and मदनपारिजात.

कल्पस्वतित by कल्पाबन.

कल्पकण्डेवी.

कल्पकण्डु quoted by हेमाध्रि, रघु in मदनमातात्त्व; आजिमपुल.

कल्पकण्डेवी.

कल्पकण्डेवी by हेमाध्रि, रघु in मदनमातात्त्व; आजिमपुल.

कल्पकण्डेवी रामकुटित m. by हेमाध्रि and रघुनन्द.

काठकप्रकाश by होमाध्रि (ed. by Dr. Caland in D. A. V. College series, Lahore 1925, with extracts from three com.).

C. (भाष) by देवपाल, son of हरिपालभर.

C. विवेक by आंबिवदेश.

C. रहस्य of ब्राह्मणक, son of माधवाचार्य.

काठकालिक by गंगाशर.

काव्य quoted in आप. च. स. I. 19. 7.

काव्याय व्याख्या— see पारस्करव्याख्या; म. in संस्करस्वाम.

काव्याय व्याख्याकारिका.

काव्याय व्याख्याकारिविद्य.

काव्याय व्याख्याकारिविद्य म. by योजवल्ल, विजयनेवर, हेमाध्रि, माधव. See हेमाध्रि काव्याय; m. by रघुनन्द; pr. Jivanda Sm. part I pp. 603-644. This is also called कमण्डिका and मोनिंद्रस्वतित in Ānan. Sm. pp. 49-71.

कादम्बरी, a com. on the दैनिकाविभाष by गोस्वामिनाथ.

कामपेड़ of मोपाल; vide sec. 71.

कामपेड़ of राजी, son of देकुम्बर, on धर्म, अर्थ, काम and मोक्ष. Compiled under विजयपाल son of अजुताहार in four सन्त (on धर्म, अर्थ, काम, मोक्ष); ms. in Stein’s cat. pp. 84 and 303 contains 283 verses on धर्म and breaks off after 206 on अर्थ.

कामपेड़विद्येकर by नारायण, commentator of मदनस्वतित (vide मदु V, 56, 80, 104).

कामन्त्रिकीयनीतिसार (pr. in B. I. series and Tri. S, series) m. in मदनमातात्त्व.
History of Dharmatattva

The text in the image is a page from a book discussing Dharmatattva, a concept in Indian philosophy.

The book mentions that Dharmatattva is found in 19 sargas and 1087 verses. Some manuscripts have 20 sargas.

C. by जयराम.

C. उपाध्यायमित्रेश्वर (vide Ulwar cat. extract 295) which begins work with the first verse of काव्याद्वृत्ति and derives कौटिल्य as कृतिपि उच्यते तं शास्त्रसंप्रेक्षित...नापिके...हि कृ- दिशा:...., कृतिलामापत्यं कौटिल्य: भिष्णुस्य:).

C. by जयराम.

C. जयमधुला by शाकुनराय (pr. in Tri. S. series).

C. नयनकाश by बरदराज.

काव्याद्वृत्ति quoted by रघुनाथ in महामात्रास्थि and by कलाकार.

काव्याद्वृत्ति by हिंदीमापित in ten parts.

कालिन्त्रि m. by हेमाश्रि, कलाकार, सूर्य-प्रसाद, नि.सि.

कालिककारभास्ति.

काम्यासाहित्यवेदोगत.

काम्यासाहित्यवेदोगत by शास्त्रमारायणवत्तवक नारायणपाणित.

काम्याचरण.

काम्याचरणमंत्र or -प्रसाद by विशेष्वर alias मामाकुमुख (composed about 1674 A.D.).

काम्याचरणमंत्र.

काम्याचरणमंत्र by विशेष्वर. Printed at Bombay in 1873. Same as काम्याच-रामिनि. Baroda O. I. ms. No. 9670 is dated संवत 1727 (1670-71 A.D.).

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काम्याचरणमंत्र by विशेष्वर. Printed at Bombay in 1873. Same as काम्याच-रामिनि. Baroda O. I. ms. No. 9670 is dated संवत 1727 (1670-71 A.D.).

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काम्याचरणमंत्र.
List of works on Dharmaśāstra

Kālārātiśāleśvarasūryakṣaraṁ or -sāraśāleśvar (based on विवेचन) by श्रीकुमुद, son of कालकृष्ण and pupil of मीमांसक सच्चार्य. About 1700 A.D.

Kālārātiśāleśvar.

C. Rāyakāśa by Rāyakāśa.

Kālārātiśāleśvar first part of सच्चार्यसागर by दलारिभुविनि.

Kālārātiśāleśvar.

Kālārātiśāleśvar (विनि) by चतव्रूडुःशिरि.

Kālārātiśāleśvar m. in संस्कारसूत्र and तुसिन्-प्रसाद (संस्कारसूत्र). Earlier than 1500 A.D.

C. m. in ज्योतिषपराषात of तुसिन्.

Kālārātiśāleśvar of मिट्टीर्षिक महापाणि.

Kālārātiśारण by वैपानाथ.

Kālārātiśारण by अधिकाराध्य काविलकुमार.

Kālārātiśारण by (पूर्व)पालवपपाठरानन.

Kālārātiśारण by तोकाचाय.

Kālārātiśारण (हरि) by हामोदर.

Kālārātiśारण by नारायणगूढ (probably same as कालाराज्यसंहारकायवरण).

Kālārātiśारण (संस्कृत) by मट्टीर्षिक (Baroda O. I. No. 5373).

Kālārātiśारण by माधव (called काल-माधव).

Pr. in B. I. series and Ch. S. series.

C. by सत्येनार्थकततक, son of दारकालावास; written in संवत 1670 (लौकिनसामूहिकते) i.e. 1614 A.D. (D. C. No. 264 of 1886-92).

C. कालाराज्यसंहारकायवरण by नारायणगूढ, son of रामकृष्ण.

C. कालाराज्यसंहारकायवरण by मुहुर्नाप.

H. D. 67.

C. त्रिपित्का-विद्य-कान्तिन्द्रसिद्धिप्रायिका of रामचन्द्राचार्य below.

C. by भरणनाथ.

C. लक्ष्मी by लक्ष्मीदेवी, wife of वैय-नाथ पायसन.

कालारात्रिय from परिक्षेपसूद of हेमाद्रि.

कालारात्रियकारिका (130 कालिक्ष्या of मायचार्य कारिका taken from कालाचार्य).

C. ano. (N. vol. X. pp. 239-240).

C. by वैय-नाथ (Stein’s cat. p. 85), son of रामचन्द्र.

कालारात्रियकृत, a part of हरिषंह-चिलास of नंदनविहार.

कालाराज्यकारिका by विकासबहु, son of महासेन, surnamed काल. About 1660. He was daughters’s son of रामकृष्ण, father of कालकार.

(2) by सीतारामचंद्र of कौशिकबंधु, son of श्रीरामभट्ट and कामकृष्ण and grandson of तुसिन.

कालारात्रियदीर्घिका by कामीनाथसुद by तुसिन.

कालारात्रियदीर्घिका a com. on मायचार्य-कालारात्रिय by रामचन्द्राचार्य, son of श्रीवास्तव and great-grandson of अन्तमाचार्य and pupil of परमार्थ-श्रीपौराण. About 1400 A.D. He wrote प्रक्रियकोऽदृशी.

C. विवेचन by his son तुसिन; ms. dated 1548 A.D.; m. in तुसिनसातार. This gives a detailed pedigree of the वैय family (Baroda O. I.,
Ms. No. 10410, which says it was composed in Sake 1331.

C. रामकाश्यांबुद्धीमते विषेषभिषेष्येका (विषेषभिषेष्ये).

C. रामकाश्यां by रामचंद्र, composed by order of द्वारकास्थूङ्ग. His mother was daughter of रघुनाथंद्र, author of कालस्वस्तिका। So about 1670 A.D. Baroda O. I. No. 8455 is dated Sake 1603 मास (February 1682 A.D.).

कालस्वस्तिका by महेन्द्र, son of रघुमान, based on द्वारकास्थूङ्ग’s work.
कालस्वस्तिका by द्वारकास्थूङ्ग (part of द्वारकास्थूङ्ग); sec. 99.
कालस्वस्तिका by द्वारकास्थूङ्ग in 118 verses by महेन्द्र, son of द्वारकास्थूङ्ग; based on prose materials collected by रघुमान, son of जयराम, in वेरा सिंह, near modern Sihor; composed in 1709 संवत, i.e. 1652-53 A.D., in the city of Bhuja (modern Bhuj). Vide D. C. Ms. No. 275 of 1887-91.
C. by same; composed in संवत 1710.

कालस्वस्तिका by रघुनाथंद्र, son of रघुमान, and grandson of द्वारकास्थूङ्ग. (Baroda O. I. 10260).

कालस्वस्तिका by रघुमान (Baroda O. I. 10155).

कालबेल्क.
कालमुख्य or समयमुख्य of नीलकण्ठ; sec. 107.
कालमाधवार्थका or लघुमाधव.
C. by वैराकालविन, son of रघुमान, and grandson of द्वारकास्थूङ्ग. Ulwar cat. No. 1293.
कालमाधव by रघुमान, son of रघुमान and grandson of द्वारकास्थूङ्ग.
कालमाधव by म. in नन्दपुरंदित. द्वारकास्थूङ्ग.
कालमाधव by म. in नन्दपुरंदित.
कालमाधव by म. in नन्दपुरंदित.
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कालमाधव by म. in नन्दपुरंदित.
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कालमाधव by म. in नन्दपुरंदित.
कालमाधव by म. in नन्दपुरंदित.
कालमाधव by म. in नन्दपुरंदित.
कालमाधव by म. in नन्दपुरंदित.
कालमाधव by म. in नन्दपुरंदित.
List of works on Dharmastūra

काशीप्रकाश by नन्दप्रभास. Sec 105.
काशीसमार्थकिरिचार by नारायणभट्ट.
काशीभारापकौशिक by रुपानथसार. 
काशीप्रकाशकालिक.
काशीशस्त्रसारान्वित या काशीसारान्वित by चरमन्दर.
काशीशस्त्रसारान्वित by विभवाचार्य.
काशीप्रकाशकालिक.
(2) by ददत्रेक्षितमीनरसिंह and com. by author; pr. at Madras in 1880.
कालसिंह m. in अमृतसार.
कालिकार्यकांवति.
कालिकार्यकान्तिसिंह m. in अहल्याकामेश.
कालिकार्यकार्यस्थिता m. in अहल्याकामेश.
कालिकार्यकार्यमिका.
कामोद m. in हेमारु, महासात्त्वक of रुप; seems to be the Tantric work of that name.
कालिकार्यकालिका by गीतकमल लाहारी; pr. at Murshidabad, 1877-79, in Bengali characters.
काशीकावर्तकारक by प्रभाकर.
काशीकाव्य by रुद्राधिकांसारसिंह.
काशीकाव्यकालिका by प्रभाकर (Is it the same as कतियात्रि above?).
काशीकाव्यकालिका या काशीरामराय by रुद्राधिकांसारसिंह (Stein's cat. pp. 86, 303.). Divided into पाठास. Probably the same as काशीकाव्य above.
काशीप्रकाश (from the गिर्हितसिंह).

कङ्गडकल्प of भाषवज्जू, son of क्रम, son of वासुकराण; composed in 1577 शके (1655-56 A. D.). BBRS cat. p. 138. He was उदारसाराण of the काशीप्रकाश, mentions कुड़कल्पकार, कुड़ा-सिद्धांत, कुड़ा-सिद्धांत, विचार; pr. at Benares in 1879 A. D. C. by author.
कङ्गडकल्पकारा by कङ्गडकल्पकारा, son of कङ्गडकल्प, son of राजकूट. He was pupil of राजपूत, father of नन्दप्रभास. About 1600 A. D.
कङ्गडकल्पकार by भद्रकल्पकार.
कङ्गडकल्पकारा in 103 verses of विचाराध्य, son of भद्र.

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He is different from विम्बनाथ, a. of कुण्डरत्नकर; between 1520-1600 A.D., as m. in मण्डकुण्डसिद्धि and as he mentions महानन्द and कृपानारायण.
C. by author.

कुण्डकृष्णदीप: by शिवपुरी son of जयंतक (महाजन).
C. कुण्डलोक by same. Vide Hultzsch’s Report No. III. p. V. and p. 80; mentions कोस्तुम, मण्डल, कुण्डसिद्धि and रामचरियापेश. Later than 1680 A.D.

कुण्डगणणपाल.

कुण्डलमणि.
C. by वाचाने of the महाजन family, son of शिवपुरी, son of जयंतक.

कुण्डेत्जयंतकाः or प्रकाशिका by रामानन्दसिद्धि.

कुण्डतचारमणि by बलभद्रदेव जा, son of स्थापक of कल्याण; composed at समस्ताय (Khabayat) in 1623 A.D. Has 164 verses.
C. by author composed in 1632 A.D. Vide D. C. Ms. No. 204 of 1884-87.

कुण्डविकास by बाबाजी पाठे.
C. by author.

कुण्डमन्नायाणशेख: by रामचरियापेश, an inhabitant of नैमिन्धरण; composed in संवत 1506 i.e. 1449-50 A.D.
C. by author.

कुण्डमन्नायाणशेखदेवीका by मणिरामदेव.

कुण्डमन्नायाण अनो. (BBRAS cat. p. 138).

कुण्डमन्नायाण by श्रद्धेन, son of नारायण of पारि family. (from the प्रतापनारायण). Vide Ulvar cat. extract 299. About 1710 A.D.

कुण्डमन्नायाण in 21 verses by महादेव राजगुरु, son of कालिनारायण.
C. by same; quotes कामकांक.

कुण्डमन्नायाण by महादेव राजगुरु; son of कालिनारायण and teacher of हेमतराज (Haibat Rao) in 20 fine verses in अशुद्धिकृतित्व, रामराय and अभिध्र.
C. by author.

कुण्डमन्नायाण by आजिवान, son of बलभद्र in 73 verses. Composed in अर्क 1544 (1632 A.D.) D. C. Ms. No. 42 of 1882-83.

कुण्डमाकर vide कुण्डमाकरप्रसाद.

कुण्डमन्नायाण by बाचासिद्धि.

कुण्डमन्नायाणकृष्णदीपी by शिवपुरी.

कुण्डमन्नायाणमणिमानिका by यथार्थी, son of विम्बनाथ.

कुण्डमन्नायाणपंचायत by नारायण, son of अनन्त; composed in अर्क 1500 1578 A.D.; in 49 शोक written at दाखिल, while his प्रतापगढ dwelt at मणिराम.
C. मनोरमा by गक्कास, son of author.

कुण्डमन्नायाणमणिका from पराशारपद्धति.

कुण्डमन्नायाणमणिका by श्रीकृष्ण, son of शाकुर (Stein p. 86).
List of works on Dharmakāra

कुष्मण्डपपरिचय
कुष्मण्डपपरिचयप्रवचनकारिका by नान्सिलाई, surnamed सत्तारी. Peterson (Ulwar cat. extract No. 300) wrongly says that the work is called सत्तारी.
C. by author.

कुष्मण्डपपरिचय (same as कुष्मण्डपपरिचयप्रवचन above) of रामचारिके, son of चौर्यवास ; composed in संवतः 1506 (1449-50 A.D.) at the order of the king of राजस्थान. In 74 शॊकोक.
C. by same.

कुष्मण्डपप्राप्तवय by अनन्तभूत.
कुष्मण्डपप्राप्तवय by नीलकंठ.
कुष्मण्डपप्राप्तवय by केशवभूत, son of मोपदीनीसिंह.
कुष्मण्डपप्राप्तवय by बालरीसिंह जडे.
कुष्मण्डपप्राप्तवय by रामचारिके (probably same as कुष्मण्डपपरिचय above).

कुष्मण्डपप्राप्तवय by अनन्तभूत.
कुष्मण्डपप्राप्तवय by नीलकंठ.
कुष्मण्डपप्राप्तवय by केशवभूत, son of मोपदीनीसिंह.
कुष्मण्डपप्राप्तवय by बालरीसिंह जडे.
कुष्मण्डपप्राप्तवय by रामचारिके (probably same as कुष्मण्डपपरिचय above).

कुष्मण्डपपुस्तिका or कुष्मण्डपपुस्तिका by विजय दीनकुमार, son of विजयकुमार of संगमनर (in Ahmednagar District) of the कुष्मण्डपपुस्तिका ; composed in राष्ट्रकूट 1541 (ालकवालपतिविघटक) i. e. 1619-20 A.D. Vide BBRAS cat. p. 141.
C. by same; pr. at Bombay in 1892.
C. by राम.

कुष्मण्डपमूलालपति।
कुष्मण्डपमूलालपति by विजय. Based on the कुष्मण्डपपरिचय of राम.
कुष्मण्डपांचक of मोगबुबीदेव, son of गोवर्धन of माधवचन्द्राशास्त्र and गोवर्धन-गोवर्धन ; composed at Junnar in 1691-92 A.D. in 71 verses.
C. by अनन्त, son of विलेंदर residing at बोधगया (Pali in Bhor State). D. C. Ms. No. 43 of A 1882-83. Composed in 1693 A.D.

कुष्मण्डपांचक of रामचारिके. Probably same as कुष्मण्डपपरिचय.
कुष्मण्डपलक्ष्म by मोपद (Ulwar cat. No. 1303 and extract 301).

कुष्मण्डपतना.
C.

कुष्मण्डपप्राप्तवय by नान्सिलाई, son of नान्सिलाई.
कुष्मण्डपप्राप्तवय by नान्सिलाई, son of नान्सिलाई ; quotes कुष्मण्डपप्राप्तवय of रामचारिके and is quoted in कुष्मण्डपपरिचय of विजय; flourished between 1450-1615 A.D. In 84 verses.
C. by विजय (the author).

कुष्मण्डपपरिचय by रामचारिके, son of कुष्मण alias बबु; composed in राष्ट्रकूट 1790. Pr. at Nir. P.

कुष्मण्डपपरिचय by राम नैयापरिचयपालिका.
C. by निर.

कुष्मण्डपपरिचय of राम, son of चौर्यवास (राष्ट्रकूट in Stein's cat. p. 186); same as कुष्मण्डपपरिचय above; m. in आचारमूल. About 1449 A.D.
History of Dharmadāra

C. कृपमासकर by शालुर, son of the author.

कृपेदोपात्तशान by अनुदेश.
कृपेदोपात्तशान alias कृपमासकर of शालुर, son of नीलकण्ठ; same as com. on कृपेदोपात्त, composed in 1671 A.D.

कृपेदायतिम m. in अपारक, कालिनिक of शालुरपाय, हेमाथि.
कृपारस्त्र, of the son of रावण; m. in मदनराज (शालुरपायत).
कृपारस्त्रित m. in सिद्धासर, अपराक, अभाजस्तर.
कृष्णेश्वर्यनिविष्ट प्रकाश by रामचण.
कृष्णेश्वर प्रिय by वनमालिनि, alias कृष्णारस्त्रित, son of मोहारस्त्र and disciple of महेन्द्रविशिष्ट; about 1650 A.D.

कृष्णेश्वर प्रिय or कृष्णेश्वर प्रकाश by माथव-चार.

कृष्णेश्वरलालकर by शालुर.
कृष्णेश्वरलालकिका of हरिगिरि.
कृष्णाकरक बन्धीपर.
कृष्णपत्रिका.
कृष्णारस्त्र.
कृष्णारस्त्र, घोषमायोग.
कृपारस्त्र, प्राकारणाद्वार.
कृपारस्त्र, विशिष्टकार.

कृपेदोपात्त by शालुर, son of नीलकण्ठ.

कृपेदोपात्त by शालुर, son of नीलकण्ठ.

कृपेदोपात्त in 9 गाथा verses by रामचण.

कृपेदोपात्त by नीलकण्ठ, son of शालुर-मुद्रा.

कृपेदोपात्त by शालुर, son of the author.

कृपेदोपात्त by शालुर, son of नीलकण्ठ.

कृपेदोपात्त alias कृपमासकर of शालुर; same as com. on कृपेदोपात्त, composed in 1671 A.D.

कृपेदायतिम m. in अपारक, कालिनिक of शालुरपाय, हेमाथि.
कृपारस्त्र, of the son of रावण; m. in मदनराज (शालुरपायत).
कृपारस्त्रित m. in सिद्धासर, अपराक, अभाजस्तर.
कृष्णेश्वर प्रिय by वनमालिनि, alias कृष्णारस्त्रित, son of मोहारस्त्र and disciple of महेन्द्रविशिष्ट; about 1650 A.D.

कृष्णेश्वर प्रिय or कृष्णेश्वर प्रकाश by माथव-चार.

कृष्णेश्वरलालकर by शालुर.
कृष्णेश्वरलालकिका of हरिगिरि.
कृष्णाकरक बन्धीपर.
कृष्णपत्रिका.
कृष्णारस्त्र.
कृष्णारस्त्र, घोषमायोग.
कृपारस्त्र, प्राकारणाद्वार.
कृपारस्त्र, विशिष्टकार.

कृपेदोपात्त by शालुर, son of नीलकण्ठ.

कृपेदोपात्त by शालुर, son of नीलकण्ठ.

कृपेदोपात्त in 9 गाथा verses by रामचण.

कृपेदोपात्त by नीलकण्ठ, son of शालुर-मुद्रा.
कवित्कल्याणम् by माधवर; m. by बाबासाहेब आंशिक. Earlier than 1500 A.D.

कत्यकल्याणम् by बाबासाहेब; m. by रुद्धनन्दन in महामार्तक.

कत्यकालिकितविवेर्ष्य of श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकर्मचारियो; vide under कत्यका मधवार्य.

कत्यकौशली vide sec. 101 on शोभिनपन्नु. It is this that is m. in महामार्तक of रुद्धनन्दन.

कत्यकौशली by गोपीनाथभाष.

कत्यकौशली by जगदावद्य. He mentions नित्याधिपिकया.

कत्यकौशली by तिब्बतमणीकार्य (Baroda. 0. 1. No. 0152 on एकप्रदीपार्य portion of it).

कत्यचन्द्रिका by रामचन्द्र चक्रवर्तिन.

कत्यचन्द्रिका by हरिप्र कहनमोहणाय, pupil of चंद्रेश्वर (a calendar of fasts and feasts enjoined in the वर्षित and the rites appropriate to them). About 1360-1400 A.D.

कत्यचित्तांलाणि by चंद्रेश्वर; m. in his नह्यपर्यांककर; vide sec. 90. Deals with तारात्सिद्धि, गोचर, ब्रह्माचार्य, संवत्सर, करण, नक्षत्र, हर्तृ, अधिमास, मन्त्रिहानुष्ठान and other रंकार, गुलशनिति, खचितकार, श्रेयस्तरिकार, संकालिति, प्रहारकत.

कत्यचित्तांलाणि of बाबासाहेब; sec. 98.

कत्यचित्तांलाणि by शिवराम शुक्ल, son of विश्वराम. In व्यक्तिक for सामायव, followers. Based on गोविन्दपुरा; deals with परिभाषित, श्रीनिवास, गोविन्दपुरा, वधमाला, भर्त, संकायस.

Stein’s cat. (Intro. p. XV and p. 86) gives the date of composition as दीपक 1562 (1640-41 A.D.), but B. O. cat. vol. I. No. 72 and J B O R S. for 1927 parts III-IV p. IX give 1500 दीपक (1578-79 A.D.) as the date.

कत्यवतन्त्र of रुद्धनन्दन.

कत्यवतन्त्र alias प्रयोगसार of कत्यवतन्त्र साहित्याचार्य.

कत्यवतन्त्रावन्त्र alias कत्यकालिकितविवेर्ष्य of श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकर्मचारियो; m. in चक्रवर्तिन and प्रायोगिकतक, निः विश. रामप्रकाश and quotes महावर्ष. About 1475-1525 A.D.

कत्यवर्ष of आत्मशास्त्री, son of राम-शास्त्री; m. in his नववर्षावर्ष.

कत्यवर्ष m. in देवदासमधकार.

कत्यवर्षावर्षावर्ष by रामचन्द्र (pr. at Bombay in 1855).

कत्यवर्ष of कत्यवर्षावर्ष.

कत्यवर्ष of केशवमधु (this is probably the कत्यवर्ष quoted in शास्त्रितक, आद्यतक, and other तक्त).

कत्यमधजिरी by वापुपुद्द, son of महादेव केशवर; composed in दीपक 1640 पोलमास on नित्य, नैसर्गिक, काल्य rites and observances in the 12 months of the year, on संकालिति, eclipses &c. at सतार (modern Satara). N. vol. X. pp. 217-219.

कत्यमधजिरी of कत्यमधजिरी under शिवरामाचार्य of शिवलिपा. Deals with feasts and fasts on important days of the twelve months of the year; m. in आचारमण्डल; vide sec. 98.

कत्यवर्षावर्षावर्ष vide सतारमधुकारी.
History of Dharmatattva

कृतरात्रि म. in निषेधः, आदि शास्त्रः
कृतरात्रि of संवरेनार, son of हरिमुि, son of नारायणमुि, who was honoured by the king of बिद्वेश. In 8 प्रकाशं. Mentions हेमाधि, महानीय और his own संस्कारका. Baroda O. I. No. 1953.

कृतरात्मक of चण्डेश्वर; vide sec. 90 (pr. B. I. series, 1921).

कृतरात्मक of झुकारशरीरी.
कृतरात्मक of रामचन्द्र, son of विंध्य and grandson of बालकण्ठ तसार. He was daughter's son of रूढ़िनाथ, author of कालतस्विवेचन. Composed in संवत्र 1705 (1648-49 A. D.). Deals with religious observances of तिथिः from प्रति-प्रति and of months from चेत्र to फाल्गुन; quotes हेमाधि, महानीय, नारायणमुि.

कृतरात्मक of चण्डीपार.
कृतरात्मक of लोकनाथ.
कृता a manual of ceremonial observances for different months of the year compiled under prince कृष्णसन्त्र of नवदेव about 1750 A. D.

कृत्यसिद्धांसमूर्ति.
कृत्यसिद्धां of भूपाल m. in कृतरात्रि p. 499.
कृत्यसिद्धां m. in वर्धसन्त्र and स्तित-रात्रि of वेवश्चाय और ब्रह्मचाय. Earlier than 1400 A. D.
कृत्यसार by महरानाथ सुधाकर.
कृत्यसारसिद्धां of अनुशासन भोजा (pr. at Bombay).

कृत्यसारसिद्धां of बावसिति.
कृत्यसारसिद्धां of ध्वासिति; vide शास्तिके कपीपदा.
कृत्यसार m. in वेवश्चाय और भोजा.
कृत्यसिद्धां by चटुर्जी.
कृत्यसिद्धां by विमूलका alias भक्तिकार or हरिमुिचारा— a work on कृष्ण worship in four parts (भजर). कृत्यसारसिद्धां the same as कृष्णसिद्धांप्रणिका; m. in प्रयोगरत of नारायणमुि and in आधिकारिका. Earlier than 1500 A. D.
कृत्यसारसिद्धां of रामपाणि, son of दक्षिणेश्वर.
कृत्यसारसिद्धां by आनन्दसेनीय. N. (new series) vol. III. preface VI.
के रामपाणि by के राम.
कोटपलक on eight kinds of forts.
कोटपलक by रामकण, son of नारायणमुि.
कोटिकोंचममयोग by रामकण, son of नारायणमुि.
कोटिकोंचममयोग by अति रूठावेद. In three श्रीसिं on magic charms and expedients for protecting the king's person and for various other purposes, and on various startling, interesting experiments on women, plants, food. N. IX. pp. 189-190 and D. C. Ms. No. 981 of 1887-91 and 1031 of 1884-87. About 1520 A. D.
कोद्वितीय.
कोद्वितीय in 14 अध्याय (ed. by Bloomfield, 1889).
C. by भूषणमुि.
C. by वारस्र.
C. by वादेव.
List of works on Dharmasastra

Kusumakarahapradatta of Kesava, son of Somanath, son of Ananta; composed at Morepur (Stein’s cat. p. 248).

Kusumakarahapradatta. 
Kusumakarahapradatta m. in Nirnayika, Marak-Ramayana on Gaitam, Hemastra, Mahabharata.

Kusumakarahapradatta. 

Kusumakarahapradatta m. by the Maitrakas.

Kusumakarahapradatta m. in Varakhayakshatri (p. 121) and Devapatitayatan; before 1500 A.D.

Kusumakarahapradatta (on worship of Krishna) by Kesava Chandra in 8 pujas. About 1500 A.D.

C. by Kesava Chandra.

C. by Goibini Madhu (pr. in Ch. S. series).

Kusumakarahapradatta by Nippana.

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गृहस्थिति द्वितीय विवेक
List of works on Dharmakṣīra

वाण्यपुराण, गंगेपुराण and कल्पखंड (i.e. कल्पतंत्र) as its authorities.

गर्गसंहिता or गर्गपुराण, manual of domestic rites (for पराक्रमपुराण) by स्वप्नविनम्र on स्त्रावीरकालोप, बलशामन, पिण्यपिण्यमा, आषाणकर्म, शालग्व, ब्रह्मचर्य, मातमाख, धृतकरण, उपनयन, अष्टार्कार्ती, सीतायण, शालाकर्म; expressly states that it follows महायानम; m. in गदाधरमाय on पराक्रमपुराण and in आदालत. I. O. ms. dated संवत. 1575 i. c. 1519 A. D. (Vide I. O. cat. p. 515 No. 1633).

गर्गसंहिता m. in स्वतिरचिंतक, नित्याचार-प्रदीप.

गर्गभाषानिवासलस्करसंहिता by रामदत्त, son of गणेश; completed by स्त्रावीरकाल. About first half of 14th century.

गर्गभाषानिवासलस्करसंहिता attributed to शैलक; mentions ज्योत.

गर्गसंहिता by गानारु. गर्गसंहिता of कुप्रणमचु. गर्गसंहिता or प्रेमत by श्याम, son of श्याम, surnamed चारे. He wrote अवतारायकासुद्री in 1675 (1753 A. D.).

गर्गसंहिता by श्रीराम. गर्गसंहिता by सामभपु. गर्गसंहिता by काविनाथ, son of जीवानमपु and धारानसी, surnamed बघु. His guru was अनन्त. Ulwar cat. extract 618.

गर्गसंहिता by कुप्रणभु; son of मानाबक; composed in 1757. A. D.

गायत्रीपुराणविविध by अनन्तदेव.

गायत्रीपुराणविविध by गानारु. गायत्रीपुराणविविध from the गायत्री-पुराणविविध (vide Ulwar cat. extract 302).

गायत्रीपुराणविविध from शारदालितक.

गायत्रीमायनिर्णय (Ulwar cat. No. 1312 and extract 304).

गायत्रीमायनिर्णय m. in आदालत (vol. I. p. 213).

गायत्रीसंहिता m. by विज्ञान, मिता, अप-राके, स्वतिरचिंत.

गायत्रीसंहिता by ब्रह्मचर्य, pupil of झोक.

गायत्रीमवन म. in स्वतिरचिंतक, कादमायव.

गायत्रीमवन by तपारावलकमण, son of काशीराम of the महाराज family. On प्रायःविन.

गायत्रीमवन m. in आदालत of श्रीमंत and in नित्याचार and मलूमालत. Earlier than 1,400 A. D.

गायत्रीमविविधा of श्रीनाथ आचार्य m. in his नित्याचारचारण.

गायत्रीमविविधा by ब्रह्मचर्य. Vide स्वतिरचिंता.

गायत्रीमविविधा; on doubtful points of rites and ceremonies.

गायत्रीमविविधा by विज्ञानच.

गायत्रीमविविधा.

गायत्रीमविविधा by तपारावलकमण (portion of संस्कारनिर्णय).

गायत्रीमविविधा of चन्द्रचूल.

गायत्रीमविविधा a large work in 589 pages (pr. in B. I. series, 1928); sec. 90.
(1) आमृतायणीय by जयन्त.
(2) बौधायणीय by कनकसमपति.
(3) सामवेदीय by खुराक, son of विशाखमत.

यद्वा कारिता by कर्म.
यद्वा कारिता by रेषक, composed in 1266 A.D.

यहकोषी म. in गोविन्दार्थव.
यहकालितोपेदिशन com. on आपस्तम्बयक्षेत्र by खुराकार्याचार्य.
यहप्रवर्थकम, summary of matters connected with domestic rites, according to मेत्रायणीययक्षेत्र.

यहप्रवर्थित.

यहप्रवर्थित (यह:शालीय) by भारकरवीरित.
Ulwar cat. extract 54.

यहप्रवर्थित by रामेश्वर.

यहप्रवर्थित by वाहुदेववीरित, in three कान्दास on संस्कार, अठका &c.; ms. copied in शके 1720.

यहपरिशिष्ट—vide under बहुच्छपरिशिष्ट, चन्द्रगपपरिशिष्ट.
यहपरिशिष्ट by अनन्तभू.
यहपरिशिष्ट by खुराकनाथाचार्य.
यहमदीपकमाथ्य, a com. on शाङ्कानि-यहक, by नारायण.

यहमयोग (आपस्तीबीय) by बौधविद्वातीय. He quotes हुराकार्याचार्य. Ulwar cat. extract 14.

यहमयोग

बौधायणीय.

वाजसनेय.

यहमायविन्यस (Hultsch R. I. No. 637).
यहमायविन्यस or यहमायविन्यससंग्रह m. by ईशाप्र.
यहरस by वैदिकसत्वमौर (i.e. probably वेकुशेत्र) in 21 कान्दास; deals with याहवसंस्कार like गर्भाधान, उजास, सीमतोपय, जातकम, नामकरण, अन्नमाधान, बृहाकम, उप-नयन, बालार्य बृहातातिनी and दैव-संस्कार like पायक्ष.

C. दिपुपक्षकारण or कण्ठोद्याय by वेकुशेत्र वैदिकसत्वमौर, son of रक्ताय of हारमोग्रू. Hultsch R. I. No. 603 and extract, p. 88. Refers to his विष्मेश्वर and its दीका and आशोचक and its व्यास.

यहसंग्रह m. by जयसाम in his भाष्य on पारसक्षेत्र III. 1. 1.

यहसंपर्य,

यहसंपवाशिका (on पारसक्षेत्र) by विष्मेश्वर, son of वसिन. About 1600 A.D.

यहसंपासार alias प्रयोगसार by नारायणभु, son of कसीप्रभु; sur-named आराय (आयेड); quotes रामायणवाचार्य on पूर्वसारी’s भाष्य on आपस्तम्ब, प्रयोगपारिजात, प्रयोग-गल, निर्यापिन्नव, भस्तिरवीरित, परख-रामायण and रामायणपेडी and his own आयसार. Later than 1650 A.D.

यहसंग्रह by गोविन्दार्थ (pr. in B.I. series as appendix to गोविन्दार्थ); m. in गृहसंस्तात्तंश of विशालम and in the छायोगपरिसंस्तात्तंश and मात्राविषार्थ.
C. by रामकुमार, son of शामोदर.

यूहासंस्करित m. in छतरीयादेश, संस्कृ-तत्तव and edited by Bloomfield in Z D M G. vol. 35 pp. 537-548 in 209 verses and two व्याख्यान. Begins अध्यात्मिक: संस्कारसूति यहुलके प्रभ-योगिना। बालकाणां हितार्थी संस्कारायं

हु अभिःतम् म। Text same as in B. I. series.

C. बालकम्पिताः.

गोत्रप्रवर by केशरीव्यस्त of निविदुर in 27 शौककालः.

C. बालकम्पिताः by प्रभाकर देव, mentions प्रवरसारणी of श्रीमान.

गोरप्रवर्ण by बालमहातुर,
गोरप्रवर्ण by महादेव देव, गोरप्रवर (Bik. cat. p. 391).
C. माताकार.

गोरप्रवर by प्रभाकर देव (probably same as बालकम्पिताः, a com. on गोरप्रवर्ण by केशरी).

गोरप्रवर्णकारिका.

गोरप्रवर्ण (taken from आपस्तम्भ-खच).

गोरप्रवर्ण (taken from धर्मसति). गोरप्रवर्ण.

गोरप्रवर्ण by विष्णुपणित.

गोरप्रवर्ण by अन्नदेव (in संस्कार-

कोलस्थ, which is taken from his brother’s work).

गोरप्रवर्ण by आचार्य (probably a mistake, as जीवेश was a son of आचार्य). Vide Baroda O. I. No. 1870.

गोरप्रवर्ण by कामलाकार, son of रामकुमार (also styled गोरप्रवर्ण) (pr. by Chentsalrao, Mysore 1900). First half of 17 century.

गोरप्रवर्ण by केशरीव्यस्त of निविदुः

ग्राम (ms. in Baroda O. I. 8131 dated 1900). Each verse ends with the words कुर्वःतु सो

महालम.

C. बालकम्पिताः by प्रभाकर देव.

गोरप्रवर्ण by गोरप्रवर्ण by गोरप्रवर्ण (Baroda O. I. 11041).

गोरप्रवर्ण by वीरेश, son of आचार्य and younger brother of अन्नदेव, author of संस्कारसूति; quotes प्रवरसारणी, आचार्यवत्, उद्भितकार, नारायणसूति. About 1660-

1680; says मातुगोत्र is to be avoided in marriage by मातृरुत्नि

alone as स्वामी says as the शिष्याचार is to the same effect.

गोरप्रवर्ण by रामेशमहातुर.

गोरप्रवर्ण by नारायणमहातुर m. in गोरप्रवर्ण by शलोचि.

गोरप्रवर्ण by पञ्चाम (Baroda O. I. 8789).

गोरप्रवर्ण by मेघनिर्दिष्ठ; first half of 17th century (also styled गोरप्रवर्णकारिका).

गोरप्रवर्ण by (अभिनव) मातृचा-वाच.

C. by नारायणाथ, son of मण्डूरी-

रुपाणाथ (pr. by Chentsalrao, Mysore, 1900).

गोरप्रवर्ण by रुपान्थ, son of सामसंत, son of रामकुमार. 1550-1625 A. D.

गोरप्रवर्ण by मेघनाथदेव or मेघन-}

खर, son of मण्डूरी and younger brother of रामकुमार; finished at
History of Dharmasutra


Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya by Savarāma.

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya avamānānava by vidhānānātha-śastra (Baroda O.I. 9375).
Different from Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya.

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya by Amūraṇa; same as Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya.

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya by Keshav, who also wrote Śrutanta.

C. by Rama; quotes śrutabhāṣya, śruti-pathajal.

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya alias Prāramaṇa by huṣṭottamapida (standard work on this subject). Pr. by Chenterval, Mysore, 1900. Under each of the eight original gotras quotes passages from Āpanamāṇa, Ādityāpaṇa, Kāmāyaṇa, Bāpāyaṇa, Mahābhāṣya, Hṛdaya, śruti, śrutapāṇi, śrutakram_CATEGORY. Earlier than 1450 A.D.

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya by śrutiśāntaśeṣa; gives exhaustive enumeration of divisions and sub-divisions of gotras; mentions jñotinīkṣāṇya, prāramaṇa, śrutiśāntaśeṣa, brahmapāṇi of Bāpāyaṇa. (Baroda O.I. No. 7657).

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇyaśeṣadāraṇya by sūtraśeṣa, son of śhav.

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya by dāśāyana, son of Ramaśūkraśeṣa and younger brother of Kramākaraśeṣa. About 1585-1630 A.D.

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya (from the prāramaṇa by Paramāṇa).

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya vide pārṣadāṇya.

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya (from the jñotinīkṣāṇya)

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya by drutapāṇi.

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya by mahābhāṣyaśeṣa, son of Bajrāṇa.

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya (vādyapāṇi) 420 verses on various matters connected with religious observances, such as the measurement and construction of altars.

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya He is m. even by nāraṇa. Earlier than 1000 A.D. BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 183.

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya by vinaṇa, son of śrutiśāntaśeṣa belonging to dūṣyanta country (on worship of kṛṣṇa). I.O. ms. (cat. p. 587) dated 1664.

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya by Gosāla.

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya m. in Āchāraṇa.

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya by Gosāla

Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya by śrutiśāntaśeṣa (pr. in B. I. series and by Dr. Knauer and tr. in S. B. E. vol. 30.).

C. (Maith) by Mahānārayana son of Māthabhaṭṭa; m. in śrutiśānta of Mahābhaṭṭa; ms. copied in H. S. 43 (1549-50 A.D.).

C. (Maith) by Madhukar, m. in śrutiśānta of Gosawatīnīkṣāṇya and in śrutiśānta. Earlier than 1500 A.D.

C. Saraswati m. in śrutiśānta and śrutiśānt.

Earlier than 1500 A.D.
List of works on Dharmakirta

C. by सायण.
C. छवोपनिषत्ति by शिखराम, son of विनाम (different from the author's कारिकार्योपनिषत्ति). About 1640 अ. द. (Stein's cat. p. 86).
C. पञ्जति by अग्निहोत्रिविवण, of मथुरा.
C. कारिकार्योपनिषत्ति by शिखराम, son of विनाम (Stein's cat. p. 15 and p. 250).

गोबिन्दसरस्वती (pr. in B. I. series with com.) on सन्ध्यासूत्र, स्नान-सूत्र and आर्यकल्प.
C. प्रकाश by नारायण; m. by रुद्रनन्द.

गोभिराजद्वृद्धमाथ् m. by रुद्रनन्द in तिथितर्क and आर्यकल्प. Probably same as भायं of महापशास्त्र.

गोभिराजसंध्यासूत्र.

गोभिराजस्त्री—same as कर्मदीप्र काव्यायन. Anan. Sm. pp. 49-71.

गोभिराजपदिकी (on rites for propitiating the planets in their evil positions, on ग्रहयाग etc.) N. vol. X. pp. 201-202.

गोभिराजसहारकल्प.

C. (भाष्य) by महापशास्त्र, m. in आर्यकल्प of रुद्रनन्द. महापशास्त्र is probably same as यक्षांत्र above.

C. by समकष्ठर m. in आर्यकल्प of भवदेव's स्वतिचन्द्र.

गोवंदसरस्वती.
गौरीयाचित्नाम् m. in कालसार of गद्याव.
गौतमाधम्मस्वाभाविकम् vide sec. 5; pr. in B. S. series and Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 493-434.
C. by कृष्णमणि छुढ़ू.
C. (भाष्य) by सकारिच (pr. in Mysore G. O. L. series).
C. सिंतारा by हरदत्र (pr. in Anan P. P.)
गौतममृति.
गृहिराज or स्त्रितिग्रहिराज.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् by शृकुंदसामं.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम्.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् (from the गृहिराजिकाणिकम of गृहिराजिकाणिकम).
गृहिराजिकाणिकम्.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम्; refers to माँधव.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् by माधव, son of कृष्णाचार्य, of भारद्वाजगोपाल. Peterson's 5th Report p. 176.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् (N. X. p. 200).
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् by रघुनन्दन. Mentions दीपिका.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् by सदाशिव दीपिका.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् from संस्कारकोसस्मृतम् of अनन्देश.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम्.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् by अनन्देश, son of नान्देश.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् by रामकुमाराचार्य.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् or गृहिराजिकाणिकम् by रघु
नन्दन, son of हरिमछु; pr. in Ben-
gali type by Sanskrit Sahitya-
parishad, Calcutta (No. 10).
This is over and above his 28
तच्छ.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम्.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् according to शाब्दियन and गौमिष्क.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् or वासिष्ठिकाणिकम् by गणपति रावल, son of हरिश्चर.
About 1686 A.D.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् by योक्तृराज.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् (Peterson's 5th Report p. 98).
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् or पालिकात्मकात्मकामिनी (from the संस्कारकोसस्मृतम् of the स्त्रितिग्रहिराज).
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् by भेदानि.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् m. in हुगलितविवेक of हूलानिके. So earlier than 1400.
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् or स्त्रितिग्रहिराज by विद्यासागरविवेक in 12 उद्धायां on सामान्यनिर्णयम्, एकमकालिकनिर्णयम्, तिथिसारस्यनिर्णयम्, प्रतिपदातितिथि-निर्णयम्, ब्रह्म, संक्रान्तिम्, आदि, आदि, गर्भाधानारोधकालिकनिर्णयम्, आह्मिक, वद- हार, प्रायकित, under orders of prince नारायणमहू, son of श्रीभद्र; mentions प्रतापमान्तर्गत, हृदितस्तवति.
स्त्रितिग्रहिराजीयम्, अनन्तभूमियम्. First half of 17th century; pr. in Ch. S. series.
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गृहिराजिकाणिकम् by काशिनाथमन्दु, son of जयराममन्दु, son of कश्यपमन्दु, of the भट्ट family. (Ulwar cat. extract 620).
गृहिराजिकाणिकम् by कमलाकर, son of राम-कुष्ण.
before her husband and son. Based on रत्नाकर. N. (new series) I. p. 100.

चन्द्रेश्वरस्रवधिति by रत्नाकर. भद्राचार्य of अन्द्रप. N. (new series) I. p. 101; ms. dated 1765 A. D.

चन्द्रकलाकर.

चन्द्रकलका.

चन्द्रनिविवेक quoted in निर्वाणकपि.

चन्द्रकलका m. by मि. पितांकेर्स; नागरेण्यकेर्स's आजार कहता, भट्टोजि. Earlier than 1570 A. D.

चन्द्ररूपि म. in निर्वाणकपि.

चन्द्रोदय m. in मि. सिता (probably इरुचन्द्रोदय or आचार्यचन्द्रोदय).

चन्द्रकाचिन्तामणि by नारायणप्रभु (pr. at Benares, 1870); m. in आचार्यचन्द्रोदय.

सम्प्रदायिक by C. सिद्धान् (pr. at Benares, 1870).

C. by नारायण.

मस्तकाचिन्तामणि by राजप्रभु; (is probably the work so m. by सिता. It is on astrology. Earlier than 1550 A. D.

C. (ms. dated संवत् 1657 i. e. 1600-1601 A. D.).

चम्काचिन्तामणि by वैवाहि. On संक्षर of two kinds, भ्रात (गर्भवान and others) and हेव (such as पार्वति), on छह्विन for गर्भवान and other संक्षर and on मुख्यावलय; D. C. No. 112 of 1895-1902 copied in संवत् 1719.
History of Dharmasastra

चाणक्यसमासः
चाणक्याः (acc. to बौधायन); vide B.B.R.A.S. cat. vol. II. p. 243.
चाणक्यसमासः by अनुवादः.
चाणक्यसमासः of नारायण based on यज्ञपरिपूर्णः, विसेलमार्गः, कालपार्वः, दुर्याघात्यसौ, शारदातिकः and बोधादेवः. Later than 1450 A.D.
चाणक्यनिति (ed. by Kressler).
चाणक्यनिति or चाणक्यसमासः in 660 verses. There is a दुर्याघात्यसौ in 108 stanzas.
It begins ‘बुद्धालर्य द्रव्यानिष्ठ चाणक्येन’‘योगवित च’.
चाणक्यसमासः (pr. in Calcutta O. series No. 2, 1921).

चाणक्यसमासः.
चाणक्यसमासः in 660 verses.
(Ch. at end of the कौटिल्यः in Dr. Sham Sastri’s edition).
चादरामयमिन्यम् by श्रीरंजितः.
चादरामयमिन्यमितिलिकः by गोपालः.
चादरामयमिन्यमितिलिकः.
चादरामयमिन्यमितिलिकः by गङ्गाधरः.
चादरामयमिन्यमितिलिकः by गङ्गाधरः.
चादरामयमिन्यमितिलिकः by गङ्गाधरः.
चादरामयमिन्यमितिलिकः by गङ्गाधरः.
चादरामयमिन्यमितिलिकः by गङ्गाधरः.

चादरामयमिन्यमितिलिकः by हेमाति (pr. in Kāvyamala series).
चादरामयमिन्यमितिलिकः by हेमाति.

चूढ़करणसमासः
चूढ़करणसमासः by दाशाधिकः.
चूढ़करणसमासः by दाशाधिकः.
चूढ़करणसमासः by दाशाधिकः.
चूढ़करणसमासः by दाशाधिकः.

चौलोपनयन from the विद्यमानकाशः of विद्यमानः.
चौलोपनयनसमासः.
चौलोपनयनसमासः by भद्रेशभुदः.
Vide चौलोपनयनसमासः.
चौलोपनयनसमासः Vidोऽधिकारः.
C. (वाक्य) m. by हर्द्वत in his अनाविला.
चौलोपनयनसमासः by भद्रेशभुदः; vide sec. 73.
C. संस्करपरिपूर्णः of रामनाथ, composed in Sake 1544 (1622 A.D.).
चौलोपनयनसमासः same as कर्मफलः. (It is in verse).
चौलोपनयनसमासः m. by हेमाति.
C. m. in श्रीशिवेशः of कर्मफलः.
C. कार्यः by महामहोपाध्याय नारायण, son of गोपवं स and grandson of उस्मातिः, who was a great ग्रामाकर and patronised by king जपालः.
Vide under कर्मफलः.
CC. सारसवरी by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकाराचार्यः.
CC. by हरिदास.
CC. by हरिदास.
C. by आशाचार or आशाकृत, son of चक्रवर्ती.
चौलोपनयनसमासः.
चौलोपनयनसमासः.
चौलोपनयनसमासः by राजसुबनः.
C. by काकीरामः, son of रापचंद्रः son of रामचंद्रः.
List of works on Dharmajātra 547

उद्योगभाषाविदिका by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकर.

उद्योगाध्याय m. by रंचनन्दन.

उद्योगाध्याय by सिंहराम, son of विद्हाम. (I. O. cat. I. p. 95 ms. dated संबंध 1810 i. e. 1753-4 A. D.). Composed about 1640.

उद्योगाध्याय by मोचरंजनवेरित्र, son of वेणीबास (Baroda O. I. No. 1026). Ms. dated संबंध 1860.

उद्योगाध्याय by श्रीराम, m. by रंचनन्दन in आठिकात्व.

उद्योगाध्याय by सवांनव.

उद्योगाध्याय by रामधर्म विषाठिव.

उद्योगाध्याय by शाकुरसिंह, son of बनाथसिंह. Vide under प्राप्तिनिर्देश.

उद्योगप्रतापि.

उद्योगप्रतापि m. in सिमाज्ञा, जमाप्रित्र, माधवाय्य.

ज्ञानभा by श्रीश्चामाचार्य of the बाघ-जाती (in more than 24 प्रकरण).

ज्ञानकारिका m. in मधवरे शास्त्र on पारस्करुप.

ज्ञानप्रकाश by दाससिंह, composed under orders of ज्ञानसिंह, of काम्बोजा family. Vide Mitra's Notices vol. V p. 109 for contents (the ms. was copied in संबंध 1838 i. e. 1782-3 A. D.); in ten प्रमास.

ज्ञानप्रकाश by श्रीकर compiled under the patronage of prince (महादेव) रघुमल, younger brother of वायस्मल, who was son of वायस्मल, son of वृहद्य श्रीकर, who was sole minister of the king of Delhi. The family was मन्दिरा from Kosala country and their capital was स्वर्णासी. Deals with आचार, काल, शांति, संकालि, गुसात्स, संक्रामक, आशोच and छःविक.

The date in the I. O. ms. is corrupt ‘बाणास्वावासि’ (? रामास्वावासि 1559) of the विक्रम era. About 1500 A. D. Names कार्निंग, कालाब्धि, माधवासाकित्र.

ज्ञानप्रतापकार-मेघ. (Baroda O. I. No. 2365) dated 1565 संबंध (1508-9 A. D.).

ज्ञानविद्वानमहत्रि.

ज्ञानविद्वानमहत्रि.

ज्ञानमहत्रि by बाघसिंह (Baroda O. I. No. 12774). On आशोच and श्राहु.

ज्ञानमहत्रि or ज्ञानमहत्रि by रंचनन्दन.

ज्ञानमहत्रि by विद्वेद्वर.

ज्ञानकारिका m. in निर्णयसिंह.

ज्ञानकारिका.

ज्ञान्यसिंह (on क्षणज्ञानसिंह) by आप्पनार्थी.

ज्ञान्यसिंह by गोपालदेविक, pupil of रामासुज्ञोपीनाथ and son of आशोच क्षणाय.

ज्ञानाध्यक्षसानेस्थान by ज्ञानसिंहेव of. गोरखपुर (modern Gorakhpur). He was a devotee of नारायण; deals with all religious acts
(nitya, naimittika, and kāmya) about vārāṇasa. The ṭṛitāya at the end of D.C. ms. No. 241 of A 1881-82 is by हरिवास राजपण्डि; ms. copied संवत 1827 (1771 A.D.).

अयसिद्धिल्यम् by रत्नाकर of the शाराण्ड्यगोष्ठी, son of परिवताभिवध-मन्थ of Benares (extensive work in 900 pages pr. by Lakşmivenka-teenara Press at Kalyan in 1925). A digest in 19 स्तवक on काल, प्रति, भार, राज etc. the first being ऋतव on काल, compiled under the patronage of जयसिंह who performed ज्योतिष्ठ्रूम in उज्जेयनी and also चौपड़ीक. His city आम्बर (Amber) is also referred to. Composed in Vikrama 1770 (1713 A.D.). Gives genealogy as जयसिंह (who brought Shivaji to Della) - रामसिंह-कृष्णसिंह-विश्व-सिंह-जयसिंह. Sometimes called उलवर (Ulwara cat. extract No. 305); pr. in Bombay, 1903.

जयालिंगम् (निबन्ध ?) m. in काव्य-रत्नाकर of वणेश्वर (p. 166).

जयालिंगम्योऽर्ष by रद्दाध.

जयपुर m. by निः. स्रि. and by नदिया in परस्परशास्त्रभाष्य. Vide दुर्ग-जयपांकि.

जयपांकि.

जलाशयमित्र्या by भागुणिमिश्र.

जलाशयरागोत्रांगविधिः or -पद्यति.

(1) by नारायणभु, son of नारेश्वर; quotes सूतराग्राम; 1513-1575 A.D.; sec. 103.

(2) by कमलाकर; sec. 106.

जलाशयोपयोगकास्त pr. at Ratnagarh (1893 A.D.).

जलाशयोपयोगकास्त of रज्जुन राम (pr. by Jivananda); Sec. 102.

जातकाच from the संस्कारमाफ्य.

जातिकर्मविष्ठित by केदारभद्र.

जातिकर्मविष्ठित by वाशेर.

जातिकर्मविष्ठित by वापण्डित.

जातिकर्मविष्ठित by विचारदेव; N (new series) II p. 55-56.

जातिनिधि (Baroda O. I. No. 11003) on काव्यस्थ etc.

जातिमाला (part of राजवासम्बन्ध).

जातिमाला (vide N. vol. II. p. 151) on the origin of different Hindu castes.

जातिमाला by सीमानाध, son of चंद्र and श्रापार्थिक, surnamed सदाहतक and inhabitant of जडग्राम. Divided into three parts in verse on श्रापार्थिक, वैराय, रस्तहित; but contains nothing on चाम or जाति. D. C. Ms. No. 302 of 1884-86.

जातिमाला (from पराशारपद्यति); Stein's cat. p. 94.

जातिशिखर m. in श्रापार्थिकरोगियोगि of श्रापार्थिक and in वृंदमंडल.

जातिशिखर by श्रापार्थिक पद्यति. Part of a larger work calleen श्राप-अमचर्यिमिका.

जातिशिखर by क्रमवक.

जातिशिखर by नारायणभु (Baroda O. I. 11147).
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पराभुर.

रघुनाथ.

विश्नाथ ( N. vol. IX p. 179 ). Stein's cat. calls it "विश्नाथ" ( p. 89 ).

विवेकरमणु ( probably same as first part of कायणपरि- मी ).

समस्माराहिनी किल्ले of वालिनाथ, son of हावार; grand- son of वियणाथ, of प्रवा-धर ( Parândâ in Mahârâstra ? ). In three ज्ञानां; ms. ( I. O. cat. vol. III p. 519 No. 1639 ) is dated जैक 1564 ( 1642 A.D. ). Peterson ( in Ulwar cat. No.1323 ) says that it is part of विषयकरायसा- शास्त्र, which is quoted by हेमाद्रि and he gives the father's name as वायसराज previously called वियणाथ and grandfather as ' Sama- raja '.

सूतरकालिणी by वालिनाथ.

सूतरकालिणी अरूणाथ, son of रघुनाथ.

सूतरकालिणी अनन्तालार.

सूतरकालिणी ब्रजकृपयाचन्द्र.

नित्यमलिनिंद्र m. in. गुरुस्वामियोग of गुरूपाठि and by गुरूपाठि.

विषयकारविचि (according to त्रिविक्रम) on repairing temples, images of gods &c. N. vol. X. p. 271.

विषयकारसंस्कृत by राजस्मिनरमणु, son of राजस्मिनरमणु.

विषयकारसंस्कृत by वौषान.

विषयकारसंस्कृत by बालकुषयमुद्र, son of रघुपोषयमुद्र. N. ( new series ) vol. III p. 64 ( ms. dated संवत् 1785 ).

विषयकारसंस्कृतमित्र by बालकुषय प्राय- गुण्डे ( Baroda O. I. Nos. 358 and 5549 ).

विषयकारसंस्कृतमित्र or-कार्यमित्र by रामकुषयमुद्र, son of रामराज; son of रामराज. About 1570-1590 A.D.

विषयकारसंस्कृतमित्र by गुणभूत.

विषयकारसंस्कृतमित्र विभागवस्था by मुखद्र- गोसाभिन, son of ब्रजराज.

विषयकारसंस्कृतमित्र विभागवस्था ब्रजराज.

विषयकारसंस्कृतमित्र विभागवस्था-सारसंग्रह- abridgment of the above ms. ( Ulwar cat. No. 1324 ) copied in संवत् 1812 ( 1755-6 A.D. ).

अरुणाथ Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. 611.

सूत निति (ed. by Dr. Caland, Panjib Oriental Series 1922 ).

C. सूत निति by श्रीनिवास ( extracts printed in above ).

सूत निति (ed. by Dr. Caland, Panjib Oriental Series 1922 ).

शानभाषाकर ( in the form of a dialogue between सर्व and अस्मा ). Divided into प्रकास on प्रायग्राम, कर्म &c.; vide Bik. cat. p. 398. Burnell ( Tanjore ms. cat. p. 136 b ) says that the author's name appears to be वौषान. Baroda O. I. 1136 is a part of it ( करस्मारका on रोगा परिकार ) and ex-
tends over 10000 भ्रम and No. 10546 is another in 14000 भ्रम.

जानाकित by महोत्तर m. in the धर्म-प्रदीप of मोज and in आशीर्वाद of रुद्रनन्दन and in आचार्यसब.

जानाकित m. in हेमारी, बनिकरसब ( शानसार ), कुटकाङडवी. Earlier than 1250 A. D.

जानाकबुज by चुठामणि, son of बाघोमन-कुड़ in four सालबक.

रायरहरिवंश m. in भ्रणान्त on संसार.

ज्योतिषाधिकार.

ज्योति:काककाङडवी m. by रुद्रनन्द.

ज्योति:सार m. in कान्तसार of गवा, नि. नि.

ज्योति:सारसार by मधुकेश.


ज्योति:सार m. in धर्मप्रदीप and मोविन्दार्क.

ज्योति:सारसंग्रह m. by रुद्रनन्द in ज्योतितरंग and मदनभारितात.

ज्योति:सारसंग्रह by बुद्धानन्द विषयकार.

ज्योति:सारसुक्खा m. by रुद्रनन्द.

ज्योति:सारसुक्खा by तन्व, son of देव-हार्मन.

ज्योतिरत्न m. in मोविन्दार्क, सं. को.

ज्योतिरत्नभाग m. in चुंबकमलाकर and संसारमूल and चुंबकमूल.

ज्योतिरसिद्ध m. in मोविन्दार्क and चुंब-विसारतम्बार्याण of महोत्तर.

ज्योतिपतित m. in संसारमासकर of सिद्ध-स्वर.

ज्योतिपति by केसरजात्सवान N. ( new series ) II. p. 58.

ज्योतिपाल m. by दुर्गोस्तविलेख of भ्रणान्त, by रुद्रनन्द.

ज्योतिपक्ष m. by प्रज्ञापर्ण of नाम-कांत, नि. नि., मोविन्दार्क.

ज्योतितत्त्व by रुद्रनन्द.

टोडरमाला by रुद्रनन्दमिश्र, under Raja Todaramalla.

टोडरमाला vide sec. 104.

हुणहार्द m. by विषयिनि under the patronage of Mahārāja हुणह. On the rites for every day of the year; ms. written in सके 1589 i. c. 1667-68 A. D. ( Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 136b. )

हुणहार्द m. in the अन्वयपीठांत of नारायणभुज; by रुद्रनन्द in भ्रणान्त ( vol. I p. 213 ) and in शुद्रकमलाकर; earlier than 1525 A. D.

ठाकुमालिह.

ठाकुमालिह of टोडरमाला ( part of टोडरमाला ).

ठाकुमालिहमिरामालिह by धर्मकर उपायपाय.

ठाकुमालिहमिरामालिह by दुर्गवन मोग-स्वामी.

ठाकुमालिहसंस्कार by रुद्रनन्द.

ठाकुमालिह by मोविन्दानन्दविश्वक।

ज्योतितत्त्व by महोत्तरमिश्र ( Baroda O. I. No. 376 ). Written at the bidding of केदार चहारदेस. Dilates
on the question as to who should observe तन्त्र rites, discourses on the inadvisability of तस्त्रायाधारण and तिरिथारण.

तस्त्राध्यपी by अय्यार.

तस्त्राध्यपी by पक्षपरमित्र, son of महामहोपाध्याय देशमुख. Vide Mitra's Notices vol. V. p. 155 for contents; ms. copied in sāke 1661.

तस्त्राध्यपी-vide विषयतथामधकाशाक.

तस्त्राध्यपी vide BBRAS cat. p. 217 No. 687, probably same as the next.

C. vide BBRAS cat. p. 217 No. 687.

तस्त्राध्यपी of नक्षत्रपीठ vide sec. 105. Gives summary of his स्थवितसम्प्र.

C. बालाकृष्ण by बालकृष्ण.

C. बालाकृष्ण by वेणिदेव.

तस्त्राध्यपी by कोपेनरिभु.

तस्त्राध्यपी m. by हेमाश्री and रघुनन्दन in एकदशीतथा and तिथितथा and in आचारमाला.

तस्त्राध्यपी m. in महामात्रातिथि of रघु.

तस्त्राध्यपी m. by हेमाश्री.

तस्त्राध्यपीvide स्थवितसम्प्र.

तस्त्राध्यपी by वर्षिनाथ. An abridgment of his स्थवितसम्प्रवेद or तस्त्राध्यपी divided into four कौशा on आचार, आह्न, छात्रवश्य, and यवहार.

Composed when king राम of सिरੀकोश was reigning. Latter half of 15th century; mentions his राजाध्यशेख in अय्याकाल.

तस्त्राध्यपी by गोविन्दनन्दनसिद्धांशु, a com. on आय्याध्यपीतवेच of तस्त्राध्यपी (pr. by Jivananda).

तस्त्राध्यपी.

तन्त्रमकाय m. by रघुनन्दन in आय्याध्य.

तस्त्राध्यपी by अय्यार.

C. तस्त्राध्यपी vide विषयतथामधकाशाक.

तस्त्राध्यपी by अय्यार (against the practice of branding the body with marks, as वेणिदेव do).

तस्त्राध्यपी or चक्रमीमांसा from स्थवितसम्प्र.

तस्त्राध्यपी by वर्षिनाथ.

तस्त्राध्यपी by हरियागोस्थान (Baroda O. I. 11575).

तारकचन्द्र by सारसचर.

तारकचन्द्र by अय्यार.

तिथिकोश by कल्याण.

तिथिकोश or तिथिविद्विलिकोश of अनन्तदेव, son of आय्यार.

तिथिकोश by विज्ञान (Baroda O. I.

8336).

तिथिविद्विलिका vide पक्षपरमित्र. (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 145; ms. copied in लं. सं. 345 i.e. 1464 A.D.

तिथिविद्विलिका by हरियागोस्थान.

तिथिविद्विलिका by काशीनाथ तकौलकुमार. N. (new series) I. p. 155.

C. by काशीनाथ वाचस्पति. N. (new series) II p. 71.
C. by रामचरण विद्वानवाचस्ति; N. (new series) II. p. 72.

तिथिधिव्यायितमाणि by महेसद्वर (pr. at Benares in 1887 A.D.).

तिथिधिव्याय by आपदेव.

तिथिधिव्याय.

तिथिधिव्यायित (part of स्वतिकौस्तुम of अनन्तदेव).

तिथिधिव्यायित by काशीनाथ, son of जय-रामभट्ट (Baroda O. I. No. 10724).

तिथिधिव्यायितनिधिय (or तिथिधिव्यायित) by भार पाणि. Same as above.

तिथिधिव्यायितकल्पना alias तिथिधिव्यायित by भार पाणि. Names संवतसत्रभद्री, स्वतिकौस्तुम.

C. by श्रीनाथसाहेब, son of श्रीकर.

तिथिधिव्यायित from the कालमाश्रय.

तिथिधिव्यायित by अनन्तभट्ट (Baroda O. I. No. 10611 is dated संवत 1583 i.e. 1526-27 A.D.).

तिथिधिव्यायित by कमलाकर.

तिथिधिव्यायित by गाजपत).

तिथिधिव्यायित by गोपाल.

तिथिधिव्यायित by गोविन्दमुद्रबिठ (Ulu- war cat. No. 1326). Peterson is wrong in saying that he praises one कालरामभट्ट. रामभट्ट is here राम the incarnation of विश्व, identified with काल (Time) and ब्रह्म.

तिथिधिव्यायित by द्वाराकर.

तिथिधिव्यायित by देवदासभट्ट.

तिथिधिव्यायित by नागदेव, son of शिव; based upon निषेधसिद्धांत.
List of works on Dharmakāśita

तिथिनिर्णय वैद्यनाथ (from चमकार-चित्रांसि).
tिथिनिर्णय दिशावनन्दभुवोत्साही (Ulwar cat. No. 1329).
tिथिनिर्णय झुंझुनुर.
tिथिनिर्णय दिपकलस्मण.
tिथिनिर्णय झुंझुनुर.
tिथिनिर्णय from the लुम्बामाही of मार्गवाचार्य.
tिथिनिर्णय from the स्वत्‌न्येःासार.
tिथिनिर्णयकारिका श्रीविनायकसर्वम्‌, son of गौरिन्दनाथ of the कृष्णकेश.
tिथिनिर्णयबंधक by विपन्नाधि (Baroda O. I. No. 8336).
tिथिनिर्णयतत्त्व by दिशावनन्दनागर.
tिथिनिर्णयविद्वत्ता by रामदेव, son of शान्तु.
tिथिनिर्णयमार्गन्थ by कृष्णमिश्राचार्य.
tिथिनिर्णयसंहित by माधवजी, son of रक्षीर.
tिथिनिर्णयसंग्रह by रामचन्द्र. A summary of the तिथिनिर्णय of अनन्त-मदु.
C. by चूरसिंह (Baroda O. I. ms. No. 1524 is dated संवत्‌ 1683). Later than 1400 A.D.
tिथिनिर्णयसंहितसारपाद.
tिथिनिर्णयसार by देवनाथ. Vide sec. 93.
tिथिनिर्णयबंधनेश्वर by नागवेदिनभु.
tिथिनिर्णयवाचार्य or झुंझितिथिनिर्णय or नियंगरे by राजवंश. Vide तिथिनिर्णय above. Also called तिथिनिर्णयसंग्रह.
tिथिनिर्णय by गुणवान्त द्विप्रेषिक.
H. D. 70.
tिथिनिर्णयकाशाखाकाशिका
tिथिनिर्णयकाशिका by महेश्वर.
tिथिनिर्णयकाशिका by चूरसिंह. Refers to विपन्नाधि.
tिथिनिर्णयकाशिका by रामदेव.
tिथिनिर्णयकाशिका of महादेव, son of आचार्य, son of महादेव, son of लालभु.
tिथिनिर्णय by महादेव.
tिथिनिर्णयकाशिका by नीलकण्ठ, son of अनन्त, son of विनायक.
tिथिनिर्णयकाशिका by नीलकण्ठ. Vide तिथिनिर्णय of नारायणभु.
tिथिनिर्णयकाशिका of शुकपाणि m. in रुपनन्दन's तिथितत्त्व.
C. तापसितिधिपिता by श्रीनाथ आचार्य-चूरसिंह, son of श्रीकर; about 1475-1525 A.D. N. (new series) vol. II. pp. 73-74 ms. copied in 1512-13 A.D.
tिथिनिर्णयबंधकसारपाद.
tिथिनिर्णय or तिथिनिर्णय by राज. Vide above (pr. in Bombay 1864).
tिथिनिर्णय ano. N. (new series) II. P. 75.
tिथिनिर्णय or वर्तिथिनिर्णय by चूरसिंह.
tिथिनिर्णय or नागेश्वर by नागेश्वर.
tिथिनिर्णय by विश्वास, son of महादेव, son of बालक्षण अचार्यगत; author of आचार्याकाशिका (both being parts of चमकारपादपालिका). About 1683 A.D.
अचार्याकाशिका by his son वैद्यनाथ.
tिथिनिर्णयकाशिका (Baroda O. I. No. 5947). The author says that नारायणभु author of प्रयोगरत्न was
the great-grand-father (प्रिताम) of his mother. So author flourished about 1650 A. D.

तिथ्यकर्मकार by विशाकर (same as तिथ्यकर above ?).

तिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय by नगराका भास्कर
(Baroda O. I. ms, No. 5772 is dated 1605 संवत् i. e. 1548-9 अ. द.). Mentions श्रीपितका, काशिकार, माधव and गिरिनारुत. So later than 1400 अ. द.

तिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय by नगराका भास्कर.

तिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय of पवननाम (part of दोषी-बारसंग्रह; ms. copied in 1707 अ. द.).

तिथ्यादितित्वसंग्रह by रघुनाथ तरकंतिरे-मणि. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 75.

तिथ्यादितित्वसंग्रह by हरिचार्मिष.

तिथ्यकर्मकार ताजस सर्वतीर्थविषय ं of कम-लाखकर्म; son of रामकुमार. Vide sec. 106.

तिथ्यकर्मकार by गोकुलकर्म, son of अन्तरकर्म.

तिथ्यकर्मकार by नरप्रभान. Sec. 105.

तिथ्यकर्मकार by वाचस्पति.

तिथ्यकारकिंक्षा m. by रामचंप.

तिथ्यकारकी की ताजस of रघुनाथ, son of वहाँ; mentions तिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय. Same as तिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय.

तिथ्यकारकी की की of सिद्धान्ताचार्यमंडळी.

तिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय by वाचस्पतिमिश्र, in five prakāśas (pr. in B. I. series); m. in the छुट्टितः of रघुनाथ and in विशाल (Vide sec. 98).

तिथ्यादितित्व or तिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय of रघुनाथ. This is over and above his सिद्धान्त in 28 संवत्.

तिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय (vide under रघुनाथ) of महाराम, son of वीरवास्य, surnamed होस्थिक.

तिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय or कृष्णेश्वरतिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय of राम-चंप.

तिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय by व्यास.

तिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय by हरिचार्मिष.

तिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय by रघुनाथ. Same as तिथ्यादितित्व; sec. 102.

तिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय.

तिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय by रघुनाथ, son of ग्रह-मंड़, at the request of अमरचंप.

तिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय or सर्वतीर्थसंग्रह of रघुनाथ; son of माधव, of पदासरगोष्टि; ms. dated संवत् 1690 (1634-5 अ. द.).

He composed the श्रीकस्मसंग्रह, com. on श्रीकस्मदीपिका, at Benares in संवत् 1600. He is author of ग्रामप्राचार; flourished between 1500-1545 अ. द.

तिथ्यादितित्व m. in सर्वतीर्थसंग्रह by भोजभर.

तिथ्यादितित्व by रघुनाथ.

तिथ्यादितित्व (part of श्रीसं्हिदभशा).

तिथ्यादितित्व by तन्त्रशास्त्र ग्रह.

तिथ्यादितित्व (part of दीर्घार्बन्ध).

तिथ्यादितित्व by रघुनाथ; son of ग्रह-मंड़. Vide sec. 110.

तिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय by कुमार, son of वहां. Vide under ग्रामप्राचार.

About 1753 अ. द.

तिथ्यादितित्वनिर्णय by नगराका भास्कर (Baroda O. I. No. 3894).
List of works on Dharmasastra

तुलसीचित्रिका by राजनारायण खुलो-पालायक.

tulasi-viṣṭha (taken from pratapmataḥ)
Ulwar cat. No. 1334 and extract 313.

tulasa

tulasa-nāyakat.

tulasa-nāyakat

tulasa-vinodam.

tulasa-vinodam by cībhūṣāṇu.

tulasa-vinodam (maṇiprasthīṭī).

tulasa-vinodam by kamsalakar, son of ramasvāmī. Sec. 106.

tulasa-vinodam by kamsalakar.

tulasa-vinodam by cībhūṣāṇu.

tulasa-vinodam by gopināth.

tulasa-vinodam by nārāyana, son of rāmēṣvara; sec. 103.

विविषाचित्रक or आश्रोचित्रशैल्क by नौदेव. Is it the same as the next?

विविषाचित्रक or आश्रोचित्रशैल्क or

कुलकारिका (pr. at Benares in 1876 with com.) in 30 स्वराग verses on आश्रोच. Ulwar cat. No. 1339 ascribes it to वोदेव. Vide BBAS cat. vol. II pp. 209-210 where it is ascribed to हेमाकित.

C. विविषाचित्रक by रघुनाथभक्तi, son of मार्ग, son of Rāmeśvara; flourished 1560-1625 A.D.

CC. विविषाचित्रक by हामकट, son of बालक्ष्म. Names

ि.ि., दशर, भूतग्रीष्मप. Between 1660-1710 A.D. He says he follows com. of रघुनाथ on the विविषाचित्रक.

C. आश्रोचित्रसह भक्ति.
C. ascribed to विविषाचित्रक (wrongly). Vide under विविषाचित्रक.
C. by अनंतभक्तi (Ulwar cat. No. 1340).
C. by अनंतभक्तi (Ulwar cat. No. 1341); ms. in Baroda O.I. 3883 is dated संवत 1579 (1522-23 A.D).
C. विविषाचित्रक by अनंत, son of कमलानाथ; son of रामेश्वर. About 1610-1660 A.D.
C. by कमलानाथ.
C. by रघुर.
C. by रघुर.
C. by रघुर.
C. by विविषाचित्रक.
C. by रामेश्वरभारती.
C. by author

विकादमुलक alias आधारचित्रशैली-तार्थकारिका by आर्य्विन्दसरोङ्गायतिलक

son of कुमारस्वामित् (pr. in B. I, series). Printed text and ms. differ. Divided into four sections in 575 verses on अधिकारितरुपम, प्रतिनिधि, दुराराप, निमित्त and व्यव-शेतक. He names कार्यवेद, कर्म, केशवसिद्धान्त, वामेद, नारायणसह on आधारयाप्दातुताम, भवनाम, भव- भास्मार्गभाष्यकार, भूगोलिकाकार, भू- वध, गान्धीकार (on गुर्जमाल्यa.), वर्षपत्व, कस्मदीय, विपिनाद, many
of his गारिकास, though primarily concerned with श्रावते रित्वेल, is quoted largely in परम्बर्तमार रित्वेल. He incidentally deals with many topics of परंपरा, such as proper actions in महामाय (I, 165-177), what is गौणकाल for an act etc. He is named by हेमाचर and the महामायावर्ण. So he flourished after 1000 and before 1200 A. D. Vide Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 pp. 30-31 for date.

C. विवरण.

C. जनमभगतिका

विकाससम्बन्ध.

विषिकाद्वयव्योग (Aufrecht's Leip-
zig cat. 591).

विचारकृतानित्व of रेणु; vide p. 417
above.

विचित्रप्रवाहित m. in नि. सि.

विचित्रित (rules for the consecra-
tion of images when transferred
from one place to another
through fear of mlechhas or

विषेशिष्यति by विचारकर्मम (Baroda
O. I. 5840).

विस्मृतिभिषि by हेमाचर.

विस्मृतिविद्या of काशीनाथभद्र, son of
ज्ञानामिष्ट.

विस्मृतिविद्या of नारायणभद्र, son of राम-
ज्ञानमिष्ट (pr. at Anandāsrama
Poona.). The first part deals
with rites common to all sacred
places and then the special
features of the pilgrimage to

प्रयास, काशी and मया. Composed
about 1550-60 A. D.

विश्वासविद्याका द्वारा नागेश.

विश्वासविद्याका or सारसांश or तीर्थ-
याविष्कार द्वारा भट्टाचर.

वेदोपलयमार m. by वाचस्पतिकम्य in his
वेदान्तमार. So earlier than 1400 A. D.

वेदोपलयमार m. by हेमाचर, रुपान्न,
and in दार्शनिक.

वेदांतसंप्रदाय by कैलासपति.

विविधभिषि - vide विचित्रमन्त्रि.

दक्षसूति see sec. 43; pr. Jivananda
Sm. part II, pp. 383-402, Anan.
sm. pp. 72-84.

C. by कृष्णनाथ.

C. by रक्षसानाथ.

दक्षार्याविशेष by नारायण (Baroda
O. I. 9175).

दक्षार्याविशेष.

दक्षार्याविशेष (extracted from the
तीर्थसूत्री of श्रावते).

दक्षार्याविशेष of वर्धमान of विल्मचार, son of भुज्य and younger brother of गण्डकम्रम; in seven परंपराएँ; latter half of 15th century; on
penal offences, the propriety of
inflicting punishments and the
different forms of punishments
to be inflicted. N. vol. V p. 225
No. 1910; composed for the
king of गमंत्र; mentions कल:-
स्र, कामचक, हस्ति, व्याप्तक, स्तरी-
सार, कऽसार, रलाकार, परितास,
व्यवहाररतिक, विनिष्ठि and धारी
among his authorities. It is a
part of his स्त्रूपतिस्वाधेष.
दत्तकदास.
दत्तककौशली by रामजय तरड़ोध्य (pr. at Calcutta in 1827 in Bengali characters). Summarised in दत्तक-शिरोमणि pr. under the patronage of P. C. Tagore.

दत्तककौशल by केदारनाथदत्त (pr. at Calcutta).

दत्तकविद्वान of कुंवरपरमेश्वर (pr. Calcutta 1857, text with Marathi translation pr. at Baroda, 1899). The last verse is interpreted as giving राममुख as the name of the author. Said to be fabricated by a pandit of Colebrooke's. The author says he wrote a स्वत-विद्वान.

C. by रामेश्वरहाकु.

दत्तकविद्वान by कोठ्याचाय.

दत्तकविद्वान by तोळ्याचर, son of श्रीमती-सावाचार (Baroda O. I. 6572 B.)

दत्तकविद्वानकार by तरड़ोध्य.

दत्तकतथापिनियम or -विचार by दरसानाथजी. N. vol. XI. Intro. p. 5.

दत्तकवाचक of मधवेश (a part of his अभावासन). Summarised in the दत्तकशिरोमणि.

दत्तकदास by हृदयाचार (N. X. p. 71).

दत्तकवीप by महादासोपाध्याय अलकं-मेत्र (pr. at Calcutta and also at Bhavnagar). Summarised in दत्तकशिरोमणि.

दत्तकराम by तत्त्वज्ञानिक.

दत्तकविद्वान by दार्षिक.

दत्तकविद्वान by शहीदपाशि (part of his digest called स्वत-विचार). Nearly the whole is pr. in Bharatachandra Stromanis' दत्तकशिरोमणि. Also styled दत्तकविद्वान.

दत्तकनिर्णय by अलकं-मेत्र.

दत्तकद्वारज्ञान by अलकं-मेत्र (probably same as दत्तकविद्वान).

दत्तकद्वारज्ञान by हृदयाचर.

दत्तकद्वारज्ञान by शहीदपाशि; same as दत्तकनिर्णय above.

दत्तकसिकासा or दत्तकसिकासा of नन्दकेश्वर alias नन्दकेश्वरविद्वान (pr. by भरतचन्द्र शिरोमणि at Calcutta). Vide sec. 105.

C. by हृदयाचर.

दत्तकसिकासा by माधवाचार.

दत्तकविध (an extract from the स्व-हारम्यसूत्र of वीरकेश्वर).

दत्तकविध by वाश्च प्राप्त; vide N. (New Series) vol. III. preface pp. VII-VIII.

दत्तकविद्वान by शहीदपाशि (vide दत्तक-निर्णय above).

दत्तकसिकासा of वर्धमान, who performs an obeisance to कारणी. N. (new series) vol. I p. 166.

दत्तकविन्दुमणि by वर्धमान, son of मर-सिंह.

दत्तकविद्वान by प्रजनानन्द विपयार (pr. at Calcutta 1875).

दत्तकद्वारज्ञान by वाढेदेवभुदु (Stein's cat. p. 307).

दत्तकविद्वान by भोविन्द वाढेदेवभुदु (Baroda O. I. No. 10701 b).

दत्तकविदः.

दत्तकविदः.
Probably a part of his स्वतिलकर (N. vol. VIII p. 14).
Mentions स्वतिलकङ्कः, कालिनंद, अल्पसोभारः.
वशामाध्यम by रामबहु, son of मित्रनाथ होसेश्वर.
वशामाध्यम by रणनाथ. Based on हेमाश्रि's work.
वशामाध्यम by दुपालकु, son of चरणीय.
वशामाध्यम by मनोदेव (Baroda O. I. ms. 1677 dated सake 1680).
वशामाध्यम by शिबराम.
वशासचिका.

वशामाध्यम by पञ्चममाध्यम कालेश्वर for Rgyvedins (Kānya). He was elder brother of हलाधु and Пан’dit of Лакшмânasaena of Bengal and so flourished about 1168-1200 A.D.

वशामाध्यम by महामहोपाध्याय कालेश्वर for Rgyvedins (about गर्वाशान etc.). N. vol. II. p. 61.

वशामाध्यम by गणपति, son of हरि-श्रृङ्खल.

वशामाध्यम by नारायणभु.

वशामाध्यम by वृषभेश्वर.

वशामाध्यम by सबेश्वर; (the work is also called दुर्शमसचिका or कमालुकाल-श्री.) According to दृश्योम school. Vide sec. 73.

वशामाध्यम by रामदेवचिका for Va- jasaneyins, same as गर्वाशानादि-वशामाध्यमका.

वशामाध्यम by हलाधु (part of ब्राह्मणपरम).
List of works on Dharmasastra

Dharmasastra

Dharmasastra by Varahamihira (part of Samkhya or Mimamsa element).

Dharmasastra by Vedantasharma, son of Vedanta.

Dharmasastra (on fasts and festivals) m. in Vedanta philosophy.

Dharmasastra by Ananda, son of Pramakar, of the Dasa family.

Dharmasastra by Jijesh (Baroda O. 1. 1963).

Dharmasastra (ascribed to Jijesh Nath) on Atharva. Same as Atharva philosophy above.

Dharmasastra by Jijesh Nath. In Hultsch’s Report III p. 101 we find that Jijesh Nath says ‘Vedanta philosophy—meditation on bhakti is the basis of knowledge, and Jijesh Nath gives us a composition of Jijesh Nath,’ which shows that he regarded the author of the Jijesh Nath as different from Jijesh Nath.

Dharmasastra. Same as Garba Atharva.

Dharmasastra. Same as Garba Atharva.

Dharmasastra. Same as Garba Atharva.

Dharmasastra by Vedanta Vishwakarman.

Dharmasastra by Vedanta Vishwakarman.

Dharmasastra by Vedanta Vishwakarman.

Dharmasastra by Vedanta Vishwakarman.

Dharmasastra by Vedanta Vishwakarman.

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Dharmasastra by Vedanta Vishwakarman.

Dharmasastra by Vedanta Vishwakarman.
History of Dharapathra


dasa varnemaharthy to vararahu, son of

Kumara Kusuma. Names

Bhushan. In four kandas; ms. (Mitra's Notices vol. V p. 144)
dated Saka 1558, i.e. 1636-7 A.D.

Dasa varnemaharthy to vishvamitra, son of

Devasena of the family. N. vol. V.
p. 150. Peterson (5th Report p. 177) reads nara and shows that

varvakar compiled it at the bidding of nara.

Dasa varnemaharthy to rana varnemaharthy - summarises

Dasa varnemaharthy to rana varnemaharthy - as he expressly says.

Dasa varnemaharthy to durvaka varnemaharthy - vide above

under nara also.

Dasa varnemaharthy to bhagavatavarna varnemaharthy to rama

tha minist of karna king of dharma.

He was first cousin (paternal) of vishvamitra. First

half of 14th century (I. O. cat.
vol. III. p. 550 No. 1714). The

colonoph describes it as the work of

vararenga, who is in the

4th introductory verse referred
to as born of the

varaharva and

as an

aparitaksh and appointed

to compose the work?.

Dasa varnemaharthy to mishka:

Dasa varnemaharthy to vishvamitra:

Dasa varnemaharthy to ananta vana

or vararha, son of jaya of karnavakula.

Dasa varnemaharthy to vararha.

Dasa varnemaharthy to mishka (part of vararha).

Vide sec. 108.
List of works on Dharmatattva

Dhanavijaya.
Dhanavijaya m. by Hemariti, Dhanavijaya, Dhanavijaya of Nitaratna.
Dhanavijaya by Nitaratna, son of Bhujisvamittra. About 1650 A.D.
Dhanavijaya of Dhanavijaya, son of Dhanavijaya. (from Dhanavijaya).
Dhananakacasasakrta by Ghisakar son of Dhananakacasasakrta. Vide Dhananakacasasakrta above.
Dhanasamra by Duwanthak.
Dhanasamra by Kadambarhara, in imitation of Duwanthak's work.
Dhanasamra by Duwanthak. Vide sec. 83.
Dhanasamrabhi (vide Bik. cat. p. 375).
Dhanasamrabhi m. in Dhananakacasasakrta and Dhananakacasasakrta.
Dhanasamrabhi by Ghisakar, son of Dhanasamrabhi. He was daughter's son of Bhujisvamittra. A verified summary of contents was added to this work by his younger son Bhanapato. He wrote Acharya in 1686 A.D. The work is part of his Dhanasamrabha.
Dhunanakacasasakrta by Bhanapato, son of the author.
Dhananakacasasakrta—part of Dhananakacasasakrta.

Dhanabhavit—part of Dhanavijaya.


M. D. 71.
Vide I. O. cat. vol. III p. 462
No. 1523 ; p. 463 No. 1524
shows that there is some confu-
sion between नौपाल and ब्रजकर्मी.

Vide sec. 78 :
C. by दास्यामयमश्रीगी (pr. at Calcutta 1893, 1898).
C. दास्यामयसिद्धान्तकालकविनिका by अशुल चक्रवर्ती, son of हरिनाथ तकरार; critiques शीतलाचार्य's दीक्षा and he is quoted by मोहनर and श्रीकृष्ण. 1500-1550 A. D.
C. by दमशुकर.
C. by श्रीकृष्णकास्तासाराम.
C. by गण्डेश.
C. by गण्धरम.
C. दास्याच by श्रीकृष्णकालकुलक, whose daughter's son was living in 1790 A. D. (pr. in 1863).
C. by नीलकण्ठ.
C. by मोहनर (vide I. L. R. 48 Cal. 702).
C. by मोहनर; quotes अशुलचक्केर्वर्ती (pr. in 1863).
C. by रुद्रसुदन (pr. in 1863), son of हरिहर.
C. by रामनाथ विद्याराचार्य.
C. दृष्टि or दृष्टि by रामनाथ, son of शीतलाचार्य धूमराम; quoted in अशुल's दीक्षा (pr. in 1863).
C. by शीतलाचार्य, son of श्रीकर्माचार्य; criticized by अशुल (pr. in 1863).
1475-1535 A. D. 

Vide the ten शाल्लकविनीत verses on inheritance (pr. by Burnell at Mangalore).
C. by दर्श, son of दासेबेश.
C. by दासेबेश, com. on दास्याच. Vide under दास्याच.

dharmapalas composed by order of queen आयतनि, wife of दीनदारामण
नारायण (कलंक्षेरारणपिंड) of शिवभाग, First half of 15th
century.

शास्त्रीय म. in निर्वाचनिक and भाष्य-
मण्डल and समयमण्डल; earlier than
1500 A. D.

About 1604 A.D.; pr. at Calcutta 1904.

A. N. (new series) vol.
II p. 80.

वार्थां वार्थां of श्रीकृष्ण तराष्टर (pr.
at Calcutta, 1828 and translated
by Wynch); mentions आचार्य-
वृत्तां.

स्नातक or स्नातकत्व of रुद्रदेश (pr. by Jivananda). Vide sec.
102.

C. by काशीराम बाचपारत.
C. by रायगोन.
C. दस्यानन दर्श.
C. by अशुलचक्केर्वर्ती.
C. Ano. N. (new series) vol.

शास्त्रीय in ten शाल्लकविनीत verses on inheritance (pr. by
Burnell at Mangalore).
C. by दर्श, son of दासेबेश.
C. by दासेबेश, com. on दास्याच. Vide under दास्याच.

शास्त्रीय, summary of श्रीकृष्ण's शास्त्रसब्ज.

शास्त्रीय by श्रीकृष्णकालकुल.

Shastri by Shrikarshama; quotes मदन-
सारिकालम, नौपाल and श्रीकर्मा.
List of works on Dharmadātra

C. by दरिद्रीलित.

Dhārma—ah portion of यवधारानिर्णिय of बलदृश.
Dhārma—ah portion of the विवाह-ण् क्षणिय of जनायग.
Dhārma by वैष्णवाच.
Dhārmaकालिका by मोहनचन्द्र विवाह-पति. N. (new series) I. 172.
Dhārmanिर्णिय or विनिर्णिय by कामदेव
Dhārmanिर्णिय by पार्थिति (Peterson's 6th Report No. 84).
Dhārmanिर्णिय by राजेंद्र.
Dhārmanिर्णिय of राज़क-विनोद धार्मिनिय above.
Dhārmanिर्णियविवेक alias धार्मिक by रामानाथ विवाह-पति; a com. on Dhārman by गौरसुद महात्माेँ
Dhārmanिर्णिय of सार्वजनिन in 8 तरंगो. Composed in (शाक्तिशिलाटहरास्थ-कलानिधारि) sake 1583 i.e. 1661-2 A.D.; composed for राजव.
Dhārmanिर्णियविवेक by गोसाइ हृदय (part of व्यस्तम्यानिन). Dhārmanिर्णियविवेक of बलदृश तर्कालाघि-भुदावर्षः (I. O. cat. p. 465).
Dhārmanिर्णियविवेक स्त्रियालिङ्गचित्रिका, com. on Dhārman. Vide above.
Dhārmanिर्णियविवेकाईकापाणिश्व by रुप्राम, pupil of रुपमलि. N. (new series) vol. I p. 174; towards end of 18th century.

शायधारकामश्बी by दीकडाराम.
शायधार-विने शायधाराविवेक of रामानाथ.
शायधारग बालाकार.
शायधारलेह by गोवाक्ष.
शायधारलेहकः मोदकवियत्यक्ष्मा by दुःख, son of वाळसें.
Vide शायधारलेहकः.
शायधारिकामविवेक by श्रीकृष्णामालकुमार.
शायधारिकामविवेक by श्रीकृष्णामालकुमार.
शायधारिकामसंग्रह by श्रीकृष्णामालकुमार.
शायधारिकामसंग्रह by दुःख or श्रीकृष्ण
तकालःकुर. Ulwar cat. No. 1356. Seems to be same as the preceding.

शायधारिकालिक by श्रीमानारायण.
शायधारिकालिकम (on भास्क) D. C. ms. No. 267 of 1887-91 contains prose passages about प्रमो. "शायधारिकालिक (Baroda O. I. No. 8156). On rites of death and after death.

शायधारसः.
शायधारकालिङ्गचित्रिक by पार्श्वकेश तर्क-दस्तयतः.

शायधारिकालिङ्गचित्रिक.
विनोदसाहित्य or शीतपामालिनिका begun by विनोद शायधारविवेक, son of रामकृष्णामालि; son of शायधारविवेक and finished by his son विनोदाला शायधारविवेक मालि; contains sections on आचार, आशीर्व, काल, द्वार, द्वितीय पति, अशोक, विजय, वर्ष्ण, व्रत, धृत, भ्राता, and संस्कार.

शायधारिकालिङ्गचित्रिका.
शायधारिकालिङ्गचित्रिका of नारायण (for शायधार followers).

शायधारिकालिङ्गचित्रिका.
शायधारक of शायधारान निष्क्रम-शास्त्रालीय.

Manual of daily religious duties
of householders. About 1715 A.D.

विष्णुसिंह म. by जीतुवान्धन' काल-विशेष.

विष्णुसिंह म. by नारायणवर्मण्यप्रसाद of भाद्रणार.

विष्णुसिंह म. by नि. सि., विधानपारिज्ञात, हारामध्यक्ष. Earlier than 1500 A.D. Probably the same as विष्णुसिंह माहात.

विष्णुसिंह of पुण्यरघु. Vide sec. 102.

C. कड़हीका by मधुराराज घुटो.

विष्णुसिंह or तत्त्वकौशल म. by देवनाथ; mentions only Vaishnavite rites. (Mitra's Notices vol. VI p. 32, ms. copied in 1551 sakte i.e. 1629-30 A.D.).

विष्णुसिंह of दामोदरज्ञ, compiled under मुहमद शाह (N. vol. V. p. 282).

विष्णुसिंह of दामोदरज्ञ, compiled under संतनमार्य (N. vol. VI. p. 40). Earlier than 1575 A.D. Vide under विशेषकारक of दामोदर.

विष्णुसिंह by संहारनाथ.

विष्णुसिंहकार्य by विष्णुसिंह. An abridgment in verse of his कालदीप and भाद्रीप.

विष्णुसिंहकार्य by नारायणमठ, son of रामचंद्रमठ. Vide sec. 103. N. (new series) vol. III. p. 92.

वीरस्वर up to पुण्यरघु. Vide sec. 102.

वीरस्वरकारका of रामकाली (C.P. cat. No. 2202).

वीरस्वरकारका of रामपाणि, com. on वाज-बलमृद्वसति. Vide sec. 95.

वीरस्वर.

वीरस्वरकारका or-कारिका.

वीरस्वरकार.

वीरस्वर.

वीरस्वरकारका.

वीरस्वर-Occurs in the name of several works such as वाज-निपत, वाज-दीपिका, अभ्रीपतीका &c.

विशेषज्ञ (Baroda O. I. 10625 dated 1757 संवत).

विशेषज्ञ (alias स्वततिसुधारक) by चन्द्रकौशलशार्मा, a चारित्रिका of नव-हीर. Four chapters on तिथि, मास, persons qualified to perform religious ceremonies such as हुमा-पुक, fasts and penances; solves doubts on points of dharma.

हुमा-पुक-Vide हुमा-पुकतत्त्व.

हुमा-पुक by राजबन्धु.

हुमा-पुकतत्त्वपूर्वपूर्व.

हुमा-पुकमाहातिकी or हुमा-पुकमाहातिका ascribed to नारायणदेव of मिष्टान्त, composed by विष्णुपाल. This was his last work, praises श्रीराम, son of नारायण, and his brother शरणेवर who is here styled राजमहाराज, though elsewhere he is called हरिमहाराज (vide Ind. Ant. vol. 14 p. 193). About 1438 A.D.; pr. in Calcutta, 1909. Mentions राजकार.

हुमा-पुकमाहातिकी of मांग.

हुमा-पुकमाहातिका म. by पुण्यरघु in हुमा-पुकतत्त्व.

हुमा-पुकमाहातिका म. by पुण्यरघु in हुमा-पुकतत्त्व.
List of works on Dharmaśastrasya

Dhārmanītākṣaṇa by Mādhavaśāstra. Vide sec. 102.
Dhārmanītākṣaṇa by N. X. H. (name not given). Mitra appears to regard this as different from above, while Aufrecht holds them identical. N. vol. VII p. 7.
Dhārmanītākṣaṇa vide Dharmāṅkitaśraddha.
Dharmabhikṣa by Śāntipāla. Vide sec. 95.
Dharmabhikṣa by Śāntipāla. Vide sec. 95.
Dharmabhikṣa by Śāntipāla. Vide sec. 95.
Dharmabhikṣa by Śāntipāla. Vide sec. 95.
Dharmabhikṣa by Śāntipāla. Vide sec. 95.

Dhārmanītākṣaṇa by Mādhavaśāstra. Vide sec. 102.
Dhārmanītākṣaṇa by N. X. H. (name not given). Mitra appears to regard this as different from above, while Aufrecht holds them identical. N. vol. VII p. 7.
Dhārmanītākṣaṇa vide Dharmāṅkitaśraddha.
Dharmabhikṣa by Śāntipāla. Vide sec. 95.
Dharmabhikṣa by Śāntipāla. Vide sec. 95.
Dharmabhikṣa by Śāntipāla. Vide sec. 95.
Dharmabhikṣa by Śāntipāla. Vide sec. 95.
Dharmabhikṣa by Śāntipāla. Vide sec. 95.

Dhārmanītākṣaṇa by Mādhavaśāstra. Vide sec. 102.
Dhārmanītākṣaṇa by N. X. H. (name not given). Mitra appears to regard this as different from above, while Aufrecht holds them identical. N. vol. VII p. 7.
Dhārmanītākṣaṇa vide Dharmāṅkitaśraddha.
Dharmabhikṣa by Śāntipāla. Vide sec. 95.
Dharmabhikṣa by Śāntipāla. Vide sec. 95.
History of Dharmaśāstra

on द्वारक, काके, कृष्णदीप, सत्तिकर, सिताकेश, कृष्णरघु. Between 1350-1500 A.D. Baroda O. I. No. 5581.

देवभासीय m. by नि. नि. – बिधिप्रति-नित्य, भावमदय च (Probably same as above).

देवप्रभुत m. in दुर्गकथा of अनन्तवर. Probably the महादेवप्रभुत of अनन्तवरीकृत.

देवमित्रात्मक or प्रतिदिनत्व of रघु-नन्दन. Vide sec. 102.

देवमित्रात्मक.

देवमित्रात्मक by स्वामिन्द्र, son of गणपतिवरीकृत.

देवमित्रात्मक (Bik. cat. p. 380).

देवमित्रात्मक (वसुवर्दी) of देव-पारिष्ठ (pr. in Kashi S. series).


देवगणनकौशली by द्वारक, son of बालजल, surnamed चारे (Baroda O. I. 1464).

देवगणनकौशली by रामपति.

देवहरिवर्ता त. in अहल्याकाव्यात.

देवहरिवर्ता by श्रमण स्वामिन्द्र बालजल (N. vol. VII p. 154 gives date of completion as श्रीनागरी प्रयोग व शास्त्रार्थियो छहे).

देवहरिवर्ता by श्रमण परिष्ठ.

देवहरिवर्ता सुपरवतिनिनत्रण.

देवहरिवर्ता (Aufrecht’s Leipzig cat. 673).

देवहरिवर्ता m. in द्वारकानाथ.

देवस्थानकोट by द्वारक, m. by रघु-नन्दन in ज्योतिलक्षण and महामह.

तत्थ and in द्वारकानाथ and by नि.

नि. (probably a purely astrological work). Earlier than 1500 A.D.

देवव्रताम by नीलकण्ठ or श्रीपति; m. by नि. नि. (probably a purely astrological work).

देवलयवा.

देवलयवा व/ or देवलयवा याज्ञवल्क्य of रघु-नन्दन; vide sec. 102. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 191.

देवलयवा आधिक द रामपति. Vide sec. 95.

देवलयवां नुत by नारायणनन्तर्कार्य.

देवलयवां नुत of वियामिनास.

रघुवर्दी by रघुवर.

रघुवर्दी परिष्ठ by उष्णकुमार, son of वीताम्बर. Author describes himself as श्रीमहामायापरिचयार्थियाज्ञवल्क्य; quotes श्री, चित्रमल, विनिरोपयोग; he was born in संवत 1724 (1668 A.D.) and died about संवत 1781; pr. in 1906.

रघुपण्डितपरिष्ठ.

रघुपण्डितपरिष्ठ.

रघुपण्डित विद्वान vide लाहिरपण्डित; pr. at अनन्दाश्रम प्रेस, पूणा with com.

C. by रघुकुम्भ.

C. द्वारिकी by श्रीमिता.

रघुपण्डितपरिष्ठ by वालिकाविद्वार.

रघुपण्डितपरिष्ठमय by विनासनमन.

रघुपण्डितपरिष्ठमय by विनतांनमन.

रघुपण्डितपरिष्ठमय by द्वारिकार.

रघुपण्डितपरिष्ठ.
ह्रासवादयण (Baroda O. I. No. 12225).
ह्रासवादयणतः दलाल.
ह्रासवादयणहरित or ह्रासवादयणाबन्धनतः of गुणन्वन. On the twelve great festivals of Viṣṇu at Jagannāthapuri.
ह्रासवादयणयोग्यम् by विष्णुविद्यास (about जनमत्स्य). N. (new series) I. p. 194.
ह्रासवादयणसाधनीमांसा.
ह्रासवादयणकम्पिति.
ह्रासवादयणकल्पतात्त्वम् by परिष्कार in 6 तत्त्वात्त्वम्. Hultsch's Report III p. 60.
ह्रासवादयणसाधनी.
ह्रासवादयणकम्पिति of श्रीराम, the elder brother of ह्रासवादयण. About 1170-1200 A.D.
ह्रासवादयणसाधनी.
ह्रासवादयणपदार्थीमांसा by ह्रासवादयणकम्पिति.
ह्रासवादयणसाधनी.
ह्रासवादयणसाधनी of ह्रासवादयणमाण.
ह्रासवादयण by चन्द्रेश्वर वाचस्पति, son of विष्णुविद्यास. Calcutta Sanskrit College mss. cat. vol. II. 79.
ह्रासवादयण by नमस्ति; quoted by रल्यान्धि in श्रीमानसाहित्यकथा; mentions रल्यान्धि.
ह्रासवादयण of वाचस्पतिरसिष्यम्. Vide sec. 98.
C. मकार or जीवोऽहार by अभुधुरन-
C. जीवत or काहक्षीर by शोकुतनाथ
(1. O. cat. vol. III. p. 488).
ह्रासवादयण by शाहुरम. About 1580-
ह्रासवादयण m. in श्रीराम by विष्णुविद्यास as composed by his grandfather. Latter half of 17th century.
ह्रासवादयणपरिषिद्ध or ह्रासवादयणपरिषिद्ध by केश- वर्मिन; m. by रल्यान्धि; in two रिष्टश्च द्वेष; dwells at great length on श्रीराम. Vide Mitra's Notices V. p. 186.
ह्रासवादयणपरिषिद्ध by दामोदर, son of शाहुरम. About 1600-1640 A.D.
ह्रासवादयणपरिषिद्ध m. in ह्रासवादयणपरिषिद्ध.
ह्रासवादयणपरिषिद्ध by चन्द्रेश्वर वाचस्पति, son of विष्णुविद्यास.
ह्रासवादयणपरिषिद्ध by शाहुरम; son of नीलकंठ; son of शाहुरम (whose ह्रासवादयण is summarised herein.). About 1640-1670 A.D.
ह्रासवादयणपरिषिद्ध by वर्धमान, son of नबेहान. About 1500 A.D.
ह्रासवादयणपरिषिद्ध m. in श्रीमानसाहित्य of गुण. श्रीमानसाहित्यपादसिधे महाद्वारके by विष्णुविद्यास son of श्रीमानसाहित्य पादश्रेष्ठे of नागिनाशोन (Baroda O. I. No. 12708). Mentions दिनकरोऽसोन, कौशिक. Later than 1680 A.D.
धनान्धरसंग्रह m. by गुण in तीर्थपाल.
धनान्धरसंग्रह – vide आगमिन.
धनान्धरसंग्रह.
धनान्धरसंग्रहीका m. by नामानुकार in निर्देश.
धनान्धरसंग्रहीका by नामानुकार.
History of Dharmastala

Phalerevashram alias Visarantiamaon by
Phalerevashram by Phaliv, pr. at Calcutta
in Maratha Kusumangalam series.

Phalakara (author not known).
508 karikas compiled from various authors. Mentions n. s.,
Kusumangalam, Kaalatvarishan and Sudhakar,
and so later than 1680 A.D.
(vide BBRAS. cat. p. 219, No. 691).

Phalakara by Vicharamahamuni m. by varma
and in Aharakthav by Raja.
The work deals with Varhara,
Dharmakshetra, Dharmakshetra etc.

Phalakara by Vicharamahamuni son of Gobindra,
son of Ramraj of Marathas. Based on Abhavayana and its
paribahat. Divided into karana on
5860 is dated Sambat 1810.

Phalakara by Kamalakarabhadra, son of
Ramraj. Divided into ten parichchedas on
Brata, Brata, Gobindra, Gobinda, Sudha,
Achara, Ayhara, Prayartkaran, Chakram, and

Phalakara by Prabhakara, son
of Nagamukta. His bijahadi are Kahila-
Kakarasamadhatu, pramakshabhadra. Divided
into ten prakutas, 7th being on

Phalakara by Vicharamahamuni, son of
Gobindra, Abhavayana. (Kopargaon on the Gobinda). Compiled
in Saka 1698 (Nagamukta) i.e.
1776 A.D. at Pratihara on the
Ganges (Allahabad). Hultszch
(Report No. III p. V.) wrongly
says that he composed it in 1746
A.D., though he gives their own dates.
Vide BBRAS. cat. p. 84, he gives
Nagamukta as the date.

Phalakara by Mahadeva.

Phalakara by Vicharamahamuni.
Phalakara by Gobindra, alias
Sudhakar.
Phalakara by Aharakthav of Divya.

Phalakara or Sudhakar by Gobindra,
Sudhakar. Reconciles discordant opinions on points of

Phalakara by Gobindra.
Phalakara by Mahadeva.

Phalakara by Sadasiva, D.C. ms. No.
221 of 1866-92 deals with same
Vilakshana in the same
and the other months; mentions Mahakavi,
Vilakshana, Puranamuktayat. Later
than 1500 A.D.

Phalakara or Sarvaparakshak by Gobinda,
son of Nagamukta and Padshah.
Latter half 16th century. Says
that he follows the works of
Mahakavi, Abhavayana, Vicharamahamuni
Arhata, Pratihara, Chitrakara, Hultszch,
Mangas, Vicharamahamuni. Refers
to his own works.
Vide I. O. cat. vol III p. 482 No. 1564.
List of works on Dharmasthala

- Sāmaṇḍī or -śeṣa m. by स्वत्तिचन्द्रिका (Aśāṭā ΚΑ Ν. p. 63), प्रायक्तिविवेक of छाड़पाणि, छाड़कर्तन of राहू, कालावर्ष etc.

- श्रेष्ठमान by गंगमथु.

- श्रीमरण by प्रजाय; N. (new series) II. p. 46 (on गौतम only).

- दर्शन by वधमान.

- दर्शन of भोज—vide p. 279 of the text. Composed between 1400 and 1600 A.D.

- श्रम्मरणिका com. on अभिनवपदस्तिति (q. v.) by श्रम्माण्य son of ब्रजेंद्रेर.

- श्रम्मरणिका by नारायणमथु; m. by श्रीकरमण by ब्रह्मचा निधि of नवप्रिष्ठ छाड़माण्य and in व्यवहारमूल. Treats of daily duties (āhika), शाका, गर्भाधन and other संस्कार, गोपालिनाथ, दाम, आवाज, वाच, प्रायक्तिन, तिथिनिमित्, स्थानित्यास. Mentions मात्रायणकाविज्ञान, नामपरिवर्ज, गोपालिसारित्त, महानाय, अनलातावर्ष, कालावर्ष, नारायणदेव on आवहत्तम; m. by नवप्रिष्ठ in श्यामकुमलता. I. O. ms. (vide cat. p. 480 No. 1560) is dated संवत् 1659 (1602-3 A.D.). So between 1400-1600 A.D. Vide p. 420 above.

- श्रम्माण्य (आंतसम्बिनि)—part of आंतसम्बिन्द्रु.

- श्रम्मविन्द्रु.

- श्रम्मयोधन.

- श्रम्माण्य m. in स्वत्तिचन्द्रिका and हेमचर्त (III. 2. 747).

H. D. 72.

- श्रम्माण्य (Baroda O. I. 11821).

- श्रीमरण—a digest by नीतित्वाचार of which the कालिम्बिक and दायभाग are parts.

- श्रीमरण by गौतममथु, son of भद्राकमथु. Divided into श्रीतितल on आदिक and other subjects.

- श्रीमरण by रामेश्वरमथु; on श्रीमरण, तिथिमायलक्षण, प्रायक्तिविवेक विविधउपविधान, उपासन, गुणार्थिनिक्षण, संक्रायमि, अखंड, आशौर, आधा, वेिदा-ध्ययन, अन्यन्ति etc.

- श्रम्मरणिका m. in म. यि. (p. 772) on the constitution of राज्यक, संस्कारमूल and प्रायक्तिविवेक. म. यि. 753 quotes a श्रम्मरणिका (on प्रायक्तित). It seems probable that both are identical and are the same as श्रम्माण्य above.

- श्रम्मविवेक by गौतममथु; explains and illustrates श्रीमासादयायाम.

- श्रम्मविवेक by विन्द्रकमथु, son of श्रीमरण and श्रीमरण grandson of भीम. Deals with fasts and festivals in 8 कार्तिक; quotes कालिम्बिक, मदन-राम, हेमार्धिनिक्षणसंग्रह. Between 1450-1525 A. D. Vide Ulwar cat. extract 320 for detailed contents where the ms. is dated संवत् 1583.

- श्रम्मविवेक by रामेश्वरप्राण्याकिनि, son of श्रीमरण.

- श्रम्माशास्त्रकारिका.

- श्रम्माशास्त्रविवेक by काधिरचन्द्र.

- श्रम्माशास्त्र संग्रह—collection of स्तुति texts on श्रीमम; BBRAS. cat. p. 219 No. 692.
History of Dharmakirta


Parmāśārājan by Candraśāstra. About 1600-1650 A.D.


Parmāśārājan or Parmāśārāja-m. by Ākṣara-deva of Ākṣara.

Parmāśārāja by Nārāyanaśāstra.

Parmāśārāja by Ānanda.

Parmāśārāja by Huṇaṭhī (ms. copied in sake 1607, vide Hp. cat. p. XV).

Parmāśārāja by Piṇḍaka-m. in Aṣāva-shāstra.

Earlier than 1600 A.D.

Parmāśārājanśuṇṭha same as Ādityaśāstra-Parmāśārājanśuṇṭha.

Parmāśārājanśuṇṭha-m. in Aṇḍa-vatika of Dvibhakṣa Kālā and in cem. on Ādityaśāstra by Huṇaṭhī (vide BBRA S. cat. p. 216).

Parmāśārājan or Parmāśārājan by Kānīnāyaka alias Bāma Pānī. Vide sec. 112.

Parmāśārājan by Mānradēva.

Parmāśārājan by Ānanda. Compiled from Ājānāmbhā, Māṇḍya and Bāva-

Parmāśārājan by Ānanda. Vast work. Parmāśārājan by Śiva. The same as Paramāśastra.

Parmāśārājan by Viḍyādhara. Refers to Viḍyādhara.

Parmāśārājan by Puṇaṭhī. A vast work. Parmāśārājan by Bālaśāṅkaraṇaśāstra. C. by Rāmaśāstra.

Parmāśārājan by Bālaśaṅkaraṇaśāstra, son of Bālaśaṅkaraṇaśāstra. He hailed from Bālaśaṅkaraṇaśāstra in the territory of Nājāmśatā but compiled the di-

Parmāśārājan by Huṇaṭhī (ms. copied in sake 1607, vide Hp. cat. p. XV).

Parmāśārājan by Piṇḍaka-m. in Aṣāva-shāstra.

Earlier than 1600 A.D.

Parmāśārājanśuṇṭha same as Ādityaśāstra-Parmāśārājanśuṇṭha.

Parmāśāraṇa by Bālaśaṅkaraṇaśāstra. Probably Parmāśāraṇa may not be a work at all, but may refer in general to works on Parmāśāraṇa.

Parmāśāraṇa by Puṇaṭhī, son of Ānanda-deva.

Parmāśāraṇa same as Anuśāstra.

Parmāśāraṇa of Pītāmha, son of Kṣmara-

Parmāśāraṇa of Bālaśaṅkaraṇaśāstra. Vide Bik. cat. p. 383 (on \n
Parmāśāraṇa in Anuśāastri of Nārāyana, by Rūp and in Viḍyādhara. Parmāśāraṇa in Ākṣara-deva of Viḍyādhara, Kālā of Nārāyana (Parmāśastra and Parmāśāraṇa are proba-

Parmāśāraṇa by Piṇḍaka-m. in Aṣāva-shāstra. Vide sec. 111. About 1800 A.D.
List of works on Dharmatāstra

शास्त्राध्यापणाचे (on gifts of heaps of corn). N. (new series) II. p. 88.

बनसोधनाचे –from रूपाकमलाकर.

नामकारणाचे.

नाशा० गळाने.

नाशा० विशिष्ट.

नामकरणतिरि बौधायन (D. C. No. 97 of A 1882-83).

नयनदेवालिका.

नवकविकाशास्त्रासुत्र or आयुक्तस्वास्त्र-6th परिशिष्ट of कात्यायन. Vide under आयुक्तश्रुत.

C. by करण.

C. आयुक्ताशिका by विष्णुभक्त, son of विष्णुभक्त; composed in 1448-9 A. D.

C. आयुक्तशुष्कपद्वति by अनन्तदेव.

नवग्रहवाण.

नवग्रहसंस्कर- attributed to बलिसिदा.

नवग्रहसह (Baroda O. I. 2279).

नवग्रहसंस्कर (Baroda O. I. 6887).

नवग्रहावलि.

नवग्रहातिष्ठति—vide under वासिष्ठ.

नवग्रहानिष्ठत्वद्वृत्ति by ब्रह्मसंह, son of ब्रह्मसंह for शास्त्रावै व्यास. I. O. ms. (cat. p. 570) copied in संवत 1800 (1749 A. D.).

नवग्रहातिष्ठति BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 243.

नवग्रहोत्सव.

नवग्रहातिष्ठति by रामस्वरूप. Is it same as निवयनवनीति?

मादित्यप्रियाविवधि.

नवरामसह.

नवरामसहा by खण्डहरु.

नवरामसह.

नवरामचित्त by गोपालथाव.

नवरामसह by नवुधसय (pr. in सर-व्यास मवन series No. 23).

नवविवेककारिका by बरवर.

नवाध्यक्षाधिनरि by गोरीनाथचन्द्रसरि (Baroda O. I. 10219).

नवाध्यक्ष.

नवयाचारस्मृति by कुपराम, pupil of राम and patronised by विलोकनचन्द्र and कण्जचन्द्र, Zamindars of Bengal in the 2nd half of 18th century. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 92.

नामदेवालिका m. in जैनकमलाकर. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

नामदेवी म. in आचारमुख; seems to be the same as नामदेवालिका.

नामप्रियता by बौधायन.

नामप्रियता by शोभक.

नामविक by शोभक.

नामविकसंस्कार.

नामाध्यक्षाधिनरि on आचार, especially रामस्वरूप.

नामाध्यक्षाधिनरि by वर्धमान, son of वर्धमान. About 1500 A. D.

नामदीर्घतिकल्पना by इंदुमान.

नामदीर्घतिकल्पना by इंदुमान.

नामदीर्घतिकल्पना by रामचं परिवर्त, son of रामचं. First half of 14th century.
History of Dharmadhāra

नारायणस्वति (ed. by Dr. Jolly).
C. by अस्ति, as amended by कल्याणभद्र.
C. by रामानाथ.
नारायण- m. in the समयमूल and अन्य मूल. Probably the नारायण.
नारायणम हन्तसारसव सहः.
नारायणस्वति m. in ज्योतिसस्वति and मनाततत्त्व of रुक्तो.
नारायणम हन्तसारसव.
नारायणम हन्तसारसव by दास्य (Baroda O. I. 11497).
नारायणबंधनमय by कल्याण, son of रामकुमार.
नारायणम हन्तसति: The same as अन्योगतसति and अन्योगस्ति by नारायणभद्र.
नारायणश्री.
नारायणस्वति-m. in आचारमूल. Probably the com. on आचारलाभनयः by नारायण.
नारायणस्वति m. by अपराक.
नित्यसंस्थति (Baroda O. I. ms. No. 603 dated संवत 1547 i.e. 1490-1 A. D.).
नित्यसंस्थति by आचार, son of प्रभाकर-सङ्गस्ति. D. C. ms. No. 228 of 1886-92. D. C. Ms. No. 119 of 1884-85 is dated संवत 1434 i.e. 1377-8 A. D.

नित्यसंस्थति by कुलमिति.
नित्यसंस्थति of धीरेन्द्रभद्रीकुल, son of धीरेन्द्र.

नित्यागानविश्वसति by शामसिद्ध विपामिति.
Quotes सहारण.
नित्यागानविश्वसति by कान्हेश्वर (Baroda O. I. 4011).
नित्यागानविश्वसति by शोधालानाथ.
नित्यागानविश्वसति of विवाहार काजपेयी, son of हस्तकुमार (pr. in B. I. series). For वाजसनेनयासा. Between 1350-1500 A. D.
नित्यागारसस्ति by नरसिंह वाजपेयी of कालवर, son of खर्चा and grand-son of भराधर and pupil of निर्भर्क; migrated to काशी. Family came from उलकुल; quotes कल्ल, प्रवर्षार, माधवार. A very large work. Later than 1400 A. D. (pr. in B. I. series, 2 parts pp. 1-725). Ulwar cat. extract 322.

नित्याबंधन m. by कालावधि of आदित्यभद्र.
नित्यागानविश्वसति by बलभद्र.
नित्यागानविश्वसति by शालोध (Bik. cat. p. 322). Contained at least 62 प्रकाश्य and dealt शांतिः.

नित्यभव m. by सरस्वतीविलास.

नित्यभवनारायण by शमिजी. Divided into four आस्सार्य स on सामाक्यसिद्धि-ग्रन्थिमिति, श्रेष्ठस्य सिद्धिनिवर्त्त, वामांका आदि and अद्विकाल. Mentions अन्तमहुः, हेमाक्ति, माधव and नित्यावस्था as his authorities. D. C. Ms. No. 102 of 1882-83 was copied in संवत 1673. Between 1400-1600 A. D.

नित्याराज Vide under समयप्रकाश.

नित्यसंस्थति by दासिंह (Baroda O. I. 4012 and 9212). A huge work on संस्कार, आस्सार्य
information about वार, नक्सा etc., अनुप्युंतत्वम, कृष्णिकाल.

निर्वन्देशकम् by महादेव, son of श्रीपति. Vide under जाप्युंतत्वमाण. A निर्वन्देशकम् is m. in द्वारिष्ठपांड.

निर्वन्देशक by विश्वे, son of श्रीपति. A huge work in three अध्याय on आचार, व्यवहार and जाप्युंतत्वम. D.C. Ms. 123 of 1884-86 is dated संवत 1632; m. in धर्मशृणु.

निर्वन्देशक by विश्वेद्र by गदेष्स्कम. निर्वन्देशक by विश्वे by विश्वे म. by द्वारिष्ठ and यास्त्र in संस्कारार्थक.

निर्वन्देशक by यास्त्र, son of नारायणभट्ट.

निर्वन्देशक by बिज्युर्स्वात म. महायाजिक at the instance of श्रीधरानंदभक्ष्य, son of द्वैषु, a बृहत्त of the गोभिलग्रंथ (Stein’s cat. p. 308 contains the portion on महायाजिक).

निर्वन्देशक by नागदेवज्ज, son of नाग (C.P. cat. No. 2598); he is author of आचारसूत्र, which is quoted in आचारसूत्र. Earlier than 1450 A.D. (Ulwar cat. No. 1256).

निर्वन्देशकता.

निर्वन्देशक by गोभिलग्रंथ (C.P. cat. No. 2599).

निर्वन्देशक by श्रीमान, son of तारापति ठाकुर. On अग्नि and other rites.

निर्वन्देशक m. in नि. सि., आचारण of ब्रह्मण.

निर्वन्देशक by अष्ठम विवेक, one of the three sons of वालानंद and pupil of महाविहार्य. He was from अष्ठम and of दौलत subsection of नागर्जुनन्धन and was also styled आचार्य. He wrote also पुराणवेदिकमहास्त्रविधा before this work. The work deals with श्रीमान, आशीर्वाद, ग्रह, चक्र, चक्र, तिलिदण्डिणी, उपवन, शिवाण, व्रतम. The work was finished in संवत 1575 ज्येष्ठहाथासागर (i.e. in 1518 A.D.); quotes श्रीभद्रपाल, श्रीभारभिवरण, निर्वन्देशक, कमांद्र, पुराणमुण्डव, आचारचित्रक. Vide Ulwar cat. extract No. 323.

He has the verse वे नाम के विदेश (मालदीमाघव I) in his introductory verses; pr. at Nadiad, 1897.

C. देवनारायण म. in निर्वन्देशक, बिज्युंतत्वमाणा. Between 1520-1600 A.D.

निर्वन्देशक by वालानंद म. in नि. सि. and आचारण. Probably same as निर्वन्देशक by अष्ठम.

निर्वन्देशक by धर्मसूत्र m. in स्वत्तसारिवार of विज्युर्स्वात.

निर्वन्देशक. निर्वन्देशक by वालानंद म. in आचारसूत्र of विज्युर्स्वात.

निर्वन्देशक by वालानंद म. in आचारसूत्र of तन्रष्ट्रविधा.

निर्बन्धविन्दु by अनन्तेशं दौलत son of महादेव, on देवेशं.

निर्बन्धविन्दु by दुर्योजन.

निर्बन्धास्त्र by नीक्षा (C.P. cat. No. 2600).

निर्बन्धविन्दु m. dated संवत 1725 माघ (1669 A.D.) in Peterson’s 6th Report p. 10.
History of Dharmakirta

निर्णयसहरी by गणनोत.

निर्णयसहरक by गोपीनाथभद्र.

निर्णयशिरोमणि m. by निर्णयदीपक and by अन्नत in स्वतंत्रसम्बन्ध. Earlier than 1500 A.D.

निर्णयस्मृति m. by नि. सि.

निर्णयसंयंग by प्रतापस्वर.

निर्णयसंग्रह by महाभाषुन.

निर्णयसंदर्भ.

निर्णयसार by श्रेयसंकर.

निर्णयसार by गौतमानि (C. P. cat. No. 2602).

निर्णयसार by नवदारामसिंह son of श्री-जन्मभिंद. In 6 परिचेयस on तिथि, आयंत्र etc. Composed in विक्रम 1836 (1780 A.D.).

निर्णयसार by भुपराम्य (Baroda O. I. 8670). Later than 1612 A.D. and earlier than 1700 A.D.

निर्णयसार by रामभद्रचार्य.

निर्णयसार by बालभाऊ.

निर्णयसारसंग्रह (Baroda O. I. 4015).

निर्णयसिद्धान्त by महादेव (probably the same as author of कालनिर्णय-सिद्धान्त).

निर्णयसिद्धान्त by रुपाम (This work is probably the same as काल-निर्णयसिद्धान्त).

निर्णयसंदर्भ of कमलाकरभद्र, composed in संवत 1668 (1612 A.D.) Vide sec. 106; pr. in Ch. S. series and at Nir. P.

C. रसमाला or श्रीशिका by हरिकेतु आहें.

निर्णयसार m. in आह्वानकालभेद.

निर्णयसार by चाकान्त (or -द) नाचारी, son of शिवदशमण, at the direction of चक्रवर्धन चक्रवर्धन who ruled एकचक्रवर्धन on the Jumna. Gives a genealogy of the माधवराज (माधवराज ?) kings of एकचक्रवर्धन. The introductory verses (which vary to some extent in different mss.) enumerate authorities on which he relies viz. निताङ्गा, अपराध, अर्जुक, स्वतंत्रजितक, वचन, पुराणसाहित्य, अन्तमभद्रसन्तापरिनिवेद्य, रामकौटुक, संवतसंरवापी, वेदवासीय, रघुनारायणसाहित्य, बिहारभगवधुवत, विद्वान-रंगतीनय. One verse occurring in some mss. mentions हेमानि, कालदाश, चिन्तामणि. But हेमानि's कालनिर्णय p. 34 mentions a निर्णयसार. The work is mentioned in निर्णयवद्य, आयुङ्गिकाकामस्य. So the work is earlier than 1500 A.D. and certainly later than 1250. There are four sections on व्रततिथिपिणीय, आयुङ्गिकाकामस्य and आशूच (pr. by Ven. P.).

निर्णयसार m. of गोपीनारायण, son of शक्तरण, under सुरेशन (Calcutta Sanskrit Col. mss. vol. II. p. 78). Seems to be the same as निर्णयसार of आकाल, though गोपीनारायण causes some misgiving. The Bik. cat. p. 426 also refers to गोपीनारायण and सुरेशन.

निर्णयसार by रामचरण. N. vol XI preface p. 4.

निर्णयसार (प्राचाय) m. in the सुमित्र-तथा of रघु ०.
List of works on Dharmadasa

निर्मायणव संग्रह by बालकुलकीर्तिक.
निर्मायणसंग्रह m. in आलस्याकालणेत.
निर्मायन्योद्वार (also styled तिथिनिर्मायन्यो) by राजवदन्त. Mentions निर्मायसंग्रह and स्थूलतंत्रय. So later than 1650 A. D. (Ulwar cat. extract 326). Vide तिथिनिर्मायन of राजवदन्त.
निर्मायन्योद्वारसंग्रहमण्डन by यक्षेश (Baroda O. I. 5247). Dilates upon certain doubts raised about the निर्मायन्योद्वार of राजवदन्त.
नीतिकसलकर by कमलकार.
नीतिकसलकर by सेमेन्ह.
नीतिकसलकर by लक्ष्मीपति.
नीतिमिन्नतामणिण by वाचस्पतिभट्ट.
नीतिमिन्नतामणिण by कुलसिन.
नीतिमिन्नतामणिण by देशमणि (ed. at Madras by Dr. Oppert, 1882). Also called नीतिमिन्नतामणिण. जनमेत्रय was instructed by देशमणि at संक्रियला in eight chapters on राज-पत्रभुज, प्रतिभेत्र, शून्यतत्त्व, दक्षिणस्थित्यपुर, सेनापत्य, तेजस्योग and राजस्थान. Enumerates the founders of राजस्थान.
C. तत्त्वविवेक by गोसाइराम, son of गुस्तुप of कौमिन्दगोप.
नीतिमिन्नतामणिण ascribed to बेदमणि.
नीतिमिन्नतामणिण-दक्षिणमणि to भोजराज (Mitra’s Notices vol. II. P. 33).
नीतिमिन्नतामणिण by याहेन्द्र, son of लक्ष्मी-पर, son of अवि, son of दक्षुन्त्विजेदित्र of आलस्य.

八 अष्टक of the Rigveda) and 200 verses, illustrating moral maxims by Vedic examples. Vide Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 116. Composed in संवत 1550 (1494 A. D.). He was a young man when he composed the work and could repeat the Veda in eleven ways.

C. यक्षेश्वरिका by author.
C. बेदमणि by author.
C. by देशमणि.

नीतिमिन्नतामणिण by शामकार. A fragment called दृष्टिनिरिक्षकरण (Burnell’s Tanjore cat. p. 141 b).

नीतिमिन्नतामणिण by नीलावण (pr. at Benares and by J. R. Garpure and by Gujarati P. Bombay).

नीतिमिन्नतामणिण by नारायण.

नीतिरजन attributed to वसुकणि.

नीतिमिन्नतामणिण of शुभा्वषुभिन्दकमहापाठ, grandfather of मदार, author of कालसार. About 1450 A. D.

नीतिमिन्नतामणिण or राजनीतिनिरिक्षकरण of Vide sec. 90; pr. by Mr. K. P. Jayasval.

नीतिमिन्नतामणिण by श्रेणेन्ह m. in आनि कोवि-विचारणय of the author. 2nd and 3rd quarters of 11th century.

नीतिमिन्नतामणिण of तोमसेदधरिण, pupil of नेमभेद and younger brother of महेन्द्रेव. Printed with com. in Bombay in the Maneckchand Digambar Jaina granthamala. In 32 sections on चर्म, अर्थ, काम, अधिकारार्थ, विपाक, आन्विकिति,
History of Dharmatattva

... (text continues)

Vide sec. 99.

Vide sec. 222.

Vide sec. 99.

Vide sec. 222.

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Vide sec. 222.

Vide sec. 99.
List of works on Dharmastṛi

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī attributed to Śaṅkarācārya; treats of sixth stage called purnaṁśa where a sāṃskāra gives up even his brūṣa and kanivaṁśa and wanders about alone like a child or lunatic. N. vol. X. p. 329.

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī (i.e. sāṃskāra, ādiṣṭha, uñātaṇa, pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī, uñātaṇa, pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī).

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī in 8 ājñayas. (Baroda O. L. 12355).

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī śiṣya by vijñānabhaṭṭa, pupil of Śaṅkarācārya a manual of vēḷaṁśa rites in accordance with the doctrines of Mādhyamikā (tāpa: pūrnaṁśa and nāma: yaṁṣa. Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī). Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī for all bhāṣāocials.

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī śiṣya from jñānadevaśāstrāṇī. Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī m. in pravṛttiśāstrāṇī.

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī śiṣya by visharākṣā, son of bhaṣya mahaśāstra (on pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī of śivā, śiva, vēḷa, dhoṇi, and vēḷa); vide sūryaṁśa pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī śiṣya pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī.

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī paitra. Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī śiṣya by visharākṣā, son of mahaśāstra. Probably same as pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī paitra.

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī śiṣya m. in paitraśāstraśāstraḥ.

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī śiṣya m. by Ṛṣabha in paitraśāstraśāstraḥ as refuting vēḷaṁśa (III. 2. 481). Vide p. 314 above.

N. D. 73.

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī of Ṛṣabha m. in mādhyāṃśa and in māyākāśa (Jivānanda, vol. I. p. 531).

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī śiṣya by visharākṣā.

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī śiṣya by an assembly of pandits under king Sarfoji of Tanjore (Hultsch’s Report III. pp. XII and 120).

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī śiṣya for passage on (Baroda O. I. 2393).

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī by kālaśāstra. Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī m. by kālaśāstra of jñāna 12. Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī Śiṣya by bhāṣaṇaśāstra.

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī Śiṣya by bhāṣaṇaśāstra. Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī Śiṣya by bhāṣaṇaśāstra. About 1740-49 A. D. during reign of Shahu, grandson of Shivaji; when Balaji Bajirao was Peshwa vēḷaṁśa bhāṣaṇaśāstra was rajāśāstra and a favourite of Shahu; refers to mahaśāstra as a hypocrite and a Karhaḍa Brāhmaṇa.

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī śiṣya by visharākṣā-śāstrāṇī same as pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī śiṣya (pr. by ananda śāstra Press).

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī Śiṣya by bhāṣaṇaśāstra; BB-RAS. cat. vol. II. p. 246.

Pāṇḍitaṭaṇḍaṇī śiṣya.
the best; pr. also in Jivananda. Sm. part II pp. 1-52).
C. by भागवान्यां vide. sec. 92 (pr. B. S. series).
C. by गौरिन्दनाथ, m. in महामातरस्थ of रू. 2 (p. 787 of Jivananda ). Earlier than 1500 a. d.
C. by बैशाख सप्ताह, son of महादेव and रेयी and pupil of गोरेणि.
C. हिरण्य मन्त्रारथि जयसृज मेन; mentions मात्रीय ; Palmleaf ms. No. 6956 in Baroda O. I.

संतुलिका by वर्षाम, son of मदेश देशम of विद्वान प्रजाति. About 1460-1500 a. d. On नियम, नैसिनिक and काम कर्म, कबीरिकारी, प्रहर्त and गृहिय कर्म, आचरण, रूप, पृथ्व, आराधना, मर्याद, नैस, गृहि, &c.

परिसरस्तम्भिका of ज्ञानपरि in ज्ञानत्वा of रू. 2. This is probably a commentary on a ज्ञानपरिष्ठ ( such as ज्ञानोदेश ).

परिष्ठसवश्र क. म. in ज्ञानत्वा and एकादासित्वा of रू. 3. Probably the same as ज्ञानोदेशसवश्रके.
C. by पराशर.

परिष्ठसवश्र

परिष्ठमन्त्र-पार्श्व of ज्ञानपरि. ज्ञानत्वा-same as ज्ञानत्वा of रू. 2.
List of works on Dharmatattva

पत्रिकापत्रति by गादेशेन. On ordeals. Names विनििखर, ऋगगपार्व, मिताकरा वििपालि. Later than 1450 A.D.

पश्चति or पश्चतिै (cremation of effigies of persons who died abroad).

पर्युतिै (about resorting to the order of संस्कार).

पर्यक्षानिषिधि.

पर्यसत्न माति.

पर्यन्तिण्य by गणिति राव, son of हरि-शंकर and grandson of रामदास, who was मौरिश बुलवार and honoured by गोरखदीय संप्रदाय. Discourses on the proper time for new and full moon sacrifices and corresponding obsequial offerings. Names कालबित्तन, पारंपारिक, निर्माणसार, मदन; composed in संवत 1742 (नेवार्मोपिगि आधिकारिक-सिद्धि आधिकारिक होिक) i.e. 1685-86 A.D.

पर्यन्तिण्य by ब्रजगुप्त.

पर्यन्तिण्य by रघुनाथ बाजपेयिन, son of सचि. Between 1550-1625 A.D.

पर्यन्तिण्य a portion of शर्मसिह.

पर्यन्तिण्य.

पर्यन्तिण्य by नदनसेन, son of मज्जर; in 7 chapters on the canonical use of various kinds of flesh.

पश्च- a work on politics m. in the राजनीतिसिद्धार्थ of रघुराम. Earlier than 1300 A.D.

पश्चापतिन prog nostications derived from the falling of a house lizard.

पश्चापतिनधि.

पश्चापतिनवधि.

पश्चापतिनमाति.

पश्चापतिनकामालसाधिक्रम.

पश्चापतिनयो: फलाफलविधि.

पश्चापतिनयो: आशित.

पश्चापतिनवर्धि.

पश्चापतिनपरिश्रमण.

पश्चापतिनपरिश्रमण- rite in आवाम of casting new threads around an image and hence taking them to wear.

पश्चापतिनमिका m. in छुंडिकाहलिक (pp. 206, 210). Probably same as पश्चापतिन's वहति.

पश्चापतिनमिका म. in आदिकालिक (p. 503). Probably the same as the आदिकालिक of पश्चापति, brother of हण. About 1170-1200 A.D.

पाकापतिनिधि or पश्च- by चन्द्रेणका का चन्द्रेणका, son of उमापति alias उमाक्षर or उमामहु, son of चन्द्रेणका alias पामात. Between 1575-1650 A.D.

पाकापतिनधि by अनन्तमिक.

पाकापतिनधि by पश्चापति.

पाकापतिनधि by श्रीमहुतु, son of बाबा-कालिक. Follows आपसुभाधि. I. O. cat. pp. 99-100 (ms. dated संवत 1749 i.e. 1692-93 A.D.). Flourished between 1660-1710 A.D.

पाकालितिधि.

पाकाकितिधि by ममुरामकर्मण-भाषी. (N. vol. IX. p. 244 says that author is रघुनाथ while the
colophon extracted has सधुरानाथ).

पारसकारकार्तिका alias कातीप्राकृतम्-प्रमोदविवृत्ति by रेखाकार्य, son of महाकार्य and grandson of सोमबसर of the हादित्यनोत्र. Composed in साध्वे 1188 i. e. 1266 A. D. (I. O. cat. vol. I p. 67).

पारसकारकार्तिका by कामदेव-दीर्घित by घान्यप्रियप्रियावत ( pr. in Gujarati P. ).

पारसकारादन (also called कातीप-शास्त्र) in 3 काण्ड ( pr. by Stenzler in 1876 at Leipzig and in Kashi S. series with several comments and by the Gujarati Press, Bombay, with several comments and translated in S. B. E. vol. 29).

C. अवत्तप्रिय्या m. by नवप्रिय्या in his शुकित्विनिर्देश. Earlier than 1550 A. D.

C. नर्मदानक by भास्कर, pupil of राजपेशारण.

C. प्रकाश by बेड्सिम, son of बिष्म-स्वत दीर्घित; used by his son श्राबिम.

C. संस्काराखण्डित by रामकृष्ण, son of केसर, son of प्रामाणदु (4 संहि pr. in Ch. S. series). He was of भाराकृष्ण और वर्धनिद्रा; he compiled it in विषयमण्डित on the बस्थित रिमु; mentions केसर, हरिभ, गवायर, हरिभ-रुप, कारिका and दीर्घितिका. He wrote आराधकारणित also. Vide I. O. cat. p. 362 for his भाहुरंगभ. About 1750 A. D.

C. राजानविलिंग by जयराम, son of वलमट of भाराजनोत्र, residing in Mewad. Names श्चिम, केसर, and रघुवरसार and is m. by गस्तर. Ulwar cat. extract 39 gives संवर 1611 (1554-5 A.D.) as the date (probably of copying). Between 1200-1400 A. D.; pr. at Gujarati Press and in Kashi S. series.

C. (भाग) by केसर. m. by तिकारण-मण्डल, हेमाति and हरिभ. Earlier than 1100 A. D. (pr. in Gujarati P. cd.).

C. (भाग) by कामदेव (on परी-शिक्षकक्षक). Pr. at Gujarati P.


C. by मद्यपारिणाम m. by जयराम in his भाग.

C. (on पारसकारकार्तिका) by शुकित्विनिर्देश, son of बेल्सिम; ms. (in Stein's cat. p. 252) dated संवत 1430 (1373 A. D.).

C. by वागीस्वरीदत.

C. by बावत्तावत्ति; m. by हरिभ and रघुवरसार in रघुवरसार. Contains दीर्घिति of all rites. Earlier than 1250 A. D.

C. by विषयमाय, son of दुर्योध्न. a नागार्जुनण of the काव्यस्मर; compiled at Benares by सहस्रीर, great-grandson of अल्म, who was uncle of विषयमाय, in संवर 1692 मास (i. e. 1635 A. D.).
List of works on Dharmastra

Names कामेश, हरिहर, कामनिवेषकी-यिका. Therefore गिर्यामान फ्लूरिशश about 1550 a.d. Vide Ulwar cat. extract 42 (pr. in Gujarati P. ed.).

C. by हरिकार्नतः m. in मायाभिन्नस्तत्त्व (Jivananda vol. I. p. 531.)

C. (भाष्य and प्रकर) by हरिहर (pr. in Gujarati P. and Kashti S. series). Names कामेश, कल्याण-कार, रेणु, वाणीदेव, विभावनेर and is m. in आदिक्षणकाल्मीत्री of मोशंस्यान् (p. 418). Between 1275-1400 A.D. Vide sec. 84.

कृष्णद्वास in his पाृितिमाध्यक तत्त्व (Jivananda vol. II. p. 488) mentions both हरिकार्तन and हरिहर in the same sentence as explaining a passage of कायाधार-गुहा.

पारस्करियाद्वाराओऽत्ति by कामेश.

पारस्करियाद्वाराओऽत्ति by भास्कर. Vide above.

पारस्करियाद्वाराओऽत्ति by वाणीदेव. Vide above.

पारस्करियाद्वाराओऽत्ति by परस्कर. Vide above under पारस्करियाद्वास.

पारस्करियाद्वाराओऽत्ति by उद्यंकर (Stein's cat. p. 17).

पारिज्ञ-numerous works on dharma have this ending, e.g. मद-नवपारिज्ञ, प्रयोगपारिज्ञ, विभाव-पारिज्ञ.

पारिज्ञ-vide sec. 75.

पारिज्ञ of माहूस. B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 25 and JBO.E for 1927 parts III-IV p. VII.


पारिज्ञचिकित्त्वादित्यिनि (two different works in Stein's cat. p. 95).

पारिज्ञचतुदात्यायोग्य by देवभर.

पारिज्ञचतुदात्यायोग्य (two different works in Stein's cat. p. 95).

पारिज्ञमैत्री by रत्नपालिका, son of गंगोत्री गतीविद्यवर्तभाग.

On various kinds of आद्ध and particularly पारिज्ञआद्ध, according to the जल्लोङ शास्त्र.

पारिज्ञाग्नयात्राविभिन्न (Stein's cat. p. 95).

पारिज्ञमैत्री by आद्धविद्यवर्तभाग.

पारिज्ञमैत्री (आद्धविद्यवर्तभाग).

C. प्राचीन भाषा by नारायण.

पारिज्ञमैत्री-पारिज्ञ.

पारिज्ञमैत्री-पारिज्ञ for वज्ञिन.

पारिज्ञमैत्री-पारिज्ञ for वज्ञिनयायित्व by देवभर.

पारिज्ञविद्यवक्ष्यमैत्री (part of प्रयोग-रत्न of नारायणभद्र).

पारिज्ञविद्यवक्ष्यमैत्री-vide of रुपों.

पिण्डपरिवृत्तमैत्री (हिरणकेष्वी) by वज्ञिनयायित्व, son of उमाधति.

पिण्डपरिवृत्तमैत्री by विक्रेताभद्र alias गांगभद्र; vide Bik. cat. 136.

पिण्डपरिवृत्तमैत्री from the प्रयोग-रत्न of हरिहर.

पितामहसूत्ति vide sec. 44.

पिण्डवित्ति of अनिधित्रु. Vide sec. 82 (pr. in संस्कृतसाहित्यविश्वसूति series, Calcutta).

पिण्डवित्ति of गोपालचार. Mentions हस्त्वापि. Later than 1450 a.d.
Vide sec. 89, p. 364; for students of Bhumprabha.


Vide sec. 98 p. 399.

by a follower of Kalidasa (N. vol. X. p. 271).

(Apsara) by Gargha-Gopa.

by Vitaharma (Apsara) by Gargha-Gopa.

by Bhumprabha.

by Gopa in Bhumprabha.

by Bhumprabha, son of Bhumprabha.

(a com.) by a Vedic samadhi. Probably the same

by Gopa.

by Dhar.

by Bhumprabha, son of Gopa.

by Vitaharma.

(Apsara) (pp. 31-32 of Kalpa).

(pr. at Kum-bhakonam, 1905).

m. in Vidarbha of Bhumprabha.

About 1300 A.D.


or Bhumprabha of Kalidasa (N. vol. X. p. 312. Recommends Bhumprabha in sacrifices instead of a goat; ms.

dated c. 1785 i.e. 1728 A.D.

by Vidarbha, son of Gopa.

of Gargha-Gopa (Baroda O. I. No. 2436). This is probably the

same as Bhumprabha above.

(contained in Baroda Ms.).

by Kasabal.

by Kalidasa on the rights

of partition and inheritance of

the twelve kinds of sons.

ascribed to Gargha (Pet-

Stein's cat. p. 95).

by Kalidasa.

of Gargha. Son of

of the Gargha. Men-
tions Vidarbhas, Kalidas, etc.

Later than 1400 A.D.

Same as Bhumprabha above. Vide sec.

105.

by Venkat.

(on rekindling of the

householder's fire).

Second initiation of a

brahma, when first vitiated by partaking of forbidden food.

by Vidarbha, son of

Gopa.
List of works on Dharmad Iktra

Dharmad Iktra by बाळकुमळ (Baroda O. I. No. 9026).

Dharmad Iktra by बाळकुमळ, son of माभ-गावारा बावळ.

Dharmad Iktra by आंधुर, disciple of श्रीरामेन्द्र and शुभेंद्र. Composed in Benares.

Dharmad Iktra m. in वर्षरामकुमळ of गोबिध्वाग्नि and by रुपो in लिखितत्व and आयुक्तत्व.

Dharmad Iktra by परमहंस देवेनराम, disciple of विएनराम. (N. vol. VII p. 163). D. C. Ms. No. 33 of 1898-99 is dated संवत 1753.

Dharmad Iktra by माभ गावारा बावळ.

Dharmad Iktra by विएनराम.

Dharmad Iktra by काशीनाथ, son of नवरामभू.

Dharmad Iktra by चतुरसेश.

Dharmad Iktra by रामचंद्र.

Dharmad Iktra m. in लिखितत्व by रुपो.

Dharmad Iktra m. by डेमा०. तिर्यायुष्ट, निर्मित, द्वितीय. Earlier than 1200 A. D.

Dharmad Iktra by गोपर्णपाऱक, compiled under Bengal Zamindar श्रीसत्य in संवत 1396 (1474-5 A. D.).

Dharmad Iktra by रुपोसेम. (Mitra's Notices vol. I, p. 188).

Dharmad Iktra by रुपोसेम, son of रुपोसेम. On 730 interesting points; composed in 1474 A. D. (Vide Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. pp. 84-87).

Dharmad Iktra m. in रामरामचंद्री, श्रुतिय-मकाय, आयुक्तत्व. Earlier than 1300 A. D.


Dharmad Iktra by रुपोसेम, son of रामरामचंद्री. A very large work on का०, संस्कृत बातक, लिखितत्व; pr. by Nir. R. and by Anan. P.; ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 1666) dated संवत 1706 (1784-5 A. D.).

Dharmad Iktra by श्रीमलन्द्रमारारा, pupil of रामरामचंद्री. Very large work in three parts, each having 4, 5 and 6 chapters respectively on religious efficacy of धर्म, धर्मा devotion to श्रुति &c.; composed in 1476 (probably संवत 1706) at Malavli village on the river Asanasi. Names विश्वासवाद and is m. in ताककडाकक. Vide BBRAS. cat. pp. 220-222 No. 699. Pr. at Chidambaram, 1907.

Dharmad Iktra by रुपोसेम, pupil of श्रीमलन्द्रमारारा; in 15 तरंगिट on एविएनयाबिजेवेक, विईंसिताविजेक, मोक्षताविजेक, वर्णार्थाभिजेक, नाम-दीनादिष्ट, धार्मिकादि, अधिकार, तत्त्व-पदार्थविजेक, तात्त्वविजेक.

Dharmad Iktra by रामरामचंद्री (according to some mss. such as Baroda O. I. No. 7101 and by विश्वासवाद according to others). On तरंगि, तात्त्व, काम and मीळ.

रुपोसेमलेखनम् of रुपो. On the famous shrine of गगाराम in Orissa. Vide sec. 102.
History of Dharmaśāstra

Vide Peterson's 6th Report, No. 95.

Vide sec. 45 p. 228.

m. in śaivaśāstra and śāhṣāstra.

Vide Kāśyapa (for vāhāya sect).

Vide Kāśyapa, On the flowers and leaves appropriate to the worship of deities.

m. in the Aḥilākāmāgheṣṭu.

Vide Kāśyapa, m. in the Bhāvanīpratāp.

Vide Kāśyapa, son of Kāśyapa, pupil of Aḥilākāmāgheṣṭu (Baroda O. I. 8685).

Vide Kāśyapa, son of Kāśyapa, Baroda O. I. No. 10471 copied in sake 1735 i. e. 1813-4 A. D.

Vide Kāśyapa, m. in Aḥilākāmāgheṣṭu.

Vide Kāśyapa, part of Kāśyapa Vide sec. 108.

m. in Kāśyapa Vide sec. 106.

Vide Kāśyapa, a section of the Pratāpanārāśa of Kāśyapa.

Vide Kāśyapa Vide sec. 46.

Vide Kāśyapa, part of Kāśyapa Vide sec. 46.

Vide Kāśyapa -(daily duties from śaiva to śūta) for Kāśyapa.

Vide Kāśyapa, probably same as Kāśyapa, m. in śaivaśāstra.

Vide Kāśyapa, m. by Kāśyapa (Vide Vpa 3 III 182), śaivaśāstra of śāhṣāstra, śāivaśāstra, m. t. t. Earlier than 1250 A. D.

Vide Kāśyapa, by Kāśyapa Vide sec. 24.

Vide Kāśyapa Vide sec. 18.

Vide Kāśyapa, by Kāśyapa Vide sec. 90.

On śāhṣāstra. Vide sec. 90.

Vide Kāśyapa Vide sec. 106.

Vide Kāśyapa Vide sec. 74.

Vide Kāśyapa Vide sec. 46.
List of works on Dharmakšstra

X. pp. 222-225; m. in समवमधुल and प्राचाभ.

प्रसामवतेंद्र या शाहार, son of माधव; composed at the bidding of king प्रतापगजपत (Stein's cat. p. 96). Probably the same as above.

प्रतापसमस्तिह या शाहारभ, (probably the same as प्रतापसमस्तेंद्र).

प्रतापंकर्ष वि विजयेन्द्र of the शाहिद्य-गोच and surnamed महाशास्त्र, son of रामेश्वर, son of गुप्त, son of रनाकर; based on his ancestor's ज्ञातिशिक्षकम and composed by order of king प्रताप, grandson of ज्ञातिश (Ulwar cat. extract 328).

प्रतिरहमास्थितपकार.

प्रतिमाद्वार.

प्रतिमामिंदिता by निर्द्देश.

प्रतिमासंग्रह m. in वानसंतकार of वानसंतक.

प्रतितमालस्तिता by रग्नवन शाह.

प्रतितस्ति; विशेष by शाहु.

प्रतिनास्तिकभार.

प्रतिनिधित्व वि विशेरितात्मक by रचन्द्र; vide sec. 102.

प्रतितिव्यवस्थित from the स्तुतिकौशुम of अनंतदेव.

प्रतिवासित of गंगाधर.

प्रतिबाब्दित by अनंतमट alias बाङालु.
History of Dhammaśāstra

निष्णुमें शिविरक्रमब्ध, son of रुपुरी; N. vol. V. p. 157, ms. copied in संवत्त 1785

निष्णुमें नीलकण्ठ
निष्णुमें महोदयमन्दा हरिचंद्र
निष्णुमें राधाकृष्णा
निष्णुमें बालकरम
निष्णुमें हरिप्रसादसर्वम्
निष्णुमें शिलालागर.
निष्णुमें रुपुरी वि. संवत्त 107; (pr. by J. R. Gharpure)

styled निष्णुमें also (vide Ulwar cat. extract 330).

निष्णुमें
निष्णुमें विवाहकर
निष्णुमें उमापति
निष्णुमें विवाहकर शिविराधारण (sec. 95).

निष्णुमें
निष्णुमें म. in देवनिष्णुमें of रुपुरी

निष्णुमें म. in देवनिष्णुमें वि. संवत्त 83.

निष्णुमें म. in रामनवमी

निष्णुमें देवनिष्णुमें, son of विनिलामणि, in पद्मरति; composed in संवत्त 1702 (१७८०-८१ A.D.); Baroda O. I. No. 333.

निष्णुमें म. in हेमकिशोर (वानस्पतिक पा. 134), कुणालपतिवंश विनिलामणि

निष्णुमें देवकर, son of नारायण मारे. (Baroda O. I. 11089 b).

निष्णुमें (part of विनिलामणि) by विनकर and his son, विनेश्वर alias बालकर.

निष्णुमें (rules for tying of a string as a charm on the wrist at weddings and other festive occasions).

निष्णुमें com. of नायकविनि on the निष्णुमें ; sec. 105.

निष्णुमें, part of नायकविनि of नारायणमन्दा.

निष्णुमें by गणेशभर.

निष्णुमें occurs as the last part of the names of several works such as अचारणधीर, कृष्णदीर, समरमणी, संवत्तमणी.

निष्णुमें vide sec. 80.

निष्णुमें vide महाधीरप०.

निष्णुमें m. in मणे विवाहकर and in संवत्तमणी. Earlier than 1450 A.D.

निष्णुमें by विनिलामणि (from देवनिष्णुमें-विनिलामणि).

निष्णुमें by वालमें, pupil of वालमें.

निष्णुमें m. by वर्षाविनकर, आश्चर्यक- तथा of रुपुरी. Seems to be a work of the तथा class, earlier than 1450 A.D.

निष्णुमें, quoted by देवनाथ in तन्त्रकौटिक. Earlier than 1550 A.D.

निष्णुमें by मणे.

निष्णुमें or निष्णुमें कर महादेव, son of देवनाथ.

In 8 जनास; ms dated संवत्त 1840 (१७८३-४ A.D.); vide N. vol. X. 162. On आश्चर्य, मणेवल, नायकपुर, moral maxims.
List of works on Dharmakāstra

Prabhāputrasār by Ekarāj (or Ekoji) of Tanjore, who reigned from 1676 to 1684 A.D. Some fragments on नीति and पूजा are recovered (Burnell’s Tanjore cat. p. 141 b).

Prabhāputraśāstra by Tātādāsa; mentions विज्ञानेश्वर, चन्द्रकृषि, हेमाप्रिय, माधव, तारतामूर्ति, वैष्णवदीपीकित.

Prabhāputraśāstra (according to Ramaṇa school).

Prabhāputrakarṇa.

Prabhāputrakarṇaḥ: भवाभविदेशीतिदिविषित.

Prabhāputraśāstra by Prabhācand: Prabhāupad.

Prabhāputraśāstra of सूर्यसिंह or नरसिंह ठाकुर, divided into परिसंचत्र on आचार &c.

Prabhāputraśāstra.

Prabhāputraśāstra (part of विर्मायतासिद्).

Prabhāputraśāstra or Prabhāputraśāstra (from विर्मायतासिद्).

Prabhāputraśāstra m, in स्वतितवृत्तम of अनुवेद (same as part of विर्मायतासिद).

Prabhāputraśāstra by Gomākasāhadeva.

Prabhāputraśāstra by Prabhācand: Prabhācand.

Prabhāputraśāstra by भृगुवाकार, brother of श्रीराम.

Prabhāputraśāstra in 18 खंडह. From हुस्न-वन to भादु; follows आपस्तामण्डित, mentions कण्ठधर्मण, पश्चात्कारिका, नरपतिकारिका, कर्मदृष्टिकारिका, रक्षानिजीय, बांसनकारिका, खुपीरिहो-चन, स्वतितनाकर. (Madras Govt. Sanskrit mss. cat. vol. VII, p. 2798 No. 3713).

Prabhāputraśāstra (part of रामकल्पसूत्र) by अनुक्रमीत.

Prabhāputraśāstra (ms. in Bhadkamkar collection) on स्वतितवृत्तम, चुनावाधा, वृद्धाधि, स्थालीपाधि, उपराजस्वल-शास्ति, गर्मिधान, शर्मन्तोधा, शत्रु-पूजा, नामकरण, वैद्य and other संस्कार, उपनयन, विचार.


Prabhāputraśāstra m. by गुजरान.

Prabhāputraśāstra of वृद्धाधि, son of वृद्धाधि of शास्त्रिकवेग, composed at Benares in 25 तत्त्व on ordinary religious rites (संस्कार), परिमाण, स्वतितवृत्तम, चुनाव &c.; composed in लात 1577 (1656 A.D.).

Prabhāputraśāstra by भृगुराम (Baroda O. I. 9806).

Prabhāputraśāstra by भृगुराम, son of वृद्धाधि. Deals with domestic rites according to र्ग्वेद ritual. Names तृणमूल of इरजत, हेमाप्रिय, चंद्रेश्वर, श्रीरम, स्वतितनाकर. Later than 1400 A.D.

Prabhāputraśāstra by प्रभापपतिसिद्धिल, son of गोपाल, son of नारायण; deals with देवप्रतिष्ठा, चुनाव-पूजा, तपायन-पूजा &c.

Prabhāputraśāstra by रुद्रश्रमसरि.

Prabhāputraśāstra by रामायणविधाताश्चत्तमित on daily religious duties of householders; quotes हेमाप्रिय.

Prabhāputraśāstra by भृगुराम.

Prabhāputraśāstra by वैश्विकतासिद्धि.
the commentary प्रसाद of विद्ध in the श्रीकावळी of रामचतुर्व. Vide I. O. cat. p. 166 for प्रसाद com. and Bhandarkar Report 1883-84 p. 59 for pedigree.

प्रयोगपारिजात by दुसिंह a native of कियूट, of the कृषिधन्यौगिक. Has five काव्यs on संस्कार, पारा, आधार, आधिक, गोत्रपरिवर्तन. Portion on संस्कार printed at Nir. Press (1916). Speaks of 25 संस्कारs; mentions कालीप्रेम and कालग्रीष्ण (on same page), काल-टीपणाच, क्रियावर्ग, त्रैणांश, विषयरूप, शृंगरी, स्त्रितवासर, विषयसमूह; criticizes देशास्त्रि and मान्य; composed between 1360 and 1435 A.D. It is this work probably that is mentioned in दुसिंहसाद (दानसार), प्रसाद (संस्कार portion) and प्रयोगमल of नारायणभट्ट ms. (Bik. cat. p. 439) is dated संवत 1495 (1438-39 A.D.).

प्रयोगपारिजात by दुसिंह son of देवराजचक्षु.

प्रयोगपारिजात by दुसिंह वाजपेयिन.

प्रयोगपारिजातसारिक by दुसिंह (Baroda O. I. No. 12959).

प्रयोगमग्निक by नसिंह, son of अंबेदकर नारायण.

प्रयोगकाव्यिक by शिवसिंह (?) तिरिचि; D. C. ms. No. 102 of 1871-72. Quotes विद्धसंबर, प्रयोगपारिजात. दुसिंह, आचार्यस्वामी. Later than 1650 A.D.
List of works on Dharmasastra

Prayogabhikshita by Girirajacharya.
Prayogarat or smrtishasthana by Janat, son of Vishnath; deals with 25 samskaras according to Advaita, and smrtisahana, smrtishasta, sarradiyarka, parimarga, pratyaksha. (I.O. cat. vol. III. p. 515.)
Prayogarat (Vidhanyakshar) by Anantadeva, son of Visnatha; vide Peterson's 5th Report No. 126. Probably same as above.
Prayogarat by kathinakshita, son of sadhvarshya.
Prayogarat by kshetramukhakshita, son of sadhvarshya.
Prayogarat by narayanadhru, son of ramakrishna (pr. by Nir. P.) for advaitanayikas. Vide sec. 103.
Prayogarat by prashastipriyak.
Prayogarat by vrittasadhru, son of narayanaadhru, according to advaita and kshao; quoted in Anuvinshtishatmadhyama of bhudevi; between 1500-1600 A.D.
Prayogarat by bhudevi (C. P. cat. No. 3131).
Prayogarat or smrtipriyakhyana of mahesh, son of mahadeva vishnupiyam; composed at Kasi on samskara, shakti and brah; pr. in sake 1798; eulogises madhukar; ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 1626) dated 1844. Sanchalit i.e. 1787-8 A.D.
Prayogarat by mahadeva (Vidhanyakshar).
Prayogarat by vishnudevadev, son of Anantadeva.
Prayogarat by hirhar.
Prayogarat by krishnadhru, son of bhudevi (BBR-AS. cat. vol. II p. 185).
Prayogaratamala by chandramaycharya.
Prayogaratamala by bhadresh, son of apendeva, vrttisahana, and vrttisahana, smrtisahana; on vidhyatva, vidhyasavakamittha, mentions niranjanshastha. Between 1620 and 1760 A.D. Also called bhadresh and pratyaksha.
Prayogaratamala by vishnupiyam, vidhanyakshar.
Prayogaratamalakar by prashastipriyak.
Prayogaratamalakar m. by samskara, prashastipriyak.
Prayogaratamalakar -vide prayogadipa of vishnudeva above.
Prayogaratamalakar by pradevadhru (for naiyayikas). Baroda O. I. 8365.
Prayogarathali by pramanijna, pupil of vidhyatva, vidhyasavakamittha (probably on srauta rites only).
Prayogaratopacharya by vidyut, son of mahadeva.
Prayogaratopakhya by ramanath. Prayogaratopakhya by narayana, Aradh. Later than 1650 A.D.; called also bhudevi-priyakara.
Prayogarat (W. and K. cat. II p. 97) in 8 kaanda.
Prayogarat by krishnadeva, smrtipriyakara, son of narayana. This is also called shyatvach or samskaranayogarat.
Prayogarat by kshetramukhakshita (Kshetramukhakshita). On Vaidic sacrifices. Names narayana and maheswari and is m. by vidhyatvamadhyama. About 1100 A.D.
Prayogarat by gajaram (Avalantmukha).
Prayogarat by devenadhru, son of vishnudeva (Cantabahur).
Prayogarat by bhudevi, son of ramanath. Refers to gajaram.
Phaladeka, Bharujh, vashdev, rekh, kar, haristhama, maah, push, garap, harhar, ramprajan of anant. Deals with draati matters.

Prayogasar by naraayan, son of laksminar. Same as gauharilghanar or prayogasar.

Prayogasar by nalin.

Prayogasar by baladhura, a shashikanay, residing in goorkumam.

Prayogasar by sandhiram a alias gauharabhu, son of binvar. On punahavachan, ganastraparavan &c.

Prayogasar by Shankashad.

Prayogasaradhit m in dharmaparita.

Prayogasarapari of kumaarsvami in shuddha; on paryamana, sankska, abhrd, prayakhita.

Prayogasarsudhakr.

Prayogasvare by karkamapit, son of vijnana, of mohimgov. It is a com. on his own karikamaajri.

Pravartana (Akhantayane) pr. by P. Chentsalrao in goutampravishyakshadad (Mysore, 1900).

C. by naraayan (pr. in the above).

Pravartana (Aparajane).

C. by karisthawamin (pr. by Chentsalrao in goutampravishyakshadadad, Mysore, 1900, pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1914).


Pravartana by krishnakumar; also called goutampravishyaksha (pr. in goutampravishyakshadad edited by P. Chentsalrao, Mysore 1900).

Pravarsidha or Pravarsidhpr m in pravartiika pravartiika by krishnadev; mentions pravarsadhar, shaurchatatisika. Later than 1250 A.D.

Pravarsidha - from the Vishakh.


C. Rampanad.

Pravartiika by gauridhit. Also called goutampravishyaksha.

Pravartanikadstormpr in vishakhapr. Pravarsadhar - vide goutampravarsadhar; m in pravarsadad.

Pravartana m in the pravartiika.

Pravartana (there is a section on pravar in most of the oltuly).

Pravartana of the manvabhit BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 177.

Pravartana ascribed to amrut. On gaur and pravars.

Pravartana by dhirapit, minister of saamrastha; about 1170-1200 A.D.

Pravartana ascribed to krishntidev.

Pravartana ascribed to loopati, the eleventh parikshd of kaatayyan.

Pravartana by vishakhapraksh.

Pravartana from vishakha.

Pravartana from dhiraksh.

Pravartana by mahadhar son of ramchand; composed at saamrastha (modern Khambayat or Cambay) in sambhu
1663 (1606-7 A.D.). Deals with duties of साध्निक गाध्याण्णि to foreign lands for livelihood.

प्रत्याचारिताति.

प्रत्याचारिताकर रुद्रवास son of दुर्ग-मोहन, under चित्रसिद्ध, in साध्नान in संवत 1614 (1557-8 A.D.).
A work in verse on various subjects including नीति, ज्योति-शास्त्र.

द्वारासंहिता m. in आचारण of लक्ष्मण (follows बड़हभारत).

प्राचीनकाव्यशास्त्रि (as opposed to आध्यात्मिकन्तकशास्त्रि) vide under पद्धति.

प्रत्याचारिताति.

प्रत्याचारिताति by नरेशमहाति (for the followers of वैदिक).

प्रायोगिकतन्त्र or निर्णय by गोपाल-न्यायप्रकाश. Points out differences between रघुनाथ, नारायण, जगन्नाथपरम्परप्रकाश. N. vol. X, p. 119.

प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध संग्रह by काशीनाथ-तारालक्षण. Mentions views of शुभपाणि, मदुरापरम्परा, नवगृहसमाचार-लक्ष्मणश्रेष्ठ. N. (new series) I. pp. 233-35.

प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध by कल्लाकरमुहूर.

प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध-portion of कल्लाकरमुहूर.

प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध-2nd part of वैदिक's रघुनाथपरम्पर.

प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध by गोपाल; based on the वैदिकसाहि; flourished before साध्नान.

प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध by रघुनाथ.

प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध by मुकुटलाल.

प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध by रघुनाथ, son of गोपालमुहूर and pupil of अनन्तदेव.

Stein's cat. p. 96, Hultsch's Report III p. 56. On both आवार and स्मार्त प्रायोगिक.

About 1660-1700.

प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध by रघुनाथ; modelled on प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध of शल्पाणि. N. X. p. 197.

प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध alias प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध of रघुनाथ मदुरापरम्परा.

प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध alias प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध of रघुनाथसमार्थ.

प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध by विद्याकर, son of महोदेश, son of रघुनाथ surnamed काल.

प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध by चुकुन्दलाल.

प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध by रघुनाथ; m. by विद्याकर in his प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध and in स्मार्तप्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध.

प्रायोगिकतन्त्रम्मार्ध में वाच्यसंपादित.

Vide sec. 98.

प्रायोगिकतन्त्र of रघुनाथ. Vide sec. 102; pr. by Jivananda.

C. by काशीनाथ तारालक्षण (pr. at Calcutta in 1900).

C. by रामासूरोयन्गाय्ती (pr. at Calcutta 1885 in Bengali characters). He was a friend of Colebrooke and a descendant of अबैत, an associate of वैदिक.

C. आदिशा by विद्याकर मदुरापरम्पराग्नि.


Earlier than 1700 A.D.

Summary of Shunandya’s work.

Ms. copied in 1669 A.D. (Auffrechte’s Oxf. cat. 293 a.).

Ms. of Hemamti; in four parts.

Ms. of Ramachandra, son of Shrivas.

Mentioned, Amsvedt. (N. vol. VI. p. 300).

(Stein’s cat. pp. 96, 310).

Ms. of Bhudevi.

Sec. 73.

Of Prayatnabhadra, son of Bala.

Rahulakosha (on literature).

By Keshavagna.

By Mopaldasvami. (Bik. cat. p. 137, says so, but it appears that Mopaldasvami is a Bhashakar on Bhojapakshottar, on whom the author follows on Bhojapaksha.

By Desaindi of Bhojapaksha, composed in sakte 1675 (Baroda O. I. 1490).

By Ramchandra, son of Ranasen Shrinivasabhishek.

By Ramasen.

By Varadicharyan, pupil of Bhandapadhyaya.

By Bahinipati.

By Shukumrata, son of Mahapah. He was born of Veramana, flourished in 2nd and 3rd quaters of 15th century.


By Bhashkar (Same as Prayatnabhadra) on Prayatnabhadra, on Bhojapaksha’s rites.

By Anantaev.

By Somak (N. vol. X. 164), based on Amsvedt.

Vide under Sarsa Prayatnabhadra.

By Bala Shukumra’s Kambakar.

Mentioned Sreeram, Sivakrishana, Pratap, Keshavagna.
List of works on Dharmatāstrā 593

prāyātiṣṭhānāri of bāpuḍu, son of mahā-
dvēp kēṭakār. Stein’s cat. p. 96,
gives vitārakā nālī as sake 1736.

prāyātiṣṭhātanāde of mātrārīmīḍa, son of
kṛṣṇāmīḍa, and pupil of rāmaśāstra
dwedhānā. 

prāyātiṣṭhānaptuk of nīṭhabaṅg; vide sec.
107. Pr. by Mr. J. R. Gharpure.

prāyātiṣṭhātanātan of mārāplāiṣṭha (Mitra’s
Notices vol. VII, p. 7, No. 2252
dated sake 1544 i.e. 1622-23
A. D.).

prāyātiṣṭhānānādī by śivākār, son of
mahēś (part of his pāṁśāśāyapa-
nīṣṭha).

absolute above by bhācana, son of author.

prāyātiṣṭhānānādī by rāmaśāstra. 
prāyātiṣṭhātār by kāmalakārabhū m. in ṭaṁ-
kāmalakār.

prāyātiṣṭhātanātanā by rāmaśāstraśiśā. 
prāyātiṣṭhātārā by rānaḥśarīmā. 
prāyātiṣṭhātārā by dhīncah m. in śrūti-
raṇaḥālā.

prāyātiṣṭhātārā by bhācana. 
prāyātiṣṭhātārā by bhācana. 

prāyātiṣṭhātārā by mahā. 
prāyātiṣṭhātārā by bhācana.

prāyātiṣṭhātārā by nās, apṣāyāśiśā; 
mentions śaṃśādī and māmā.

prāyātiṣṭhātārā from vāśīndrūṣṭi. 
prāyātiṣṭhātārā attributed to vēṅkāk. 
prāyātiṣṭhātārānādī by abhanādev. 
prāyātiṣṭhātārānādī by bāhuḍa. 
prāyātiṣṭhātārānādī by yopākārbhū. 

h. d. 75.

prāyātiṣṭhātābāṇdk of ṭhāyapāṇi. Vide sec. 
95 (Baroda O. I. 10849 dated 
svarṇa 1501 i.e. 1444.45 A. D.);
pr. by jīvānanda.

C. bāṇdākhāri by gōvinda. 
son of gōvindapāṇi. Vide sec. 101
(pr. by jīvānanda).

C. kāṭhūri or kīṃidāni by rāmaśāstra. 
C. bhūrāśūrendrākāśaka. N. (new
series) vol. II. p. 114.

prāyātiṣṭhātābāṇdk of bhīmā. About 1475-
1525 A. D.

prāyātiṣṭhātābāṇdkāṭā (part of sādū-
rāṇ). Sec. 94.

prāyātiṣṭhātābhāṣāsā by śīnābhāṣā-
umālūkaṇāmādū. (N. vol. IV
No. 1580). He wrote also yāv-
rāyaśānā on śīnī, ṭhāk, aṅkā,
ṭhāk, bhā. Ms. dated sake 1611.

prāyātiṣṭhātābhāṣāsā by māhīcā. 
prāyātiṣṭhātābhāṣāsā by abhūtanā. 
prāyātiṣṭhātābhāṣāsā by bhācana in 4 prakāra. 
m. in n. śi, prāyātiṣṭhātākūṭhū of 
rāmaṇā, mahāyāvānāśiśābhāṣāśiśāśiśāśiśā.
Earlier than 1550 A. D.

C. by bhūṭāras bāṇāpyājī; ms.
dated svarṇa 1641 (1584-5 A. D.)
in Stein’s cat. p. 311.

prāyātiṣṭhātābhāṣāśiśā by gōvind-
svāmī (bhīmāśiśā).

prāyātiṣṭhātābhāṣāśiśā by gōvind.

prāyātiṣṭhātābhāṣā by śīnābhāṣāumālūkaṇāmādū.
Probably the same as prāyātiṣṭhā-
tābhāṣāsā above.

prāyātiṣṭhātābhāṣā by rāmaśāstraśiśābh.
N. (new series) I p. 239.
पायलितसंग्रह by देवराज (This is in Hindi, prepared for महाराज चेत-सिंह of Benares). 1770-1781 A.D.

पायलितसंग्रह by नारायणबहु; mentions पुष्ठवाणिज्य, श्रृंखला, स्थिरता-सागरसार. So later than 1600 A. D. Defines पायलित as 'पायलितसंग्रह-नामकालितिविश्व: पायलितसंग्रह कर्म पायलितसंग्रह'.

पायलितसंग्रह of सदाराम, son of देवराज.

पायलितसंग्रह by विश्वनाथश्री.

पायलितसंग्रह by भाकर.

पायलितसार by ज्ञानबन्धु श्लोक.

पायलितसार by बदलति (part of शृंखला-सागर).

पायलितसार (vide BBRAS. cat. p.224).

पायलितसार by हरिम.

पायलितसार from स्थिरता of याद-वेतनबिश्वासण N. (new series) I. p. 240, Ms. dated 1613 (1691A.D.).

पायलितसारकौशल of वनस्पति (N. vol. IX p. 58).

पायलितसंग्रह by आनन्दचन्द्र N. (new series) vol. III. p. 126.

पायलितसंग्रह by नागोजिनहु. Vide sec. 110.

पायलितसंग्रह by नागोजिनहु.

पायलितसंग्रह by नागोजिनहु. son of साप्ताहिक and वहिया. Vide sec. 92.

पायलितसंग्रह by वीणायमालिका (आपत्ति-वशम).

पायलितसंग्रह by सदाराम.


पायलितसंग्रह by वैष्ठनाधीनसिद्ध.

पायलितकेतुहुलर by काशीनाथ, son of अन्नस (also called पायलितसंग्रह-सारसंग्रह) composed for बालवहु; pr. in Bombay in 1863 and 1882. Vide sec. 112.

पायलितकेतुहुलर by नागोजिनहु, son of शीवहु and झी महाबलितमहाबलित.

पायलितकेतुहुलर by नागोजिनहु, son of शीभु and सती. Vide sec. 110; ms. (N. vol. V p. 23) is dated संवत 1848 i.e. 1781-82 A. D.

पायलितकेतुहुलरसारसंग्रह by नागोजिन, son of शीभु and सती. (I. O. cat. vol. III p. 555).

पायलितकेतुप्रयोग by दिनकर (part of दिनकरप्रयोग).

पायलितकेतुप्रयोग by महानिलितमहानिलित (part of महानिलित). Vide sec. 94.

पायलितकेतुप्रयोग by विशाख, son of महापुर्ण, surnamed कांड. Also called स्मार्तसारसंग्रह and स्मार्तनियतिविवेचना (vide Baroda O. I. 1334, 1543, 1663).

पायलितकेतुप्रयोग by आनन्दचन्द्र. Offences classified under 4 heads, heinous, gross, venial and slight, and their expiation.
List of works on Dharmakirti

Earlier than 1500 A.D.

Dharmakirti by चुड़ा, surnamed चुड़ौर. Based on the अभिमूल and सम्पूर्ण; ms. in Bhadkamkar collection copied in śaka 1714 (1792-3 A.D.); names नि. सि., श्रावणाशेष.

Dharmakirti by भाषणिवकाल.

Dharmakirtiśravaśīpāta (part of श्रावण-कौशिक) by अन्नदेव. Vide sec. 109.

Dharmakirtiśravaśīpāta by कलाकार. Sec. 106.

प्रेतस्थानिन्य. प्रेतस्थापिनिर्णित Ano.

प्रेतदीर्घाद् by गोपीनाथ अल्पगोळित.

प्रेतस्थानिन्य by कुण्डलिनिन्य.

प्रेतामर्गी by हिन्दूस्थानी.

प्रेतामर्गी vide Hp. cat. XVII (ms. dated 1707 A.D.).

प्रेतस्थानिन्य by श्रावणाशेष.

प्रेतास्तिक by समासार.

प्रेताश्चक्रकारिका by स्मारकवाणी.

प्रेताश्चक्रकारिका or कालनिन्यसंग्रह by प्रेतास्तिक. Vide प्रेतास्तिक.

वहिनार्यक.

वहिनार्यकुप.

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वहिनार्यकारिका m. in नि. सि.
translated by him. Vide sec. III.

III. •

बालाकोृति m. in तुसिजस्वाद (शानसार).
बालव्योरेृत्ति on शाश्वाचनासंहि.
बालसत्ति m. by मिताघर (on ya.
III. 58.).

बुधिमकाव्य m. by र्कुलन्दा.

हुघुरुण by सम्बराज (son of the
great Shivaji). 1680-1689 A.D.
On politics &c, pr. in Govt.
Oriental series, Poona, 1926.

हुघुरुण a small treatise of about
one page in print in prose. D. C. mss. No. 207 of A 1881-82
and 145 of 1895-1902. Defines
धर्म as श्रेयगृहुस्वरूपम; and sum-
marises rules on उपनयन, विवाह,
गर्भायण एवं असंस्कार, पंचायत,
पालक, हरियाव, सामायण,
rules common to all, duties of
the four वर्ग, वानपत्य एवं यति,
राजघर्ष्य. हेमान्त्र in चलर्मण (III.
2. 746) quotes some sutras on
उपनयन and it is m. in
प्रायस्वतमक संस्कृतां. I. O. cat. vol. III
p. 386 (No. 1323) sets out the
whole सूत्रति. Vide sec. 25.
C. by हरिषाम.

बुधास्ति.

बुधास्तिक्रिकालाभिन्नम्.

बुधास्तिक्रिकालाभिन्नम् Stein’s cat. p. 96.

बुधज्ञातिविद्येक by गोपीनाथवचि (Bar-
roda O. I. 9705).

बुधराचारस्तति (pr. Jivananda Sm.
part II. pp. 53-309).

बुधसंहिता by व्यास.


बुधसमनाक जीवनमधु.

बुधसमामताच्छंद m. by र्षेत in महमात
स्तव एवं वैकारस्तव.

बुधसाहस्त्रतिच्छति m. by मिताघर, हलातुच, भदा पा.

बुधसाहस्त्रतिच्छति.

बुधसाहस्त्रतिच्छति m. by मिताघर.

बुधसाहस्त्रतिच्छति (from संस्कारकस्तुम of
अन्तङ्गे).

बुधसाहस्त्रतिच्छति-vide sec. 37; pr. Jiva-
नांदा Sm. part I pp. 644-651

C. m. by हेमान्त्र (परित्येककाद, दक्ष p. 309).

बैज्ञान (or-विर) स्या m. by कुमारिक.
बड्ड in रत्नांतां भौन मुरे (I.3.11) in the words ‘आम्बलासंस्कृत
तून बैज्ञापित्रं तथा’.

बैज्ञानवस्त्रतिच्छति m. by अपराकर्त (in verse
about भूभुवणिका and सप्तेशन).

बैज्ञानवस्त्रति m. by हेमान्त्र.

बैज्ञानवस्त्रति.

C. by साधवचित.

बौधायनयुद्ध Pr. in Mysore G. O. I.
series, ed. by Dr. Shamaसारस्ट्रि; divided into 4 प्रकार of युद्ध, two
प्रकार of युद्धस्ततिविकार, 5 प्रकार of
युद्योक्त, 3 of पित्रोदमस्तुम and one
of पित्रोदकोशहुम. It is the बौधाय
नयुद्धसंस्कृत (II. 6) that contains
a passage about बुधसाहस्त्र (adop-
tion) that resembles closely a
passage of विनिष्कपस्त्र.

C. बौधायनस्त्र by भदास्त.
C. Bhāṣya (called विद्वेदि. Bhāṣya). Hultzsch II No. 668.

शौचालयशास्त्रकारिका by कन रमभापति.

शौचालयशास्त्रकारिका by कश्यपवामिनि.

शौचालयशास्त्रकारिका (ed. by Harting).

शौचालयशास्त्रकारिका by राम सन of चौड़ा or चाँडु.

Ulwar cat. extract 21; refers to प्रयोगसार.

शौचालयशास्त्रकारिका by विद्वेदि. Bhāṣya. Vide sec. 6 pr. Ānaṃ.


C. by वीरनविद्वेदि (Mysore G. O. L. series).

C. अमल by सरसेनेवरेनाभानक.

शौचालयशास्त्रकारिका by कनकदासभापति.

Hultzsch R. II. No. 672.

शौचालयशास्त्रकारिका by विद्वेदि.

शौचालयसंग्रह by विद्वेदि. Bhāṣya. Vide sec. 6 pr. Ānaṃ.

शौचालयसंग्रह m. in आदिपक्षेत्र by रघु.

शौचालयसंग्रह m. in भिक्षः (on या. III. 268). अर्गभ, सत्तम् ०

शौचालयसंग्रह by विद्वेदि. Bhāṣya. Vide sec. 6 pr. Ānaṃ.

शौचालयसंग्रह m. in भिक्षः by रघु.

as quoted by कल्याणक. So earlier than 1100 A.D. It appears to be a com. on शौचालयसंग्रह.

शौचालयसंग्रह of विद्वेदि. Bhāṣya. Vide sec. 6 pr. Ānaṃ.

शौचालयसंग्रह m. in भिक्षः by रघु.

as quoted by कल्याणक. So earlier than 1100 A.D. It appears to be a com. on शौचालयसंग्रह.

शौचालयसंग्रह m. in भिक्षः by रघु.

as quoted by कल्याणक. So earlier than 1100 A.D. It appears to be a com. on शौचालयसंग्रह.

शौचालयसंग्रह m. in भिक्षः by रघु.

as quoted by कल्याणक. So earlier than 1100 A.D. It appears to be a com. on शौचालयसंग्रह.

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी by नृगणयाधिकर. Refers to नृगणयाधिकर. पति. वर-शास्त्रमहाराम्रजी. N. (new series) p. 250.

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी by श्रीविष्णुसी. (Baroda O. I. 6789 d).

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी by त्रिशारण. (sec. 72).

pr. at Calcutta in 1893 and at Benares.

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी m. in मिताल्य (या. III. 257).

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी by विश्वचन. Probably different from the famous रूढ़-


शौचालयमहाराम्रजी by विष्णुचन. in 8 उपयोगोः.

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी by विष्णुचन.

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी (for रामा-

नक्षन).

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी by श्रीविष्णुसी.

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी by श्रीविष्णुसी.

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी by श्रीविष्णुसी.

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी by श्रीविष्णुसी.

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी by श्रीविष्णुसी.

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी by श्रीविष्णुसी.

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी by श्रीविष्णुसी.

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी by श्रीविष्णुसी.

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी by श्रीविष्णुसी.

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी by श्रीविष्णुसी.

शौचालयमहाराम्रजी by श्रीविष्णुसी.
महमदशाही m. in स्वतिप्रियकार and आचारमुक्त.
आवत्थानविधि by रबूनाथ.
- महमदशाही or महमदशाही by अयामके, son of आयामके. Vide sec. 109.

महमदशाहीलालकी by वियसफरी composed at Benares. The author was a मैथिल.

C. कामतिमा by author. Composed in अज 1555 फळगुन (1634) A.D., Bhandarkar's Report for 1887-91 p. LXXX.

महमदशाहीलिङ्ग by महमदहससरखी.
महमदशाहीलिङ्ग by मुगोपाध्याय, pupil of मुहमदबल, in 20,बिलास on religious ceremonies of वेवस; m. in कालसार of गंगापर.

C. (with text pr. at Calcutta in 1845).

महमदशाही or महमदशाही by नीलकृष्ण, divided into twelve मंडल.
Vide sec. 107 (the whole published at Benares in 1879-80).

महमदशाही m. in निर्णयसिद्धि.

महमदशाही–Vide sec. 27.

C. by बालभुज.

अन्वयाहमसनविधि.

महमदभाऊ m. in लिङ्क. (on जन्म-नवन्तक). Probably a purely astrological work.

अवदेशनिविध m. in शक्तिप्रेम. Probably the प्रायिकातिनिप्रथण of अवदेशनिविध. Vide p. 303 above.

महमदशाही.

महमदशाही or महमदशाही by महमदशाही, son of शीनाथ.

C. महमदशाही by author. Relies on महमदशाही.

महमदशाही परिणामप्राप्तितेिष्वादः on the prohibition of intermarriage between persons of the महमद and महमद gotras.

महमदशाही द. by Dr. J. W. Salomes at Leyden.

C. by महमदशाही.

C. युयायोगविधि by महमदशाही.

महमदशाही m. by महमदशाही.

महमदशाही vide महमदशाही.

महमदशाही.

C. by वैथनाथ पांगुण्ड, son of महमदेश and वेवनी and pupil of मामोली. Vide sec. 111.

महमदशाही म. by महमद in विका-सनवंत (it is probably कविता-भाष्य on महमदशाही) and by हिन्दू in पारसकासुद्धादाय.

महमदशाही m. by महमद in तिथिनिर्धार.

महमदशाही m. in लिङ्क. and रामकेन्द्र.

महमदशाही by सावाजी (or-णा) alias प्रतापराज. Ulwar cat. extract 648.

महमदशाही m. in निन्देश. BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 197.

महमदशाही m. in निन्देश.
भाषापरिषद् m. by हेमात्रि (III. 1. 1360, where a verse in उपासना metre is quoted in which कपि हिंदू is named), स्वरूपचिन्हिना (on आश्रीय), कालनिर्वण of माधव्. Between 1000-1200 A.D.

आयकराशिक.

मिस्र दत्तब by श्रीकृतसदैवत, pupil of महादेवलिङ्ग, on the duties of ascetics, and on those entitled to take to संस्कार. N. (new series) vol. I, p. 260.

भीमपराक्रम m. in हेमदाकोशी of नोविना काल, in आंधौशीव (टोड़हारन्त), in समस्त (seems to be an astrological work).

श्रवणीयक (on the question, when food may be taken before an eclipse).

श्रवणीयक by कमलाकर.

जनवर्षी of भोजराज. Vide pp. 278-279 above; m. in आंधौशीक of हेमदाकोशी, टोड़हारन्त. An astrological work.

बलशाहिन आफ्रेच्ट’s Leipzig cat. No. 538.

बलशाहिनिस्माण्याततिसिंह आफ्रेच्ट’s Leipzig cat. 537.

चण्डालसाधुस्वरूप m. in कमलाकर (p. 499) of बहादूर. Probably a work of भोज परमेश्वर.

चण्डालभेद m. in क्रमाकालि.

चण्डेश्वर by परमेश्वर. An encyclopaedia of धर्म, astrology, poetics &c. m. in नि. सि.; निर्माण-दीपक, कारसाधिकारिंद्रास्त्राध्याया.

सुप्रसिद्धान.

भुगुप्तसूति m. by विजयराज, कालविषेक of जीवकं, नितासर, अपराजे.

भेदवाचारिणीशास्त्र by जीतसिंह.

भेदवाचारिणीशास्त्र by श्रीनिवासनाथ, pupil of झन्दराज, and son of श्रीनिवासनाथ.

ब्रह्मवाचारशास्त्र by श्रीप्र.

महर्षिदामकार्य by हरिरघण्ण सिद्धान्त. On आंधोक, संस्कार; ms. (Bik. cat. p. 416) is dated संवत् 1725 (1668-9 A.D.).

मृत्युविनिवृत्त by गणेश, son of केशव देव. On the rites to be performed at उपनयन, विधाय &c.

मर्तरी- Occurs as the last component of many works, e.g. गोपा-प्रकाशम्भरी, स्वरूपसदैव (of नोविना-राज).

मध्यमतिलात्तर of रजुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102.

मठानायाधिविधात्र (on religious practices in the seven principal maṭhas of the झंकराचार्य school). N. vol. X. 256 and Stein’s cat. p. 312.

मठदर्शन of कमलाकर (C. P. -cat. Nos. 3771-72).

मठदर्शन of माधवेश्वर (C. P. cat. No. 3770).

माधवेश्वरीविज्ञानी.

मणिपार्कन्यापाद्याप्पदातिसुभाषरुप मणिपार्कन्यापाद्याप्पदातिसुभाष: द्वारा।

मणिपार्कन्यापाद्याप्पदा by विभुट देशम. Son of बरि; composed at काशी in संवत् 1541 (1619-20 A.D.).
C. बिश्विति by author; mentions कुशकाटियां. कुशकर्तिक, प्रतिकारसारसंग्रह, प्रणेतासार, रामकार्यसती.

मण्डलमणिमष्ट m. in उल्लमामयम.

मण्डलमणिकारण.

मण्डलमाणिकारण by एको सन्तानापुग.

मण्डलमणिकारण (Auriecht’s Leipzig cat. No. 647).

मण्डलमणिकारण (Auriecht’s Leipzig cat. No. 648).

मण्डलमणिकारण.

मतीक्ष्यति by म्ह्हमतापांग.

मतीक्ष्यति by अनन्देन्द्र, son of अन्नेद्र; m. in स्वर्णकौशल. Sec. 109.

मण्डलमणिकारण attributed to मण्डलमणिकारण (composed by विशेष्वरभट्ट).

Vide sec. 93.

मण्डलमणिकारण Vide ग्रहणारण.

मण्डलमणिकारण or मण्डलमणिकारण attributed to मण्डलमणिकारण. Vide sec. 94. Ulwar cat. extract 336 for समययोग्यता; Baroda O. I. No. 4035 on ग्रहणि is dated संवत 1551 (1494-5 A.D.).

This last refers to अन्नेद्र मणिमणि as the author.

मण्डलमणिकारण.

मण्डलमणिकारण.

मण्डलमणिकारण m. in मिता (म. III. 243, 247, 257, 260).

मण्डलमणिकारण.

मण्डलमणिकारण or मण्डलमणिकारण. Vide sec. 31 (vide p. 157 for editions of commentaries).

C. मण्डलमणिकारण by कुशकम्भु.

Vide sec. 88. He was a native of बांग्ला i.e. Rajshahi in Bengal.

C. मण्डलमणिकारण by मण्डलमणि.

Vide sec. 76. (pr. by V. N. Mandlik). Vide sec. 76.

C. नन्दिनी by नन्दिनी. A late writer. (pr. by V. N. Mandlik).


C. मण्डलमणिकारण by मण्डलमणिकारण. Later than 1400 (pr. by V. N. Mandlik).

C. ग्रहणिचन्द्र by ग्रहणिचन्द्र son of ग्रहणि (vide Stein’s cat. p. 98).

C. by सारथि. Vide sec. 58.

C. by उद्धर m. in वि. र. Earlier than 1300 A.D.

C. by उपाध्याय. m. in सेवातिथि भाषाय.

C. by कुशकम्भु. in सेवातिथि भाषाय.

C. by कुशकम्भु.

C. by परसेरमें म. by कुशकम्भु.

Between 950-1200 A.D.

C. by मणि म. by वि. र.; vide p. 157.

C. (भाषाय) by सेवातिथि: vide sec. 63 (pr. by V. N. Mandlik and by J. R. Gharpure).

C. by ज्ञानि. m. by सेवातिथि.

C. by रामचंद्र (pr. by V. N. Mandlik).

C. by शिवद्रु.

C. anonymous (Kashmirian); portions pr. by Dr. Jolly.

मण्डलमणिकारण by कांमलाकर.
List of works on Dharmasastra

मन्नकोप्य m. in आचारमूल.
मन्नकोप्य by आचार्यदयिपिपतित in 20 परिक्षेत्र. Ulwar cat. extract 651.
मन्नकोप्य by अविरुध्धमण्ड महामहो-
पाथापन, said to be a शास्त्रिणाय. In four काव्य explains मन्न of रामचन्द्रदर्शन, ms. (N. vol. X. p. 122) dated sāke 1717 i. e. 1795 A. D.
मन्नत्वभक्ति m. by रुप in एकाव-
तीतवर.
मन्नपकाश m. by रुप in श्रीकाश.
मन्नपकाशक हरसन. Vide under
एकार्थनिकमन्नपकाशक.
मन्नपकाशकी m. in शास्त्रितवर and मन्नत्वभक्ति by रुप.
मन्नत्वभक्तिका m. in अहल्याकाशेन.
मन्नसारसंह m. in सदाचारमूर्तिका.
मन्नसारसंह of शिबराम.
मन्नसारसंह (proved) in 7 kāṇḍas.
मन्नसारसंहक (ascribed to the यज्ञ-
वेदपुराण).
मन्नसारसंहकनिद्रिय on rites and ex-
piations to be performed at
time of death (Bik. cat. p. 420).
मन्नसारसंहक (vide sec. 48.
मन्नसारसंहक m. in शास्त्रितवरीका of
एकावत.
M. D. 76.
styled रूपनारायण here, though हरिनारायण elsewhere; vide also Ulwar cat. No. 1413 where this work appears to be styled महादानभोगप्रति.

महादानप्रति by रूपनारायण (I. O. cat. p. 550. No. 1715 must be taken as dated in sāke 1452, i.e. 1530 A.D., as the cyclic year विण्डति agrees). Also called महादाननोगप्रति; m. by वाचकतिम in हृदिशे, by कामकर, in ज्ञानमूल.

महादानप्रति by विष्णुस्वर.

महादानवाक्यावली of रत्नपाणिमिश्र, son of मणिगोपीतमण्डनभरमिश्र; mentions a work called हितिहाससम्बन्ध.

महादानानकमणिका.

महादानप्रतिविन्ध.

महाद्वेशपरिज्ञानमयोग (वौभागनी) by छेकरस्वासिन, pupil of पुरातात्त्विय.

N. vol. X. p. 239.

महाप्रेयम् m. by वर्णबादस्त.

महाप्रेयमरत्नप्रति N. (new series) I. p. 280.

महाप्रेयमगुरु m. by श्रीम in आचारकक-वच.

महाकाव्य by छेदोत्सम m. in his गोश्वसम्बन्धी.

महाकाव्यकलापप्रति.

महाकाव्यविश्वासप्रति.

महाकाव्यप्रति by वहम.

महाकाव्यप्रति- see वहस्तलय.

महाकाव्यप्रति by अचार्यश्रीवर्धन, son of बलराम (acc. to शास्त्रावध). About 1518 A.D.

महाकाव्यप्रति by अनन्तेश्वरित, son of विष्णुस्वर, surnamed यशोप्रीत; quotes ग्रन्थोऽगलन of नरायणमूल. So later than 1575 A.D. (also called महाकाव्यनोगप्रति).

महाकाव्यप्रति by कामकरित म. in ज्ञानमूल.

महाकाव्यप्रति by नारायण (acc. to आचारकक).

महाकाव्यप्रति by विष्णुस्वर, son of कल्य (acc. to साहसेन); m. by श्रीमकनाक-कर. Composed in 1459 A.D.

महाकाव्यप्रति by वहम.

महाकाव्यप्रति by विष्णुस्वर (or महाकाव्य) son of तिगहामत्रू, son of रत्नपाणि; of श्रीम, in गृहस्वामी. The work is also called हितिहाससम्बन्धी and the author was also called वेदार्थदर्य. About 1627-1655 A.D. (Ulwar cat. No. 1415).

महाकाव्यप्रति by रामचन्द्रचन्द्र (for गोगोलिव). Baroda O. I. 1250.

महाकाव्यप्रति by विष्णुस्वर.

महाकाव्यप्रति by वेदवाक्य, son of तिगहामत्रू. Same as the work of महाकाव्य.

महाकाव्यप्रति.

महाप्रेय म. महाप्रेयमकाश m. by हेमाकी (vol. III. part I, pp. 183, 1440) and by आचारकमणिका of गोगोलिव. This is also called हितिहासप्रेय or -प्रकास. Vide p. 308 above.

महाप्रेय (कर्मचिन्न) attributed to महासागर, a son of समस्तान. Vide sec. 93. pp. 382-83.
List of works on Dhammaddhara


महात्माजयमयम.

महात्माजयमयमयापूजन.

महात्माजयमयापूजन by अस्नानान्त, disciple of अस्नानान्त.

महात्माजयमयापूजन by शेतपारगीर.

महात्माजयमय in two अध्याय (of 18 and 25 sections) on expiatory and propitiatory rites.

महात्मिकारांतिकीय.

महात्मिकारांतिकीय by क्रमराम of काण्ठी.

महात्मिकारांतिकीय.

महात्मिकारांतान.

महात्मिकारांतान.

महात्मिकारांतान.

मांसांतिकीय by दुर्णाल.

मांसांतिकीय by बामभ्रिजाधि (C. P. cat. No. 4143).

मांसांतिकीय by बामभ्रिजाधि.

मांसमांसा by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट m. in नि. नि.

मांसांतिकीय by भट्टालोटर. Tries to prove that the directions about offering of flesh do not apply to the present age.

मांसांतिकीय or मांसांतिकीय by विश-नाथयापथयाण. Composed about 1634 A. D.; pr. in सरस्वतीबन series. Styled also मांसांतिकीय.

मांसांतिकीय.

मांसांतिकीय m. in कालाचित्र o जीवन०, हेमसंहि, दानमूल.

मांसांतिकीय.

मांसांतिकीय by नारायण.

मांसांतिकीय by लोमानी मासूर, son of कर्तुर, son of कर्तुर्विंद (Baroda O. I. No. 1463). On the question of मांसांतिकीय being prohibited in marriage to माध्यमिनीय मासूर.

मांसांतिकीय com. on हिरण्यभिंत्र m. in नि. नि.

मांसांतिकीय.

मांसांतिकीय.

मांसांतिकीय by कोकिल.

मांसांतिकीय or सदाचारसंहोदय. Vide आचारसंहोदय above.

मांसांतिकीय.

मांसांतिकीय.

मांसांतिकीय by रामकृष्णदीक्षित, son of नारायण. An abstract of पर-सरामसंहोदय for महात्मिकारांतान भाष-चन्द. Vide Stein's cat. p. 309 for extract. About 1575-1600 A. D.

मांसांतिकीय m. by शुभे in वेदभिन्नतथा (p. 509).

मांसांतिकीय by वर्णनाय.

मांसांतिकीय (ed. by Knauer and and in the G. O. series with com.) in two parts called दुलस.

C. (शाः) by अन्तरार; mentions यात्रावस्थ, गौतम, पराशर, बेल्जाम,
History of Dharmatattva

... himself. In the Intro. to 2nd ed. he says he composed when 100 years (of what era?) were completed.

मानवपुरसिद्धि (BBRAS cat. p.206 No. 657).

मानवसम्पन्नविचार—vide under मनुस्मृति.

मानवसम्पन्नकृतम् m. by हेमाऩि.

मानसारीपुरसिद्धि of मानसिंह (C. P. cat. No. 4116).

मानसोज्जल of सोमस्वर. Vide अभिभाषितार्थविन्तामणि above.

मार्कण्डेयसिद्धि m. by मितात्सार (on ya. III. 19) and स्मृतिचिएत्रका.

मार्गुष्ठीपका m. in अहवायिकाभेदः.

मार्गुष्ठीनामान्त्रका by मुकुट्सरासः.

मार्गुष्ठीमान m. in ब्राह्मणकाल of विष्णु-वैयाय. It is probably only a reference to some view of भोज and not to a work of that name.

माससंव.

मातात्रासिद्धित Ano. On the months and appropriate feasts, fasts and religious rites in each. (Bik. cat. p. 421).

माससंव.

मातात्रासिद्धित भोजजि.

मातात्रासिद्धित भोजजि.

मातात्रासिद्धित by गोकुलान्त ज्ञाति. Vide 4 kinds of months, चाँद, तौर, शनी and नास्त्र, and on the various religious rites and festivals of each of the twelve months of the year.

मातात्रासिद्धित by हुष्टि.

मातात्रासिद्धित by रामकुमार father of कृष्णकृत. Vide sec. 105.

मातात्रासिद्धित by कृष्णकृत. Vide sec. 111; pr. in Ch. S, series (कुम्बक) and by J. R. Gharpure (अन्तर, प्रायशित और व्यवहार).

मातात्रासिद्धित by विशेषच्यान्त भोजजि. Vide sec. 93 p. 285. (व्यवहार text pr. by Mr. Gharpure and tr. by him).

मातात्रासिद्धित by भृजेन्द्रज्ञा.

मातात्रासिद्धित by भृजेन्द्रज्ञा.

मातात्रासिद्धित by राजेन्द्र (vid. Peterson’s 6th Report p. 11).

मातात्रासिद्धित by शास्त्रोकास भोजजि.

मातात्रासिद्धित by शास्त्रोकास भोजजि.


List of works on Dharmasastra

निष्ठाकरतार (summary of विज्ञान-विभा’s work) by नणाराम.

निष्टेशाश्रित by राजपालिनाराय, son of मंगोलीसाहेबरायराम; composed under prince छब्रिराम of सिंधुरा.

Speaks of the daily religious duties according to सामवेद such as शौचपित, वन्दनान, नमन, रत्यास्थित, तपश्च, अस्यस्य, देवपुजा, भोजन, मार्तत्त्व, प्रभुस्त्रिक, गहर्ष्य्य-प्रमाण. N. vol. VI. pp. 30-32.

He wrote also मिलितेश्चित्रित describing मोहकुशक and his nine descendants, मेहता having got ग्रंथ from Delhi king. N. vol. VI. p. 48.

मीमांसपालित by इतिस्मत, son of सूचि-प्रयत्न and शूर्वमणि; applies rules of मीमांसा to धर्मशास्त्र matters such as एकादशीत्रता, वन्दन, उत्सर्ग. N. vol. V. p. 81-82. His teacher was गोपालभद्र.

श्रवणधृष्टकास्त by भास्कर son of आपातनाथ; divided into प्रकाश on seven holy places अर्यधर्म, महाराज, माथी &c. ( Baroda O. I. 12386). He quotes vedic passages like शिवरुपस्ते सर्वात (for प्राण), अहंकार नवहरा देवानां पुरुषोध्य (तैतिक्यार्थक), बासंकर मयमना (से. भा.) for अवनितिका and गोपालानी, श्रिदयूरानीपायकृति and रामदानी विषय for महाराज, माथा and काली respectively.

श्रवणधृष्टकास्त by गवति धर्मकृपाराय. On religious duties on a pilgrimage to लम्बाचा. About 1500 A.D.
C. **Pratimastra** by author; pr. at Benares 1848.
C. **Karnastra.**
C. **by Nilakantha.**
C. **Siva-parkavijaya.**
C. **Siva-prasara by Gobinda, son of Nilakantha, composed in 1603 A.D. Pr. at Bombay in 1873. Gobinda was nephew of author.**
C. **by Raghudeva.**
C. **Shalastria.**

**Shauratikamata by Pratapa-sambhu.**

**Shauratikamata-laksatara.**

**Shauratikamata-laksatara-priya.**

**Shauratikamata by Visvadeva, son of Srimukhadeva of Bhadrajanag.**

**Shauratikamata by Keshab Deva, son of Kamalakar; m. in Sanskarlokstha.**
C. by author.

C. **by Baparam.**
C. **by Gobinda Deva, son of Keshab Deva; composed about 1540 A.D.**
C. by Mahadev m. in Shauratikamata.

**Shauratikamata by Visvamitra.**

C. **Sribhakti (Madras Govt. mss. cat. No. 1870, 1874).**

**Shauratikamata by Pratapa, son of Japavat, son of Gobharam of Ankalpur to the south of Prayag. Ulwar cat. extract 544.**

**Shauratikamata by Visvamitra.**

C. **by Maha-pratapa.**

**Shauratikamata by Jayananand.**

**Shauratikamata by a son of Visvadeva.**

**Shauratikamata by Nandavat.**

**Shauratikamata by Mahadev, son of Kadam (Kanyunid). Vide Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. p. 336.**

**Shauratikamata by Ramasubha, son of Bhuvanesh.**

**Shauratikamata by Rameshvara m. in Kalamchayan acc. to Nir-Sir.**

**Shauratikamata attributed to Dasharayan.**

**Shauratikamata.**

**Shauratikamata by Vedaraj.**

**Shauratikamata or Shaivar by Ramasubha Shreevign (N. vol. XI preface p. 4).**

**Shauratikamata by Ramdas.**

**Shauratikamata by Bachhag, son of Mere-Deva.**

**Shauratikamata by Shreevidya Pada.**

**Shauratikamata by Pratapa-narayan in 4 ghuns and 101 verses. Vide Ulwar cat. extract No. 545; composed in sake 1726 (1670 A.D.).**

**Shauratikamata by Harinaraayan.**

**Shauratikamata.**

**Shauratikamata by Visvabhadra.**

**Shauratikamata ascribed to Sayan or Maphulchary.**

**Shauratikamata by Kesava.**

**Shauratikamata by Narayanahadu, son of Anant. Composed in sake 1493 Phalgun (i.e. about March 1572 A.D.) near Devagiri in 160 verses,**
List of works on Dharmaśāstra

C. मात्रामञ्जलिक by author; pr. (with text) in Bombay, 1861.

हर्षदमालो by रुपराघु, son of सरस, of the शाकाच्यमोक्ष न सिद्ध पाणि subcaste; pr. at Ratnagiri in 1878.

हर्षदमालो by काशीदास.

हर्षदमालो by श्रीमन.

हर्षदमालो by योगी (vide Ulwar cat. extract 546).

हर्षदमालो by ज्ञानदास, son of गोपाल; composed in 1618 A. D.

हर्षदमालो by श्रीकृष्ण.

हर्षदमालो by देवगान.

हर्षदमालो by ज्ञानदास.

हर्षदमालो by खरकाल, son of ज्ञानिन.

हर्षदमालो by गोविन्द.

हर्षदमालो by रुपराघु.

हर्षदमालो by श्रीप्रकाश.

हर्षदमालो by श्रीप्रकाश; m. by रुप.

C. by author.

हर्षदमालो by श्रीकृष्ण.

C. by author.

हर्षदमालो by विजयकान्त.

हर्षदमालो by ज्ञानदास.

हर्षदमालो by ज्ञानदास.

हर्षदमालो by ज्ञानदास.

हर्षदमालो by ज्ञानदास, son of राम.

हर्षदमालो by ज्ञानदास.

हर्षदमालो by श्रीकृष्ण.

C. by author.

हर्षदमालो by गोविन्द.

हर्षदमालो by रुपराघु.

हर्षदमालो by रुपराघु.

C. by author.

हर्षदमालो by गोविन्द.


C. by author.

हर्षदमालो by संभव.

हर्षदमालो by ज्ञानदास.

हर्षदमालो by ज्ञानदास.

शस्त्र- a treatise on संस्कृत-व्याकरण, नान्यकाल, तिथिवर्तन, एकोद्वितकताज्यस्त, भावास्त्र, गोपार्थिव-विषय, भवायावाविद्यावर्ग, विषाद-

C. by गोपालचर्या.
C. by विद्युत, son of वाल्मीकि, sur-
named वैदिक and resident of ब्रह्म पुर. Mentions वीरकुष्ठ and his
son. Later than 1670 A.D.

स्त्राविकारण.

स्त्राविकारण म. in हेमाश्री वानसपत्ति pp. 764-65, 784 and in वानसपत्ति.

स्त्राविकारण (gift of a she-buffalo at the time of death of a
person).

सैत्राण्णीपथापाणि वृहत्रकोम.

सैत्राण्णीपथापाणि (on 16 संस्कार according to सैत्राण्णी school). The chap. called प्रभाषकर.

सैत्राण्णीपथापाणि परिशिष्ट m. by वानसपत्ति.

सैत्राण्णीपथापाणि परिशिष्ट m. by वानसपत्ति म. न. पा.

सैत्राण्णीपथापाणि परिशिष्ट- Vide क्रिया-

मोहकस्त्र पत्र (a part of क्रियकस्त्र or क्रियकस्त्र) by वानसपत्ति Sec. 77.

मोहकस्त्र पत्र m. by गायिक in com.
on पारस्परिप्रतिष्ठित. This is prob-
ably the same as the प्रभाषकर of ब्रह्मके, son of मोहकस्त्र (Bik. cat. pp. 325-326).

मोहकस्त्र पत्र m. in हेमाश्री (III. 2. 883 as मोहकस्त्र), नि.

मोहकस्त्र पत्र.

यद्यविष्यमा or कर्मसमाधि by विद्युतक्षित or विद्युतक्षित, son of वानसपत्ति and younger brother of गोपालचर्या, in ;

काण्ड on आश्वास, संस्कार, आयतनवाचा (consecration of पुष्प अंक) according to वनसपत्ति. Vide Ulwar
cat. No. 1280.
List of works on Dharmaśāstra

-it. Vid. sec. 102.

-it. Vid. sec. 102.

-it. Vide under Bhaktiśudra.

-kāla-vinayaka-vinayaka by Baroda O. I. 374. His śīvam is that wherever the word "yuddhy" occurs by itself śāntiśudra is to be understood and not sūryaśūrya.

-śantaḥvyāsahadakā on pārśvar.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka by rāmagora.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka by rāmaprada.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka by rāma-varna, son of gāndhāra (for vaiśnavāsūrāsūrā).

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka by Baroda O. I. 5015.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka by śāntiśudra-vinayaka; mentions śāntiśudra-vinayaka.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka by nandasthara, pupil of j vetālasūrā.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka by Baroda O. I. 12289.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka by śāntiśudra-vinayaka. Same as śāntiśudra-vinayaka below.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka by śāntiśudra-vinayaka.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka Ano (N. vol. IX. p. 276). First speaks of jātārāyana, from gāndhāravā, of jātārāyana and then of śāntiśudra.

N. B. 77.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka by śāntiśudra-vinayaka, pupil of śāntiśudra-vinayaka (pr. by ānānumāna, Poona).

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka by śāntiśudra-vinayaka in 11 parvans for śāntiśudra-vinayaka.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka by śāntiśudra-vinayaka, pupil of śāntiśudra-vinayaka (ms. (N. vol. VIII. p. 293) dated samvat 1668 (1611-12 A. D.). Also called śāntiśudra-vinayaka (same as above).

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka by ānānumāna (Baroda O. I. 5017).

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka by śāntiśudra-vinayaka, pupil of j vetālasūrā.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka by śāntiśudra-vinayaka.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka in 3 svakas.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka or śāntiśudra-vinayaka of jātārāyana. On śāntiśudra-vinayaka, the four kinds of śānti, viz. kāśī, varanasi, dvarakā, and pārśvar and their duties. N. vol. X. 175. Mentions śāntiśudra-vinayaka.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka (a part of prātapaṇa, śāntiśudra-vinayaka).

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka (on the funeral rites and śāntiśudra-vinayaka for śānti performed by his son). N. vol. X. p. 10.

-śāntiśudra-vinayaka by śāntiśudra-vinayaka.


-śāntiśudra-vinayaka (two different works) Vide Stein's cat. p. 99.
यतिसंस्कारविषयिनिषेध (I. O. cat. p. 523 No. 1647).

यतिसंस्कारपम्पोगिनिषेध.

यतिसंस्कारवाणिज्या by श्रवण, pupil of शशी. N. vol. X. p. 9.

यतिसंस्कारवाणिज्या by साधवानन्द.

यथवत्ताति.

यथवत्ताति by शशीराधा.

यथवत्ताति by युवा.

यथाचारसंग्रहविषयसंस्कारप्रयोग by विश्वेश्वरसरसती (N. vol. I p. 174).

यथाचारसंग्रह.

यथाचारभन्धन.

यथाभिक (Baroda O. I. 8563).


यशाज़ीय by यहाँलिं son of यहाँभुग. On funeral rites, साधकीकरण etc. Relies on आवश्यकता क्रम, भार-हास्य, भाष्य thereon and on शैली.

यशस्वीप्रसंस्कार by साधक or हरिमालक, son of आपाजिष्ठ, son of हरिमहादेव, son of श्रुतिनाथ; patronised by यशस्वीप्रसंस्कार, son of इन्द्रमणि, king of Bundelkhand, Bik. cat. p. 508 contains संस्कारक्रमकाल out of this work.' N. vol. IV p. 269 has same. हरिमहादेव hailed from आवश्यकता क्रम, and was of काश्यप नगर and आपाजिष्ठ dwelt in काशी. About 1676.

याचारसंग्रहसंग्रह- vide sec. 34.

C. by अवराक; vide sec. 79.

C. by इवार्तिन श्रेयस.

C. by देवप्रोष्ण m. in शदनिपुष्ट of रुप.

C. by देवप्रोष्ण m. in दोषपाणि's तात्तत्त्वज्ञान (p. 529).

C. शापपीढ़ा by विश्वरूप. Vide sec. 60.

CC. विधायक.

CC. अद्वैताधिकारी of सोमपाणिजी.

CC. वर्णमाला by pupil's pupil of सोमपाणिजी.

CC. ano.

C. सिन्ध्वारा by मधुरान्ध.

C. सिन्ध्वारा by विज्ञानेश्वर. Vide sec. 70. For com. on सिन्ध्वारा, vide under सिन्ध्वारा above.

C. by रुद्रानन्द.

C. श्रीकल्लिका of श्रीपाणि. Vide sec. 95.

C. चीरमित्रिक by सिन्ध्वारा. Sec. 108 (portion printed in Ch. S. series).

पाणिकक्षला कारी (C. P. cat. No. 4414).

पाणिक्षला कारी by विश्वकुमार.

पाणिक्षला कारी (auspicious times for marriage, journey &c.) N. (new series) vol. II p. 149.

शुभ्राकस्तर of श्रेयस. Deals with state administration and topics of राजनीति, such as मुह, कोष, छाप-कर्म, वाह, वास, साधन, विश्व, नाम-रूप, निर्देश, मासपूजा, छाप, वेद, प्रभ-रागाधिपीक्रमा, अक्ष, श्राधिधरीमा, नीकार...
List of works on Dharmakṣṭhara

Names ⬦ himself as authority and दुरास्त, गौरी, बुधस्वर, पराशर, शान्ति, दोहामश्री, धार्मिक and several दुरास्त. (pr. in Cal. O. series No. 1).

बुरास्त (C. P. cat. No. 4418).

बुरास्त by रघु.

बुरास्त विभाषित by रामसेवक विपाठित.

बुरास्त by रघुभजन.

बुरास्त m. by रघु in ज्योतिष्टच.

बुरास्त (from अविनाश chap. 123-125).

बुरास्तक व.

C. ano.

C. by मधुराराक्ष छाकू.

C. by रामनव.

बुरास्त by गखाराम in five प्रकाशम.

Ulwar cat. extract 551.

बुरास्त m. in ज्योतिष्टच by रघु.

बुरास्त अय्य.

क्रान्तारेषिकाक्त्विक by क्रान्तारेषिक.

रजतानाथक by कलाकार.

रलकरिका by याऊ. (Hp. cat. pp. X-XI ms. copied in संव. 1189 i.e. 1132-33 A.D.); treats of rites for Vājasaneyins. D.C. Ms. No. 273 of 1886-92 is incomplete and contains the following topics, viz. आयुर्विन्द, रुद्राद्युगप्रथम, शायसी, आस, युजसाहस्मयम्, दया, रुप, यथार्थ, रिवर, छाकू वc.

रलकरिका m. by हेमश्री (III. 2. 750), in मधुमास्तच of रघु, रघुराजनव.

रलकरिका by आयुर्विन्द; m. in ज्योतिष्टच (vol. I. p. 596).

रलकरिका m. in रुद्राद्युगप्रथम, रुद्राद्युगप्रथम, रुद्राद्युगप्रथम; probably गौरी's work or गौरी's work.

रलकरिका m. in न्याय.

रलकरिका m. in न्याय.

रलकरिका vide under चंद्रेश्वर sec. 90.

रलकरिका by नोयाल.

रलकरिका by रामसेवक. Stein's cat. p. 100 has the portion on प्रायोगिक.

रलकरिका m. by रघु.

रलकरिका m. in हेमश्री (III. 2. 857), by रघु in मधुमास्तच.

रमसमीकालिनिवेद.

रमलस्वशिकानिवेद by मधुमात्र son of मधुमात्र.

रमसमीकालिनिवेद m. in सदाशाराचार्यका (probably on भाक).

रमसमीकालिनिवेद m. by न्याय.

रमसमीकालिनिवेद or रमसमीकालिनिवेद (part of स्वतंत्रकोकुल) by अनन्तद्वेष्व. Vide sec. 109.

रमसमीकालिनिवेद attributed to तलाइवीरा of Tanjore (1765-1788).

राजनीति ano.

राजनीति by देहवीरास.

राजनीति by गौरी.

राजनीति by देहवीरास (?). Begins with the well-known verse about nine gems 'धन्यता: etc.' (vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 141 b).
राजनीति by दर्शन of Benares.
राजनीतिकला by m. by राजनीतित्तलाकार of ब्रह्मदेव.
राजनीतिकला by निर्मिति (part of नीतिस्मृतिप्रय) pr. in Ch. S. series.
राजनीतिकला by रामचंद्र अहलीयार.
राजनीतिकला—same as नीतिमूल of नीतिकला.
राजनीतिकला by चाणक्य in 8 chapters and about 566 verses.
W. and K. cat. II. p. 182.
राजपुर्णी or दुर्गुपुर्णी (on politics) by रामचंद्र शर्मा. Names कलक्ति's दीर्घकाल on भुलापुर्णी.
राजमार्ग of ब्रजल. Vide p. 278 above. D. C. Ms. No. 342 of 1879-80 is a work called राज-
मार्ग of ब्रज on astrology in relation to चर्मशाखा and contains such topics as भ्रमणकाल, विवाह-
काल, विवाहखण्डम, शिवाहरियोजननिषिद्ध, संज्ञानितिगिरि, विकास, प्रस्तुतबन्ध, वेदावलिकाल.
The Ms. is dated संवत 1655 चैत्र (i.e. about April 1598).
C. by गणपति.
राजस्राक m. in सर्वत्रदीक्षात्र (Mysore ed. p. 21).
राजस्राक (by सुश्रुतसूत्र?) m. in छुद्देरदेवक of महादेव.
राजस्राक by अनंत.
राजस्राककाल (from नीतिमूल of नीतिकला).
राजस्राक (from दोहरान्त्र).
राजस्राककाल (part of विन्दरको-
वण).
List of works on Dharmasūtra

(1) com. on कालाचारिक by रामदेव.

(2) a digest of religious observances compiled in the name of कपारिण (described as गौड़कर्णकङ्कनवत्ता), son of यादवराज and descendant of the royal family of माणिक्यवंश. कपारिण was himself a feudatory of Jehangir and Shah Jehan. The I. O. cat. (vol. III. p. 502) says that the real author was रायपाठ, son of काशीदास and father of रायदेव विजयवर्धन. Relies on हेमाकृति, माधव, and गोढ writers. Latter half of 17th century. Peterson (in Ulwar cat. No. 1433) says that this is a com. on the कालाचारिक. But from the description in the I. O. cat. this does not appear likely.

राममार्गावश्यति by सेनराज. (Ulwar cat. No. 1432 and extract 341).

रामराजसाहि- vide सीरैसानारक.

रामाधुनिसंग्रहिका m. in सितितलव and चुडिलत in रुढ़, नि. बि.
रामाधुनिसंग्रहिका by असुराभाष.

रामाधुनिसंग्रहिका by अज्ञानवर्धन, pupil of परस्मिनस्परिमाणकपाध्ययीमुख्यःकुम्भवन in 5 वट्रस. (D. C. ms. 440 of 1891-95 is dated sake 1607 i. e. 1685 A. D.). Traces खर्चप्रस्तरा from वसित्ते to, गौड़कर्णकङ्कनवत्ता, गोढविधि, शकुणारायण, विश्रुत, चुडिलत; in four बट्रस.

C. कपारिणिका by ग्राघर.

रामाधुनिसंग्रहिका by कपारिणिका.

रामाधुनिसंग्रहण (Ulwar cat. No. 1433).

रामाधुनिसंग्रहिका.

रामाधुनिसंग्रहिति by रामाखण्ड.

रामाधुनिसंग्रहिति by ब्राह्मणम. Vide p. 417 above.

रामपाठाविवेक of खुद्वाणि. Vide sec. 95.

करकलवाघातपरविवेच by रामकृष्ण, son of नामाधु.

करकलप.

करकलतक.

(1) ano. (Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 138 a); ms. dated संवत 1714 (1657-8 A. D.).

(2) by a son of विमेघन.

करकलकुम or महाकपाठिति by अस्ति- देव, son of उदय विवेदी, resident of Benares. Mentions हेमाकृति, दोरमन्त्र, प्रयोगपरिचय करकलारिका of परस्मिन, नि. बि. Later than 1640 A. D.

करकलविमाणि or करकलपति by दिव्यराम, son of विभ्राम; for छग्नमस (Baroda O. I. 8018).
क्रमवृत्ति by आचार्य.
क्रमवृत्ति by काशीदीर्घकित, son of सवाः-
सिद्ध. Also called क्रमबुधानपानवति
महादर्शकति.
क्रमवृत्ति by नारायणमुदु, son of राम-
स्वरामु. ‘यथायमेकानः शास्त्राः क्रः
पदयते तथापि तैतिरियशास्त्राःस्ते
रकः: पदयते.’
क्रमवृत्ति by शास्त्रदीर्घकित, son of राम-
स्वरामु (according to शास्त्रपतितादि).
क्रमवृत्ति by रेषुक; ms. (Bik. cat.
p. 601) dated śaka 1604 (1682 A.D.).
क्रमवृत्ति by विद्वानाथ, son of हाम्बुते
and younger brother of रामदेव
(for मध्यमनारायण).
क्रमवृत्ति- Peterson’s 6th Re-
port p. 109.
क्रमविधानपानवति by काशीदीर्घकित, son of सवाः-
sिद्ध.
क्रमविधानपानवति by चन्द्रकूड़.
क्रमविधानविधि by मदुनदिषय.
क्रमविधानविधि or क्रमविधानपानवति by राम-
स्वरामु, son of नारायणमु; m. in शास्त्रीयल 
of कमलाकर. About 1570-1600.
क्रमवशिष्य.-
क्रमवशिष्य- manual of formula
intended for क्रः worship.
क्रमवशिष्य or -योग by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्गु.
residing at Benares, also
called श्रविद्विनंड for बाजसन्यासाः;
Peterson’s 5th Report p. 175.
क्रमवशिष्य.
क्रमवशिष्य.

(1) by रामचन्द्र, son of राम, an
उद्धीणशास्त्र. Describes the
rites connected with Śiva
worship in the form of महादर्श.
There are in all 1028 ver-
eses on क्रमवशिष्य, क्रमवशिष्य-
क्रंशन, पीठवासिपित, न्यासविपित.
Composed in संवत 1515
(1458 A.D.). Also called क्रमकारिका.

(2) another shorter treatise on
same subject; introduction
being partly identical. Com-
posed between 1578-1643 A.D.
(vide I. O. cat. p. 584).

(3) by अनन्तदीर्घकित, son of विद्वानाथ.
Baroda ms. 8030 is
dated संवत 1809 (1752-3 A.D.).

(4) Describes क्रमवशिष्य following
tैतितरीयशास्त्र, though क्रः
is recited in all शाखास; says
‘स्मार्तक्रमवशिष्य बौधायनसुधुस्थुः
क्रमेन ज्ञानविद्रोहं च तथा बौधायन ग्रा-
हायं। क्रः पदयता कुं स देशो महाद्वारसिद्धक्रेष्टि
एकावश्यकुमुदाचरं। समवेच वेषो ज्ञानविद्रोहिनो
भिक्षुक्रेष्टि।’ I. O. ms. dated
संवत 1587 i.e. 1530-31 A.D.
(vide cat. p. 580 No. 1783);
quotes क्रमतापान often.

क्रमवृत्ति (सैलाकारमण्यी) Baroda O. I. 2452.
List of works on Dharmakṣetra

व्रजाधानपर्यत by नारायण, son of रामेश्वर (D. C. No. 283 of 1886-92). Seems to be same as छापसंस्कर (4) above.

व्रजअभावपर्यत by भेकशास्त्री, of the family of सर्षेश्वर. Relies on महानिवेश as the principal authority.

व्रजाधानपर्यत by शास्त्री, son of बलसेन कुमार, m. in रत्नाधारपर्यत; q. v. About 1750 A. D.

व्रजाधानपर्यत or दीपिका. Vide रत्नाधार above.

व्रजाधानपर्यत by साधुधर, son of मुरुसेन, surnamed अयालित.

व्रजाधानपर्यत by दिव्यसेन, son of मुरुसेन.

व्रजाश्रयविचारका of दिव्यसेन.

व्रजाश्रयमाणकी by बोधाराज; vide महाकाव्य above.

व्रजनारायणीय (पंक्ति) by उदयपरिवार कुपनारायण, son of शक्तिसिंह. In the D. C. ms. No. 240, of A 1881-82 (428 folios) a pedigree is given, which starts with भास्करेश्वरी, in whose family was born शक्तिसिंह who conquered भोजराज; his son was मदनसिंह. उदयपरिवार was 13th from मदनसिंह and king of उत्तरकोट. The work deals with पोषकमहावांस such as तुलारुप (upto folio 210), and with कुपनारायण, अखरोत्तम, श्रोतिक, विवाहित. Relies upon भोजराज, भखरिच, पारिजात, धरिहर, भोजपराक्रम, विश्वापि, विष्णुसिंह, वर्देशी. महाकाव्य, पंक्ति of कुपनारायण; described above seems to be a part of this; m. in जलाशयारामबोधित (वर्ष 1450-1525 A. D).

रेखकारिका or रेखकारिका - vide पर-स्वरहारपर्यत above. In 1266-67 A. D.

लक्षणकार by दिल्लिसिंह; part of वीरभृत्नी (on politics); pr. in चौकंबमा स. series.

लक्षणरत्नाला by नारोपटिपिन्द, son of विमणवध, in five पंक्तियों on वर्ण-अवमान, देश, राज, उपयोग, शारीर; seems to be a com. on his लक्षणसाहसक (in one hundred verses). Vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. pp. 132 b and 164 b.

लक्षणसंग्रह by ताकोलिपिन्द.

लक्षणसंग्रह m. by हेमाकर in वास्तविक p. 328, कुण्डमहाविद्या.

लक्षणसूचय by हेमाकर. On the indications and predictions from bodily signs and on प्रकरितिक. Vide Bik. cat. p. 411.

लक्षणसूचय m. by हेमाकर in वास्तविक p. 823, by नि. सि.

लक्षणसारसूचय - rules for the construction of शिवलिपिः in 32 sections.

लक्ष्योपन्यास.

(1) by काकीदीक्षित, son of सवाशिवदीक्षित.
(2) by गोविन्द, son of दुपरोह.
(3) by नारायणमुद्र, son of रामेश्वर. Sec. 103.

लक्षणसूचय m. in दुर्लोपिक्य o. महानिवेश.
History of Dharmadāstra

कारार्यार्यांशकौड़ी汲 by शिवानन्द
गोवा in five praśās.

समस्तत्त्त्वार्य by श्रीनिवास.

लक्ष्मीकारिक by विजयामयौं, son of वेशपुर (for माधवपर्वकाल). Baroda O. I. 12072 dated संवतः 1552
and No. 4055 dated 1507 संवतः.

लक्ष्मीनिपीत by माधवचार्य. The first verse is व्याख्याय मध्यमानानां परमेष्ठाराजातः and the last verse is व्यतिपादः व पूजनायं तत्कालया-

निन्या लिखितः. े (vide Bik. cat. pp. 408-409).

लक्ष्मीचारक.

लक्ष्मीनिपीत by वीरभद्रभुट्ट गोवडोले.

लक्ष्मीनिपीतिविवेक m. in श्रीकालाकार.

लक्ष्मीनिपीत m. by नि. सि., सं. कृ.

लक्ष्मीनिपीत श्चितम by बरोदास (Baroda O. I. 12854).

लक्ष्मीपुरत्र or कर्मचारिणीपका by रुण-

मुः, son of श्रेष्ठोत्तर, son of रुण-

नाय; based on कारिका and शुक्ल, रसमप्रकाश and ज्योत. Deals with leading topics of आचार, आध्यात.

N. vol. X. p. 248; Baroda O. I. No. 1422 is dated संवतः 1592 (1535-6 A.D.). It mentions चस्मिका, स्वरूपसार, स्वरूपसारः. Between 1300-1500 A.D.

लक्ष्मीपाराकारस्त्रीत.

लक्ष्मीपुरस्नृतातस्त्रीत.

लक्ष्मीमार्गस्त्रीत m. by अपराध (on य.

I. 238) and by हलापुर in

संवतः.

लक्ष्मीमार्गस्त्रीत.

लक्ष्मीपुरस्नृतातस्त्रीत m. in अपराध and माधव-

स्नृतात्स्त्रीत of हलापुर; pr. अनान. Sm.

pp. 117-123.

लक्ष्मीचार (pr. Jivananda Sm. part II pp. 310-320) m. in संस्कारपुरुष.

लक्ष्मीपुरस्नृतातस्त्रीत pr. in अनान. Sm. pp.

124-127.

लक्ष्मीपाराकारस्त्रीत pr. अनान. Sm. pp.

128-135.

लक्ष्मीनिपीत m. in 114 verses (Baroda O. I. 11863).

लक्ष्मीपाराकारस्त्रीत m. in अपराध (pr. in अनान. Sm. pp. 136-141 and Jivananda Sm. part I. pp. 177-

193).

लक्ष्मीस्नृतातस्त्रीत (pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 1-12) vide p. 109 above.

लक्ष्मीपाराकारस्त्रीत pr. अनान. Sm.

( pp. 142-181).

लक्ष्मीपाराकारस्त्रीत.

लक्ष्मीपाराकारस्त्रीत by नान्दिनर्मचन्द्रानाथ, guru of विश्वकष्णानाथ.

लक्ष्मीपाराकारस्त्रीत.

लक्ष्मीपाराकारस्त्रीत by विश्वकष्णानाथ, pupil of स्वरूपभक्ताङ्गनाथानाथ. Probably same as लक्ष्मीपाराकारस्त्रीत.

लक्ष्मीपाराकारस्त्रीत (on offerings of salt cakes to the deceased on 4th day after death).

लक्ष्मीपाराकारस्त्रीत vide sec. 13, p. 76; pr. Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 375-382 and अनान. Sm. pp. 182-

186 D. C. ms. 44 of 1866-68 contains लक्ष्मीपाराकारस्त्रीत in 6 अध्याय where वर्तिष्ठ and other sages are represented as asking लक्ष्मी about बालस्वरूप and प्रातितिष्ठ.
List of works on Dharmasastra

Lokapaksha by kṣemendra. Latter half of 11th century; gives specimens of letters, bonds, deeds &c.

Lokasthāga m. in Aḥalyākāmāyaṇa.

Lokahitaḥsūtra.

Lokahitaḥsūtra—sec. 50.

Vahapāraṇavacanārāṇa by vahispārya.

Vachanāṅg (Baroda O. I. No. 5507).

Vachanāṅg (Bik. cat. p. 489).

Vachanasārāṇḍī by bhāgavatānanda, son of hṛdayānanda; mentions vad. pa.

Vatempārānta m. in kālaśāra of ghadar.

Vatsasthūṭa m. in kālaśāra and by mukṣaraṇi on goutamapālaṇḍu.

Vaparnirṇaya.

Varāṇjīva (Hultzsch R. I. No. 448).

Varnā́hāraśākhā by vedāntādī.

Varnā́šāra.

Varnāśāsaṇa.


Varnāśāramābhī by vēmāya nā Śrīśyāntī.

Varnāśārasāhasra by vēmāya nā Śrīśyāntī. Probably the same as above.

Varnāśārasāhasrī or Vāsanā by hṛṣṇa, son of bāhūvīra, son of rāja of the bhārata-nāgaṇḍī; composed at Benares on sāṃskāra, gōnārāharāṇīya, śhāhāpaṇ, vāhāna, kāndhīya, gūdhiśānta, vāstupādaṇḍīya, āhāraśākhā, sāmāyāvānī śūntaśākhā &c.

Varnāśārasāhasrī by kīraṇa who ruled over mahāraṣṭra on the banks of.
of the गोविन्दप्रवी (vide Bik. cat. p. 489). This is a large work.

रङ्गमानचतुष्ठि m. in आद्यतन of रूप (styled नद्यरंगमान)。

रङ्गकुट्टि by दरपर, son of दरपर; pr. at Benares in 1903; m. in दुग्गौतमविवेक of शूलपणि.

" of राणाराजेश्वर of चमपाहट्टि family. Deals with संस्कृति and the festivals and प्रति of the 12 months of the year.

" by वियनानि. About first half of 15th century; m. in महामात्सर of रूप.

" by श्रावङ्ग. It is also styled स्वरस्वामित्व or रङ्गमानविवेक (Bik. cat. p. 468).

" by हरिनारायण (C P. cat. No. 5017).

रङ्गकथारि from the कल्याणमारि.


रङ्गकौश्यी or रङ्गकारकौश्यी by गोविन्दन्यात्, son of गणपतिमुन्त (pr. in B. I. series). Vide sec. 101.

रङ्गरचना m. in कालपनिचन्द्रका of विवाहक, in समयमुख्यः. Earlier than 1600 A.D.

रङ्गविद्या part of स्वरस्वामित्व of अनन्तेष्व.

रङ्गदीप m. in सुपनारायणीय.

रङ्गदीपिका m. in सुपनरायणक by चण्डेश्वर.

रङ्गसङ्कर by श्रामनाथ सिवानाथ्यागीय, composed by order of king गंगेश.

बलताराजीय alias हकुनाराज by बलताराजमुन, son of शिवराज and younger brother of विजयराज; composed by order of चन्द्रेश of सिविलत; m. in आधुनिकाणार by बहादुरसेन and in दुग्गौतमविवेक of शूलपणि. Earlier than 1150 A.D.

C. by आद्यचन्दनगणि in Akbar’s reign.

वसिष्ठकल.

वसिष्ठकर्मसङ्क्रम vide sec. 9; pr. in B. S. series, Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 456-496 and Anan. Sm. pp. 187-231.

C. by ग्रामसविन्द म. in गोविन्दस्वामित्वि on वृहत्परम्परासङ्क्रम.

बसिष्ठसंहिता or महासंहिता in 45 अध्याय on शास्ति, जप, होम, विन्दुर, on certain astrological aspects of नक्षत्र, चार etc. (U尔war cat. extract 582).

बसिष्ठस्तुति in ten अध्याय and about 1100 verses. On the वंशकाले for विंशवाह्यज्ञान, सीपम, विवाहाध्यक्ष, आद्य, आशोत्ति, विन्दुर-स्तुतिविवेका (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 392 No. 1339). Baroda O. I. Ms. No. 1885 is dated सारे 1564.

बसिष्ठस्तुति or बसिष्ठी.

C. बसिष्ठभाष्य by वेदभिष्म. राम is said to have asked बसिष्ठ why he was exiled. Deals with propitiatory rites for evil aspects of
planets, लक्ष्मी, कौटिल्योम. Says that it was based by वरिष्ठ on माधवाचर्य शास्त्र. Vide D. C. ms. No. 245 of 1879-80. Baroda O. I. 1412 is dated संवत् 1565 (1508-9 A.D.). The com. gives only the प्रथम of verses. It says that लक्ष्मी was imparted to नारायण and others by वरिष्ठ.

वरिष्ठीमानपक्षः.

वाक्यतंत्र of सिद्धान्तप्रथानन्. On proper times for religious ceremo-
nies. Part of बृहततत्त.

वाक्यमसार m. in शून्यमापन.

वाक्यमसार m. in कालसार of गद्यप.

वाक्यमसारसंस्करण m. by अपराजी.

वाक्यमसारसंस्करण by मारिदत्त, son of रामभक्त.

वाक्यमसारसंस्करण.

वाक्यमसारसंस्करण a work by a follower of रामभक्त, according to बीतराम-चक. Vide pp. 289-90 above; m. by कल्यकार. Between 1050-1152 A.D.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण or वाहुल्यसंस्करणमिति-

रहस्य by संज्ञानपालसारसिद्धर. Deals with शून्यमापालकरण, बहुवचन्य, संस्करण, आशिक, आशा, आध्यात.

वाहुल्यसंस्करणमिति.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण a large work in verse; follows शास्त्रिय प्रमाण mainly.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण m. in आधुनिक (टीव्र-नवीन).

वाहुल्यसंस्करण.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण by दुधर, son of राजव.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण pr. in G. O. series in 21 लक्षण on संस्करण from जातिवधारा, नामकारण to जुर्तम और on देहहेतु and पक्ष.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण by सारी, son of ख्यातच.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण composed in 1785 A.D.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण.

वाक्यमसारसंस्करण.

वाक्यमसारसंस्करण by शृंगारपात्र. Sec. 95.

वाक्यमसारसंस्करण.

वाक्यमसारसंस्करण by महानन्द, son of विष्णु-

नाय (he rather revised or restored it). Vide Bik. cat. p. 490 (वेदेयां द्वितीया शास्त्रियांसिद्धि सा प्रथमभीता).

वाक्यमसारसंस्करण or शृंगारपात्र: pr. in Bombay 1884. Quotes हेमाचार, ब्रह्म-दनक, रघुविक्रम, रघुतत्त्व, शृंगारपात्र, विष्णु-प्रतिष्ठा, भगवान, सारसिद्धान्त-प्रायोग, नुतनपालकस्थापन, जीवान-पिण्डानकरण देशवासप्रमाण.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण by कुशाकार.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण by भ्रमात.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण by वण्णसिद्ध.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण; pr. at Lahore (1853).

वाहुल्यसंस्करण or वाहुल्यसंस्करण (Baroda O. I. No. 1672).

वाहुल्यसंस्करण by श्रीवास.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण by प्रमाण.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण by ग्रंथसिद्धि.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण by गणपतिप्रसाद; pr. at Lahour (1853).

वाहुल्यसंस्करण (Baroda O. I. No. 1672).

वाहुल्यसंस्करण by श्रीवास.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण by ग्रंथसिद्धि.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण by श्रीवास m. in दिन-सित.

वाहुल्यसंस्करण by श्रीवास. Sec. 102.
वांदरलासित by जीवनायाज्ञ, pr. at Benares, 1883 and Calcutta, 1885.
वाल्मिकित by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणदत्त. According to आभोजनाणद-गुण; m. in शास्त्रतत्त्व of कमलाकर-मथु.
वाल्मिकितमयोग शाक्तोक.
वाल्मिकितमयोग extracted from शास्त्रितसार of विन्द.
वाल्मिकित by मव; m. in नि. नि.
वाल्मिकीरोहण by श्लेष्ट at the bidding of स्वामसाद son of माननेश्वर. Ulwar cat. extract 576.
वाल्मिकितमपंग्रह pr. at Bangalore, 1884.
विपानितण by सोपालन्यायानन-महावर.
विपानितणमितण.
विपानितण ( Ulwar cat. No. 1444 and extract 344 ).
विपानितण by रामकृष्ण on श्रृङ्ग, राजा, सत्य, शक्ति, विद्वत, विशिष्टतत्त्व.
Relies upon भाष्य of कर्म, हरिखर, and मद्वाद.
विपानितणमर्यास m. in विन्दहसाद.
विपानितणमर्यास m. by हेमाद्रि ( वानसपण p. 109 ), in वानस ( part of विन्दहसाद ).
विपानितणम in आदिनगर of रामकृष्ण.
विपानितण- (from the उद्योगश्रो of महाक-भारत chapters 33–40 of the Bombay edition ); pr. at Gujarati Press, Bombay.
विपानितणम कृत्ति m. in विश्वायांस्त्रीय pp. 566, 571.

विपानिश्वरविलास m. in ज्योतिभक्ति by रामो.
विपानिश्वरविलास- vide स्वरतिलास.
विपानिश्वरविलास m. in नि. नि. ( may also be the name of an author ).
विपानिश्वरविलास- com. on परास्तारात्मक by नन्दीपणहत. Vide sec. 105.

विपानिदार.

विपानिदार सिंधुपान.
विपानिदारविवाह by हरिवर.
विपानिदार m. in नि. नि.
विपानिदार m. in विद्वानपारिजात of अन्ति.

विपानिदारिजात of अन्ति. He composed at Benares in 1625 A.D. He styles himself काण्यकारकसादिन. In five लक्ष्यs on स्वरतिलास, शास्त्रितण, आश्विन, संस्कार, तीर्थ, वान, प्रकृतिविद्वान and funeral ceremonies, the third dealing with आश्विन, संस्कार and काळ, the fifth with वान, आश्विन, विद्वान and प्रायो. Mentions देव-जानिय, विद्वानिदार, जिन्तालसस ( pr. B. I. series ).

विपानिदार or ज्योतिभक्ति विद्वानाला by विन्दहसाद of अविनाश. Resided on the दहादी near चन्द्रमागिरि in बेकार-देश; m. in संस्कारकैसाद and विद्वानपारिजात. Earlier than 1550 A.D. There are 240 प्रकरणs in the I. O. ms. ( cat. p. 575 No. 1769 ) which was copied in संस्कार 1732; pr. in अनान. P. series, 1920. ( 1765-6 A.D. ). Baroda O. I. No. 10449 copied in संस्कार 1622 ( 1565-6 A.D. ),
C. by विनयनाथ, son of हैर.
विनयनाथ by लहू.
विनयनाथ by विम्मकर्म.
विनयनाथ by नारायणभादु.
विनयनराघव m. in अहःपारामीचे.
विनयनसरसंग्रह ( पदृति ) m. in चित्रमणि of श्रीदत्त. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

विनयगिर by गुप्त.
विनयगिर m. in त्रिकाण्डमहद्व, हेमात्रि, प्रयोगपारंजत.

विनयक्षुजा by रामकृष्ण, son of मोदी-भृगु, surnamed शौच ( शौचे ? ). Composed in 1702 A. D.

विनयक्षुजानितिप्रकाशी.

विनयक्षुजानितिप्रकाशी- com. on युद्धरत्न by वेछुकटनाथ.

विनयक्षुजानितिप्रकाशी- com. on युद्धरत्न by वेछुकटनाथ.

विनयक्षुजानितिप्रकाशी.

विनयगतिक or तत्तत्तविचार by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभादु. Relies on तिराराज. About 1575-1600 A.D. Deals with अपराजेया and सप्तरिश्य शाय, छुजसुण्युष्ठा; विनयकाल, अनुजावपुर-दक्षम, माता preferred to शिलास as heir. The Bhadkamkar collection ms. comes up to only शांता;

विनयसमालिका.

विनयसमालिका m. by कालसार of गुप्त.

विनयसमालिका m. by स्त्रियारत्निराका, हेमात्रि.

विनयसमालिका (a portion of the कल्पतरु of लक्ष्मी) vide sec. 77.

विनयक्षुजानितिप्रकाशी by प्रेमचंद्र सिद्धांतबहुसिद्ध composed in शापे 1529 (1604
A. D.). He was patronised by the Rajā of Assam.

विबाद्वचनम् by निरुक्तमिश्र. Vide sec. 97.

विवादविष्कार by अनंतिराम; quotes छापपाणि and स्थानांकुटवाच्यां. Later than 1600 A. D.

विवादविष्कार by धार राहामोहोपाध्याय, pupil of चण्डेश्वर. In his शाखा- 

विवादविष्कार quotes वर्णमान. On the 18 titles of law. About 1450 A.D.

विवादविचारामणि द्वारा चतुर्विंधिघ. Sec. 98; pr. at Bombay.

विवादवातान्त्रिक by कमलाकरभण्ड. Sec. 106.

विवादविलीणम् by गोपाल.

विवादविलीणम् by श्रीकर.

विवादविद्वार्त्यम् by भग्नाध्यक्ष. Sec. 113. Colebrooke translated 
two out of the several principal topics of this work. Vide N. (new series) vol. I. preface 
pp. XIII-XIV.

विवादविलक्षणम् by चण्डेश्वर. Vide sec. 90.

विवादविवारिधिः by प्रमाणितुपदाध्याय 

विवादविवाहर by गोपालविद्वारशामी.

विवादसार of कल्यके, m. in his शाखा- 

विवादसार by प्रमाणितुपदाध्याय 

विवादवार्ता compiled by संभृत- 

शामी बच्चन्ये at the instance of 

शामी बच्चन्ये at the instance of Sir William Jones in 1789 in nine तस्क. The colophon has the rather picturesque words 'सर्विल्या निरुक्तमिश्रान्तमहापाणि etc.,' (cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. VI. p. 2407, No. 3203).

विवादविस्तृत.

विवादविस्तृतम् or अविस्तृत compiled by गोपालविद्वार and several other Pandits. (D. C. ms. No. 364 of 1875-76, N. vol. IX p. 244 No. 3165).

विवादविस्तारस्तु compiled in 1773 for 

Warren Hastings by चण्डेश्वर and 

several other Pandits and translat- 

ed into English by Hallhed (which translation was published in 1774 a. d.). Divided into 
21 उपमित्र (waves, sections) on 

क्षणावधान and the other titles of law (क्षणावधान). Pr. by the Venk. Press, Bombay. This 

edition shows that the work 

was composed at the court of 

Ranjit Singh of Lahore. To- 

wards the end the names of the 

Pandits who compiled it are 
given. Vide N. vol. X p. 115- 

116 and N. (new series) I 

pp. 339-341 where the verses 

about the names of the colla- 

boring Pandits are given, but 

the reference to Ranjit Singh 

does not occur.

विवादविस्तारसमि.

विवाहकर्म by अर्थद्रोहित्रे विद्वष of 

मधुरा.

विवाहकर्मसमि. Vide विवाहसमि.

विवाहकर्मसमि by उलवर 

cat. No. 1452 and extract.). 

Relies on हारियार.
List of works on Dharmadāstra

विबाहकृत्तिकम् कृत्तिकम्, उपस्थित and the other संस्कार up to समार्थन. He wrote for वाणिज्य students.

विबाहकृत्तिकम् from the अनूपविवाह.

विबाहकृत्तिविवाहा by शुद्धमास.

विबाहप्रकरणे from the तुकारिका of कर्न.

विबाहरत्र by हरिश्चंद्र. An elaborate treatise on marriage in 122 chapters.

विबाहकृत्तिविवाहा by श्रीमंकर.

विबाहसंस्कार by केशावचार्य, son of राणिम or राणम, in 17 chapters on auspicious times for marriage. One ms. is dated शाख 1326 i. e. 1398-99 अ. द. (BBRAS. cat. part I p. 109 No. 322 ); m. in शउर्ष- दीक of महाराज, in दोहरानन्द.

C. by दीकिका by गोळिकाधर, son of केशाव, in शाख 1476 i. e. 1554-5 अ. द. (BBRAS. cat. part I p. 110 No. 334 ). See Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 pp. 372-373, where we read that गोळिका first composed वहाराव्य, then आध- विन्य, then a com. on दीकिका, a com. on शृङ्गारत्व.

C. by कल्याणमेन.

विबाहप्रकरण by नीरुद्विण (seems to be a portion of दोहरानन्द.).

विबाहप्रकरणिकम् कृत्तिकम्, उपस्थित कृत्तिकम्, उपस्थित by केशावचार्य.

विबाहप्रकरणिकम् कृत्तिकम्, उपस्थित कृत्तिकम्, उपस्थित by गोळिकाधर, son of केशाव, son of विबाहप्रकरण.

He was paternal first cousin of अवेश्वर and so flourished about 1310-1360 अ. द. On आभुकांतिकाभाष्य, विबाह,

विभक्तमाराशि m. in श्लुकमाॅलकार.

विभक्तिनिवेदन m. in क्यविच्छिन्नमणि, नि. सि. Vide pp. 263-364 above. Bik. cat. p. 497 No. 1967 is विभक्तिनिवेदन which deals with सचिन relationship in marriage, particularly about the girl being beyond the fifth and the seventh from the mother and father respectively.

विभक्तसमस्वच्छ m. in उदाहरत्व by राष्① (vol II p. 116).

विभवान्धक by कविकालसरस्वती, son of आचायविद्य, who styles himself गीताधरप्रवीण. Author was devotee of विश्वेश्वर in Benares. Divided into 4 काण्डs on आचार, अय्यहार, अय्यक्षित and ज्ञान. 1st काण्ड has 42 श्लोकs verses and one अथूद्ध on daily religious duties such as हौळ, दृष्टिपात, क्षणिकिंद्रि, स्नान, सन्ध्या, होम, देवतार्वेद, ज्ञान; 2nd काण्ड (on अय्यहार) has 44 verses in various metres (भास्मिक, अथूद्ध, संदर्भ, &c.); 3rd (प्रायमित्) has 53 verses (all अथूद्ध except last which is भास्मिक); 4th ज्ञानकाण्ड has 53 verses in साहित्यक्रियाविभिन्न, सिध्दार्थ, अथूद्ध, and other metres on ज्ञानमय, सन्ध्या, भंत्वार्य, काहार्यमय. Author's patron seems to have been प्रथ or ज्ञानराज, son of नागालक्ष्, at
List of works on Dharmadatta

काशी. Refers to खुंज, पारेश्वर, वेशातिथि and विष्णुनाथ. M. by हेरारत (III 2. p. 102, which occurs in com. on विभाषानंदी III. 37) and by स्वतंत्रजीव (आशोच, Mysore ed. p. 164, "पारंता तैन्य-दिनेनुस्खेत्रा की पति विषयपियोजन। विभाषी भगवारे परंपरा शाक्ति: भागवद् त्या- नृत्यनेदकालेन।""). Later than 1100 A.D. and earlier than 1200 A.D. (This information is based on two mss. in the Bhadkam-kar collection).

C. by author (Vide BBRAS. cat. part 2 pp. 229-231 for fuller details).

विभाषितकल्प- on the daily ceremonies performed by वासुदेव.

विभाषितकल्पतत्त.

विभाषितकल्पसंहिता by भीमर.

विभाषितकल्पसंहिता- vide sec. 57 p. 236.

विभेदकारिभव म. in संस्कृतमूल.

Probably the मदनपरिज्ञात or श्योमित्रको को विशेष.

विभेदकारिभव by विशेष on संस्पर्श m. in संस्कृतमूल.

विभेदकारिभव (Hultsch R. I. No. 69).

विभेदकारिभवसंस्कर (Hultsch R. I. No. 144.).

विभेदकारिभवसंस्कर (or विभेदकारिभवसंस्कर) by अखुतामस, pupil of विभाषानंदामस.

V. शास्त्रीय.

विभेदकारिभव by अखुतामस.

विभेदकारिभवसंस्कर or विभाषानंदामस शास्त्र (from श्रीगुरुसंगीता) on M. D. 79.

rites for averting evil consequences of being born at one of the four periods called विषय-िताक.

विभेदकारिभवम् by विनामाहृत. Digest of वासुदेव rites for भागवत followers.

विभेदकारिभवम्रिऩ्यय by आन्त्विन् तारीय.

विभेदकारिभवम्रिऩ्यय by श्रीरामाचार्य.

विभेदकारिभवम्रिऩ्यय by द्वितीयम्बुः son ot सोमभूत. Ulwar cat. 1457.


C. वैज्ञानिक by नामप्रविच. Vide sec. 105.

विभेदकारिभवम् m. in जटामविलास.

विभेदकारिभवम् m. in कालविशेष of जीतवान.

विभेदकारिभवम् by विशेषस्तुत.

C. by सदानन्द.

विभेदकारिभवम्.

विभेदकारिभवम् by द्वारकेश (Baroda O. I. No. 5487. Said to be author's copy is dated संवतं 1692 i. e. 1635-6 A.D.).

विभेदकारिभवम्.

कारिभवम् विभविज्ञात of तारसिन्धुद्रमभाजी, son of भाष्याराचार्य.

विभेदकारिभवम् m. in विशेषाशिन.

विभेदकारिभवम्रिऩ्यय by द्वितीयम्बुः or द्वितीयम्बुः in 19 kalas; m. by दिनेश्वर in विभेदकारिभवम्. Deals with principal श्रीत्र fasts, festivities, and ceremonies; ms. dated संवतं 1496 (1440 A. D.). Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84 p. 76.
विष्णुअकिरस्य m. by रामानन्द

विष्णुसूर्यतिमाधिपिन्य by कण्ठे, son of रामाचार्य (part of a larger work called वैदेशिकमाधिपिन्य or सूर्यपिन्ययापिन्य). Ms. copied in संवत् 1675.

विष्णुगणपतित् by अनन्देश्वर, son of आपदेश्वर. Sec. 109. Deals with rites in honour of विष्णु to be performed by one who desires a son. Ulwar cat. No. 1458; Baroda I, O. 2264 dated संवत् 1604 which seems to be the sake.

विष्णुरक्ष्य m. by अपराकेश्वर, दासाकार, कालचित्रेश्वर of नीलकाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङाॅङां

विष्णुआच (part of नारायणचत्ति in गोभिरहन्य)

विष्णुआच्यसप्रति alias वीरसुप्रति.

विष्णुआच्यसप्रति by नारायण son of रामेश्वर (Baroda O. I. 8171).

विष्णुसूर्यमय m. in अपराकेश्वर, मद. पा. (p. 291).

विष्णुसूर्यमय—vide विष्णुसूर्यमय, above.

वीररसूर्यसहायत्वकृति—vide वीरसूर्यसहायत्वकृति.

वीरसम्पर्क, com. on यात्रावत्यसूर्यमय by निरचि (1 parts on आचार pr. in Chowkhamba S. series). Vide sec. 108.

वीरसम्पर्क by निरचि. A digest divided into तकादास on यात्रावत्य (pr. by Jivananda), परिभाषाः, आत्मक, तीथ, पुजा, राजेन्द्रत, रक्षण, छात्र, समय (the first six pr. in Ch. S. series). Vide sec. 108.

वीरसम्पर्कसम्बंधीय (संस्कारकारण) by रामेश्वरविक्रम.

वीरसम्पर्कसहायता or -विक्रम by king वीरसिद्धा, son of विद्यादेश्वर, son of कंभसिद्धा of तीर्थकार. On expiations for lapses committed in this life; composed in संवत् 1439 (1383 A.D.). Stein's cat. p. 189. D. C. Ms. No. 85 of 1869-70 is dated संवत् 1572. It says that the work (which is ever 400 folios) is a compendium of आचार, ज्ञोत्तरभाषा and भर्तरभाषा. It borrows from गोभिरहन्य, आत्मक, निरचि, निरचित, निरचितक, देवग्नान, देवग्नान, देवग्नान, देवग्नान. The work is also styled यात्रावत्य.

यात्रावत्य

यात्रावत्य by ज्योति वाल्मीकि on proper time for breaking fast on ब्राह्मण.

यात्रावत्य by मेहर, son of मनोरंगन and father of नारायणवत्य; m. in नव. सिव, गोविन्दपराश. An astrological work. About 1100-1150 A.D. In 11 prakaras on भीमविधि, व्रतविधि, संस्कार, विषय, अष्टाणपात, चौर्‌विधि, चौर्‌विधि, चौर्‌विधि, यात्रा, निरचित, संस्कार, देवग्नान. Baroda O. I. No. 8173.

यात्रावत्यमातिका pr. in Jivananda Sm. part II pp. 497-638.

यात्रावत्यसहायता (in 12 chap.). Vide यात्रावत्यसहायता pp. 195-96 above.

यात्रावत्यसहिति pr. in Anan. Sm. pp. 232-235.
List of works on Dharmasthala


Dharmasthala pr.in Jivananda Sm. part I. pp. 47-59.

Dharmasthala

Dharmasthala by Anantadwa, son of Udaya.

Dharmasthala by Anantadwa, son of Udaya at Benares.

Dharmasthala by Anantadwa, son of Udaya. Stein's cat. p. 104.

Dharmasthala (part of Prayogal).

Dharmasthala by Krunanath.

Dharmasthala (Mahanadra) by Anantadwa, son of Udaya (Baroda O. I. 10464.

Dharmasthala for followers of the Vaishnav sect.

Dharmasthala

Dharmasthala by Ramakula.

Dharmasthala by Sandun. He wrote one for each of Krun, Nalubh, Thane. Dharmasthala ascribed to Sanuk with reference to kaatia vasa.

Dharmasthala by Narayan, son of Ramanch.

Dharmasthala (containing the mantras required in the Dharmasthala). in 8 prakas 4 prakas pr. at Kumbhakonam in 1910.

Dharmasthala m. by Kalabarvan, three, sa. pamphlet.

Dharmasthala by Sandun, son of Mahadwaaraya. Hand-book of domestic rites according to Dharmasthala; pr. at Ellore 1915.

Dharmasthala (7 of 18 and 3 of 3) pr. at Kumbhakonam 1914 and by Dr. Caland in B. I. series with English translation (1927 text, 1929).
C. by शुर्सिद वाजनेरी, son of माघ-वाषार्य.

वेसगली, com. on चिर्गुणप्रथेय by नल-पवित्र composed in 1623 A. D. Vide sec. 105.

वेतत्वीच्यान (on gift of a black cow to secure for the soul of a deceased person a safe passage over the Vaitaranī river in hell).

वेतत्वीच्यानमयोग- Stein’s cat. p. 104.

वेदिकमणिया.

वेदिकचिन्हमण.

वेदिकारामन्दिण्य by सचिवालंय.

वेदवाचरसह.

वेदनारधीय. Vide स्तुतीशुध्रकान्त.

वेदाधायानसूत्र सूत्रे नील-प्रकाश or- प्रकाशिका.

वेदाधायानसूत्र m. by भिक्षुशा (वा. III. 326), अपराजेष.

वेदाधायानसूत्र by रामानुज न्यायवाचारी.

वेदाधायानसूत्र- विन ग्रंथ प्रारम्भ &c.

वेदाधायानसूत्र the कृष्णदेव.

वेदाधायानसूत्र by अम्बाराम.

वेदाधायानसूत्र in 109 verses divided into five chapters on संस्कृतक, शुर्ग-चर्म, आश्रम, पारिशालय, राजघर.

वेदाधायानसूत्र by सकुर्णप्रथेय, a follower of केपकामीरी, who was a follower of निस्वार्थ.

वेदाधायानसूत्र by कृष्णदेव, son of रामाचार्य.

वेदाधायानसूत्र Ulwar cat. No. 1466.

by वेदाधायानसूत्र. Men-
tions विज्ञानविद्या, वि. वि., चर्चि-लोकण.

वेदाधायानसूत्र by कृष्णतात्ताचार्य.

वेद्यवाचरसह (Baroda O. I. 8133).

वेद्यवाचरसह निरन्तर.

वेद्यवाचरसह of गौड म. in his त्राज-जन्तरसह.

वेदाधायानसूत्र by रामसह, son of कृष्ण, son of बहार.

C. by शुक्ल, son of शुर्सिद, son of रामसह (the author).

वेद्यवाचरसह.

वेद्यवाचरसह m. in आर्या-विनियम by रघु and in वि. वि.

वेद्यवाचरसह by बोधानाथ. N. vol. VI. p. 185-6.

वेद्यवाचरसह (Baroda O. I. 10543).

वेदाधायानसूत्र by शुर्गसह.

वेदाधायानसूत्र निरन्तर by कमलाकरसह.

वेदाधायानसूत्र निरन्तर.

वेदाधायानसूत्र by बोधानाथसह.

वेदाधायानसूत्र निरन्तर by शुर्गसह.

वेदाधायानसूत्र निरन्तर by कमलाकरसह.

वेदाधायानसूत्र निरन्तर.

वेदाधायानसूत्र by आनन्दसह, son of रामसह. On points of शुर्ग rites and rules, such as तिथिविपक्ष, मह-मास, संकल्पक, आश्रम, श्राव- निषिद्धकार, शापविशाल. N. vol. VIII p. 211.
List of works on Dharmadīśṭra

व्यवस्थापीयित्वा by राजानाधारार्कना. N.
vol. X p. 84 is confined only
to आवोध.

व्यवस्थापीनिषण्ड Ano. on तिथि, संक्रामस, आशीर्ष, प्रथमदार, ग्राम, विभाग, दाय.

व्यवस्थापिकाय.

व्यवस्थापीतत्त्वता by कृष्णनारायणपाण्डित्य- 
लक्ष्मी, son of महापात्र. In ten ग्रंथावस्था 
on दायमान, कृष्ण, दक्षिणक्ररस्था ; 
mentions तिलास्रक and विपान- 
माता.

व्यवस्थापिकित्व Ano.

व्यवस्थापिकित्व of रुपन्दन ( on pre-em-
tion ).

व्यवस्थापिकित्व of रुपन्द, at order of 
king रायराचा.

व्यवस्थापिकित्व of रायभ्र. Vide under 
स्थिरतस्थितिनियम.

व्यवस्थापिकित्व by गणेशभु.

व्यवस्थापिकित्व by गणेशभु. Gives de-
cisions on ग्राम, इत्यादि, Inheritance 
etc.

व्यवस्थापिकित्व by महेश. On definite 
conclusions about आशीर्ष. सीव- 
पण्डित, संक्रामितिविध, दग्दोल, जनमाधिन, आशीर्ष, दक्षिणक्ररस्थ, दाय, 
दायमान, ग्राम, विभाग. Based on रुप.

व्यवस्थापीत्व by नारायणग्रंथ ( I. O. 
cat. p. 452 ) on आशीर्ष, आशीर्ष, 
तिथि, रुप, विभाग, दाय. Different 
from next.

व्यवस्थापीत्व by नारायणणिषण. On 
law of inheritance. This is also 
called व्यवस्थापीत्वसाध्य. Vide N. 
vol. III pp. 126-127 and I, O.

cat. p. 453 which shows that 
the work embraced आशीर्ष, 
दायमान and आय.

व्यवस्थापीत्व by महेश. Probably 
same as व्यवस्थापीत्व.

व्यवस्थापीत्व by गणेशभु. son of नवज्ञ, on तिथि, संक्रामिति, 
अल्केत, आशीर्ष etc. Vide N. vol. IV pp. 289-291 ; N. ( new 
series ) I. p. 349 describes him 
as the son of गणेशभु of चठुपन्द.

व्यवस्थापीत्व by इंद्रजनान्दसर; ms. co-
pied in शाह 1741 ( 1819-20 
A. D. )

व्यवस्थापीत्व by कलाकार, son of रामकुमार 
( 7th section of चठुपन्द ).

व्यवस्थापीत्व by कृष्णीय ( portion 
of कलाकार ). Vide sec. 77.

व्यवस्थापीत्व by महेश. A part of 
his तवास्थापीत्व on judicial 
procedure and civil and crimi-
nal law composed under राम, 
king of मियला. Latter half of 
15th century.

व्यवस्थापीत्व by सीवानानीराजस्वल्ला-
वार. ( Baroda O. I. 10105 dated 
शाह 1535 ).

व्यवस्थापीत्व by म. in संक्रामक.

व्यवस्थापीत्व (part of कायिन्द्रण, 
on judicial procedure and the 
विवादव्यस्त.

व्यवस्थापीत्व by नवनारायण, son of 
भवानीदास, son of नवज्ञ; composed 
ed in संवतर 1637 (1580-81) in 13 
क्रकरण ( in D. C. ms. No. 199 
of A 1883-85 and 14 in Mitra's 
Notices vol. V. p. 91, which
History of Dharmakirta

 splits विचार into two }; on astrology in connection with गभा-
धान, राजन, समन्तास्त्रण and the other संस्कृत. विचार, यात्रा, मराठा, मण्ड- 
माननिर्णय.

वयवाहरविचारणमिती by धार्मिक. Vide 
above p. 400; on भाट, उत्तर, 
ज्ञात and निवेदय. N. III. p. 34.

वयवाहारस्वस्त्र by नैयाकृम. Vide sec. 107.

वयवाहारस्वस्त्र by रहुवनङ्ग. Vide sec. 73.

वयवाहारस्वस्त्रलोक- vide वयवाहारालोक.

वयवाहारस्त्रलोक by नवसेवकमङ्ग. Vide sec. 73 pp. 301–302.

वयवाहारस्वस्त्र by अनतेत्व याज्ञिक. On 
meaning of वयवाह, plain, reply, 
means of proof, witnesses, doc-
uments, possession, judgment.

वयवाहारस्वस्त्र by रामपुर्णमङ्ग. On राज-
महम, भाट, उत्तर, वस्त्रस्त्रन, अटल- 
व्यास, साधारण, विस्तित, साधक, ज्योत.

वयवाहारस्त्रलोका Or वयवाहस्त्रलोक by श्रीगृह बलव.

वयवाहारस्त्रलिपि (part of राजमन्त्रकौमुद). 
वयवाहारस्त्रलिपि m. by रहुः in विचारत्व 
on ordeals.

वयवाहारस्त्रलिपि (गोहू) m. in गोह्यकमलालक.

वयवाहारस्त्रलिपि by सयाराममिकोर इक्त्र इगर 
residing at Benares, by order of ज्योतिक. On judicial procedure 
and the वयवाहारस्वस्त्र. D. C. ms. 
140 of 1892-95 copied in संवत 
1885 ( 1798-99 A. D. ).

वयवाहारस्त्रलिपि by वर्दशर; m. in स. वि.,
नि. सि.; composed about 1500 
( tr. into English by Burnell).

वयवाहारस्त्रलिपि by श्रीपति m. in ज्योति-
मत्तत्थ and तिथितत्थ of रहुः. Pro-

bably astrological as bearing on परंरक्षा.

वयवाहारसूच्य ( Vide Tri. cat. of 
Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 
vol. IV p. 4336). Breaks off in 
the midst of 8th topic ( भाव- 
निरूपण ), the other seven being 
वयवाहारस्वलोकनाश, प्रान्तविभागाद्यम, स- 
भाषाक्ष, सम्भाषण, सम्भाषण, वयव- 
हारस्वस्त्रुप, बिचारतिर्भु.

वयवाहारसूच्य by हर्दमसिद्ध.

वयवाहारसूच्य by नवसेवक (part of 
वीरमित्रोदय). Vide sec. 108.

वयवाहारसूच्य by शारमोजी ( king of 
Tanjore 1798-1833 A. D. ).

वयवाहारसूच्य by इशराम.

वयवाहारसूच्य by कल्याणमार.

वयवाहारसूच्य by कुड़ा. On astrology 
applied to परंरक्षा. ( Hp. cat. 
pp. XX and 253 ) m. in विच- 
तव by रहुः.

वयवाहारसूच्य by वस्त्रसब्जमिद्द. On ju-
dicial procedure.

वयवाहारसूच्य by वस्त्रमान.

वयवाहारसूच्य by नैयाकृम. Vide sec. 
107 ( pr. by the Bhandarkar 
O. Institute Poona, by J. R. 
Gharpure, Bombay and by V. 
N. Mandlik ).

वयवाहारसूच्य or वयवाहारसूच्य of जीवन- 

वयवाहारसूच्य ( the third part of 
पराहारसूच्यसमक.)

वयवाहारसूच्य by वर्धशर. 18th cen-
tury. Much used in Malabar.
List of works on Dharmasthātra

व्यवहारसाधन (Baroda O. I. 6373).

व्यवहारसाधन by भारतानुप्रेय, son of चन्द्रनाथन्द्र of the गोविन्दलोक.

व्यवहारसाधन by वनकेश्वर. Sec. 90 p. 367.

व्यवहारसाधनावली.


व्यवहारसमूच्चय by हरिदास.

व्यवहारसमूच्चय m. in देवमतिशालम्ब by िजोरू, and in नि.िसि.

व्यवहारसंवेश by संवेश, son of विखेय-विखेयेि, on व्यवसाय i.e. ज्ञानिक procedure etc.

व्यवहारसार by मयारामासि.

व्यवहारसार m. in नि.िसि. and निर्णय-श्रीवक.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक by नारायणसार.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक by राजनाथ. N. (new series) vol. III p. 192.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक by मुखदून मोहासिंह composed under राजितमंगल Singh of Lahore (1799 A. D.).

व्यवहारसिद्धान्तपील by विषयपति, son of नन्दीपति, at the request of Colebrooke, in वारे 1725 (1803-4 A. D.).

C. by author.

व्यवहारसाधन (part of टोड़ानाथन्द्र).

व्यवहारसाधन by नाथमयाराम-सिि of बेनारस at the order of वालि. Deals with judicial procedure and व्यवहारसाधन (titles of law).

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक by चतुरामासिंह; D. C. ms. No. 247 of 1887-91 deals with नोयनामिति, अभेज्याव (ms. is incomplete).

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक by मुखदून. Same as व्यवहारसार्त्तिक.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक मुखदून by शार्मोजी (king of Tanjore 1798-1833 A. D.). Probably same as व्यवहारसार्त्तिक above.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक by मोहासिंह सार्त्तिक.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक by हुरेिश्वर उवाचाय; m. by टोड़ानाथन्द्र, नि.िसि., गोविन्दलोक, श्रीमति कौलिंभ. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक or व्यवहारसार्त्तिक m. in निमित्तक (on या. 3. 30), अरामक, हरिदास.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक Vide see. 52; pr. in Jivananda Sm. II. pp. 321-342 and Anan. Sm pp. 357-371 (about 248 verses).

C. by िजानाथ.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक बन्धु.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक बन्धु by कलाकृतवर्ण. Sec. 106.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक by निर्णयसिद्ध.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक म. by निर्णयसिद्ध.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक by आदिरामन्द्र.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक by आदिरामन्द्र.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक by भारतीयसिद्ध.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक by मुखदूनवाचायसिि.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक Vide see. 95.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक by िजानाथ.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक बन्धु.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक बन्धु by गोजानाथ.

व्यवहारसार्त्तिक बन्धु.
History of Dharmaśāstra

In the first part of the Dharmaśāstra, the author discusses the life and times of King Harsha, who was a ruler in the 7th century. He describes Harsha's policies and his contributions to the development of the empire.

In the second part, the author examines the legal and administrative systems that were in place during Harsha's reign. He provides a detailed account of the laws and regulations that governed the empire, as well as the roles and responsibilities of the various officials.

The third part focuses on the cultural and social aspects of Harsha's reign. The author discusses the arts, literature, and religion of the time, and examines how they were influenced by the policies of the king.

As a whole, this work provides a comprehensive overview of Harsha's reign and its impact on the development of the empire. It is an invaluable resource for historians and scholars interested in the study of ancient Indian history.

Bibliography:

2. J. B. P. Ruschenburg, History of India, 1911.

References:

2. J. B. P. Ruschenburg, History of India, 1911.

Note: This work is available in English translation and is accessible through various academic and research institutions.

Additional Resources:

1. The Indian Nationalencyclopedia, 1911-1928.
2. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1910-1911.
List of works on Dharmasastra 638

श्रावणकौटियी. Composed in शाली 1625 (सायके शालीकौटियी i.e. 1703-4 A.D.); pr. in Bombay at ज्ञान-दर्शन press (1863 A.D.). Peterson (in Ulwar cat, extract 352) wrongly reads विद्वानसंज्ञिता for विद्वानसंज्ञि.

शतपद्यांसंज्ञिताः by निम्नरामभूटा.

शायदायप्रसन्नतानिधि (extracted from the प्रायोजनशुशैलक नागरामभूटा); decides that modern princes are not entitled to have उपनाम performed (pr. in Ch. S. series, two recensions, रुद्र and लकुष).

शायदाय प्रसन्नतानिधि Stein’s cat. p. 105.

शायदाय धर्माविषयिक (pr. in Ch. S. series).

शायदाय धर्माविषयिक by माश्वाराम्प. N. (new series) vol. III p. 194 (शायदाय means पतितसाधीक).

शाकुनिक or शाकुनान्तर or शाकुन by बसन्तराज. Vide under बसन्तराजी।

C. by शाकुनविशेष.

शाकुनीता m. by कालिवेयक of जीवन्तो, स्वसाद। Earlier than 1000 A.D.

शाकुनिता (on ceremonies at the time of laying the foundation of a house).

शाकुनभुटाः.

शाकुनकारनवाच by उज्जोत, son of पिनालबर (Baroda O. I. 736).

शाकुनरकवीमण m. by कालिवेयक of जीवन्तों.

शाकुनित्सलितसंस्कृतिः Vide sec. 12.

C. m. by क लकुष and वि. र.

न. D. 80.

शाकुनित्सलितसंस्कृतिः Vide sec. 12; pr. Anan. Sm. pp. 372-373.

शाकुनित्सलितसंस्कृतिः Vide sec. 12; pr. Jivananda Sm. part II pp. 343-374 and Anan. Sm. pp. 374-395.

शाकुनित्सलित m. in संसाधन.

शाकुनित्सलि by गोविन्द.

शाकुनित्सलित by रूपभूटा, son of नारद्यानमभूटा.

शाकुनित्सलि by ज्ञानभूटा.

शाकुनित्सलि ज्ञानभूटा Vide Stein’s cat. p. 237.

शाकुनित्सलि कालिवेयक by कमलाकर (from his शास्तिरला).

शाकुनित्सलि on प्रायोजन. Vide प्रायोजन-शाकुनित्सलि。

C. प्रायोजनशास्त्रीक।

शाकुनित्सलि by यहवहद्व.

शाकुनित्सलि by वेदाट्टेश.

शाकुनित्सलि m. by कालिवेयक of गवार.

शाकुनित्सलि.

शाकुनित्सलि प्रविद्यावाचनानि.

शाकुनित्सलिता म. in नरांसाक or नरांसाक.

शाकुनित्सलिता m. in अपराजेय, शाकुनित्सलिता.

शाकुनित्सलिता m. in व्यवहार्य, तत्त्वमीमांसा.

शाकुनित्सलिता कारिका.

शाकुनित्सलिता प्रविद्यावाचनानि.

शाकुनित्सलिता प्रविद्यावाचनानि m. in नि. सि. and संस्कारोत्सव.

शाकुनित्सलिता प्रविद्यावाचनानि of विद्वानाध.

शाकुनित्सलिता by शाश्वेत, son of इंजट (pr. in Ben. S. series);
Stein's cat. p 19 gives संवत 1428 as the date.

शार्मिक पुस्तकालय (edited by Oldenberg in Indische Studien, vol. 15 pp. 1-166 and translated in S. B. E. vol. 29).

C. (भाष्य) by ब्राह्मण quoted in कल्पतुल according to दुर्मित्तम (vol. II. p. 312). Earlier than 1100 A.D.

C. (on four अध्याय only). N. vol. I pp. 2-4.

C. प्रथमदीप by ब्राह्मण, son of चर्चिकर.

C. अर्थद्वेष्य by राधानाथ.

C. दुर्मित्तम or आधारपद्धति by रामदीप, son of दुर्मित्तम, son of विद्वान, son of ब्राह्मणसाध.

C. दुर्मित्तम by नारायण, son of दुर्मित्तम, son of दुर्मित्तम, son of ब्राह्मण; gives pedigree of family which was नागर from श्रीपातलादरी in Gujerat. श्रीपातलादरी was 8th from चधांग of that family. Work composed in 1629 (बेंकसनहदसनस्मित साहे &c.) probably of धिक्रम era (i.e. in 1573 A.D.); ms. in Bombay University Library. He wrote दुर्मित्तम also. Vide Ulwar cat. for a long extract and D. C. No. 6 of 1879-80.

C. शाक्ताचे पद्धति.

शार्मिक or दुर्मित्तम by अचल, son of कन्तराज. About 1518 A.D.

शार्मिक or दुर्मित्तम m. in कालविशेष of जीवंत, अपराक.

शार्मिक पुस्तकालय m. by श्रीमान on आपातमक्षपतित 9.11.21.

शार्मिक पुस्तकालय (in verse) on गम्भीराधानाथ, ब्राह्मणसाध, विद्वान, विद्वानसाध, श्रीमान, नारायणसाध, चधांग.

(Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 vol. IV. p. 5153).

शार्मिक पुस्तकालय m. in लिंग (ya. III. 280), स्त्रिय, महानाथ on गौतमसमस्त; in five अध्याय on भागवताधार (cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol V. p. 1991; Baroda O. I. No. 7966).


शार्मिक पुस्तकालय in mixed prose and verse on expiation and आचार (I. O. cat. p. 398).

शार्मिक पुस्तकालय in 12 अध्याय (I. O. cat. p. 399).

शार्मिक पुस्तकालय in 87 अध्याय and 2376 verses (N. vol. II p. 4).

शार्मिक पुस्तकालय on propitiation rites in case of portents. Vide sec. 166; pr. at Bombay.

शार्मिक पुस्तकालय on propitiation rites for several happenings such as the following, viz. of a frog in domestic fire, पद्मसन्ध, birth of a child on दुर्मित्तम or दुर्मित्तम नागर etc.
List of works on Dharmasūtra

शास्त्रारण्य or श्लोकसूत्रविवरण by श्रीमान्यशाश्वासागर. On incantations for killing, subjugating or bewitching rivals. N. vol. II. p. 107 and vol. V. p. 275 (ms. dated संवत 1851).

शास्त्रकल्पतः Ano.

शास्त्रकल्पतरुणी.

शास्त्रिकविधि of वस्त्रिङ in 213 verses. See शास्त्रिकविधि शास्त्र above. वस्त्रिङ tells राम why the latter and others like रावण, रावणवस, कसु ल suffered from unfavourable stars and dilates upon अतुल्यमा, तास्त्र-होम, कोतिहोम, नवििहोम. Employs मन्त्र from माधवनिदिश्यालाका (vide D. C. ms. No. 104 of 1871-72).

शास्त्रकौशली of कौशलकर्मकु म, son of राजकू म. Probably the same as शास्त्रकौशलकर्मकर.

शास्त्रकौशलक (C. P. cat. No. 5585).

शास्त्रमणियत by गणपति रामभ. About 1685 A.D.

शास्त्रमणित्व by कविनद्र : m. in his कविनद्रमणित्व (vide Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. p. 211 b).

शास्त्रमणित.

शास्त्रमणित्व by कुलतंत्र m. in his कुलतंत्रकार.

शास्त्रमणित्व by शिवराम, son of शिवभाग of मोह caste.

शा तत्त्वास्त्र or शास्त्रिकत्वास्त्र by नारायणकौशलवती. Names अतुल्य-सागर. Defines शास्त्र as 'वषणा शास्त्रप्रात्मक क्रम विनियोजनम् । तथं'।

शैवोपयातान्त्र शास्त्रप्रात्मति चारणाः ॥
एतेन अतुल्यमा पैदिकमाधवनिदिश्यालाका शास्त्र: ॥'।

शास्त्रिकविधि m. by रावण in शास्त्रिकविधि, संस्करतर्क, एकार्षणतर्क, आर्थि-तर्क (p. 195).

शास्त्रिकविधि.

शास्त्रप्रात्मत् by शिवराम, son of विष्णु. It deals with rites propitiating the nine ग्रहाण (planets) according to सामवेद. The author wrote also चंद्रवाणी-परिश्वितका. Ms. (I. O. cat. p. 570 No. 1762) dated संवत 1806 (1749-50 A. D.).

शास्त्रप्रात्मतायां अननन्तमुकुमुशः.

शास्त्रप्रात्मतक.

शास्त्रमणित्व by वर्धमान.

शास्त्रमणित्व (बौद्धपरिश्वित).

शास्त्रमणित्व by नृपिन्ध (same as the first 7 chapters of the शास्त्रमणित्व).

शास्त्रमणित्व (from the वैरामित्वान्त). शास्त्रमणित्व by वैरामित्वान्त. Same as शास्त्रमणित्व.

शास्त्रमणित्व of नीकाप्रक्र. Vide sec. 107; pr. in Bombay by J. R. Gharpure.

शास्त्रललित or शास्त्रललितकर्मकर्मकर. Sec. 106 (BBRAS cat. p. 234 No. 729). Vide शास्त्रललित-कर्मकर above.

शास्त्रविवेक by विधवान्त on rites for propitiating planets etc. (part of यज्ञवल्ल). Vide Ulwar cat. extract 353 for table of contents.
History of Dharmaśāstra

son of Bṛhaspati, ruled over Bṛhaspati.
About 1450 A.D. Vide N. vol, VI p. 233.
C. by nārāyaṇa.
C. Pāṇḍita by nārāyaṇa-pāṇḍita.
C. by māyā.
C. sūrṇārāyaṇa by rājasaṃgha, son of rāma-putra, son of rāma-putra; m. in rāma-patra. Author's family migrated from janmāṇa (Nasik) on gāndhāra to Benares. Composed in 1550 rājasaṃgha 12 (probably of the vihāra era). Vide Ulwar cat. extract 669.
C. by rāma-pāṇḍita.
C. sūrṇārāyaṇa-pāṇḍita by pāṇḍita-pāṇḍita.
C. hṛṣīkeśa by śrīsūrṇārāyaṇa-pāṇḍita.

History of Dharmaśāstra

shaṃśīrṣaḥ m. in śrī, saṃkara-
shaṃśīrṣa by dvarapāla (part of dvarapāla-sūtra).
shaṃśīrṣa by vīnaka-mu, son of rāma-
kuṇḍa. A very big work on pro-
piatory rites like ahu-hată-ṝṣa, ha-
hata, hṛṣīkeśa, grahaṇaṇīra, bāna-pu-
rṇaṇīra, bhūmaṇīra; pr. in
Bombay several times, the most
recent edition being that of
Venk. Press.
shaṃśīrṣa by māyā.
shaṃśīrṣa part of māyā. Vide
sec. 94.

shaṃśīrṣa

shaṃśīrṣa-
shaṃśīrṣa m. in hṛṣīkeśa-viśeṣa
and by rāhu.
shaṃśīrṣa by hṛṣīkeśa-viśeṣa, son
of śrīkuṇḍa, son of viśeṣa of
vārāhaka-kuṇḍa. Rather a Tantric work
very frequently quoted in hṛṣī-
kuṇḍa works; m. by saṃkara-saṃgha,
by rāhu in vihāra. Earlier than
1300 A.D.
C. m. in hṛṣīkeśa-viśeṣa by
rāma-pāla-paṇḍita in 1449-50 A.D.
C. hṛṣīkeśa-viśeṣa by viśeṣa-pu-
pil of śrīsaṃkara-paṇḍita.
C. hṛṣīkeśa-viśeṣa by hṛṣīkeśa-paṇḍita.
C. by kāśīnāth.
C. tāntra-pāla by hṛṣīkeśa-paṇḍita (Is
there some confusion of the
author with the com?).
C. tāntra-pāra by gāndhāra, son of
rāma-patra; composed when rāma-
C. by nārāyaṇa.
List of works on Dharmasthāra

शास्त्रीय by अन्ध्रिहोनि चुहरी; ms. (Bareoda O. I. 8132) dated संवतर 1664 (1607-8 A.D.) deals with शास्त्रीय and refers to portion of the work on शास्त्रीय.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार by इरिमालङ्कार.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार by कठ्ण of the होसिन family by order of यान्त्रिक राव (?). (vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 133a.) Mentions इरीमालङ्कार, शास्त्रीय, महानर. Later than 1450 A.D.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार by इरिमालङ्कार.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार by कठ्ण of the होसिन family by order of यान्त्रिक राव (?). (vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 133a.) Mentions इरीमालङ्कार, शास्त्रीय, महानर. Later than 1450 A.D.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार by इरिमालङ्कार.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार by कठ्ण of the होसिन family by order of यान्त्रिक राव (?). (vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 133a.) Mentions इरीमालङ्कार, शास्त्रीय, महानर. Later than 1450 A.D.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार by इरिमालङ्कार.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार by कठ्ण of the होसिन family by order of यान्त्रिक राव (?). (vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 133a.) Mentions इरीमालङ्कार, शास्त्रीय, महानर. Later than 1450 A.D.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार by इरिमालङ्कार.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार by कठ्ण of the होसिन family by order of यान्त्रिक राव (?). (vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 133a.) Mentions इरीमालङ्कार, शास्त्रीय, महानर. Later than 1450 A.D.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार by इरिमालङ्कार.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार by कठ्ण of the होसिन family by order of यान्त्रिक राव (?). (vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 133a.) Mentions इरीमालङ्कार, शास्त्रीय, महानर. Later than 1450 A.D.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार by इरिमालङ्कार.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार by कठ्ण of the होसिन family by order of यान्त्रिक राव (?). (vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 133a.) Mentions इरीमालङ्कार, शास्त्रीय, महानर. Later than 1450 A.D.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार by इरिमालङ्कार.

शास्त्रीयार्थतार by कठ्ण of the होसिन family by order of यान्त्रिक राव (?). (vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 133a.) Mentions इरीमालङ्कार, शास्त्रीय, महानर. Later than 1450 A.D.
History of Dharmatātra

शिवाधूर्वर्थितचर्चकाय by रामेश्वर, pupil
of सवालियनसरसारवणि.
शिविहास्य- vide बोधायनयस्मान्याः.
श्राकृष्णनितार (pr. by Oppert at
Madras in 1892 and by Jivana-
manda in 1892 and tr. by Prof.
Benoy Kumar Sarkar in S. B. H.
series) in four chapters in
about 2500 verses. Speaks of
राजधानी, missiles, gunpowder &c.

श्राकृष्णनितार (H. cat.
pp. XXI and 255.). Compiled
from प्रथमग्रान्त.
श्रायस्वार्थः.
श्राविद्विकारिका (1) based on रघुनाथन’s श्रावितलय
by रामभद्रनाथालक्ष्य.
(2) by नारायणबन्धुपाल्याय. N.
(new series) II. p. 196.
श्राविद्विकारिकाली by मोहनचन्द्रवाचस्तित.
N. (new series) I. pp. 367-
369); mentions श्राविद्विनारक.
श्राविद्विकृष्टिय by गोविन्दनार्य; pr. in
श्राविद्विकृष्टिय by महेश्वर on सहगमन,
आशोच, सत्परित्विशेष्यम, गभरावान.
शौच, सवःशौच, सावमुग्यमत्वशौच,
अन्येकोविप्र, धुर्दुहु, शरियांचाक,
उदयाविरात, विपुश्वुक्त, इभोत्तम,
इभोस्मृत, एकाक्षप्रणालिकार, ग्रामविनि.
श्राविद्विकृष्टिय by निन्दानाथान्त्रयाय
(Baroda O. I. 10183).
श्राविद्विम म. in कालसार of गदाधर.
श्राविद्विम by केरिकृष्टिय (Hultsch
R. I. No. 93).

श्राविद्विम by केरिकृष्टिय (Hultsch
R. I. No. 93) com. on वहवीरि or
आनौचनिष्ट्य of कौशिकलिंय by
नन्दनारिकाय. Vide sec. 105.
श्राविद्विवाहतापणिय by वाचस्तितिमिश्र.
Vide sec. 98.
श्रावितत्त्व of रघु. Vide sec. 102;
pr. by Jivana.
C. by काशीराम वाचस्तित, son of
राधाप्रकाश, residing at विभुदुर in
Bankura; pr. at Calcutta 1884,
1907.
C. by गुरुमणिद्वाहिन्यशृंजानांत्रयाय.
C. by रघुगोपालनार्य, pr. at Cal-
cutta, 1884, 1907.
श्राविद्विकारिका by रामभद्रनाथालक्ष्य.
Same as श्राविद्विकारिका above.
श्राविद्विकारिका of विनासारण्य. Based
on श्रावितत्त्व of रघु.
श्राविद्विवाहतापणिय of श्रीनाथ m. in श्रावि-
त्त्व (vol. II p. 257) of रघु.
About 1475-1525:
श्राविद्विम अनन्तसच्च पवित्रिक. Defines
श्रंवित as पिताकादिनात्वपथमाय
को भवेष्यंक्षेतः श्रंवित.: Contains
almost same topics as in श्राविकृष्टिय
of निन्दानाथान्त्रय.
श्राविद्विम or-प्रदीप by केशारवृह्द. Same
subjects treated as in श्राविकृष्टिय
of गोविन्दनार्य.
श्राविद्विम m. in सि. सि. and विधान-
पारिताम and श्राविद्विम of सप्तर.
श्राविद्विम (1) of श्रीनाथ महीनांतानिष्ट्य in
eight अचाराय on ज्योतिःश्रावि-
लिंग्स and साविनिष्ट्यम, श्राविनिष्ट्य,
ताराश्राविद्विम, श्राविद्वित्त्यम, सि.
List of works on Dharmatattwa

A resident of अय्यर्केश्वरपुरी. Composed in संवत 1752 (दीक्षासन्तु-बन) i.e. 1695-96 A.D. Vide N. vol. II. p. 126 for the same author's com. (सेतु) on विचार-न्यास (composed in 1732 संवत).

श्रवणकाशाय by रत्न in श्रवणकाश.

श्रवणकाशाय by श्रवणामेव, son of नानसिह at the bidding of छोटाराय.

श्रवणदीप of केशाबभु. Vide श्रवणदीप above.

श्रवणदीपिका by श्रवणदेवसमार्तवारीखा.

श्रवणम by वाचसपति.

श्रवणविषम m. in श्रवणविषक of रघुर.

Earlier than 1425 A.D.

श्रवणकुर्म by निवासत्रावस्यस्त.


श्रवणसुकृती by महामहोपाध्याय भीम of कालिनाहीरकुल (in Bengal).

On आशोच. N. (new series) II p. 201.

श्रवणसार from the अद्वितियार.

श्रवणसार by द्वाराश्चर.

श्रवणसार by माणिक्य, son of गजराम.

श्रवणसारक by वणेश्वर. Vide sec. 90 p. 367.

श्रवणसार by मधुरानाथस्य.

श्रवणार्य by मधुरानाथचक्रवर्ती.

श्रवणोत्तम.

श्रवणोवेशकामुक्ति by माणिक्यदेव (styled अराधितक and प्रतिध्याय) on आशोच, आप्सर्स, प्रायविष्णु &c. (Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 5474).
(1) by कृपार, son of कस्तीर्थर and youngest brother of हल्पर. Vide sec. 96 p. 396.

(2) by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकाराचार्य. Mentions हल्पाणि at end. 1475-1525 A.D.

(3) a portion of the हारलताय by अनिकृष्ट.

(4) by हल्पाणि. Vide sec. 95.

श्रीरामकृष्णकोण- part of मधुरङ्ग.

श्रीरामचरितमंगल of शिवनाथकिशोर-बागीला, a native of नौड़ा. A part of स्वतंत्रसाधसंशोध न. ms. copied in श्रेणी 1610 (1688-89 A.D.). Vide N. vol. IV p. 130. He wrote similar works on तिथिः, प्रायकित, उत्तरा, भाषा and वाप.

श्रीरामचरितमहाराज.

श्रीदिशार.

(1) by हुबीदेव मार्त्यवागीस, a रत्न-वद्यमास्राहण.

(2) by गंगाधर.


श्रीदिशार by उदाताजुट.

श्रीनाथस्वत्तम m. in मित्र° (या. III. 16), अपरािः.

श्रीकर्मनिनाश्य by हल्पाणिः. Treats of domestic rites according to नौड़ा. Gives pedigree of patron as king कस्तीर्थर of वर्णमेत्र- his son स्वनारायण-मीरनारायण-नर-नारायण-अग्निनारायण-भिक्षुनारायण, who is said to have written the work with the help of हल्पर, whose गुर्गs were रामलाल and केशवसिंह. About end of 15th century. (N. vol. VI p. 7).

श्रीकृष्णमलकर or श्रीपरमतिक of कमलार- करभूत. Vide sec. 106.

श्रीकृष्णहति m. in श्रीकाराचार्यसमूह of हल्पाणि.

श्रीकुलविलिपिका by रामनाथदासि. Deals with genealogy and history of the कार्यक्ष of Bengal (N. vol. II p. 55).

श्रीकृष्ण by नालबहादुर.

श्रीकृष्णचरितमलकर of रूप°. Vide sec. 102.

श्रीकृष्णविधान.

श्रीचरितमलकर of कमलारभूत. The same as श्रीकृष्णमलकर.

श्रीपरमतिकी by मधुरङ्ग; the same as the स्वतंत्रकृष्ण° of मधुरङ्ग. Sec. 93 pp. 383-384.

श्रीधारास्वत्तम- part of स्वतंत्रकृष्ण, completed by गाम्बित.

श्रीदिशारसाधसंशोध by कस्ती.

श्रीधारास्वत्तम by अविलास, son of हल्पानाल, son of विकिर्मस, son of मधुरङ्ग.

One ms. copied in श्रेणी 1442 i.e. 1520 A.D. (N. vol. V. p. 302) in नौड़ा; m. in आदिलकापुरी and in आदिलशाह. Expressly says that it was based on तोमसिंह's work. The English note in N. is wrong. The verse at the end says distinctly that it was copied in श्रेणी 1442 i.e. श्रेणी 1442 (1520 A.D.).
List of works on Dharmatattva

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पिलाजीरूप, son of केशवदास, who showed his prowess in the south and is styled परमविनायक. D. C. ms. No. 55 of 1872-73 was copied at सत्त्रायण (modern Cambay) in संवत 1647 जनवर ब्रह्म ४ माहातम (4th March 1591). Names महम्मद महम्मद, बिनायक, शंकर, शुकरमुद्रित, शुरूतित, श्वरटित, कौशितीका and is mentioned in आचार्यत्व of लक्ष्मण (on लक्ष्मण). Between 1520-1590 A. D. For the गोवळ family, vide Ind. Ant. vol. 41 p. 245 ff.

शूरवरायविर or सच्चानार or श्वर्तविर by नव-सौरवमधु.

शुरङ्गःहरतवल or-प्रयोग of रुपा. N. (new series) vol. II p. 200.

शुराहिर.

शूराहिरकार of श्रीमान. Palm-leaf ms. dated साहेक 1462 i. c. 1540-41 A. D.

शूराहिरकारादसार by पादवेदकमान, under order of रूदेत, prince of गोवळ, son of पादवेद. N. (new series) I. p. 373.

शूरीपादित.

शूरीपादित m. in शूराधरकिरियोमणि of केशवमन.

शूरूवादितृत- vide शूराधरमवादितृत above.

शूराधरकम्ह by अवच्छिन्नहित.

शूराधरकम्ह by संसारनिश्चित.

शूराधरकम्ह.

शूराधरकम्ह.

शूराधरभाषाकांग.
for दौनकारिका and Baroda O I. No. 8637.

शौनककारिका (C. P. cat. 5898).

शौनकपुष्पा m. by विभ्रम, अपराक, हेमांति.

शौनकपुष्पायायित्रि m. by अपराक (two verses) on p. 525.

शौनकभृत्य.

शौनकसन्ति. Vide BBRAS cat. p. 208 for a large work in verse on दुर्गापारावर्ण, नानदीभाषा, रथाली-पाक, ब्रह्मणिक, गम्भीरान and other संस्कारार्थी, उत्सवोपायकर्म, दौनकारिका म. विभ्रम, पर्यायमा, आचरण, अत्यावहित &c. Mentions आचरसन्ति, प्रयोगपारिचार, दृष्टि, मा. शौनकी on the worship of the 9 ग्रह.

साहित्यकारिकानिषेधण by गोपालदेवलिका.

शाखलिखन m. in आचरसन्ति of नवपाठिक.

शाखलिखन the 5th part of the स्तुतियाना of आचरसन्ति. Mentions कल्पमंक कविता of शाखा ‘निर्देशक दृष्टियाना साहित्यविद्यार्थीकारय-न्याय’ N. vol. I. p. 299.

शाखलिखिका alias शाखप्रयहिति of रुद्राय.

He bows to रुद्रायायन. Quotes कालार्थो, समसंस्कार, निर्वाहाय, नारायणप्रिय, अपवासास्ति, हेमांति, हरसत, स्तुतिलालिका (D. C. ms. No. 421 of 1891-95).

शाखलिखिकारिकāवरण of विभ्रमायायथार्थी म. in साहित्यविद्यार्थीकारय of शिव-भृत्य.
List of works on Dharmatātra 643

आधुकल्य (मानव) BBRAS cat. vol. II p. 177.

(1) कायायणीय also called आधु-कल्य or नस्करकालाध्यक्ष in 9 chapters followed by 9 लोकों on आधु ceremonies; pr. at Gujarati P. with several com.

C. प्रयोगवस्तु (N. vol. II p.174).
C. (आधुविषयवाय) by कर (pr. Gujarati P. ).

C. आधुकाल्यिका of रूप्यमित्र, son of विषयवाय, son of अतिहास, son of निम्नलिखित; m. in निर्देश. Refers to कर्म's and हलायुन's com. (pr. by Gujarati P.).

C. by गदाचर, son of बांम (Ulwarr cat. 1509 and extract 358 ); pr. Gujarati P.

C. आधुकाल्यि मार्गी by गदाचर.
C. by नीलधर, son of सज्जर (Ulwarr cat. extract 44 ).

C. by सज्ज्यकर (m. in निर्देश p. 174 ).

C. by हलायुन, son of सज्जर. Mentions गोविन्दराज and हलायुन and is m. by आधुकाल्यिका. Vide p. 301 above. It appears from the introductory and final verses that the ms. (BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 170 ) is the same as the Ulwar ms. and that नीलधर is a wrong reading of the original नीलाम्बर which means हलायुन. जिवानंदविंदन (Jivananda vol. II p. 496) expressly mentions the आधु of नीलाम्बर on काचायण.

(2) a परिशिष्ट of the मानववस.

(3) गोविन्द.
C. by महायानब्रह्म (Baroda O. I. 12895).

(4) मेरायणीय.

(5) 44th परिशिष्ट of अय्यरिय.

(6) बालिक.

आधुकल्य.

by काशीनाथ.
by नर्मद.
by गदाचर. Also styled विनिःभौतिकतारिप्रणी. Vide sec. 98.
by श्रीनाथ. Also styled उपन्यास-आधु. Vide sec. 89 p. 364. Based on भूमिति, युक्त, उपाधि and गोविन्द and खुँ (N. vol. III. p. 34 and II. p. 364).

by हेमान्त (Peterson's 6th Report p. 11) . Refers to चादुर्भर-विन्नामिणि as his work.

आधुकल्यीय of होविरिविपाठी.

आधुकल्युक.

आधुकल्या (vide I. O. cat. p. 558).
आधुकल्याय- vide under गोभिनिहीन-आधुकल्य.

आधुकल्याला of गोविन्दप्रणित; m. by नन्दप्रणित in his आधुकल्याला.

आधुकल्याला by नन्दप्रणित. Vide sec. 105.

आधुकल्यासार by श्रीभक्ष, son of नारायणभक्ष.

आधुकल्यं- vide आधुकल्य (काचायणीय) above.
History of Dhammastra

6th

Vide

No. 5921). Vide आद्यसंग्रह

(1) by विषयकर, son of महादेव,

Part of his धर्मशास्त्रविलिति. An अनुक्रमणी to it was prepared by his son वैयनाथ. 

Vide under आचारार. About 1680 A. D.

(2) by नवन.

(3) by रामचन्द्रभु.

(4) by रघुर, pupil of चण्डेश्वर.

Quotes रघुराचार्य's definition of आद्य ‘संबन्धवेदेनिर्देशित पिन्तूढिन प्रत्ययाम: आद्यम्.’ N. vol. VIII p. 270.

(5) by श्रीनाथ आचार्याचूढामणि, son of श्रीकाराचार्य; m. in दक्षे- 

वैद्याबुद्धसंग्रह p. 493 as his teacher's work, which criticizes श्रीदत. 1475-1525 A. D.

आद्यसंग्रहकाश- same as आद्य- 

यज्ञत्रिका- by विषयकर.

आद्यसंग्रहसि by वाचास्यपिश्रभ; pr. 

at Benares in sāke 1814. Vide sec. 98.

C. भवविन्दका by महामोहपाध्याय 

वामेश्वर (N. vol. V. 165).

आद्यसंग्रहसि by दिव्यारम, son of श्रीध्राम ह्वङ्ग. Styled प्रयोगकूवति 

or द्वारकिन्; summarises section on आद्य in his कृत्तिनोत्तामणि 

(vide I. O. cat. p. 538).

आद्यसंग्रहसि by रघू. Vide sec. 102; 

pr. by Jivaranda.
C. विद्वत्ते by काशीराम वाचस्पति, son of राघवलाल (pr. in Bengali characters at Calcutta).

C. भावार्थरिपुकार के गढ़पारचक- वर्ती.

C. अध्यतनवार्ता by विष्णुरामसिद्धान्तवासी, son of नवदेवविधवा- शानी. He commented on प्राय- धितात्त्व also.

एक तिलक m. in विद्घणारिजात.

एक दिंपण of जयस्मिन्तकवागिगा; criticizes कल्पत. Also styled अध्य- दीप or अध्य-दीप.

एक दिंपण of महेंद्र.

एक दीप m. by विद्घणारिजात.


एक दीप by विजयसिंह महाप्य.

एक दीपकण्डिका of मूर्धणि; m. in निधि., विद्घणारिजात.

एक दीपिका by काव्यदीपिकत पाणिक, son of साधारणवीरदीपिकत; based on काव्यानन्दसुंदर and कार्तिकाय.

एक दीपिका of मोतिवर्धित; m. in अग्रकल्पना of मदयपिन.

एक दीपिका by वेदार्थर, formerly मालंजित, son of निन्दुलाभ, son of रामदुर्ग by श्रीकृष्ण in गुजरात. He wrote पार्श्विकात्तम in 1643 A.D. for Emperor Shah Jehan.

एक दीपिका by श्रीनाथभाप्ता दुधामणि, son of श्रीकार्त्तम. For सामवेद followers; m. by रुपो in रुपेश्वरि- श्रेष्ठच. 1475-1525 A.D.

एक दीपिका by श्रीमाम who is described as काव्यविधिय (a राधीय वाण) for सामवेद followers. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 379.

एक दीपिकाधिनिष्काम.

एक दीपतानिष्काम.

एक दीपवस्तानिष्काम.

एक दीपसमस्तिलका..

एक दीपवक्षविधिकात्तम—vide श्रीकृष्ण (काव्यानन्द सुंदर) above.

एक दीपालिका (Ulwar cat. 1501).

एक दीपिनिष्का of उपायत m. in अग्र- कल्पना of मदयपिन.

एक दीपिनिष्का of चन्द्रचूड़.

एक दीपिनिष्का of विभवस.

एक दीपिनिष्का of अष्टां.

एक दीपिनिष्का by तिरुतिकवि of पराणारिजा. Mentions कालावधि.


एक दीपिनिष्का m. by वाचस्पतिभाषा's दीप- निष्का (Oxf. cat. p. 179 b).

एक दीपिनिष्का m. in अध्यात्मिक of रुपच.

Earlier than 1400 A.D.

एक दीपिनिष्का आयामानिष्का.

एक दीपिनिष्का पराविधवाचमंकोणी.

एक दीपिनिष्का by अधिकारिक (Ulwar cat. No. 1503).

एक दीपिनिष्का by श्रीमान, son of जुल- माणि, son of होकमाणि, son of श्रीदेवसमस्तिकांत of Kanoj; ms. (I. O. cat. p. 559) copied in संवत 1805 (1748-9 A.D.).

एक दीपिनिष्का by गोविन्दविधित, son of रामप्रिस्थ.

एक दीपिनिष्का by दयालुकेर.
by Rabodo.  
by Narayana Mudra Arad (Baroda O. I. 338).
by Neelkanth mentioned in Dharma Padya.
by Pandit, elder brother of Hala, who mentions it in Shastra.

C. by Hala.
by Bhanu, son of Bhanu.
Also called Vishnupad. Based on Hema's work. He was a nephew of Narayana Mudra.
by Vishnupad.
by Gajpath and Tora Ram (Bhakti).
by Kashinath, son of Ramakrishna.
by Bhanu. Refers to his Chaityabhagavinta. Stein's cat. pp. 320.
by Vishnupad. ms. in Anandarama Collection at Poona.
Quotes Sira. Between 900-1100 A.D. as Bhuta is mentioned in Svayambhur.
by Bhanu in Ni. Sira.  
by Bhanuradha.  
by Kalyanabhaicharya.
by Prachanda, son of Gopasen (Baroda O. I. 9971); not later than 1750 A.D.

by Prachanda, son of Bha-
peramG; ms. dated 1348 (1526 A.D.). The author is described as having jurisdiction over Hala and Hala Bhakti (probably as Purnamakari). Vide N. (Rajabnath) vol. I. pp. 380-81.

by Nirmana.  
by Bhanu, son of Bhanu.  
by Vishnupad.  
by Gajpath and Tora Ram (Bhakti).
by Kashinath, son of Ramakrishna.
by Bhanu. Refers to his Chaityabhagavinta. Stein's cat. pp. 320.
by Vishnupad. ms. in Anandarama Collection at Poona.
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by Bhanuradha.  
by Kalyanabhaicharya.
by Prachanda, son of Gopasen (Baroda O. I. 9971); not later than 1750 A.D.

by Bhanu, son of Bhanu.  
by Vishnupad.  
by Gajpath and Tora Ram (Bhakti).
by Kashinath, son of Ramakrishna.
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by Bhanuradha.  
by Kalyanabhaicharya.
by Prachanda, son of Gopasen (Baroda O. I. 9971); not later than 1750 A.D.
List of works on Dharmadīstra

A. 

List of terms.

A. by the Indian. A part of

A. of the Pāṭākā of the Mahāvīra.

A. of the (the Mahāvīra) by

A. of the.

A. of the Bhāsā.

A. of the Meghadūta.

A. of the".

A. by the, residing at the in Rajapur Taluka of Ratnagiri District in the year 1732 (1810 A.D.); pr. in Anan. P.

A. by the. from the (the) of the. Ulwar cat. extract 356.


A. by the. A Scholar of the pupil of the, for followers of and . Relies upon the text.

A. by the, son of the. Mentioned in his (the) of the.

A. by the. by the. In the...
only elaborated what his father said.

C बादशाहिपत्रिकोहर्दिसे by महामोहन- 
धर्म राममलहनपारागार N. vol. 
X. p. 119.

बादशाहिपत्रिकोहर्दिसे

वादशाहकारण.

बादशाहसङ्ग्रह.

बादशाहात्मकता अप्रसंहति of भिन्नामणि. Vide 
हितस्रवस्थासंस्करण.

बादशाहभायिक- Ulwar cat. No. 
1508 and extract 357.

बादशाहकल.

बादशाहसंख्या- from प्रयोगपारिजात of 
रुचलार.

बादशाहसंख्या.

(1) m. in the स्थानितित्रिका. Earlier than 1200 A. D.

(2) of रामकुल्ला, son of कोशभूत, 
son of यवागभूत. Based upon 
कावयास्रम's बादशाहकल्ला. He 
wrote संस्कृतगणाशाति on कावयपलत 
हास्य. Composed at Benares 
in सैक 1673 (्विश्वविश्वास्थ) 
i.e. 1751 A. D. Vide I. O. 
cat. pp. 560-61, No. 1738. I. 
O. cat. p. 562 gives the date 
as आदे कावाधार्थ(जीर्ण?)कुल्ला 
(1670-1690) and 1826 of बिंगत 
i.e. 1770 A. D.) which is 
probably the date of 
copying. Mentions कर्क, हाला- 
खुप, गवाप्रभृत्य मायु on कातिय- 
पुरस्तर, कालिका and वीपिका.

बादशाहसंख्य.

बादशाहसंख्या.

(1) by कुमकमभूत (?). Is it a mis- 
reading for कुकुर or कुकुर- 
भूत?

(2) by कुकुरभूत. Vide sec. 88 
pp. 361-62.

(3) नारायण आर्य m. in his चिक्का- 
भूतसागर q.v. Later than 1650 
A. D.

बादशाह.

(1) part of चुसिंहम्मलाद; m. in वि- 
धानपारिजात.

(2) by कमलार.

बादशाहसंख्या part of तोड़रमान्दव. Vide 
sec. 104.

बादशाहम्मलाद the बाद 
section of the चतुर्थभूतसागर.

बादशाहसंख्या by रामकुल्ला (Baroda 
O. I. 303): 

बादशाहभास्कर by विन्नाशरद, son of 
यवाग, who became a संस्थापित 
and was styled अतुलशरास 
based on कर्क; for मायुन्नासाका 
( Ulwar cat. extract 359 ).

बादशाह by महेशभरम्बाद.

बादशाहिपत्र.

बादशाहिपत्रिकोहर्दिसे by रामकुल्ला.

बादशाहिकार by विन्दुस.

बादशाहिकारिनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपाराग 
N. vol. III p. 60).

बादशाहकारण.

बादशाहपारू.

बादशाहोत्तक m. in आचारण of तक्षण.

Earlier than 1600 A. D.

बादशाहोत्तकिपरं भूत by देवराज.
List of works on Dharmakāśastra

The document contains a list of works on Dharmakāśastra. The names of the authors and their works are listed in Sanskrit, along with brief descriptions. The text is in the form of a table, with columns for the name of the work, the author, and a brief description.
राजवंशिय विविधता by शिबवंद, son of गोविन्दसिंह. The 96 आदिवंश are briefly set out in one verse 'अनामसुर च पूर्वेऽपि राजवंशः प्रकटे.
संस्कृता: विकृता: \(\text{II}\).' Mentions कमलाकारपत्र, नीलाकारपत्र, शिखराकारपत्र, प्रयोग-पत्र, आदिकालिक, कलिकालिक of विषुवपत्रचावरी ; (ms. in Bhadkamkar collection). Later than 1650 A.D.

राजवंशिय विविधता by रघुनाथ, son of मायें, son of रामेश्वर. Refers to नारायणस्वरूप as his uncle. About 1530-1625 A.D.

राजवंशिय विविधता (ceremonies on attaining 60 years). Vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. pp. 138b, 151b.

राजशास्त्रकलाविविधता.
राजशास्त्रकलाविविधता by श्रीमद्.
राजशास्त्रकलाविविधता by गुप्त.

राजशास्त्रकलायोग on the sixteen संस्कृत, ज्योतिष, ठुंडवन, अनवधानम, सीमातृत्व, जातकोत्तर, राजस्वाम, राजवत्त्य, नामकरण, निवेदन, कर्मयोग, अनुदान, चौकल्ल, उपनयन, गोदान, समार्थन, विवाह. Mentions प्रयोग-सार, प्रयोगपारिजात, शिखरिणा ; ms. (in Bhadkamkar collection) dated सा 1695. After 1500A.D.

राजशास्त्रकलायोग Ano.; mentions संवैयकता. (N. vol. II. pp. 310-311).

राजशास्त्रकलायोग or शान्ति by रामेश्वर, minister of king शिलांत of विषुवपत्र of the
with the help of his family priest. He was a paternal first cousin of Chandrakar and so flourished in first half of 14th century.

**Sanskrit:***

संवत्सरसर्वकाशः.

संवत्सरसर्वकाशः m. by नलापाणि in दुर्गो-सत्तविके, भारतिनयागीतिः, निर्णया-सत्तव और in एकादशोत्सव (II. p 51) and छाँखित तत्त्व (II. 327) as खमं-दुः। Aufrecht (cat. I. p. 681) wrongly ascribes it to खृतंपाणि. Vide p. 394 above. Vide N. (new series (I. p. 390 for a संवत्सरसर्वकाशः.

संवत्सरसर्वकाशः of वीक्षणमहावर्गः, son of नारायण of the वनवधीप clan.

संवत्सरसर्वकाशः of वीक्षणमहावर्गः by निर्मितयारम.

संवत्सरसर्वकाशः of उन्नेत्रम on the same subject as preceding. Expressly says that it was composed to clear up the पञ्चति of श्रमण. In prose. D. C. Ms. No. 177 of 1884-86. Earlier than 1750 A.D.


संस्कृतम by वेदानाथ. Probably a portion of the स्मारकाभाषा.


संवर्तेश्वरि of जग्दाकाम्यासिक, son of इलालाहीरुक्कु। In three काण्डs on गोपा-काव्य, संस्कार and स्मार-पाणि; names वाणिज्य माध्यम on शर-कर। यः. Speaks of 25 संस्कारा. Ulwar cat. extract 364.
In 1776 A. D. he composed his संस्कारद्वीपिका on आष्टाद्यायन-शैलसेवन.

(3) by नक्षत्रपिता - a part of स्वति-सिल्प. Vide sec. 105.

संस्कारद्वीपित्त by नरकीर (C. P. cat. No 6076). Pr. at Benares in 1894.

संस्कारवित्त्व by अग्रदाना, son of सलाम (for माधवनिधियोः). Mentions हेमात्री, धर्माणविवास, प्रयोग-
वर्ण, प्रयोगरत्न, कोलुम, त्र्योषभी, गद्भार.

संस्कारपत्ति by आनन्दराम गाजिक.

संस्कारपत्ति by कमलाकार. Vide संस्कार-
कमलाकार above.

संस्कारपत्ति by गड़परमधु, son of राम. Vide संस्काराराजपारी.

संस्कारपत्ति by नारायणभट्ट.

संस्कारपत्ति by भगवदेव. The same as छन्दोगमर्माळानपत्ति. Vide sec. 73.


संस्कारपत्ति by विश्वेष.

संस्काराराज.

(1) a part of प्रतापनारायण.

(2) a part of वैभवचेत्य by भविष्य.

संस्कारविद्य.

संस्कारद्वीपिका by विष्युसामविद्विषि.

संस्कारभाष.

संस्काराराज.

(1) by संहद्भट, son of सर्वेन्द्र
अपाधित. Based on कहक and
List of works on Dharmaśāstra

(2) by कविचुंद or दुध, son of गुजार, son of विष्मथ, sur-
named शौच (शौच). Pr. by Venk. P.; follows कर्ण, वारु-
देव and हरिहर on पारस्करपुस्ति and mentions प्रयोगदर्पण. Vide
BBRAS, cat. vol. II p. 236
No. 739.

संस्कारमार्गी नारायण. Same as ब्रह्मसंस्कारमार्गी.

संस्कारमयुक्त.

(1) by नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107.
In many mss. ascribed to his
don खुर्ज. Pr. at Gujarati P. and
by Mr. J. R. Gharpure.

(2) ' or संस्काराधाकर by सिद्धेश्वर,
son of दामोदर, son of शंकर.
He was a nephew of नीलकण्ठ.
Flourished between 1630-
1670 A.D. Treats of 25 संस्कार
and gives at the end of the
work a complete list of गोपा
and पवर.

संस्कारमान्त्रि by मार्णसंस्कारमान्त्रि;
contains two chapters on वासी-
पाक and नवग्रह. Pr. at Madras.

संस्कारावली of तानाख.

संस्कारमुल by खण्डेश्वर, son of हरिनाथ, son of नारायण; m. in his खण्डेश्वर.
Later than 1400 A.D. His family was patronised by बिद्वेश king.

संस्कारमार्ग from the अयुबविखास or
परमार्थर्धि of मणिराम.

संस्कारसंग्राहा.

(1) by गोपीनाथभट्ट (pr. at Anan.
P. and in Ch. S. series).

(2) by नागेशभट्ट.

संस्कारसंग्राहा (पारस्कीर.
संस्कारसंग्राहा of दुधिमष्ट, son of
सिद्धभट्ट; of काल्यानक and resi-
dent of प्रतियान.

संस्काराकार (deals with the proper
times for such संस्कार as आलकम
&c.). N. vol. I. p. 150

संस्कारसंग्रह or दुधिमष्टक by रेष्यक.

संस्कारसंग्रह a portion of the
gowśnāraṇya compiled by शेषशूरसिद्ध.

संस्कारसंग्रह by नारायणभट्ट (on रासाली-
पाक).

संस्कारसंग्रह part of the दुधिमष्टाद्
Vide sec. 99.

संस्कारसंग्रह.

संस्कारायुत of सिद्धेश्वर, son of दासो
दर; vide संस्कारमयुक्त above. Refers to वैतानिच्छयपरिशिश of hi-
father.

संस्कारायुक्त a portion of the दिन-
kāroṣūnt.

संस्कारायुत or संस्कारविवेचनाद्वी by वैतात्त, son of हरिनाथ, son of केशर; in 4
मास. Ulwar cat, extract 63. On the rites performed in आच-
स्त्रय fire according to कावयान-
पाक.

संहितायोग m. in संस्कारमयुक्त of सिद्धेश्वर.
History of Dharanidhara

संक्रान्तिनिषेधबुद्धिमयम् by गोपालशास्त्राचार्यपरमाणुनेत्र in 3 parts.

संक्रान्तिनिषेधमा by बालकुमार.

संक्रान्तिनिषेधमा by बालकुमार— a portion of the स्वहित-स्वरूप.

संक्रान्तिनिषेध Ano.; mentions भीम-पराशक, दीपिका, कल्पितनिषेध.

संक्रान्तिप्राक्ष by गृहराज. Vide sec. 95 at p. 394. N. VI. p. 205.

संक्रान्तियक्षणनिषेधमा. Ano. (N. II. p. 313).

संक्रान्तिप्राक्ष.

संक्रान्तिउपाध्याय. ब्रिफेल्ड describes religious rites from वैज्ञानिक to वैज्ञानिक. Expressly says that it is based on निषेधमा; ms in Bik. cat. p. 454 is dated शके 1514 (1592 A. D.), which is a misreading, if निषेधमा of कामाख्या is meant.

संक्रान्तिसाराम्पृक्तितः.

संक्रान्तिसार— m. in एकाक्षरीतिप्राक्ष of रुपोत्सारमणकार by राममुनी.

संक्रान्तिसाराप्राक्षिक by चण्डैवास, son of दुर्गार, written at the desire of राणवीरसिंह of कामाख्या.

संक्रान्तिप्राक्षिकम् by गोकुलसिंह, son of हरिनाथ in 1633 A. D.

संक्रान्तिप्राक्षमा by उलवर cat. 2412.

संक्रान्तिप्राक्षमा (U1war cat. 1513).

संक्रान्तिप्राक्षिकमा by विद्वानङ्गर.

संक्रान्तिप्राक्षिकमा by विद्वानङ्गर. Same as आघितिकान्तिकमा of विद्वानङ्गर above.
List of works on Dharmasthala

संस्कारसंस्थानसंग्रह of केशवचक्रवर्ती, who wrote in Benares and was the principal Pandit in the parished of the king of तीरसुक्ति (modern Tirhut). Dilates upon the weights, numbers and measures required in स्थूति rules (such as size of tooth brush, number of sacred threads for शास्त्राण्य’s पत्थरीति). N. vol. V pp. 161-162.

संग्रह or स्थूतिसंग्रह. Vide sec. 54.

संग्रहसंग्रहिनािमि (C. P. cat. No. 6153).

संग्रहसैवनािमि by बेवनािमि.

संग्रहसैवनािमि- vide वबेरकेदीपक above.

सच्चरक्षितरिप्रवाहण by बीराराघव of बाल्य-गोत्र on the duties of बेवनािमि. Mentions स्थूतिसंग्रह.

सच्चरक्षितरिप्रवाहण by वेदुनािमि on श्रवणकार, ऊण्डणारारण and मजास्थि-वेदविवेचन (श्रृण्यकण्य).

सच्चरक्षितरिप्रवाहण by रामाकंतारांचयाय.

C. सच्चरक्षितरिप्रवाहणिमि by himself.

सच्चरक्षितरिप्रवाहणिमि by बीराराघव (नैवयुप), who bows to several teachers of the विशिष्टवैद्य system, viz. रायत, रामसिर्ज, यांगुनली, रामाजन, राजराज, बेवनािम्वेशिक, पराक्रम, अनिवास &c.

सच्चरक्षितरिप्रवाहणिमि.

सजनवक्ष्या by जयराम- a com. on पाश्चात्यसाहित्य; m. in महाराष्ट्रीय of महाराष्ट्र.

सांकेतिकसंग्रह.

* सांकेतिकसंग्रह.


सच्चरक्षितरिप्रवाहणिमि by गोपालहट्ट for बेवनािमि. He wrote हरिमंधिशिकास also. Flourished about 1500-1565 A. D. Names जयराम, अनि-रज, शीत, नोवनािमि and नारायण.

सच्चरक्षितरिप्रवाहणिमि or सच्चरक्षितरिप्रवाहणिमि an account of the principal बेवनािमि teachers.

सच्चरक्षितरिप्रवाहणिमि by गदाघर.


सच्चरक्षितरिप्रवाहणिमि by रामपति.

सच्चरक्षितरिप्रवाहणिमि attributed to बसिष्ठ.

सच्चरक्षितरिप्रवाहणिमि (D. C. ms. No. 108 of 1869-70 copied in संहव 1787 माच i. e. February 1731 A. D.). Inculcates चुङ्क्मकि. Mentions श्रुगोगदाम्य, संग्रहसैवनािमि, रामाजम्ब, रामानािम्वेशिक, हरिमंधिशिका, हरिमंधिशिका and its दीका.

सच्चरक्षितरिप्रवाहणिमि- vide आचारचन्द्रोद्या alias माधवमालिका.

सच्चरक्षितरिप्रवाहणिमि by अनन्तराज.

सच्चरक्षितरिप्रवाहणिमि by श्रुक्ष्या कार्यार्थ (for वमगित).

*
History of Dharmaśāstra


Sudāyaśrīsastra by Śakun. Vide under Sudāyaśrīsastra.


Sudāyaśrīsastra by Śrīnivāsaśatān in three kāandas on Āchār, śāstra and prāptāsād.

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī. In 40 verses.


Sudāyaśrīsastra by Nārāyaṇapāṇi, son of Bīkaṭ. In Bīkaṭ cat. p. 449 the work is styled śrīnivāsaśatān. So also in Stein’s cat. p. 107.

Sudāyaśrīsastra by C. by C. by C. cat. 6192.

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī (C. P. cat. 6193).

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī (C. P. cat. 6192).

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Nārāyaṇapāṇi (Baroda Oriental Institute No. 1880). Mentions Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?

Sudāyaśrīsastra by Ānandatīrthī m. in Āryaśāstra?
List of works on Dharmadatta

संस्कृतमाध्यम by कुलमणि, son of रामबहू, in four chapters (BBRAS. cat. p. 237).

संस्कृतमाध्यम by कुलपतिराधू, son of रामबहू and लक्ष्मी, and pupil of द्रम्भामेत्र and कुळ. Hultsch's R.I p. 58. This is also called संस्कृतमाध्यम. Pr. in Anan. P.

संस्कृतमाध्यम by चौपैराधू, son of विधाबाच्चा and कामाच्छा (for आंबङ-हाणार्थियां); composed at request of बाणापिक, son of मारु.

संस्कृतमाध्यम by तिरमालवस्त्र or तिरमालवस्त्र, who composed 60 works.

संस्कृतमाध्यम by रामाभामस्त्र, pupil of महादेव; composed at बेनारस in शत्रुक 1574 (1652-53 A.D.).

संस्कृतमाध्यम by विषयाच्छा (on क्रमवेदीत्वम्या and तैतितंत्रसंध्या).

संस्कृतमाध्यम by वेदभागाच्छा (on वेदसंध्या).

संस्कृतमाध्यम by व्यास, pupil of हुरिज. Stein's cat. p. 256.

संस्कृतमाध्यम by हुरिजाच्छा? रसायन.

संस्कृतमाध्यम by हुरिज (Ulwar cat. No. 1514).

संस्कृतमाध्यम by श्रीनवासाच्छा.

संस्कृतमाध्यम—there are several works with this title for the followers of the different Vedas.

संस्कृतमाध्यम वर्द्धकातिक by वन-साहित्यम, pupil of मोहत्रिज. Stein's cat. p. 256. About 1650 A.D.

C. द. 83.

संस्कृतमाध्यम by आशावरहु (Baroda O. I. No. 29).

संस्कृतमाध्यम by आशावरहु—from the ब्रजकलम.

संस्कृतमाध्यम by रामाभामस्त्र.

संस्कृतमाध्यम by हराच्छा.

संस्कृतमाध्यम by हराच्छा.

संस्कृतमाध्यम attributed to हराच्छा.

संस्कृतमाध्यम by हराच्छा.

संस्कृतमाध्यम by हराच्छा.

संस्कृतमाध्यम attributed to हराच्छा. (Baroda O. I. 12305).

संस्कृतमाध्यम by असिद्रोतिराध्याच्छा (Baroda O. I. 10057).

संस्कृतमाध्यम by रसायनवात्वरहु puip of हुरिजाच्छा (Ulwar cat. extract 363).

संस्कृतमाध्यम by हुरिजाच्छा?

संस्कृतमाध्यम by हुरिजाच्छा.

संस्कृतमाध्यम by हुरिजाच्छा in verse.

C. by same.

C. विषयाच्छा by हुरिजाच्छा, son of विषयाच्छा D. C. ms. No. 175 of 1884-86.

C. by रसायन, pupil of श्रीवर्तहु BBRAS. cat. vol. II p. 327.

C. by श्रीमान.

संस्कृतमाध्यम by हराच्छा.
संन्यासप्रदैति m. in सि. सि., शास्त्र-मसूल.
संन्यासप्रदैति by अच्छुतांशम.
संन्यासप्रदैति by आनन्दायिय, the founder of the माधवम (1119-1199 A.D.). Stein's cat. p. 318 for extract.
संन्यासप्रदैति by निम्माकुंदक्षण.
संन्यासप्रदैति by मद्धानिन्चुर. Baroda O. I. No. 1676 is a संन्यासप्रदैति following मद्धानन्दीचक्षुति.
संन्यासप्रदैति by कर्मेश (extracted from प्रायोगिकतंत्र).
संन्यासप्रदैति ascribed to शकुनारायण (I. O. cat. p. 521 No. 1642).
संन्यासप्रदैति ascribed to शौनक (N. vol. II. p. 101).
संन्यासप्रदैति by पद्मनाभभद्राक (according to साहित्य tenets).
संन्यासप्रदैति.
संन्यासप्रदैति by बलभावरेय. N. vol. X. p. 178.
संन्यासप्रदैति by विष्णुतीर्थ (Baroda O. I. 8512).
संन्यासप्रदैति (for वेबल) I. O. cat. p. 523.
संन्यासप्रदैति by पद्मनाभभद्राक Stein's cat. p. 107.
संन्यासप्रदैति.
संन्यासप्रदैति by निम्माकुंदक्षण.
संन्यासप्रदैति by लक्ष्मणप्रदैति (on the necessity of सपिण्डीकरण for गुप्त).
संन्यासप्रदैति by रघुवर (C. P. cat. No. 6221).
संन्यासप्रदैति.
संन्यासप्रदैति by दिवाकर, son of महेश, on अच्छुतांशम, शास्त्र, आ-ब्राह्मण, आचार्य, अद्वैत and परा-अद्वैत.
संन्यासप्रदैति by निम्माकुंदक्षण.
संन्यासप्रदैति by दिवाकर, son of महेश, on अच्छुतांशम, शास्त्र, आ-ब्राह्मण, आचार्य, अद्वैत and परा-अद्वैत.
संन्यासप्रदैति by निम्माकुंदक्षण.
संन्यासप्रदैति by दिवाकर, son of महेश, on अच्छुतांशम, शास्त्र, आ-ब्राह्मण, आचार्य, अद्वैत and परा-अद्वैत.
संन्यासप्रदैति by निम्माकुंदक्षण.
संन्यासप्रदैति by दिवाकर, son of महेश, on अच्छुतांशम, शास्त्र, आ-ब्राह्मण, आचार्य, अद्वैत and परा-अद्वैत.
संन्यासप्रदैति by निम्माकुंदक्षण.
संन्यासप्रदैति by दिवाकर, son of महेश, on अच्छुतांशम, शास्त्र, आ-ब्राह्मण, आचार्य, अद्वैत and परा-अद्वैत.
It is a part of a digest called कीर्तिपतियाः; composed by order of कीर्तिसिद्ध, son of कांतसिद्ध, born in शैव family. His विखंडस are ‘कृष्णदर्शराममालोक्ति’ which are the same as those of मदनदेव under whom मदनरा was compiled. It is probably this work that is mentioned by आदिकृति-कौशीरी, मलमातरवच of रुप्त as समयप्रदीप.

समयप्रदीप by विखलवीकित (C. P. cat. 6284).

समयप्रदीप by ब्रीतुस. Vide sec. 89. C. जीषोच्चार by मदनदेवनारद.

समयप्रदीप by हरिहरदयालाय, composed in शिके 1481 (शाका महिमुक्त-वेदन्तसंस्कारे) i. e. 1559-60 A.D. Doubtful whether he was father of रुप्त. N. vol. III, pp. 55-56 and Baroda O. I. No. 10120. It deals with astrological शस्त्र for religious rites.

समयमोहन (C. P. cat. 6286).

समयपपुल or कालमपुल by नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 106. Pr. by Mr. Gharpure.

समयपपुल by गुप्ताभ्योः.

समयस्तर by मधिराम.

समयास्तर by पन्नानाभ्योः. Vide गुप्ताभ-गतपतियाः.

समयपोषार- part of मदनरा.

समस्त मिर्द by रामचन्द्र, son of दुर्ज्ञास. Deals with astrological calculations from names of belligerents &c.

C. by श्रीप्रदात, son of द्वष्ट्रम and विषालाक्ष. He calls the author his रुक्म. N. II. pp. 204-206.

संबन्धबधारामाणकार.
समाननबधारमाणकार - Stein's cat. p. 107.
समार्थनकारामाणकार.
समार्थनधारण by श्याममल्ल.
संबन्धबधारण by जगन्नाथदर.
संबन्धबधारण on आदिपुर in आदि-
कारण, आदित्व of रुक्म.

संबन्धबधारामाणकार.

संबन्धवाहक by गदाधरदित्त; composed at उत्तरायण in संवत 1610
(1553-4 A.D.); in five प्रकरण; gives वर्णराा of विषालाक्ष from श्रीलम, बाॅदा, नाटक, कृष्णदेवायण, नाटक; speaks of the तिरंगाण of the path and then of बलुक, his son विदहल, his sons गिरिजा and others who were living when work was composed; mentions the five things (वस्तुपक्ष) on which बलुक dwelt (viz. गुरु-
सेवा, भागवताचार, भगवतस्तवनिविवाच, मगवांसेवा, नैरेश्य); narrates stories of कृष्णनाथ and हेमचंद्र, सामर्थराऊर and हरेचन्द्र, मधवाचार्य, रामाजान and निरालाल and of birth of बलुक while his parents were running away from काशि.
D. C. ms. No. 176 of 1884-86.

संबन्धवाहनामक by गणपति रावळ, son of आरिशुक्लदर, on auspicious times for marriage, forms of marriage etc. About 1685 A.D.

संबन्धवाहक by गणपति रावळ, son of आरिशुक्लदर, on auspicious times for marriage, forms of marriage etc. About 1685 A.D.
List of works on Dharmatīra

Sārōjālakāra by Mahāsakārānta. Contains dissertations on topics of ghee such as ābāḍa, ārahāča, ādu, ghee for purposes of marriage. Mitra regards it as ancient, as it names no work (N. vol. VI. p. 39).

Sārōjālakāra or Sārātīrā by Kṛṣṇa. Ulwar cat. extract No. 370. Peterson seems to be wrong in saying that Sārōjālakāra is the author (Ulwar cat. No. 1537).

Sārōjālakāra
Sārōjālakāravātavābhidh by Kṛṣṇākāra.
Sārōjālakāravātavābhidh by a son of Rāma-
Yāmānāśīknīrt.
Sārōjālakāravātavābhidh by Kṛṣṇa, son of Nārā-
Yādavā. Vide Bohāmākṣāya.

Sārōjālakārāvātidhakṣa of Bābā in 426 verses on rāmānī in various months and śīkhi and connected festivals and rites such as māhātikā on Bābāgāri, śīrāvā, śāhrāmā on Āhādghādādāvādi, ṣāhāragāvātā, ṣāhāragāvātā (D. C. ms. 331 of 1887-91).


Sārōjālakārāvāt Sāmāna by Aṇūvāya. Sārōjālakārāvāt Sāmāna by Bhāṭikāya.

Sārōjālakāraśāntā by Kṛṣṇākāra. Vide BBRAS. cat. p. 238 No. 744 (ms. dated Śāke 1637) and Bik. cat. p. 459.

Sārōjālakārāvāt Sāmāna by Aṇūvāya. Between 1600-1650.

Sārōjālakārāvāt Sāmāna by Sāmānakāra. Sārōjālakārāvāt Sāmānakāra.

Sārōjālakārāvāt Sāmāna by C. No. (by one familiar with Marathi as he translates Kōmā as Pāṇḍu, Pāṇḍu as Bājana, Bahāmā as Bārāmā) Ms. in Bhadkamākar collection. The colophon at end says that Kāriyā follow Bhūṭohira's work. The first verse on śīkhiṁyānāśīvin is Śīmēśe Kōmā. Śīkhiṁyānāśīvin Kōmā Bānāj Minister. Śīkhiṁyānāśīvin Śīyā. Sāmānakāra Kōmānā śīyā Bārāmā. Sāmānakāra Kōmānā śīyā Bārāmā. Sāmānakāra Kōmānā śīyā Bārāmā.
History of Dharmasthala

India or Samevahana ascribed to
Svayambhutas (I. O. cat. p. 578 No.
774). In 66 verses.

Svayambhutas.

Samevahana in on ceremonies per-
formed when a wife burnt her-
sself on her husband’s pyre.

Samevahana or Samevahana—D. C.
Ms. No. 183 of 1884–86 is dated
Sanskrit 1686.

Samevahana by Kambakara.
Samevahana (Ulwar cat. 1528,
eextract 365).

Samevahana by Kambakara.

Samevahana by Kambakara, son
of Jamakal. Refers to the nityasiddha
as his own work (N. IX. 
pp. 203–204). About 1612 A. D.

Samevahana by Stein’s cat. p. 107.

Samevahana by Kambakara, son
of Jamakal. Refers to the nityasiddha
as his own work (Ulwar 
cat. extract 28). The original
sutras are vaidyapantu’s.

Samevahana by Kambakara, son
of Jamakal. Refers to the nityasiddha
as his own work (Ulwar 
cat. extract 28). The original
sutras are vaidyapantu’s.

Samevahana by Stein’s cat. p. 107.

Samevahana by Kambakara, son
of Jamakal. Refers to the nityasiddha
as his own work (Ulwar 
cat. extract 28). The original
sutras are vaidyapantu’s.

Samevahana by Stein’s cat. p. 107.

Samevahana by Kambakara, son
of Jamakal. Refers to the nityasiddha
as his own work (Ulwar 
cat. extract 28). The original
sutras are vaidyapantu’s.

Samevahana by Stein’s cat. p. 107.

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of Jamakal. Refers to the nityasiddha
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cat. extract 28). The original
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Samevahana by Kambakara, son
of Jamakal. Refers to the nityasiddha
as his own work (Ulwar 
cat. extract 28). The original
sutras are vaidyapantu’s.

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Samevahana by Kambakara, son
of Jamakal. Refers to the nityasiddha
as his own work (Ulwar 
cat. extract 28). The original
sutras are vaidyapantu’s.

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Samevahana by Kambakara, son
of Jamakal. Refers to the nityasiddha
as his own work (Ulwar 
cat. extract 28). The original
sutras are vaidyapantu’s.

Samevahana by Stein’s cat. p. 107.

Samevahana by Kambakara, son
of Jamakal. Refers to the nityasiddha
as his own work (Ulwar 
cat. extract 28). The original
sutras are vaidyapantu’s.

C. by Bhasikavalka, son of 
Svayambhuta, son of 
Svayambhuta (pr. in 
Svayambhuta
series, 1927, with text). He
was the author’s grandson and 
pupil of Naohara. Mentions 
Bhasikavalka, 
Bhasikavalka, 
Bhasikavalka
of his teacher Naohara, 
Bhasikavalka.
List of works on Dharmakṣetrā 663

Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāṣa of Pṛṇaśīvar, son of Rāvaṇa (Baroda O.I. 12783).

Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Nāgadeśa. Same as Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa or Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa.

Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa or Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Śrīchāmudā (Bhadkamkar collection). Mentions prakratīnay. Probably it is this that is mentioned in śi. śi. He was the grand-uncle of Kumbakar and so flourished about 1520-1580 A.D. D.C. ms. 208 of A 1882-83 is called ātuṣṭāla Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa and discusses certain views of Śrīchār about śūtīy karmayupāna. D.C. Ms. 129 of 1895-98 is dated sva. 1647 (1590 A.D.).

Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Nāgolīvā. Names nāthasāva, aśvālā, gopāndārāva, vādiścūpara (ms. in Bhadkamkar collection dated sva. 1725).

Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa of Mādhuvita. D.C. Ms. No. 622 of 1883-84 begins 'aṣṭa smārakṣetramakānaya'.

Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Rāmaśīvā (C.P. cat. No. 6378-80).

Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Rāmaśīvā (Baroda O.I. 5032).

Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Śrīchāmudā; m. by v. m. The same as Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa (D.C. ms. 128 of 1895-98).

Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa of Nāgadeśa; m. in com. on Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa. Pr. by Mr. J.R. Gharpure.

Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa m. in śi. śi. Probably the same as Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa of Śrīchār.

Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Rāmaśīvā alias Nāgolīvā (Baroda O.I. 1947).  
Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Gopāndārāva.  
Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Pṛṇaśīvar, son of Rāvaṇa (Baroda O.I. 12784).

Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Rāgaśīvā.  
Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Ṛṣubhavat.  
Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Ṛṣubhavat by Ṛṣubhavat. Vide Ṛṣubhavat by Ṛṣubhavat above.

Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Gopāndārāva.  
Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Gopāndārāva. Vide Gopāndārāva.

Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Rudrasūrī.  
Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Rudrasūrī. Vide Śrīchār, Rudrasūrī.  
Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Rudrasūrī. Vide Rudrasūrī, Rudrasūrī.

Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Rudrasūrī.  
Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Rudrasūrī.  
Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Rudrasūrī.  
Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa by Rudrasūrī. Sec. 73.


Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa.  
Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa. (Part of viṣṭhālīrtī).  
Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa.  
Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa. This is probably the Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa of Śrīchār.

Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa.  
Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa.  
Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa.  
Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa.  

Sāpiṇḍakṣetramakāsa. Composed by the eldest son of Kaṭhaśeṣav, son of Pṛṇaśīvar, a gopāndārāva and compiled in sva. 1440 (1384 A.D.) at Rāmaśīvar under the patronage of Kaṭhaśeṣav, minister of king Kauśītākha, son of Kaṭhaśeṣav. Author says he bases his work on Śrīchār-
logical work, such as that of
कल्याणबल्लेश्वर, which is mentioned
even by Alberuni and so was
earlier than 1000 A.D.

सारावाति- vide रथोत्तारामति.

सारावाति-विषयक.

सारोदिता (com. on भिक्षुतोकीविषयं)
by भाष्मचुड़ू.

सिद्धार्थहरि-(on merit by bathing in
नौवारी when Jupiter is in Leo).
N. vol. X. p. 348. Based on
हेमाधि.

सिद्धान्तविन्दामिनि m. by रचनम in
महाभारतमच.

सिद्धान्तजोत्त्वम by धनिरम (C. P.
cat. 6521).

सिद्धान्ततत्त्वविषयक by कमलचकर. Vide
tथवणिवेदक.

सिद्धान्तार्थविन्याय by शिवंत्र (C.
cat. 6522).

सिद्धान्तमर्याद by रघुराम.

सिद्धान्तबहु by भिपति written for
Cobleoke.

सिद्धान्तविन्दु on शास्त्र (Burnell’s
Tanj. cat. 143 b).

सिद्धान्तभाषा- vide विषय-विद्वान-महाशास्त्री.

सिद्धान्तशोधक by ब्रह्मचर्य.

सिद्धान्तस्मरण m. in the प्रथममित्र of
महाभारत and सारावाति of रचनम. Probably a तात्त्विक work.
Earlier than 1500 A.D.

सिद्धान्तशेषम by विभवत, son of
सारस.

सिद्धान्तसंहर्म m. by रघुराम in मह-
सिद्धान्तशास्त्र m. in स्तुतिसारोद्वार of विश्वम्बर.
सीतानिमिन्द्रकृति.
सीतानिमिन्द्र

ऋषिकाशा by ज्ञानानुभूति on आचार, आशोच, भादु and अस-तारिक (acceptance of gifts from improper persons). N. vol. II. p. 136.

ऋघृतोपाण by श्रेष्ठरमान्तिच, son of वेदाध्याय. He was uncle of चाङ्दे-खार. Vide pp. 370-371 above. Author styles himself महाराज-पिता and says he was assisted by वेदाध्यायणिक (his father); m. by रूप in तथापतश्रस्त्र and by हर. About 1st half of 14th century.

ऋषान्तदास by विशेषस्तर एकांग मुंद, son of विदनकरम, on 16 संस्कार. Composed about 1675 A. D. (Bik. cat. p. 475).

ऋषर्णकाशमा by रामेश्वरशासी.

ऋषर्णकाशमा- com. of ऋषर्णकाशमा on आपस्तम्भाद्वादः m. by श्वेतजी in चाङ्दमात्रितनात्स्वायम्, नि. भि. Earlier than 1550 A. D.

ऋषर्णचित्तर by अधृतनारायण; m. in नि. भि.

ऋषर्णमहाराजसिवेक (Baroda O. I. 4085). Justifies तस्वक्षानिपातव-पत्रायण by वेदाध्याय; ms. copied in संवत् 1834.

ऋषीचित्रकृति.
ऋषीसूत्र.
H. D. 84.
1919-22 pp. 5160-62 for a prose इमन्तुरमंदः.
इमन्तुरमंदः m. by सिमातारा, अपराकः.
जलाबरीपिका—vide under विषाक्षाती.
जलाबरीपिका (also called अठकायो-भाष्य on the margin). The first verse is नामःवद्युतार्जस्यपन्न-नविन्नेवार्योहिस्त्रां &c. ; ms. in Stein's cat. (p. 319) is dated संवत् 1466 (1409-19 A.D.).
जलाबरीपिका of मद्रेज्य, son of द्वामिखर (in Bhadkamkar collection).
Mentions मार्भ, हरवत, विषाक्षाती.

सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका by रेमापायापिका, son of अछुत और younger brother of निमित्तुदारिपजय, of the निमित्त family.

रेमापायापिका.
रेमापायापिका.
रेमापायापिका by अछुत (Baroda O. I. 1903.).

रेमापायापिका.
रेमापायापिका.
रेमापायापिका by रेमापायापिका. A comprehensive digest on इमान्तु ग्रंथ. Bik. cat. p. 475 contains only इमान्तु ग्रंथ.

म्यापायापिका by रेमापायापिका, son of अछुत. A comprehensive digest on इमान्तु ग्रंथ. Bik. cat. p. 475 contains only इमान्तु ग्रंथ.

सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका by रेमापायापिका, son of अछुत और younger brother of निमित्तुदारिपजय, of the निमित्त family.

सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका by रेमापायापिका, son of अछुत (Baroda O. I. 1903.).

सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका by रेमापायापिका. A comprehensive digest on इमान्तु ग्रंथ. Bik. cat. p. 475 contains only इमान्तु ग्रंथ.

सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका by रेमापायापिका, son of अछुत और younger brother of निमित्तुदारिपजय, of the निमित्त family.

सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका by रेमापायापिका, son of अछुत (Baroda O. I. 1903.).

सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका by रेमापायापिका. A comprehensive digest on इमान्तु ग्रंथ. Bik. cat. p. 475 contains only इमान्तु ग्रंथ.

सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका by रेमापायापिका, son of अछुत और younger brother of निमित्तुदारिपजय, of the निमित्त family.

सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका.
सेतुपायापिका by रेमापायापिका, son of अछुत (Baroda O. I. 1903.).
C. स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये by नौरोजानाथ, son of महादेव.
CC. by कुंभानाथ.
C. by खान यात्रिकप्रथेयुधाध्यराबण-मृत्यु. 
C. by विवाहसाहिभ (केशर?).
C. by महावेदपद्धेश्चिर (N. vol. VII. p. 304).
C. स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये or स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये by यात्रिकप्रथेय.
C. स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये by हरिजीननमिय. 
Says that he follows in this work his अभाष.
C. स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये and खान by आविष्कारक.

स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये नाखळक वर्ष by वण्डूक.
(Baroda O. I. 296 dated संवत 1593).

स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये
स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये by गंगाचार (C. P. cat. No. 6710).
स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये (Mysore Govt. mss. cat. p. 75).
स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये Ano.; follows आभ-झायन. Burnell's Tanj. cat. 139a.
स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये from ब्रतोपन्नति of गंगाचार.

स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये by खेमाणाचार्य.
(Baroda O. I. 6986).
स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये m. in सौख्याध्यक्ष of कुंभानाथ.
स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये (Mysore Govt. mss. cat. p. 75).

स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये by श्रेष्ठमण्डु.
"
(विवाहकेशी).
C. वैश्वनारायण.

स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये by तिव्याच्ये, son of राममण्डु, son of वांगमण्डु, surnamed गंगाचार.

स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये or प्रायिकतोऽदार by विवाहके, son of महादेव, son of राममण्डु, surnamed कात (कादे in Marathi). He was daughter's son of राममण्डु, father of कादे करमण्डु. About 1660-1680 A. D. (BBRAS. cat. p. 238 No. 745).

स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये by बेहळाराचार्य.
स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये same as स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये and प्रायिकतोऽदार of विवाहके.

स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये by मार्फंद्देवमण्डु.

स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये of रामनाथसायदेणी, son of मधुराची, composed at the order of राजा Maratharaj, in अके 1583 (i.e. 1661-62 A.D.). Divided into sections on तिरस्कार, संक्रान्ति, आशा, रूपांग, अवध-कारि, प्रायिकत, उदाहरण, उदाहरण.

स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये of नन्दनारायणरावाच्ये, son of देवहराव. Vide sec. 105 p. 431. Refers to तिरस्कारमांसा as his.

स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये of नारायणदेवसिद्धां. (C. P. cat. No. 6717).
स्वामिनारायणरावाच्ये.
स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति by नोविन्द. ..
स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति of पीताम्बर, son of काश्यपाचार्य. ( BBRAS. cat. p. 239 No. 747 ). Mentions महानन्दा. Vide under प्रमाणन. Between 1500 and 1675 A. D.


स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति from the प्रयोगन.
स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति by शिवमर्तस, son of श्रीनवास of गुडकरुण ( Baroda O. I. 11958 ). Ms. dated होक 1610. Mentions महानन्दा, टोड्डरानन्दा. Between 1580-1680 A. D. On आधानकाल, वृहदविचार, duties of अधीनःधीरि, on difficult points about रजस्वला &c.

स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति by कर्ष्य बेडुहु. Hultsch R. I. No. 657.

स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति by छुहु इंपरानाथ. C. by author. Stein’s cat p. 108.

स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति by नंदरानाथ ( Baroda O. I. 2008 on आधिक only ).

स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति by देवनाथडुक्त. A digest on चातुर्वर्ग, आचार, आधिक, संस्कार, भावं, भावाभाव, जात, जान, उद्वते. ( N. vol. V. p. 237 ).

स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति by महानन्दा. Sec. 93 pp. 383-384. Also styled छुहु-प्रमोलहोत्सतिनी.

स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति by रामकांमन्दुचार्य. ( N. VI. p. 140 ).

स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति by नंदरानाथ.

स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति of अनन्तदेव. Sec. 109. Divided into 12 व्रतिः.

स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति by बेडुहु. Vide आत्मालाल.

स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति by सार्वभौम.

स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति m. in संस्कारमपुल of विभेदध्वर.

स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति by आधेवनाथालाल. son of देवदास, composed in 1720-22 A. D. and divided into 16 कारों on तिथि, ब्रह्म, संस्कार, आधिक, भावं, आचार, प्रतिष्ठा, वृहदविचार, परिसरं, प्रायम्यमित्र, अवहार, ब्रह्मकृत, बृहद्विचार, महिमाकुच, जान, छुहु. Mentions आत्माला and संस्कारमपुल. Imitates रजस्वला.

स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति by आधेवनाथालाल. On काल, महानन्दा, जात, आधिक, विवाघ and other संस्कारं, श्रीमं, आधारमपुल, अन्तर्दित, आधार, जाता. ( N. VI. 301 ).

स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति by बेडुहु ( m. in विभेदध्वर ).

स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति by केशवांत्रिकम्यति ( Bik. cat. 465 ). This entry is wrong, as the introductory verses and the verses at the end show that this is the same as विभेदध्वर's work.

स्त्रांत्रांत्रिकम्यति by वेध्यमान. son of केशवांत्रिकम्यति. Sec. 85 ( pr. by Mr. Gharpure and in Mysore G. O. L. series ).
History of Dharmatāstra

स्वतितिविवच भर सति, An extensive digest on the मर्मलकण, ज्ञातमाम, विवाहपद्धति, आचार्य, आदि, आदि, द्वार, वयाहव (N. VIII p. 174).

स्वतितिविवच उर्वरिक्षण्य मर्मसहामहोपाय; contains general rules regarding ceremonial observances and proper seasons for them and on नाम, राॅह, त्रिन्द्रिय, रान &c. Names स्वतितिविवच, हरिचरिण; m. in यादवशिश्वर of रान. About 1450-1500 A.D.

स्वतितिविवच भर सति, or हरिमार्ग भर, son of आदिकस्म भर (or ज्ञातमाम), son of हरितिक (Bik. cat. p. 467 deals with portion on ज्ञात). Conversations with नादेव वर्ण (one facsimile pr. in B. I. series) on कार्यालय, संबंध, संग्राह. Mentions माधवाचार्य and विवाहपद्धति-वालेश्वर. Later than 1500 A.D.

स्वतितिविवच भर सति. m. भर गार्य (Kāpan p. 355).

स्वतितिविवच भर सति, वृंदेशेषरमहोपाय on तिथि, आदि, आदि.

स्वतितिविवच म. भर गार्य in his comm. on विद्वानमाणसित.

स्वतितिविवच म. भर गार्य in his comm. on चालाहारमाणसित.

स्वतितिविवच म. भर गार्य, प्रोयोग-पारिता of श्रिसिंह, चर्मपारिता, चुम्बन-प्रसाद. Madras Govt. mss. cat. vol. V. p. 2043 Nos. 2786-87 contains portions on वित्तमच्छे and चुम्बन from a स्वतितिविवच.

स्वतितिविवच म. भर गार्य, भर गार्य, N. vol. V. p. 108. From the introductory verses it appears to be the वित्तमच्छे of नादेवकस्म.

स्वतितिविवच म. भर गार्य, son of ज्ञातमाम.

A digest of rituals for ज्ञात followers.

स्वतितिविवच म. कादाहरणिष्यापार्जुर. ज्ञातिकार म. भर गार्य. Sec. 76 pp. 313-313.

स्वतितिविवच म. भर गार्य.

स्वतितिविवच म. भर गार्य Ano. (D. C. ms. No. 184 of 1884-86 on ज्ञात).

स्वतितिविवच म. in कालानद म. भर गार्य of हरिनाथ, चन्द्रोपाध्याय of श्रीदत. Earlier than 1300 A.D.

स्वतितिविवच म. भर गार्य (Baroda O. I. No. 8023). It mentions महनन्द. Begins with गोवान and ends with श्रियतिविवच. It is styled ज्ञयस्यमūत also.

स्वतितिविवच म. भर गार्य, प्रोयोग-पारिता of विद्वानमाणसित. Vide माॅहायेश and p. 308 above.

स्वतितिविवच म. भर गार्य, म. भर गार्य, pupil of विद्वानमाणसित.

स्वतितिविवच म. भर गार्य, m. by आद्याजन p. 206. A स्वतितिविवच is m. in कालवीक of जीतमाण, in the स्वतितिविवच of बेदाचार्य, by गार्य in चालाहार and परिक्षेत्रमच्छे and by वित्तमच्छे.

स्वतितिविवच म. भर गार्य, भर गार्य of वैदनाथसिक. A very popular स्वतित digest in southern India. Printed several times in Southern India at Chidambā-
ram, 1908, Kumbhakonam &c.
On वर्णवर्ग, आदिप्रेय, आशौक, आध्यात्मिक, प्रवाहित, त्यथार, कविता. About 1600 A.D.

स्वतिराजकाकर संयंस्र by विद्वन्नेवर.

स्वतिराजकाकर of कण्ठाचार्य, son of कण्ठाचार्य in 5000, son of कण्ठाचार्य; in 10 ग्रंथ.

स्वतिराज m. by कालाप्रेति, सं. कौ., संस्करसंस्कृतम् of सिद्धेवर.

स्वतिराज of राजानाथभुव. Ms. (N. VII, p. 253) is dated हके 1699.

स्वतिराजकारक.

स्वतिराजसहायकम् by श्रीपरमाकंठ, pupil of श्रीपरमाकंठसारस्वाती. Contains साहित्यिकवाच, आधार, आशीघ्र &c. Quotes मानवान (Vide Madras, Govt. mss. cat. pp. 2055-2057 Nos. 2802-24).

स्वतिराजसहायक m. by चादमेवर and by चात्मक in his श्रीपरमाकंठ. Earlier than 1300 A.D.

स्वतिराजलकार by तात्पर्य (Baroda O. I. 9919).

स्वतिराजलकार by तात्पर्यकार.

स्वतिराजलकार by कलाजी (on प्रायाधिक and आशीघ्र). Vide Mad. Govt. mss. cat. vol. V, p. 2059 No. 2806.

स्वतिराजलकार by निहल, son of केलाकार, a resident of दिनेश्वर. Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 135a. From the place of residence and contents, it appears that this is the same as the preceding.

स्वतिराजलकार by निहल, son of केलाकार, a resident at दिनेश्वर; on दिनेश्वर, 16 संस्कार, संस्कृति, प्रथा, धार्मिक, तिनिहलिक, प्रायाधिक, आशीघ्र, निम्नाधिक (vide D. C. ms. No. 52 of 1866-68). Bik. cat. p. 467 gives निहल as father's name.

स्वतिराजलकार by ब्रह्मालाचार्य, son of श्री-राजानाथभुव, son of सरस्वतीबाबू, surnamed ब्रह्मालाचार्य. Portion pr. Łakśmīvenkaṭeśvara Press at Kalyan. Mentions विजानेवर, स्वतितिक, असलाजार्द, मातापी, ज्ञातिसारात्तुव and हितात्तुव ज्ञातिसारात्तुव. Also called साधारणसंस्र.

स्वतिराजलकार by दिगंबर in 15 chapters on गृहनिनीतिकार, गृहनागदिकसंकार, सिद्धांतिक, भाज्य, शातिर, तीर्थयात्रा, भाषामय, भात, प्रायाधिक, आशीघ्र, अन्वेषिक, written under patronage of गामत्र king. Quotes मद्येव (on प्रायाधिक), जीवनावलन, स्वतितिकगत, स्वतिसत्तुव, आधारागारम्, दान-सागर, मनोहर. It is this that is probably m. in प्रतिदिनात्तुवसमा of दिगंबर. Between 1250-1500 A.D. O. cat. pp. 473-474, N. VII. 45 (the colophon says that the प्रायाधिक section is the 18th वार्षिक).

स्वतिराजाचार्य m. in सुतिसहस्रादार, अन्याय-प्रतिपादित of नारायण, भिन. प्रतिपादिता. सुतिराजाचार्य by मद्येवनस्थित, son of मद्येवर. (Bik. cat. p. 467 contains श्रीहर्ष portion only).
History of Dharmaśāstra

(1) by कड़ारी नारायण, m. by his son in स्वत्वर्यसामार.

(2) by दुर्गाराम.

(3) by नीलकण्ठ (D. C. ms. No. 373 of 1875-76).

(4) by सर्वभवाचार्यसामार or नववीण on अनवखाय, तिधि, वायु-भिन्न, चुड़ा, उद्घाट, सापिक, सापिक. Also called व्यवस्थाविवेचन or अवस्थाविवेचन.

(5) attributed to सायण and मघव.


स्वत्तिर्मात्रित by बेलुराम. N. VII. p. 228.

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित.

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित by आनन्दीनी, आनन्दीनी. Same as सद्वाचारसूति.

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित by भेसांति. Sec. 63 pp. 274-275.

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित by भेसांति. Sec. 95.

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित by विकारामी, विकारामी, मुख्यायाए of गोजेसा; ms. of हुक्का-विवाचार (N. IV. 130) dated sake 1610 (1688-89 A. D.).

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 433).

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित by कस्तूर, son of नारायण, on आचार. (Burnell's Tanj. cat. 136a).

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित or संस्कृतमात्रित by कस्तूर, son of नारायण, on आचार. (Burnell's Tanj. cat. 136a).

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित or संस्कृतमात्रित. Probably the same as संस्कृतमात्रित of नारायण.


स्वत्तिर्मात्रित by रामानाथपालकसार, son of मुख्यायाएनारायणा. On उद्घाट, उद्घाटक, गोज, घर, तापि, सापि, सापि, गोज &c. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 225.

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित or संस्कृतमात्रित. Vide sec. 54.

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित.

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित by विदार. Hultzsch R. I. No. 591.

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित alias विदारसंस्कृतमात्रित (in margin) - a large work in 7000 भ्रम (Baroda O. I. 11248).

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित by बेलुराम. Is it same as स्वत्तिर्मात्रित or बेलुराम?

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित by संग्रह.

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित by संग्रह, same as प्रमेयविवाचार.

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित on अयस्म (Cal. S. College ms. cat. vol. II. p. 137 No. 141).

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित or अयस्म- a com. on अयस्म by रामानाथ, son of नारायण (I. O. cat. p. 475).

Seems to be the same as स्वत्तिर्मात्रित on व्यवस्थाविवेचन.

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित of महेश्वराचार्य, founded on शुक्लन्द्र's स्वत्तिर्मात्रित. N. VI. p. 235.

स्वत्तिर्मात्रित (ms. in Bombay University Library) in about 500
verses on आजिक, शोच, स्नान, एकावशी &c. Quotes नहुहउराण.

स्वतिसार (from आचार्यतिथि or श्लोकतार्थतिथि) in 321 verses on व्यत्तायन, ज्ञान, भवन, daily duties, आजिक, एकावशी &c. (Baroda O. I. No. 7331).

स्वतिसार of विष्णुवर. It is said in JBORS. for 1927 parts III-IV p. VII. that it is this work that is m. in कालवेष्टक of सीतारो, हेमापद (कालनिश्रय) III. 2. 686, विवेक of रुद्र, तिथिवेष्टक of नारायण.

स्वतिसार by विष्णुवर in 8 sections (श्रुतिः) on स्नान, पूजा, तिथि, आजिक, शतक, व्याय, यज्ञ, धार्मिक. Enumerates 28 स्वतिसार by name (vide Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4360 No. 2997).

स्वतिसार or स्वतिसार. Vide सरोजनाथपाद.

स्वतिसार by नारायण of नारायण in the Hughli District. (I.O. cat. p. 448). Earlier than 1675 A.D. He speaks of a क्षमास as yet to occur in शक 1603 (1681 A.D.).

स्वतिसार by रुद्रकुम्भः; vide गोविन्दपाद; m. in शहीदपाद's दृष्टस्रविष्टिक, हस्तिकौशली of गोविन्दपाद, आयु-धमतत्व of रुद्र.

स्वतिसार m. in प्रायम्यतत्त्व of नारायणभूत, and in महामात्तत्व of रुद्र. m. 85.

स्वतिसार by केशवावर्तमान in 1359 verses on rites to be performed on several तिथिः.

स्वतिसार by नारायण.


स्वतिसार by दक्षिणवाड़.

स्वतिसार by गोपालकेस्वर in 311 verses culled from स्वतिस on श्रावण, आजिक, यज्ञपीत, महमात, आचार, स्नान, शतक, सापिश्च, आहोम. D. C. ms. No. 181 of 1895-1902 is dated संवत 1652 (1595-96 अ. स. रू.).

स्वतिसार by यादवेन्द्रमत्व on the performance of festivals and rites on certain तिथिः such as श्रवण-जन्मादिम, रामनवमी, and on दुहों-स्व, आजिक, आश्रोय, आयु-धमतत्व; m. in चर्माकेध्य. I.O. cat. p. 477; N. vol. IV. p. 213 (ms. dated शक 1619).

स्वतिसार by श्रीराम.

स्वतिसार by ईरिनाथ. Sec. 91. The work is also called स्वतिसारसाह-क्षय.

स्वतिसार or आज्ञाचिन्तनीय- a com. on a work by वेदांतेश.

स्वतिसारसार्य by नारायण.

स्वतिसारसार्य by गोपालप्रिय m. by रुद्रनवन.

स्वतिसारसार्य by विचारसारसार्यमत्व.

स्वतिसारसार्य by रुद्रभूत.

स्वतिसारसार्य by बन्धुकीर्तिवाचस्पति.

स्वतिसारसार्य by गोपालसारसार्य; pupil of परमहंसप्रवर्तित, on आजिक,
History of Dharmaśāstra

शौच, भाज, बीजांत्र, कानसंप्रदाय, वास्तु, विज्ञान, शोभाविलक्ष, शौचालयमिश्र, वरिष्ठ्रित्य, तपास्यामिति.

सत्तिरासांह से महोत्त. विदेश अवस्थासारसंह.

सत्तिरासांह से यायककेह. की तो से जो सत्तिरास समान होगा है। लेकिन यह के संस्कारों और सक्षमताओं के साथ अनेक संस्कार लिखने वाले हैं। यहां वे लिखे हुए वे से समान होते हैं। 459 VIDE डी. से मस. नं. 344 और 1886-92.

सत्तिरासांह से बावस्तित; न्यंत्रण रे (I. O. cat. p. 450).

सत्तिरासांह से विशाल्मनायत.

सत्तिरासांह से विभाजनम. रिमेंट 

सत्तिरासांह से विश्वास. कथित, विशाल्मनायत. (Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4264 No. 2944).

सत्तिरासांह से बेहेओज.

सत्तिरासांह से बेगमार.

सत्तिरासांह दासुख्य on domestic observances; gives extracts from 28 sages on शौच, बाह्यिकाः, आयार, ध्यान, बाॅस्तु, मायाविभिन्न. Vide I. O. cat. p. 477 No. 1556 and Ulwar cat. extract 372, where it is said to have been compiled by सदासांहांत्र (a lover of सदासांहांत्र).

सत्तिरासांह दासुख्य से हरिप्रभ. समेत as सत्तिरास शासन.

सत्तिरासांह पर्ष्टि से गूढ़केन्द्र. समेत as आरोपगमन्न वर्णि से गूढ़केन्द्र.

सत्तिरासांह मन in सिद्धित्ति of रे. सत्तिरासांह मन in निर. सि.

सत्तिरासांह vide वजनायासारविलक्ष. प्र. at Benares.
of 28 sages are given on श्रीस, 
अंकित, ज्ञानपालन्, &c.; ms. dated 
संवत् 1743. The 28 sages are 
मह, वादानंद, विज्ञानमार्ग, विष्णु, 
कामाक्ष, विज्ञान, विज्ञान, 
श्रीमान, श्रीमान, अध्यास, 
श्रीमान, विज्ञान, विज्ञान, निजाम, 
लगाण, गु, गु, गु, गु, गु, गु, गु, 
मान, मान, गु, गु, गु, गु, 
मान, मान, गु, गु, गु, गु.

शर्यानलिक ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. 
No. 449 ).

श्यामसूत्र or श्यामसूत्र by अत्यन्ताम.

On ownership of property.

श्यामसूत्र ( Tri. cat. Madras Govt. 
mss. for 1919-22 p. 4782 ).

श्यामसूत्र N. ( new series ) vol. II. 
p. 226.

श्यामसूत्र by र्वुंदा by र्वुंदामार्ग- 
श्रीमान, in 6 परिच्छेद on विज्ञाननिर्धारण, 
श्रीमान, श्रीमान, श्रीमान, अध्यात्मिक.

श्यामसूत्र on श्यामसूत्र, श्रीमान, श्रीमान.

N. ( new series ) vol. II. p. 229.

श्यामसूत्र by र्वुंदामार्गम् यह आस्तीन अपना. 
Appears to be different from the 
great र्वुंदाम्. On आस्तीन, आस्तीन, 
आस्तीन, आस्तीन by र्वुंदामार्गम् &c. 

श्यामसूत्र अथवा जीवनम्.

श्यामसूत्र म a वेदांस work con-
cerned with the consecration 
of images of gods and building 
temples; m. by र्वुंदा, वि. वि. 
and इकाद्वय in द्रुमानन्दम्.
History of Dharmakirti.

Vide N. vol. VI. pp. 190-93 for an account of his family.

Dharmakirti's

Harshavardhana

C. m. by Bharacharacharya.

Harshavardhana by Narayana, divided into kramas on Ayurveda, Kalainyana, Dham, Samskara. Vide sec. 105.

Harsha and Varahamihira by Vyunveda (Baroda O. I. 8793).

Harshavardhana by Harish. The same as is appended to his commentary on Paramesvarapadha; m. by Hemamitra, Abhinava, body of Boradamith, Dwarakapura and other places of the world. Vide sec. 84.

Harshavardhana on Paramesvarapadha by Harish.

Hrdayapaindhyam m. in Bhavavada of Bhavishya.

Hrdayapaindhyam m. in Bhavavada. Probably the Bhavavada of Hrdayapaindhyam.

Dharmakirti by Acharay. Sec. 82.

C. by Hemamitra by Abhinava, son of Harivijayaditya.

C. by Hemamitra by Narayana, divided in Bhavavada.

Harishchandra. Vide sec. 11 and 56.

C. m. by Hemamitra; vide p. 71 above.

C. by Yogisahid.

Harishchandra (Baroda O. I. 8185) in four volumes on Shakti and Samanya rites of Vairas and Adityas, eight Nari, Saptamangal, Upama, Svetasvatara, Maha-Lara, and others. There is a Bhavavada also.

Dharmakirti's.

Dharmakirti (Samantabhadra) is divided into two prasads, each divided into padhas (ed. by Dr. Kirste at Vienna, 1889 and tr. in SBE. vol. 30).

C. Pravrittavijaya by Mahadev.

C. by Mahadev (extracts in Kirste's edition).

Dharmakirti's Padhas. Vide sec. 8 p. 46 above.

C. Ucchaya by Mahadev (p. 49 above).

Dharmapada.

Hemaditya Kalanarapadha or Samsara by Mahendrasimha, son of Kashinath.

Vide Baroda O. I. No. 5480.

Hrdayapaindhyam - the same as Hrdayapaindhyam.

Hrdayapaindhyam by Vishwakarma.

Hrdayapaindhyam by Bharatiputra (Stein's cat. p. 110).

Hrdayapaindhyam by Vishwakarma.

Hrdayapaindhyam by Mahadev.

Hrdayapaindhyam by Mahadev, son of Nalakshana, son of Shankar. About 1620-1680 A.D.

Hrdayapaindhyam by Sambhav (part of his Mahatmabodhi). Mentions Svanarapadha; Ulwar cat. extract 375.

Hrdayapaindhyam by Sambhav.

Hrdayapaindhyam.

Hrdayapaindhyam by Baladev.

Hrdayapaindhyam by Baladev.

Hrdayapaindhyam by Baladev.

Baroda O. I. 8354.

Hrdayapaindhyam ano.

Hrdayapaindhyam m. in Svetasvatara 01.

Vishvambhar.
APPENDIX B

LIST OF AUTHORS ON DHARMAŚĀSTRA

While preparing this list, great difficulties were experienced in stating all the works composed by an author. In the case of such names as Ananta, Kṛṣṇa, Gaṅgādhara, Nārāyaṇa, Rāmakṛṣṇa, Śaṅkara, which are extremely common, the only method that could be followed, in the absence of materials to identify the authors bearing these names, was to place the same name several times in the list against the work composed by that author. Since the authors themselves very often convey no more information than their own names and since some of the reports on the search for mss. do not give even what little information about the author can be gathered from the ms. of his work, Aufrecht also was compelled to follow this method. In order to avoid repetition and save space, I have not repeated in this list the information that was given under the works contained in the list A. Dates are given principally under the names of authors and sometimes under works also. For further information readers will have in many cases to refer to the works put down as composed by an author. In the case of authors who have written on several śāstras, their works on dharmaśāstra alone have been mentioned. Wherever possible parentage has been noted and dates assigned. In a few cases information which became available after list A was prepared has been incorporated here.
History of Dharmadātīra

अन्वेषण a. of अन्वेषणप्राची.
अंबादेव, a. of अंबादेवप्राची.
अंबादेवनाथिन, disciple of अंबादेव-
प्राची ; a. of महाप्राची.प्राचीप्राची.
अन्तर्य a. of अन्तर्यनिर्णय.
अप्राप्तविषयाचार्य a. of अप्राप्तविषयाचार.
अविनिः a. of अविनिः. Sec. 39.
Vide also मध्यमाभिः and दूर-
विनीत.
अस्ति, son of बसादेव, son of गोकुल, रेडिसेंट of अन्नपूर्णा a. of अस्ति,
दर्शिक and निर्णयी (composed in संयंत्र 1575 i. e. 1518-19
A. D.), महादेवप्राची, माहादेवप्राची,
or-स्त्री.
अच्छा a. of नीलाभनक्षे.म.
अंसुनपादकारित, son of अंसुनपादकार-
वार्षिक; a. दुर्भागाविश्वानतुकाद-
प्रिन्य (comm. on दुर्भागाविश्वानतुकाद-
प्रिन्य; निर्णय (comm. on दुर्भागाविश्वानतुकाद-
प्रिन्य; महादेवप्राची, माहादेवप्राची, भाषा, विज्ञानकालीनी (m. in his com.
on दुर्भागाविश्वानतुकाद-
प्रिन्य in B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 205 p. 120 is dated ज्येष्ठ 1581 (1669 A. D.).
अन्तर्यान्तर, pupil of अन्तर्यान्तर,
a. of अन्तर्यान्तरिनिम्नवाच्या.
अन्तर्यान्तर, disciple of परमान्तर
or विचार, विचार; a. of रामायण-
प्राची, विद्वेशयीप्राची (or विद्वेशी-
प्राची); संस्कृति, संस्कृति, संस्कृति.
In विद्वेशयीप्राची, the आराम्य is mentioned and the
ms. No. 12548 Baroda O. I. was copied in संयंत्र 1887
(1830-31 A. D.).
अन्तर्यान्तर m. in ज्येष्ठमाह.
अंगवादीसित a. of अंगवादीसित.
अाधि. Vide sec. 16.
अन्तर्यान्तर a. of उपवादीसितानाक्षणी.
अन्तर्यान्तरित, son of विष्णु, सु-
नाम सुनाम (सुनाम (सुनाम (सुनाम (सुनाम.
ता. अन्तर्यान्तरित, सुनाम (सुनाम.
ता. अन्तर्यान्तरित, सुनाम (सुनाम.
ता. अन्तर्यान्तरित, सुनाम (सुनाम.
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अन্তर्याबाद m. in ज्येष्ठমাহ.
�न্তर्याबाद m. in ज्येष्ठमाह.
Abhajitnabha, a. of commentary on *Vajracchedikā*.

Abhajitnabha, son of Āmalakaraṇaṇa. About 1640-1670; a. of *Rāmacakravimāna*, *Durvaśī* (commentary on *Vishuddhārtha*).

Abhajitnabha, son of *Nāpiṇḍakavarga*; a. of *Pṛthivajñāna*, *Kṛṣṇacaryavarga*.

Abhajitnabha, son of *Nandakivarka*; a. of *Svabhāvarajya* (composed at the desire of *Sāmānāsīha*). About 1715 A.D.

Abhajitnabha, son of *Nāpiṇḍakavarga* or *Nāpiṇḍakavarga*; son of *Māṇava*; son of *Vajra*; son of *Kāsita*; a. of *Āṭhikaparāja*, *Bhaṇaparāja*, *Vijñānavarāja* (composed in 1625 A.D.) and other works ending in *Parāja* (*Jñānāparāja*), *Vijñānaviśeṣa*.

Abhajitnabha, son of *Nāpiṇḍakavarga*; son of *Vajra*; a. of *Āṭhikaparāja*. Probably the same as the preceding.

Abhajitnabha, son of *Kārṇa*; a. of *Pāralāparāja*.

Abhajitnabha, son of *Māṇava*; a. of *Abhinānabhiṣṇa* or *Abhinānabhiṣṇa* (ms. dated 1526-7 A.D. in Baroda O.I. No. 10611). It is this author that is probably mentioned as Abhajitnabha in *Sth. St.* and *Dūṣṭihāramasta*. Earlier than 1500 A.D.

Abhajitnabha a. of *Sāmānāsīha*.

Abhajitnabha a. of *Vajracchedikā*.

Abhajitnabha a. of *Vajracchedikā*; m. by *Rudrāvasūtra* in *Abhinānabhiṣṇa* (Jivananda vol. I p. 54) and

Abhajitnabha, son of *Vajra*. About 2nd quarter of 17th century; a. of *Tīrthaśāstra* (at the request of *Āṇāparāja*).

Abhajitnabha, son of *Dharmakṣa*; a. of *Kruddhaśāstra*, of *Vajracchedikā*; *Pṛthivajñāna*, *Kṛṣṇacaryavarga* (composed in 1625 A.D. at *Pāṇḍya*; probably modern *Pali* in the *Bhor* State).

Abhajitnabha a. of *Dharmagāra*.

Abhajitnabha a. of *Āṭhikaparāja*.

Abhajitnabha a. of *Dharmaparāja* (for nine planets).

Abhajitnabha, son of *Kruddhaśāstra*; a. of *Pṛthivajñāna*, *Kruddhaśāstra* (probably the same as *Dvajajñāna*, of *āṇāparāja*).

Abhajitnabha a. of *Pāralāparāja*.

Abhajitnabha, son of *Kruddha*; a. of *Com. on Sūtra* in *Vidvatānagama*.

Abhajitnabha a. of *Vijñānaviśeṣa*, *Śrīvāsa*.

Abhajitnabha a. of *Vijñānaviśeṣa*, *Śrīvāsa* or *Vijñānaviśeṣa*. Later than 1600 A.D.

Abhajitnabha, a. of *Vaidyaprabhaśāstra*.

Abhajitnabha, son of *Rāmacakravimāna*. About 1810 A.D.; a. of *Sahajaśāstra*.

Abhajitnabha a. of *Vijñānaviśeṣa*, *Śrīvāsa*.

Abhajitnabha a. of *Jñānāsāhasra*.

Abhajitnabha Vide sec. 82; 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 12th century A.D.; a. of *Vidvatānagama* or *Kramaśendrīya* and *Hariścandra*.

Abhajitnabha *Mahāhṛdaya* a. of *Mahākāśyapa*. Said to be a *Śaivācārya*. Earlier than 1795 A.D.
History of Dharmaśāstra

अद्वैताध्येत, son of कर्णसिंह, a Rathor prince. About 1673 A.D.; (reputed) a. of अनुष्ठावे, आध-मेवनेभिन्नामणि.

अभगुकृत. About 1630-1650 A.D.; m. in the कालिवेदेक भीमजासील.

अन्वरान्त अथवा अपराधिक Sec. 79; a. of com. called याज्ञवल्क्यमथेनांर्विषयः.

Between 1115-1130 A.D.

अविपाल, son of वेदेकपाल, son of विविध क्रम, son of मकरवेदादि; a. of अविपालकारिका and अविपालविषय (दुरुप्रबत). M. by गोपिनाथस्व दुरुप्रबत. One ms. (N. vol. V. p. 302) was copied in the 1442 (1521 A.D.). So earlier than 1500 A.D. In the colophon, the work is described as कारित by अविपाल.

अन्वतायित a. of तस्तुक्रालिकन; about 1520-1592 A.D.

अन्वतायित (मातृ) a. of अरायकमयविचि. Probably the same as अन्वतायित native of जैनाराजपुर.

अन्वतायित a. of विराजचरणंत्रिका, शैवकल्पम. He is probably the same as the a. of तस्तुक्रालिकन.

अन्वतायित a native of गौरीमार्ग; a. of आधारलम्बित (composed about 1700 A.D.) under Tanjore king Shahaj.

अन्वयविकविविध a. of नीतिहासानि.

अन्वयचरणंत्रिका a. of व्याप्तविचि.

अन्वरेण्य a. of विराजचरणंत्रिका a. of अन्वतायित.

अन्वगुतालयासम महामनोभावाय, son of श्रीमनन्दकारमें; a. of कुतिलारुङ्गमय or कुतिलारुङ्ग, याप्रमित्यस्थ्यसार, वाससारस्वच्छाय (on 18 व्यव-हारप्रक). Vide B.O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 77 p. 74 for कुतिलारुङ्गस्वच्छाय, which appears to be only a part dealing with व्यव and याप्रमि from the larger work called सार-समस्यायपिका and No. 319 p. 358 for वाससारस्वच्छाय.

अन्वतायित, son of सामासाय; a. of संस्कारप्रठित. Later than 1680 A.D.

अन्वतान्त्रिकेऽ a. of तारकपुप्पुषावर्षाय.

अन्तम m. in हिन्दुस्तानी संस्कृतसाह.

अन्वतान्त्रिकेऽ a. of सिंधुरस्मण.

Between 1250-1500 A.D.; a. of निर्णयविचि (composed at the desire of prince सुर्येश, ruler of एकचक्र on the Jumna). Vide under निर्णयविचि.

अन्वतान्त्रिकेऽ com. of मानवक्षमशुश्रुष्ण and of बापायवधाय.

अस्ताय Vide sec. 58. About 700-750 A.D.; a. of माथ्य on नाराय-स्तम्भ, of माथ्य on गौतममेंहुत and probably of com. on मनुसृति.

अहोवा a. of अवगुज्जविमस्मतिप्रविज्ञ and अंतिषामसामज्ज्विमस्तिप्रविज्ञ, पुष्पवेणकृतम (Bk. cat. p. 600).

अन्वतायित a. of अवायस्वसार.

अन्वतान्त्रिकेऽ a. of माँजास्वस्थाविचि.

आमाराम a. of com. on कामतुकिचि नीतिसार.
List of Authors on Dharmakṣātra

आवेन a. of स्त्रीलक्षण‌म् by विनयप्रकाश.
आदिविश्वसनि a. of com. on काठक-पारस्य.
आदि०यवस्त्र कविवध्वेस, pupil of विभेड-श्रवणारायण. Between 1200-1325 A. D.; a. of कालानिर्विवर्ण or कालावर्ण.
आदिविश्वसनि a. of प्रतकालानिर्वेंय.
आदिविश्वसनि or कौशिकाविवेत्. About 1400-1500 A. D.; a. of वर्धादिति or आशौचविनय.
आनन्द son of ध्रमुकर of the वृजयज family; a. of आशीक.
आनन्द a. of ब्रह्मद्वांगप्रस्थिरिता.
आनन्दन्वन् a. of प्रायाभिविष्टसारः, बालोपक (on प्रायाभिषिच), प्रायाभिविष्टसार (probably same as the preceding).
आनन्दवतीर्ष a. of विचित्रत्तवानिर्वेण.
आनन्दवतीर्ष son of जनार्दनभु; a. of संतानविधापन्विषि, अनुपायपद्धति, पूजार-पद्धति.
आनन्दवतीर्ष गर्ग a. of हरिपुराणपद्धति.
आनन्दवतीर्ष a. of प्रचण्डकल.
आनन्दवतीर्ष a. of संतानविधानमाण.
आनन्दवतीर्ष, the founder of the माण sect. Said to have flourished between 1118-1198 A.D. But there are varying views. One of his pupils काशीवतीर्ष is said to have defeated विचारावलि in polemical discussions. If this be correct, then आनन्दवतीर्ष must have flourished about 1250-1300. Dr. Bhandarkar (in Vaiṣṇavism and Saivism p. 59) accepts H. D. 86.

1198 and 1276 A.D. as the years of his birth and death; a. of कालानिर्विवर्ण, संयानविधापनवर, जयतानिर्वेण, संतानविधापन, स्वायत्व-स्त्रीलक्षण or स्त्रीलक्षणविबिबत. Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83, p. 207 for 37 works attributed to him and E. I. vol. VI pp. 261-263 for the age of आनन्दवतीर्ष and his pupils. आनन्दवतीर्ष is said to have been the son of मण्डलसेन.

आनन्दवतीर्ष a. of संस्कारपद्धति or वेदशास्त्रसंस्कारपद्धति.
आनन्दवतीर्ष वासेश्वरजय, minister of Tanjore king Shahaji and Sarfoji (first quarter of 18th century), a. of आश्वासनस्वधार-विवाह.

आनन्दवतीर्ष, pupil of इश्वरवतीर्ष. Earlier than 1650 A. D.; a. of रामचंद्रनविजुक्तक. If it is this work that is quoted in the लिपिपत्रिक, then the author is earlier than 1550 A. D.

आनन्दवतीर्ष, son of रामचंद्रवतीर्ष; a. of आयारायणपद्धति, कवयपद्धति.
आनन्दवतीर्ष a. of विष्णुविधापनपद्धति.
आनन्दवतीर्ष (probably सरवतीर्ष or नरहरि) a. of स्त्रीलक्षणपद्धति.
आपेव, alias सदाभिसेव, son of वीरप्रति; a. of सार्वपद्धतिकल्पना or -कल्पिता. About 1700 A. D. His grandson was a pupil of नागोलमुख.

आपेव a. of लेखकास्सा, लिपिपत्रिक.
आयापेय, son or आयांतिह, son of आयापेय. He was father of आयापेय a. of स्वातिशास्त्र and so flourished about 1600-1650 A.D.; a. of स्त्रियापिन्ना, रक्षपद्य.

आयापेय a. of आयापेय.

आयापेय a. of मोहक्तरत्निन्ध्र (ms. No. 1870 of Baroda O. I. dated शतक 1673).

आयापेय Vide sec. 7; a. of यज्ञ और यज्ञवल्लिका and यज्ञवल्लिका.

आयापेय a. of com. on अनुभाव-परावत.

आयापेय a. of a स्तुति m. in नि. नि.

आयापेय और आयापेय और आयापेय, son of धन्यवर; a. of com. on धन्यवर and of com. on धन्यवर-पवर; m. in आयापेय (also called धन्यवरलंकर).

उत्तम a. of स्तुति; m. in स्तुति-पवर.

उत्तमनाथ m. in नि. नि.

उत्तम a. of नामकाल.

उपकर, com. of भूमस्तुति; m. in भूमस्तुति (pp. 455, 583, 590).

उपकर a. of पारस्वरामाण्य-संख्य.

उपरतिष्ठ द्वारापल्य, son of यज्ञवरलंकर and king of उत्तमकर. Flourished between 1450-1525 A.D.; (reputed) a. of ज्ञानारम्भिक (भक्ति).

उपकराकर m. in the दाप्ताय of आयापेय.

उपकराकर m. by रेमारी III. 2. 657.

उपवन a. of स्तुति m. by सितारा (on शब्द III. 260), by रहस्य (on मृ. व. च. स. 73. 11).

उपवनाय a. a. of दस्यांति m. by दस्यांति (on शब्द II. 109, व. 162, V. 43, IX. 141 and 147).

उपलार a. of आयापेय.
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earlier than 1575 A.D.; a. of प्रतिवादिवेदि, छडिनिर्विद्, भाषा-निर्णय.

विद्यमान प्रभु a. of स्वति सिद्धिक (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I p. 516, no. 441).

विद्यमान प्रभु a. of वाचवाचम and छैविणेदुत.

विद्यमान Vide sec. 17; a. of a work on आर्यशास्त्र and of a परमेश्व.

कांद्र a. of a com. on मद्यपुरा, m. देशायिनि (On मदु VIII. 152).

कामिपुरक- quoted as a writer on आर्यशास्त्र in the com. on नीति-वाचप्पयुनत.

कामिपुर or कामिपुर, son of ग्रामपर, surnamed श्री; a. of संस्कार-मामल.

कामिपुर a. of शैवशास्त्रमापकत.

कामिपुर a. of a स्तूति; sec. 40.

कपिल an author m. in आप. च. स. I.6. 19. 7.

कपिल (prince Ekoji of Tanjore who ruled from 1676 A. D. to 1684 A. D.) a. of प्रपाधारपृत्तत or प्रपाधारपृत्तत or राजस्वतन्त्रण.

सोपाशाल्क- vide under नामकर.

सोपाशाल्क a. of प्रतारकणे.

सोपास्त्र a. of नामति, m. अपरार्क (p. 1195), देशायिनि (वानलांक).

सोपास्त्र a. an author m. in वो-व-स. II. 2. 33.

कमलाकर क (Kopargaon) on the Goda-vari; a. of आचार्य विवेक and आचार्यप्रेम.

कमलाकरचुंबन m. by क्षुद्र in आचार्य कार्तिक.

कमलाकुमारिन्द्र a. of आत्मचन्द्रीपिका.

Later than 1400 A. D.

कंवीरचुंबन m. in आचार्यसागर of क्षुद्र.

कंवीरप्रजाकार (probably same as दया-प्रजाकार) a. of वासुचन्द्रिका, ब्रज-आचार्यविनध.

कंवीरप्रजाकार a. of नीनीतविनध.

कर्त्त m. by विकारविमण्डलसाक्षर, हेमालि.

Earlier than 1100 A.D.; a. of com. on आप एवं त्यो ': and on पारस्वविद्वर्त, on स्नानद्वृत of काव्यायन and on आज्ञकल्पदृश्य of काव्यायन.

कलायसेन a. of कलायसकार.

कलायण a. of तिथिकल्पदृश्य.

कलायणभुज revised अस्ताय के माध्यम या स्ताय के माध्यम.

कलायणवर्मण, a prince ; a. of com. on विषयासाहस्य of केदाराय and a. of आचार्यप्रेम.

कलायणवर्मण a. of शिवमचन्द्रिकायत (at the bidding of king राधासिंह).

कलस a. of a स्तुति, m. in मकरिके माध्यम on गो. एवं and in परार-माध्यम.

कल्विकालससससती a. of विष्णुदूर्ग q. v.; flourished between 1100-1200 A. D.

कल्विरल a. of वरेकल्लिका (B.O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 419 p. 495). Earlier than 1600 A. D.

कल्विराजगिरि a. of कल्विराजकांड.

कल्विन्द्र a. of शालिचन्द्रिका.

कल्विन्द्र a. of a चर्चेवाद and a स्तुति. Vide sec. 19.

कल्विन्द्र a. of श्रुङ्गसंसारविनध.

कल्विलो, son of नामय; a. of कल्विलो-स्तुति or स्तुतिवेश.

कल्वाण a. of a चर्चेवाद and of a स्तुति. Sec. 18; m. in आप. एवं. इ. 6. 19. 7.

कल्व, an author, m. in यो. एवं. इ. 2. 45.

कल्वायन a. of वरेतसससससती (ms. No. 9470 Baroda O. I.).

कल्वायन a. of आदुरसंसारविनध.

कल्वायन a. of a स्तुति in verse. Sec. 38; a. of a रुद्राद्वे, आदुरसससस, of श्यामाय, स्नानद्वृत or स्नानविनध-दुष्किष्ठकाल.

कल्वायन a. of कल्विन्द्र.

कल्वायन a. of विष्णुदूर्ग. कल्वायन a. of विष्णुदूर्ग.

कल्वायन a. of चुज्जामिरण.
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Later than 1500 and earlier than 1660 A.D.; a. of प्रायर्विवासुभूति, पारस्त्रकृष्ण-परिवर्तनस्वति and of कामसंदीपिका (a पञ्चति to पारस्त्रकृष्णस्वति), of a com. on श्रीयापथयाय.

कामेशवराय a. of द्रान्तारे. Later than 1200 A.D.

कामन्त्विक or कामकृष्ण-स्तितत्सा. Referred to by स्तितत्सा (in the character कामन्त्वी in मालेसारध) and by वाम in his कामकृष्णस्वरूपस्वति and in the महामायर. Earlier than 650 A.D. and probably flourished in 3rd or 4th century A.D.

कामकृष्णस्वति a. of श्रीहर्षपकाशिका com. on शारवासिक.

कामप्रपण्डत a. of com. called दित-परम on दितास्वरूपति. Mentions शारवासिक. So later than 1400 A.D.

कार्णसिंह a. of स्तितत्सा quoted in कालाशिक of अधिकाराह, शिवारसर (on यात्र II. 265).

कालवास a. of उत्तरकालास्त.

कालवास a. of चालिचन्द्रक.

कालवास, son of श्रवजन; a. of कुम्भ-प्रवेश (D. C. ms. No. 42 of A 1882-83). The work was composed in छके 1554 i.e. 1632 A.D. (शाखाक्रमितचतुर्थतियो ससे मघांजूके).

कालवासचचातनिक, m. in the plural in कालसार of महाभ.

कारणपत्र a. of श्रवजनस्वाजकर.

कारणचरणन्यायालक्ष्यक a. of स्तितसज्जर (composed in 1834 A.D.).

कार्मिक महाध्यापाय, a. of दशकम-प्रवेश.

कार्मिक, son of सदाशिवप्रसिद्ध a. of प्रयोगम, स्रावकाशवधाति (or महाप्रवेशस्वति or कप्पास्वति), सालविधान-प्रवेशि and आश्वयोगप्रवेशि or आश्व-दीपिका, आश्विकयोग, प्रयोगम.

कार्मिक तक्षाळकृत a. of com. on तिथिविषय and प्रायर्विवासुभूति of राघ-नवन (N. I. p. 105) and प्राय-विवासुभूति.

कार्मिकनाथ वद a. of आपस्मा-विविक्षक and आपस्मा-षुध्विविक्षक.

कार्मिकनाथ a. of प्रकाशकावली.

,, a. of com. on शारवासिक.

,, a. of आश्वक.

कार्मिकनाथ उपाध्याय (or पादचे), son of अनन्त, son of कार्मिकानाथ. Sec. 112: a. of गरमिस्तु (or दान composed in 1791 A.D.), प्राय-विवासुभूति, विविध-दरम्यानसारभास्य, कुपितक्षाल with com.

कार्मिकनाथ, son of जयम (surnamed जेठे); a. of शिवपुजातरसार.

कार्मिकनाथमदु (also called शिवपुजातर-नाथ); son of जयममदु, son of शिवराममदु; a. of कार्मिकनाथप्रवीका, प्रायर्विवासुभूति, शारवासुभूति, गायत्री-पूर्वाश्वासुभूति, चापिकार्धनाप्रवीका, विविध-संसार.

कार्मिकनाथ भाष्यसारभास्याय, son of राघवमह, son of रामकण्ठ; a. of commentaries on the various
parts of the स्मृतित्वम of रघुनन्दन (such as राजस्तन, एकादशीम्भ, नितित्वम, शास्त्रत्व, पारम्परित, महामाय, भूवित्वम, चतुर्ग्रामायत्वम). He is different from काश्यपतलाकालिक, who also commented on निजितित्वम (compare N. I. p. 150 with N. II. p. 84).

काश्यप a. of स्मृति. Vide sec. 19.

कारान्त्र a. of नितिन्न्यमस्तिति (B. O. ms. cat. vol. I. No. 244 p. 267).

कुस्मिक m. in अप. न. I. 6. 19. 7.

कुस्त m. in अप. न. I. 6. 19. 7.

कुस्तम a. of स्मृति m. by अभयर (p. 548), काश्यपेक्षा of जीतवासन, हेमानि. Also कौस्तम.

कुस्तान्त्र a. of दार्शनिकत (vide D. C. ms. No. 265 of 1887-91 and 496 of 1886-92), a huge work composed under संभाव्यसिद्ध.

कुशेरपाप्याय m. in अवाच्यत्र (Jivananda vol. I. p. 298) of रघुनन्दन.

कुशेरपाप्याय (reputed) a. of वृत्तकथित. Said to have been composed by a pandit of Colebrooke, about 1800.

कुशा a. of स्मृति m. by सितासर (on अभयar. III. 253), अपराक (p. 1070), स्मृतिसार of हरिषाय, श्रुतापाँिक's प्रायपिनितिवेश (p. 550).

कुशामासिद्ध a. of आवृत्तायापुरयका. Later than 1000 A. D.

कुशामासिद्ध a. of भयोभाषाप्रय. कुशान्ति a. of निपत्तमकाशिका. 

कुशामीतिक a. of com. on अभयर-स्मृति, com. on गौतमपमेश्वर, com. on राजस्तनस्तिति, and of आवृत्त-विभिन्न, of रामायणचित्रिका.

कुशान्ति a. of नीतिमकाशि and of शास्त्रितिनान्ति.

कुशान्ति m. by the सर्वस्तिनिहित (p. 281) in the same breath with विज्ञानसमर and स्मृतिचित्रिका. Before 1500 A. D.

कुशान्, son of बटुरिचारक. Sec. 88. About 1250 A.D.; a. of मन्नत-हुकातवी; com. on मन्नतस्ति and of आवृत्तायाम, आचार्यायाम and विवादसामार.

कुशाराम pupil of जयराम; 2nd half of 18th century; a. of नवस्तम-प्रवीप.

कुशाराम a. of com. on चूहरत्तम and of वाराणसी.

कुशाराम (a Gauda prince), son of जयवराज. First half of 17th century; (reputed) a. of राम-प्रकाश.

कुशा, son of नौदिन, son of राम of the काश्यपमोर; a. of काश्यपमपरम्प्रवीष्य or- श्रीपिका.

कुशा, author of बुजुर्गस्तिति. Between 1350 and 1500 A.D.; ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 1422) dated संवत 1592 and the author names चित्रिका, स्मृतिसार and स्मृतवर्षार; flourished between 1350 and 1500 A.D.

कुशा of काश family, son of दुलिन्ध or नरसिंह; about 1500 A.D.; a. of
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कुषाणा (where he claims नीरस्वात्यव्य as his own work), श्रीकृष्णद्विबी.

कुषाण of the हृदिम family; a. of शास्तिसारोत्तरा. Later than 1450 A.D.

कुषाण आचार्य; a. of कुषाणस.

कुषाण आचार्य, son of कुषाणससिंहभूति; a. of श्रीकृष्णद्विबी.

कुषाण आचार्य a. of प्रमा, a com. on चुंबिजींदिध.

कुषाणात्मानम् a. of com. on शायंग.

कुषाणोपन्न्यायित a. of आतिषेषक (part of वर्णामवृद्धिदिधित).

कुषाणवचन a. of प्रतिषेषकभारक.

कुषाणात्यकथ्यार- vide under श्रीकुषाण-ताता.

कुषाणताता, a. of सन्मागकुष्ठकारार.

कुषाणताताचार्ये, a. of धर्मञ्जिय, श्रेष्ठार-लगु.

कुषाणुत, son of आर्यतंत्रिक श्रद्धा; a. of कर्मकृष्णपाली.

कुषाणसमिष्टिर वनमागितिमिष्टः, son of महेशामिष्टि and pupil of विजयद्विति; a. of कर्मकृष्णपालवि. About 1650 A.D.

कुषाणवार a. of भक्तिजीताराय.

कुषाणवीत, son of यंगेन; a. of नीरस्वायेविभिन्नय.

कुषाणप्रेम, son of समयार्य; a. of बैष्ट्य-प्राणोपास्यार्य, फलितप्रायार्य and विवेकसारितमिताविध.

कुषाणप्रेमसारितमिताविध, son of नारायण; a. of कर्मसमाश्रय alias प्रयोगसार, माय-
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Kṣṇa, son of Rṣṇa-pāda; son of Mārśiṇṇha; a. of Kālakhṛṣṇa,

Kṛṣṇamitra, son of Śrīvaśyamitra, son of Aśvatthasaṅkha; a. of
Kṛṣṇa-bhūṣaṇa, a com. on Kṛṣṇa-bhūṣaṇa of Kṛṣṇa-bhūṣaṇa.

Composed in संवत् 1505 (1448-9 A. D.).

Kṛṣṇamitra, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa, son of Dvīpati; a. of Kṛṣṇa-bhūṣaṇa,
Grievs, śrīvaśyamitra and Kṛṣṇa-bhūṣaṇ, Pṛthivī, Sāgara,
Śrīvaśyamitra and a com. on Śrīvaśyamitra.

Kṛṣṇamitra, of the Kṛṣṇa-gītā, a. of Kṛṣṇa-gītā.

Kṛṣṇa-rāja, a king who ruled over Mahārāja on the Gopācharī; a. of
Yavanārṇaya, a large work.

Kṛṣṇa-rāja, a. of Sākṣatmokṣa. Mentions Mahārāja.

Kṛṣṇa-rāja, a. of Kṛṣṇa-rāja. Mentions Mahārāja.

Kṛṣṇa-dvādasa, son of Kṛṣṇa-dvādasa or-
Kṣṇa, a. of Mahākṛṣṇa-gītā, a. of Mahākṛṣṇa-gītā.

Kṛṣṇa-vigraha a. of com. on Kṛṣṇa-vigraha of Kṛṣṇa-vigraha.

Kṛṣṇa-deva, son of Nṛtāṅga; a. of
Kṛṣṇa-deva-bhāskara (composed at the
bidding of Kṛṣṇa-deva).

Kṛṣṇa-dvādaśa a. of Prabhādīsṭha. Later than
1250 A. D.

Kṛṣṇa-rāga, a. of Hāravākālaśāstra.

Kṛṣṇa-gītā, a. of Kṛṣṇa-gītā of Śrīnaśīla.
A. D.). The com. is by गोपेन्द्र, son of केशवप्रेम.

केशायमद् m. in निर्णयमस्त्य अयंतरिक प्रकाशित (probably केशाय, the author of the जातकप्रेति or केशायी).

केशायविद्वानसिस्त्र a. of साधनचर्चिका.

केशायसिस्त्र a. of वैचर्चिकसंस्यास.

कोकिल a. of मारविज्ञानविद्यासिस्त्र (No. 641 of Vişrâmbag collection I and D. C. No. 104 of 1895-1902). He mentions कलोराधार, विन्यासिक, कामविद्व, स्थानिक, समाहृत, चतुर्विद्धिकनिविध, विज्ञानेश्वर. Later than 1400 A. D.

कोणमद् a. of व्रतराज.

कोनिरिमद् a. of तस्विरह.

कोनिरिमद् son of केशाय ; a. of स्थानिक.

कोलाजिष्ठ a. of दस्तकाशिका.


कोकिल (reputed) a. of a स्त्रिति (D. C. No. 223 of 1879-80 is a different work on आद्य from above).

कोषेठ m. in अवधारणामत्वा of सीसत्य (prose passage on limitation for recovering a debt) and in आद्यसूत्र.

कौस m. in अव. प. ६. १९. ४ and ७ and I. १०. २८. १ and in नावविशेष of जीवत्यावहन (p. 304).

कोशिस म. in हेमारि, काखामन (p. 76).
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कौशिक a. of स्वति; m: in स्वतिवानिका and हेमागिरि.

कौशिक आदित्य Vide under आदित्य शास्त्र.

कात्त a. of स्वति; m: in सिंहकास (on पाणि. III. 28), अपराक्ष (pp. 487, 1086, 1187), स्वतिवानिका.

केसरकुर a. of विषाधारसंस्कर.

केसरकुर a. of निर्धारित.

केसरकुर a. of रामभुजापदवति.

केसराम, son of श्रीमचन्द्र, son of बाहु called विषाधारसंस्कर; a. of वेदःसिद्धिवर, रामभुजाव (composed in 1720 अ. द.). Vide Ulwar cat. No. 1431.

केसराम, son of कृष्णमणि, son of होकमणि, son of श्रीविष्णु, श्रीमचन्द्र (who is styled पाणिमण्-परिधिसमयवर्ध) or Kanoj; colophon of आदित्यवहित gives this pedigree, but the verse before it says that the parents of केसराम were श्रीमचन्द्रसंजन and पञ्चिनी. So this man may be the same as above.

केसराम a. of आदित्यवहित for सामवेदिन्स (vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 33 p. 32).

केसराम a. of छुरूसनखच.

केसरमाण्ड a. of केसरमाण्ड composed in 1512 अ. द. when he was a a governor of श्रीसिद्धार्थ. Aufrucht (II. pp. 26-27) is wrong in saying that he composed the work in 1612.

केसरमाण्ड 2nd and 3rd quarter of 11th century; a. of नीतिकलमसुत and नीतिलिङ्ग, चारशाय, होकमणि.

केसरमाण्ड a. of वानपारसार.

लण्ड्राकू, son of गौरेरव, surnamed अपाविष; a. of संस्कारामार, श्री-मुण्डानयोग.

लण्ड्राकू, son of नारायणपारसार. Between 1400-1600 अ. द.; a. of पशुरामाण्डकाश, first part of which is आचारोज्जात.

लण्ड्राकू, son of हरिमु, son of नारायण, who belonged to महापाणिमणि honoured by the king of विद्रन्स; a. of आदित्य या आदित्य रत्नाकर. Mentions जसमागिरि, साम, रत्नाकर. So later than 1400 अ. द. Also wrote संस्काराल.

लण्ड्राकू a. of श्रीपाणिमणि.

लण्ड्राकू a. of चाँदपारम्बिचार.

लण्ड्राकू विष्णुवर a. of निधिसमय.

लण्ड्राकूत or गौरेरव, son of गौरीनाथ-मिश्र; a. of आदित्यवहितमागिरि. About 1450-1500 अ. द.

लण्ड्राकू a. of आचारतिहित or आदित्य (The D. C. ms. No. 135 of 1886-92 though described as आचारतिहित appears to be a different work. It quotes आचार-तिहित (folio 6a) and explains sacrificial terms like प्राणिता, प्रोक्षणी and sacrificial materials like कुहा.

लण्ड्राकू a. of पाणिमण्डकू, प्रोक्षणवहित (विष्णुमणि ).
गावपार a. of आचार्य, खाँडाल्लोक.
गावपार a. of भाषाशोधक, खाल्लोक-विवरण.
गावपार a. of आकृतिग्रंथार, संस्कार-गावपार.
गावपार a. of विभिन्नादक, खाल्लोकादक.
गावपार a. of रत्नशिल्पक, संस्कार (composed in 1632 A.D.).
गावपार a. of प्रतिष्ठापितवाणी and प्रतिष्ठानिय.
गावपार a. of क्रियाधल.
गावपार a. of वाक्यमण्डल.
गावपार a. of वाक्यमण्डल (composed in 1632 A.D.).
गावपार, son of मेरव रैवत; a. of हुब्जाल-अय, हुब्जाल कृतार (composed in 1633 A.D.).
गावपार, son of आचार्यग्रंथार; a. of संस्कार-मण्डल.
गावपार, son of रामचन्द्र; a. of प्रथम-खाल्लोक (composed at Khambayat or Cambay in 1606-7 A.D.).
गावपार son of संयमित्व भाषाक; a. of प्रथम-विवेक or भाषाविवेक (ms. dated 1784 A.D.).
गावपार चंद्रसेरिय a. of com. भाषाशोधक on आचार्य of हुब्जाल.
गावपार श्रीसेत a. of संस्कारग्रंथार; probably same as preceding.
गावपारसरसवती, pupil of रामचन्द्रसरस-वती; a. of प्रथम com. on प्रथम-खाल्लोक.
गावपार a. of भाषामण्डल.
गावपार a. of आयतनमण्डलसार.
गावपार, son of संयमित्व भाषाक; probably the same as गावपार महादक above; a. of आरामाशिक-प्रतिष्ठापित.
गावपार a. of com. on खाल्लोक.
गावपार a. of विभिन्नविद्वानबीच.
गावपार a. of संयमित्वताय वाच.
गावपार, patronised by विभिन्न; a. of आचार्यग्रंथार. Earlier than 1750 A.D.
गावपार m. in आचार्यग्रंथार of हुब्जाल.
गावपार a. of खाल्लोकग्रंथार.
गावपार, son of श्रीरैव (श्रीरैव?); a. of गावपारग्रंथार; says his grandfather was patronised by king नान्दे of खाल्लोक. If नान्दे is identical with the काराल king of खाल्लोक of that name, then गावपार flourished about 1350 A.D. Vide B. O. mss cat. No. 86 p. 88.
गावपार, son of हरिश्चंद्र राजा; a. of पर्वतनिय (composed in 1685-86 A.D.), हरिश्चंद्र, शान्तिनामपति and संयमित्वपति, हरिश्चंद्र, शान्तिनामपति, हरिश्चंद्रमण्डल.
गावपार a. of com. on राजमारम्भ of नेम.
गोपेश a. in. बुरियासार. Earlier than 1500 A.D.
गोपेश, son of श्रीरैव, son of महादक, son of हुब्जाल; a. of विभिन्न.
गोपेश a. of हरिश्चंद्रग्रंथार.
History of Dharmatātra

गणेशदास अ. of देवधामालामिनिचय, श्याम-शिक्षकामार्गिति।

गणेशबोध, son of केरव, of नंत्रग्राम; about 1520 (in which year he composed his बहुभाय); a. of महामार्ग, of a com. on श्यामशंति and on विवाहव्यावह.

गणेश पाठक a. of प्रयोगकोषम.

गणेशभद्र a. of उद्धारिपक.

गणेशभद्र a. of स्थूलतिथिहराव.

गणेशभद्र a. of त्रायामान्यायसंग्रह (part of व्यवस्थासंग्रह) or व्यव-संग्रह.

गणेशसिद्ध महामार्गापद्याय a. of प्रव-ञिकत्तपारिपत्र (N. vol. V. p. 222).

गणेशचार्य a. of गिरपदर्शि.

गणेश्वर मन्निका, son of वैवाहिक (who was father of बीरसेन) and uncle of गणेश्वर; m. in हरिद्वार’s श्याम-सार, भीमर का आत्माफल्व; about 1300-1325 A. D.; a. of गुडातलोपान and गुरुपन्तक (B. O. mss. cat. No. 84 p. 85).

गणेश्वर (महामार्गाध्याय महत्तक) a. of आत्माफल्व for वजासनेवसाला. B. O. mss. cat. vol I No. 38, p. 36. Probably same as the preceding.

गुल, surnamed द्विदेवी; a. of संविदायः प्राचीन composed in संवत् 1610 (1553-54 A. D.) in हरिद्वार, while गणेश्वर and other grandsons of गणेशचार्य were living.

गदाधर a. of रायसिंहभक्षि.

गदाधर a. of सत्तंयांत्याय विषयिका.

गदाधर a. of डायकल्पनम; m. by बाच-स्पति. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

गदाधर, son of बानम; later than 1550 A. D.; a. of com. on आत्म-कल्पन or नवकामानासमार्ग, of com. on शरसम्प्रदाय; of com. on आत्माध्यायनवाद; mentions कर, जयरामभार, तम्बनपारिपत्र, राम-वाजपेशित, हरिर.

गदाधर, son of रायतेष्व; a. of तन्त्र-प्रदीप a com. on वारसावलक; about 1450. A. D.

गदाधर, son of नीलामवर. About 1450-1500 A. D.; a. of कालसार (pr. in. B. I. series), आत्माफल्व, अतलसार, तुरितसार.

गदाधर a. of आत्माद्वाणि (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. p. 113).

गदाधर a. of बातिकाशरित.

गदाधर a. of com. कुरुपीलिका on राम-चैनमानिका by आत्माशरि.

गदाधर द्विक्षित a. of रामक.

गदाधर, m. in प्राचिनमिश्र.

गदाधर, m. in. लिबरि.

गदाधर, m. in कालबिंबे of जिबन-वाहन, by हंगाहुष in बालपाण्डव.

गंगा a. of a स्त्री; m. by असरक (p. 549), स्त्रिचरित्रिका, हेमादि (III. 2. 50).

गंगा a. on politics; m. in com. on नीतित्यायावांग.

गंगा a. of a स्त्री; m. in असरक (pp. 124, 196, 368), in स्त्रिचरित्रिका.

गंगा a. of गणेशसिद्ध on पारसकरहस्तुण्ड.
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Ms. copied in लं. सं. 592 (1611 A.D.),

गोपाल a. of आश्रमवाचनसाहकारकावली.

गोपाल a. of कामपेठ. Vide pp. 294-296 above.

गोपाल, m. in आयुक्तपत्र of आश्रमवाचनसाहकारकावली; probably the same as the author of the कामपेठ.

गोपाल a. of गोपालचंद.

गोपाल a. of सर्पनासाराजीपिका; between 1500-1565 A.D.

गोपाल a. of कुण्डसुदुः.

गोपाल a. of बुधनिःश्रण, a. of com. on चतुर्भुजाय of कामपेठ.

गोपाल a. of आचारणिणिय, आचारणिणिय (composed in 1613 A.D.), विविधानिणिय, विविधानिणिय.

गोपाल a. of आचारकौशी.

गोपाल a. of वाङ्गमाचकारिका.

गोपाल, son of हरिदश; a. of कालकौशी.

गोपाल a. of प्रामणिकताकारिका or प्रामणिकताकारिका.

गोपाल a. of रत्नको.

गोपालतिरिक्त a. of com. on चतुर्भुजाय of कामपेठ.

गोपालकृष्णिकाचार, son of आचेत्र चन्द्राय.

Later than 1620 A.D.; a. of आचेत्र and ज्योतिर्लिख, ज्योतिर्लिख, रामनविनिष्ठ, ज्योति-विभाविनिष्ठ.

गोपालचन्द्रायप्रभासन a. of स्वाचारसंग्रह (according to रामायुं).

गोपालचन्द्रायप्रभासन About 1570-1620; composed com. on the तत्त्व of
रामचन्द्र, son of शांति, son of शिवनाथ, son of वासिस्थित्र का नृपति, who was one of the four sons of सा, and resident of मधुर, a. of जाटिविवेक. Earlier than 1600 A. D. Ulwar cat. No. 1323 and I. O. cat. p. 518 cause confusion and make it appear that there were two writers of जाटिविवेक of the same name.

गोपीनाथ अभिनव प्रिय, a. of संयास-दीपिका.

गोपीनाथ प्रिय, a. of अभिनव कर्म (सिद्धान्तकृति).

गोपीनाथ पादक, son of अभिनव प्रिय, son of काशी पादक; a. of प्राण-पालन, प्रिय.

गोपीनाथमुद्रा a. of निरंजन पालक.

गोपीनाथमुद्रा a. of आश्विनचरित, तलाऊँचङ्ग, आश्विनचरित, चेतन, चातुर्यता, संकारतना, मान.

गोपीनाथमुद्रा a. of ह्ययाकोटी.

गोपीनाथपार्व, son of श्रमण; a. of निर्जनप्रसाद (wrote at the bidding of रसमन, रसमन, रसमन, रसमन, a. of रसमन.

गोपीनाथ, son of महादेव; a. of श्रीमाणा, a. of श्रीमाणा, a. of श्रीमाणा, a. of श्रीमाणा, a. of श्रीमाणा.

गोपीनाथ, son of श्रीमाणा, a. of श्रीमाणा, a. of श्रीमाणा, a. of श्रीमाणा, a. of श्रीमाणा, a. of श्रीमाणा, a. of श्रीमाणा, a. of श्रीमाणा, a. of श्रीमाणा, a. of श्रीमाणा, a. of श्रीमाणा, a. of श्रीमाणा, a. of श्रीमाणा.
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also विद्वानविलास of his father.

Vide D. C. Ms. 76 of 1892-95.

गोरीकुमार a. of विद्वानविलास.

यहेद्वरामनिदं m. as a jurist in विद्वानविलास of चांडेन्द्र (pp. 46, 483) and in वर्षमान's विद्वानविलास where his work seems to be called व्याख्यातत्रस्थः. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

गटकर्प (reputed) a. of नीतिसार.

चक्कर a. of नीतिसार.

चक्कप्रभापाठक a. of com. on नीतिसार. Ms. (in B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 163 p. 178) is dated 1700.

चक्कप्रभापाठिक a. of व्यवहारार्थः.

चण्डमाक्षस्वामिन्द्र a. of हिरीदनितिक.

चण्डबास son of दुर्गावत; a. of संविद्वानितिक (composed at the desire of रणापीरसंह कामसीर).

चण्डबृह a. of स्मार्तसमुदायविवरण or चण्डबृहिनिविवरण (vide Baroda O. I. ms. No. 296 dated संवर 1593, ज्योति x. 93 श्लोके). He is styled महामाय तत्त्राद.

चण्डेन्द्र उक्त son of गोरीकुमार. Sec. 90; a. of स्मृतिरत्नकर (divided into seven parts on कवि, व्रतथा, वचन,पुजा, विवाह, व्यवहार and फूल) and of कविधनाशामणि, राजनीतिरत्नाकर, द्वाराकापाध्याय और गीतावासिक, हस्तरामालोच्यः.

चण्डेन्द्र a. of गोरीकुमार विलास.

चण्डेन्द्र a. of विद्वानविलास.

चण्डेन्द्र a. of अनुजसागरसार and of अद्वित्यसंस्कारः.
List of Authors on Dharmaśīra

Bādāyaṇa m. of भज्जपदिति.

Bādāyaṇa महादायय m. in छाँदितत्व (p. 243) by रञ्जनन्दन.

Bādāyaṇa महादायय a. of आध्यात्मकाशा and आध्यात्मसंसाग (both works are probably identical). He is probably the same as the चार्द्रेण m. by रञ्जनन्दन.

Bādāyaṇa चार्द्रेणy a. of गुणामतितारिकाणि.

Bādāyaṇa तं. a. of स्वतित, m. in निर्णयदीपक.

Bṛhadāraṇyak or ब्राह्मस्त्राघरम, son of उमावति (alias उमचंदन), son of मन्मत्त or मन्मद्वक or मन्मद्वक प्रेमारिक.

Between 1575-1650 A.D.; a. of कालसिद्धानित्य, कालसिद्धानित्य, कालसिद्धानित्य, कालसिद्धानित्य, पाकवस्तिनिर्णय, व्याससूत्र, व्याससूत्र, व्याससूत्र, व्याससूत्र, व्याससूत्र.

Bṛhadāraṇyak a. of आधारसार or आधारसार.

Bṛhadāraṇyak a. of परस्तवपेक्ष.

Bṛhadāraṇyak a. of दुर्गरारादेशीपिका.

Bṛhadāraṇyak महामहोदयपात्य a. of स्वतितपिक.

Bṛhadāraṇyak वाचसति, son of विदायत; a. of वैदितिनिष्ठ or -निष्ठसंस्रह, सम्बन्धीपिका or स्वतितमीपिका, स्वतितसारसंस्रह.

Bṛhadāraṇyakावृत्त a. of दुर्गमन्त्र or स्वतितमन्त्र or स्वतितमन्त्रमन्त्रमन्त्र.

Bṛhadāraṇyak सङ्गमप्रकाश, son of हस्समन्त्र; a. of वदेसभापिका.

Bṛhadāraṇyak m. as a writer on राजनीति by ताहिनाय or रुद्र V. 50.

M. D. 88.

Chāṇaka a. of राजनीतिकाशा in verse (various recensions) pr. in Dr. N. Law's Calcutta Oriental Series; and of the कौटिल्य. Hultzsch's R. II. No. 993 (and p. 85 extract) is a चाणकयायति the last verse of which is 'स्वर्गाः नामिति सत्त्वा नीतिसारारस्वच्छदं'; चाणकयाय चाणकययं: संहेत्तेवोपेक्षुपितामवाय. Vide under चाणकयायति and similar works.

Chāṇaka m. in the com. on the नीतिसारायाय.

Chāṇaka a. of श्रावजु.

Chīndapati, son of नायदस्य, son of मृदुलन; a Pandit of Colebrooke; a. of व्यासालिकान्तपीपीष (composed in 1803 A.D.; vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 356).

निविद्येश्वर a. of स्वतितकाकालसंस्रह.

निविद्येश्वर, pupil of स्वतितकालानन्दन; a. of निविद्येश्वरपदिति.

निविद्येश्वरनन्दन a. of कामेश्वर.

निविद्यामणि न्यायात्मासहायतायाय, a मौध; a. of स्वतितमृदुल (divided into parts on दहाइ, तिथि, दाय, भायच्छ, छाँद and छाव). Earlier than 1680 A.D.

बूढ़मुणि, son of राजपेशकट; a. of जानाङ्गु.

बूढ़मुणि (sometimes said to be) a. of कौटिल्य composited by ब्राह्मस्त्राघर in the 2nd half of 16th century in Akbar's reign.

वेत्तापवति a. of महाविषुवायायस्वति and निविद्येश्वरपदिति.
Jyotiprabh, son of Bhikshapand and
Kamartha and pupil of Mahattiyar;
a. of Sarvatthiya (Samsthan),
composed at request of Chadarashin,
son of Maha. Bows to Mahattiyar
and Bhikshapand as Mahattiyar
and describes them as Adhikarpanya.
Probably flourished about
1350-1375 A.D. Vide Tri. cat.
Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22
p. 4214.

Vyardsa Sec. 21; a. of a Taranga.

Chaladinarayan a. of Sthulatshya.

Chalad or Chaladari Sthith (or Nastha)
son of Naraayan; a. of Sthulatthya
(of which Chalad is first part)
and Adhikar for Kayas. Later than
1675 A.D.

Chag Pathikchakshudaadhisthama a. of
com. on Sthutha.

Chag or Champan a. of Sthuthi m. in
Sthuthasa (on Yata III. 290, 326),
Kalyan, Sthuthach, Aparsa pp. 442,
533, 932.

Jagunjuna a. of Kayakshar.

Jagni people a. of Bhavashchaini
com. on Sthutha's Bhavashchaini.

Jagadriya a. of Abhosonatika.

Jagadriya a. of Bhavasavatya.

Jagadriya Tarapalahana. Sec. 113; a. of
Bhavasavatya.

Jagadriya Pathik, son of Shaskarsak;
a. of Sankaratas.

Jagadriya Chalad a. of Sthuthayakaran.

Jagadriya (reputed) a. of Bhavashchaini
(which is said to have
been imparted to him by
Bhavashchaini).

Jagadriya m. by Sthuthi m. by Sthuthi
(yata I. 256 in prose),
by Dvaita, Vijnanabhart, Aparsa (pp.
267, 468, 501, 880, 1064)
and Sthuthicharika.

Jagadriya Sibapbabu, son of Sibapbabu;
a. of Narsimhach.

Jagadriya a. of Gajapalana Sthuthacharita
(B. O. mss. cat. vol. No. 90
p. 91).

Jagadriya or Bhavashchaini Tarapalah a. of
Dikpa com. on Bhavashchaini
and of Bhavashchaini Tarapalah.

Jagadriya Tarapalah a. of Bhavashchaini
alias Bhavashchaini.

Jagadriya pupil of Bhavashchaini; a. of
com. on Bhavashchaini of Bhavashchaini,
of Bhavashchaini. For latter vide ms.
No. 8685 of Baroda O. I.

Jagadriya (Is he an author?) m. in
Tarapalah and Narsimhabhart.

Jagadriya Tarapalah a. of Sthuthi
Prakasha (composed for Bhavashchaini
Y孕期), Sthuthicharika.

Jagadriya or Jagadriya, son of Karna,
son of Karna. He was
father of Adivinayak. End of eighth
century; a. of Bhavashchaini
Vijnana and Bhavasavatya com.
on Bhavashchaini Vijnana.
Sibapbabu (III 11339) says that Dvaita
refuted the view of Bhavashchaini
He is m. by Sibapbabu in his Sibapbabu
on Vijnana, in Sibapbabu.
of राजनाथ and प्रयोगमन of नारायणकुमर. For विमोचन (com. on आकाशाखण्डक  vide D. C. ms. No. 45 of 1899-1915).

जयराम a. of शतपदेशीत्वादिनिष्ठा.
जयराम a. of com. on कामकृष्णप्रीति.
जयराम a. of वानाकारिका (abstract of इमारत's work).

जयराम a. of झूंठांकुड़ा.

जयराम, son of बड़भाई, son of शामोदेव of घाटेश्वरम. Between 1200-1400 a.d.; a. of सजननवधु (a com. on दर्शनसूत्रदास). In Ulwar cat. extract No. 39 the date (of composition probably?) is संवत् 1611 (1554-5 a.d.).

जयप्रभु m. in तीर्थिक्षात्मणि of वाचस्पति.

जयशंकर, king of गोस्वाम. Earlier than 1750 a.d.; (reputed) a. of जयभाग्यामरसारसभा.

जयसिंहवंश m. in महामायांश (p. 782) of घुटनुबन,

जयानंद a. of झूंठांतिक.

आर्यावर्ण्य—vide sec. 22.

आनन्दवर्मारामसारे म a. of सत्त्वतिवेर.

साधा or -दि a. of a स्थिति m. in समाकार (on वाक. III. 24, 260, 263-64, 315, 322, 326), अपराध प. 736.

लिखत Earlier than 1250 a.d.; m. in आर्यावर्ण्य of केशरवान, in शाश्वत्वर्ण's सुन्दरविभेद and प्रायरिण्य-विभेद, by दुर्गन्धन in शाब्दित्या (p. 237 vol. II. refers to his अस्तित्वविश्रम and अनुसरणविषेक) and in महामायांश (vol. I. p. 774).

जिलातिय इलाके Earlier than 1250 a.d.; m. in एकाधिःत्वेश (vol. II. p. 46) of राजनाथ as referred to by श्रीम.

जिलानिःशि Sec. 66; flourished about 1000-1050 a.d.

जीवनपत्र Sec. 78; a. of काशिबेन्द्र, व्याम्परमातुक, शायमान.

जीव a. of बंधुसहार a. com. of जाकसरागुसी.

जीवेश, son of आपेश and younger brother of अन्त्वेश; latter half of 17th century; he names निवृत्तिकम्पु and महुस; a. of आशोचित्रित्वाछय and मोणमवरिनाय (extracted in संस्कृतकौशल).

जीवनाथ देव अ. of आद्यरलावधी.

जीवराम a. of स्त्रितान्तवस्त्रविह.

जैसिंह a. of वैर्यारायनारायण.

जैगिनिम a. of स्थिति m. in सिता (on वाक. III. 20), कामपाद (p. 259), एकाधिःत्वेश, निः. शि.

जैगिनिम a. of स्थितिमितांता (m. by अपराध).

जैगिनिम a. of पुरुष (pr. in Punjab Oriantal series).

जोशिंद्र महासौरापारय a. of शैलिनिमय (B. O. mss. cat. vol I. No. 225 p. 237.)

जोशिंद्र—vide योगीक.

शान्ताकर a. of आश्रुकसिंहे and आश्रुक.
हृषिकेश राज नेता दहलम पुनर्ग्रहण भुरुष सम्म परिवार पिता राज किल्ले की ज्योति तथा नामकरण 
About 1600 A.D.; a. of दुश्मन कुलक।

हुश्मन (or दुश्मन) Earlier than 1555 A.D.; a. of पद्म स्थित m. in अन्योद्धावतः पद्म स्थित m. नारायणमहुः और in आद्भुतमच।

होंधा a. of आद्भुतमचः (माधवस्वरीये) same as होंधा above. Between 1200-1500 A.D.

होंधा a. of प्राणश्च; a. of आद्भुतमचः

तकनाल लाल Later than 1686 A.D.; a. of com. on आद्भुतमचः, of com. on आचारार्जु, of com. on दुस्रस्वती, com. on दुसरचालिका, com. on हार्दित्वेति।

तद्दिनिकाः vide under मोहनामहिष।

तस्थापण a. of आद्भुतमचः।

तस्थापण a. of आद्भुतमचः।

तस्थापण a. of दुसरचालिका।

तस्थापण a. of दुसरचालिका।

तालसर्वोपाध्रोच्च आ. of आद्भुतमचः ऑप्रायास्वती विंग; follows दुस्तवालिका, कपिर्वि, कुमारिस्वतीवृत्ती।

तिगलाभुः a. of दुस्तवालिका।

तिगलाभुः, son of दुस्तवालिका, son of आद्भुतमचः जन्मलिखिता दुस्तवालिका; a. of सारस्वतयङ्गी, संस्कारिणी; नामकरणं; wrote सुरुचिपदिका in 1776 A.D.

तिगलाभुः a. of आद्भुतमचः।

तिगलाभुः a. of आद्भुतमचः।

तिगलाभुः a. of आद्भुतमचः।

तिगलाभुः a. of आद्भुतमचः।

तिगलाभुः a. of आद्भुतमचः।

तिगलाभुः a. of आद्भुतमचः।
List of Authors on Dharmaśāstra

तिरंधनयजुर्व a. of संस्कृतमथ्यमाय.
तिरंधनयजुर्वाचार्य, son of तिरंधनयजुर्व: a. of तिरंधनयजुर्व: व्यजुर्व; a. of आस्त्यायनमथ्यमायीविद्यम.
तिरंधनमिन्द्रिय, a. of प्रशस्नकामाभी.
तिरंधन of प्रशस्नकाम: a. of प्रशस्नकाम.
तिरंधनमि in a. of शास्त्रमथ्यमाय.
तिरंधनमि in a. of शास्त्रमथ्यमाय.
तिरंधनमिन्द्रिय Tanjore king (1765-1788 A. D.); (reputed) a. of आविषिष्कारसारसंग्रह, राजस्मिनसारसंग्रह.
He is said to have composed सत्यसारसारसंग्रह also.
तिरंधनमिन्द्रिय a. of शास्त्रमथ्यमाय.
तिरंधनमि, son of शास्त्रमथ्यमाय; a. of दस्तकथाकस्मक.
तिरंधनमिन्द्रिय बलिका (भारत). Between 1100 and 1250 A.D.; a. of आपस्यायनमथ्यमायीविद्यमाय (pr. in B. I. series) m. by हेमारति, मदवन:पारसिक and he wrote प्रवर्तितमथ्यम.
Mentions कर्म, केशवसिद्धान्त, दामोर:र, भवामाय, कर्मद, वामन.
तिरंधनमिन्द्रिय earlier than 1450 A. D.; a. of वस्त्रोजी.
तिरंधनमिन्द्रिय a. of आपस्यायनमथ्यमाय.
तिरंधनमिन्द्रिय. Earlier than 1550 A. D.;
a. of भिक्षुमथ्यमाय or भिक्षुमथ्यमाय or प्रतिराममथ्यमाय (on the consecration of idols &c.) m. in टोहरान्नम and विभेषितम.
तिरंधनमिन्द्रिय a. of व्यासमथ्यमाय.
तिरंधनमिन्द्रिय discussed, son of ब्राह्मणमथ्यमाय; a. of आपस्यायनमथ्यमाय; m. in टोहरान्नम.
Probably the same as above.
तिरंधनमिन्द्रिय a. of आपस्यायनमथ्यमाय.
तिरंधनमि, pupil of यज्ञे: a. of गािशमथ्यमाय.
तिरंधनमि a. of रस्मी.
तिरंधनमि a. of सीतमथ्यमाय.
तिरंधन, son of नारायण, surnamed माऊऽ a. of आचारीनत्स्व. (composed in 1838 A. D.), प्रभु.र.
तिरंधन, son of साम, surnamed जो: a. of आचारीनत्स्व (composed in 1819 A. D.).
तिरंधन परिवर्तित, son of नारायण of the आपस्यायनमथ्यमाय; about 1760 A.D.; a. of आपस्यायनमथ्यमाय.
तिरंधनमिन्द्रिय मोह, son of कुँवाल; a. of जातिरमथ्यमाय.
नारायण म. in. स्तुतियमथ्यमाय, अवस्थान (p. 971), मदवन:पारसिक, निर्देशितम.
तिरंधनमि a. of वानमधीप, पदशिक्षिक, स्तुतिस्व.
तिरंधनमि, son of वानमधीप; a. of वानमधीप-भविष्य, औपचारिकपदित, विशेषितम, वाणिज्यस्थापना, वानमधीप.
तिरंधनमि, son of वानमधीप; a. of वानमधीप-भविष्य, औपचारिकपदित, विशेषितम, वाणिज्यस्थापना, वानमधीप.
उस्तविरज, son of वानम; sec. 99; a. of वाणिज्यस्थापना (several parts of which are separately noted in
the catalogues, such as आविष्कार, काल्पनिकर्षयाचार.

वाहान (probably this is only the surname) a. of महामातृकाचार्य.

वाहान, son of माहेश; son of शृंगी, surnamed Karajgi. He was a मात्र and of दिव्यान्धष्ल and resided at Nasik; mentions महुल and कोस्तिया; a. of त्संग (composed in 1691 शक्तिकाले). Aufrecht is wrong in giving the date as 1661.

वाहान a. of श्वेतकाल.

वाहान a. of श्वेतकालिन्य.

वाहान a. of जातकर्मेथति.

वाहान a. of आयुरवती.

वाहान a. of नारायणवती.

वाहान, son of शक्तिकाल and eldest brother of शक्तिसंह. About 1610 A.D.; a. of कालिन्यपरिष्कार, मेतानिष्कार-परिष्कार.

वाहान गार्ध्य a. of प्रयोगप्रियति (alias संस्कारप्रि;ति) following वारसरकार. Names कार्य, ग्रंथार और हरिचर.

वाहान दास Earlier than 1575 A.D.; a. of दिव्यनिष्कार (compiled under संग्रामसिंह) and दिव्यविद्वान; N. vol. V. p. 282 speaks of दिव्य-श्रीकित्वा (compiled under श्रीमत-माहेश्वाहक); while N. vol. VI p. 40 says that दिव्यनिष्कार was compiled under संग्रामसिंह but the works appear to be the same.


वाहानदास. Latter half of 16th century; a. of कृतिकालिन्य (under the patronage of श्रीमत).

वाहानदास m. in द्रविडमूर्ख and निर्वेचक.

वाहान a. of com. on कृतिकालिन्य.

वाहान a. of दास (D. C. ms. No. 267 of 1887-91) in verse (with a few prose passages about प्रयोगम) on वेदांतिक, प्रकाशभाषावल, नवकरान्, तथापिन्निगण, वेदेत्तां (सैध्यां अक्षम) and of a वशस.

वाहान a. of नारायणवती.

विनंकर son of श्रीसंह from the श्रीसंह country. Earlier than 1600 A.D.; a. of वोपाचार्य.

विनंकर a. of दार्पितकार.

विनंकर alias विनंकर, son of गामकाल-मूर्ख; a. of कालिसिद्धार्थ, प्राप्यकितकार, जातिवत, विनंकर (compiled by his son विनंकर alias ठाकामहु). Between 1575-1640 A.D.

विनंकर son of महादेव, son of शंकर, of the भाराणगोबी. His maternal grand-father was नाशकार author of the twelve महुल; a. of दासशास्त्रप्रतियोगिति of which अवेदितिकता, आधारात्मक (compiled in 1686 A. D.), नारायणवतीकार, आविष्कार, तिथिकार, ग्रंथिकार-वकि, लाग्रंथिकार-वकि and others were parts. Aufrecht (part I. p. 253) confounded
this with the next, but corrected himself (part II. p. 54).

दिशाक, son of महावेश, son of रामेश, surnamed काज (काज in Marathi). He was daughter's son of रामच्छन्द, father of कसालक. About 1620-1670 A.D.; a. of दानविलास (or दानसंगमचालिका), आत्मविलास or संसेपालिका, कालिनिष्कालिका, स्वाजविलास, पति, दुर्गा, नवनमय, नवनमय

दिशाक, son of बिनक; a. of दानविलास.

दिशाकमन्ना a. of दिशाकमन्ना.

दिशाकमन्ना Earlier than 1550 A.D.; a. of दिशाकमन्ना, m. by भागवती, दिशाकमन्ना and seems to be the same as दिशाकमन्ना, m. by निर्मलक, दिशाकमन्ना, निर्मलक, दिशाकमन्ना.

दिशाकमन्ना महापाठ a. of कालीर (or युनीत्री), आत्मविलास and of दिशाकमन्ना (which summarises the two preceding).

दीर्घित About 1050-1100 A.D.; m. by श्रीमण (on daughter's succession) and कालिनिष्क (pp. 92, 102, 237, 264, 541). Earlier than 1100 A.D.

दीर्घित पाठ a. of छुंगीरे.

दीर्घित m. in भागवती (on दान. III. 260) and by मकरित (on गौतमभाष.)

दीर्घित a. of छुंगीरे, दीर्घित पाठ.
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वेष्टक गाथक, son of वहम्म; a. of भूयमगर (काल्पादिनी).

वेष्टक प्रदेश: वाणिज्य निवेदन.

वेष्टक a. of नृत्यनिवेदन.

वेष्टक a. of a प्रदेश (वाणिज्य): pr. in Kashi S. series.

वेष्टक a. of com. on नृत्यनिवेदन.

वेष्टक a. of प्रदेश: निवेदन (compiled under orders of prince निवेदन of Benares, 1770-1781 A. D.).

वेष्टक a. of नृत्यनिवेदन.

वेष्टक a. of आन्तिक निवेदन.

वेष्टक a. of a work on धर्मम् (probably a निवेदन) m. in स्वति-निवेदन for the view that आहिर: in वाणिज्य's verses on inheritance means शुभि. The सरस्वतीविद्या (p. 414, Mysore ed.) attributes the same view to him along with धर्मस्वर, निवेदन and श्रीकर.

वेष्टक a. of आन्तिक निवेदन.

वेष्टक a. of नृत्यनिवेदन.

वेष्टक: Vide sec. 23.

वेष्टक: Vide sec. 65. About 1000-1050 A. D.; a. of त्वम on आख़रीनिवेदन and of a निवेदन on धर्मम्.

वेष्टक a. of रजनीति.

वेष्टक a. of कल्पनाकाव्यिक-तथा निवेदन.

वेष्टक a. of विल्हेनांत:.

वेष्टक a. of गोवर्धन; a. of आन्तिक निवेदन. Earlier than 1696 A. D.; a. of
List of Authors on Dhammapāla

Earlier than 1250 A.D.; a. of com. on नवगीतम् m. by कृतकृति.

पररण्येश son of रक्षोय; a. of सामाजिक-
तत्पकाश (probably same as next).

पररण्येश, son of शतरित; a. of थकादीबी-
निघण्यकार composed in शते 1408
(1492 A.D.); ms. No. 12052
(Baroda O. I.) was copied in
संबंध 1620 मार्गारी (Dec. 1553
A.D.). It recites that the work
was composed during the reign
of king चौतंगवेद and mentions
विजयनेहरु, अनन्तकुमु, विश्वकुमु and
बोधेन्दुप्रकाश.

परण्येश पवित्र a. of com. on काल-
निर्गन्ध (of माघ), of चारुचित्त्यविशेष, of
चारुचित्त्यविशेष.

राम a. of माघ m. in स्तुतिचित्रनका
and हेमा (III. 2. 747).

चर्मकरोपाधर a. of तंदुराधिकारिया-
प्रबुद्ध, दुधारीपाठक (B. O.
mss. cat. vol. I. No. 263
p. 286). Both works are
probably the same.

पर्वतजातीय, son of माघवाचीरेन्द्र
; a. of इतरताकर. Later than
1650 A.D.

परमेश, son of रामचन्द्र; a. of
शंभूराधिकारिया.

परमेश a. of com. on चारुचित्त्यस्मृति;
m. in शूचपाणि’s शारिरिकिषाणीक.
( p. 529 ).

परमेश a. of com. on चर्मकारियिन्त- 
माधि of नारायणचक्षु.

H. D. 89.

वच रूपरं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं

वच रूपरं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं

वच रूपरं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं

वच रूपरं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं

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वच रूपरं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं

वच रूपरं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं त्रयं परं
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कालिन्दिकौटक is a part). He probably composed ज्योतिःसार-साहिष्णव and स्मार्तसाहिष्णव.

नरमद न. of विवा मनुमना.

नवरामलिमस, son of श्रीपण्डिमस; a. of निर्जितसार (composed in 1780 A.D.).

नवराज vide under नवराज.

नरसिंह a. of ब्रह्मवया योगोत्तर.

नरसिंह a. of आयतवया भवायमकारिका-द्वित; composed in 1614 A.D.

नरसिंह vide भागर ब्रजसिंह.

नरसिंह a. of दुधालीत्कन्मायाधारायमिनेप.


नरसिंह (reputed) a. of दुधालिक-तत्त्विन्द्र or दुधालिक. About 1425-50 A.D.

नरसिंह a. of खुड़बिल्दनिनाथी.

नरसिंह माजेरेन, son of हुड़र न त्रिविन्द. Later than 1400 A.D.; a. of निदित्तारामकी. Pr. in B. I. series.

नरसिंह सोमपालिन, son of माप्राराय; a. of विष्णुमत्ताविकविश्वय.

नरसिंह a. of विवा दुर्बलते.

नरसिंह a. of संस्कारविद्वात.

नरसिंह उपाध्याय a. of द्रोणिमाय (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 223 p.236).

नरसिंह a. of महानसुकसम्प्रदाय and com. प्रकाशिका thereon and of a work on साविक; m in com. on a work यज्ञकलातिका.

नरोत्तम a. of स्वतित्सहेप.

नरोत्तमवास a. of महात्मुल्लाबिच (for followers of तैतत्त्व).

नरोत्तमब न. of आयतवया.

नवराजस्वर न. of द्वाराचार्यसंबह द्वाराचार्य.

नवराज, son of देवसिंह of the गोप family; a. of द्वाराचार्य and प्रत-पक्षी and द्वाराचार्यवादी. The real author was दुर्गेश. Often read as नवराज in the catalogues; vide Peterson's 5th Report p. 177 extract and B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 195 p. 210 where we have both नवराज and दुर्गेश.

नामदेव flourished before 1435 A.D.; a. of आचाराधीन or - प्रदीप (ms. No. 3858 Baroda O. I. copied in 1491 शके माषे) and निजय-म. in आचाराधार्य and समकालीक.

नामदेव a. of हुड़दिनिक and हुड़दारिक.

नामदेव, son of हुड़दारिक. Later than 1612 A.D.; a. of लिपिनिधिक based on निजय-निन्दु.

नामदेव, son of हुड़दारिक; a. of निजय-लिपि (which is an abstract of निजय-निन्दु), आचाराधीन, स्थितितिथियनिगे. Most probably the same as the preceding.

नामदेव, son of भूमदेव of Haldipur in North Canara; about 1741-1782 A.D.; a. of आयतवया, तात्त्विकविश्वय, स्मार्तविश्वय. नामदेव or नामदेवb, son of हुड़दारिक; son of हुड़दारिक and सती. Sec. 110; a. आचा-
List of Authors on Dharmasastra

नारायण a. of प्रदीपमन्त्र on पार्शवाद.

नारायण Earlier than 1600 A.D.; a. of श्रमकारविबलामणि.

नारायण Earlier than 1450 A.D.; a. of com. अयविकिीर्षिीति; m. in मदुनरलमध्य (शास्त्रीय portion).

नारायण, son of महाभक. Earlier than 1500 A.D.; a. of भाष्य on मोदिके-पुा; m. in भास्त्रि and उत्सर्क-युक्तत्त्व of रुजुन्नुन.

नारायण, son of कसैचिबाबु, sur- named आराध; a. of शास्त्रीयासार or प्रभुभाषासर and शास्त्रीयासर, शास्त्रि-प्रवति. Later than 1650 A.D.

नारायण, son of विम्बारक of the मेघु-मोह; a. of com. on आम्बहायण-पुा. It is probably this नारायण that is m. in राजारमायचीप.

नारायण a. of आम्बहायण-मूलप्रति.

नारायण a. of चक्षार्याप्रवति. Later than 1450 A.D.

नारायण a. of द्वितीयमन्त्र (for गौरव followers).

नारायण a. of छात्रिती.

नारायण a. of स्वतिसंस्कृति. Before 1675 A.D.

नारायण a. of मालुग्रोजनिद्वय.

नारायण a. of द्वितीयानिद्वय.

a. of com. on कार्मिका

नारायण, pupil of विज्ञानेश्वर; a. of आयविकिीसारमणि. About 1100 A.D.

नारायण a. of नौसिंहाना.

नारायण (छारि) a. of स्वतिसंस्कृति and श्लोकसार.

रैन्दुशेषर, आशोचिराति, आशोचिराति केसर, कुष्ठपद्धति, तिरीण्डुशेषर, तिरीण्डिनी, बिरुतीलेतु or सारसंगाद, गोमन्त्रविलेति, चष्टिमयोंग, तीनंदु-केशर, धारयिन्तीलेतुशेषर, धारयिन्तीलेतुशेषर, शास्त्रमार्ग, आदिदुशेषर, संस्कारनाला, शास्त्रमार्ग, सारिलेतुशेषर or सारिलेतु-दीपिका, सारिलेतुदीपिका (probably same as preceding).

मानिलहु m. as a स्वतिकार in नित्य-वायुसारि (p. 20).

नारायण Sec. 36.

नारायण (reputed) a. of मदराच्यात्र or मेघमाला.

नारायण a. of a. स्वति m. in अपाराष्ट्र pp. 135, 146, 500, 508. In the Mad. Govt. Oriental Library there is a नारायणस्वति in 9 chapters, where नारायण asks दुःखस्मृति about sins.

नारायण m. in माद्वासार of कुष्ठपद्धति.

नारायण, son of अनन्त, son of हृदि; a. of कुष्ठपद्धति (composed in 1578 A.D.) and of दुःख-मार्ग and its com. मार्गसुत्तमाता (composed in 1572 A.D.).

नारायण a. of a. प्रति; m. in ज्योतिस्तर्च (p. 616) and महामात्रसि (p. 746) of रुजुन्नुन.

नारायण, son of कुष्ठालीकार्येव, son of भ्रीणि. Probably earlier than 1570 A.D. He was from भ्रीणिरवात्रि in गुरुरवात्रि; a. of com. युप्तदीपिका on मादुव्यायग्राद्वृज and of a गृहस्मृति also.
History of Dharmakāśtra

नारायण उपाध्याय; m. in दक्षिणीय (p. 30), योगित्वम (p. 708 where his explanation of the last सुख of आपस्तम्भमण्डुक्ति is given), in भारतेनाश कलाकृति, in भारतिकप्राष्ठातिकी of गोविन्दानन्द.

नारायण उपाध्याय son of शोभा; a. or परिवर्तनकारी com. on करत्रिमीय.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका a. of शामिलकर्तव्यस्वरूप.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका a. of ब्रह्मसंस्कारस्वरूप or संस्कारस्वरूप.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका a. of ब्रह्मसंस्कारस्वरूप.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका a. of ज्योतिषवाच्यम.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका, son of चायमुद्रा. Later than 1400 A. D.; a. of प्रयोगरच्छन.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका a. of समासंस्कारस्वरूप.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका, son of रामचुंद्र, son of सत्यश्रीवेश. He was pupil of महान्द्र. About 1750-80 A. D.; a. of com. on विक्षेपकल्पनातिका of his grandfather.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका, son of विश्वनाथस्वरूपमालिका, pupil of मधुरीकेशर. Earlier than 1720 A. D.; a. of पितुसांस्कारस्वरूपमालिका (ms. No. 8831 of Baroda O. I. is पितुसांस्कारस्वरूपमालिका of नारायण, son of विश्वनाथ), पितुसांस्कारस्वरूपमालिका.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका, son of विश्वनाथस्वरूपमालिका (acc. to Stein’s cat. p. 107) and son of द्वितीयस्वरूपमालिका (acc. to Bik. cat. p. 449); a. of सत्यश्रीवेशस्वरूपमालिका.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका a. of संप्रदायकमालिका.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका, son of रामचुंद्रमुद्रा. Sec. 103; a. of अन्तर्दित्वस्वरूप, अयननिन्द्य, अरामोत्स्वरूपस्वरूप, आदरस्न्यासानिन्द्य, आँध्रस्त्तिर, आवश्यकर, विश्वधर्मय, विश्वास्तिकता, प्रयोगरच्छन, आदित्यायसम्बन्धार्थविषयती, महावृत्तिती or प्रयोगरच्छन, काशीरायसम्बन्धार्थविषयती, गोविन्दसम्बन्धार्थविषयती, तिथिनिर्णय, तुलाद्रव्यसम्बन्धार्थविषयती, विश्वास्तिती, मांसमीमांसा, काशीरायसम्बन्धार्थविषयती, काशीरायसम्बन्धार्थविषयती.

Portions of his प्रयोग and other works are separately entered in the catalogues as distinct works.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका a. of ब्रह्मसंस्कारस्वरूप.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका between 1400-1600 A.D.; a. of समस्ततिकता.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका a. of अधिकार विषय (ms. No. 11147 of Baroda O. I.).

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका a. of विख्यातिवर्ण.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका a. of विख्यातिवर्ण.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका, son of शम, son of नारायण ; a. of काशीरायसम्बन्धार्थ ( composed by order of काशीराय).

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका a. of आदित्यायसम्बन्धार्थ.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका a. of छट्टिह्नीकारिका.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका a. of घरस्वरूप.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका a. of व्यवस्था सार.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका a. of व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह.

नारायणस्वरूपमालिका a. of संदर्भविषय com. on मधुस्तिती, अवस्थिती, समस्ततिकता.

As रामचुंद्र (1431 A. D.) mentions him, he is earlier than 1400 A. D. Vide Bhandarkar’s Report for 1883-84 p. 62.
नारायणन्दनुपाध्याय a. of शिवाचर्चिन्दरो-मधि.
नारायणलाल a. of com. on नोजमकर-निमित्त of अभिमन्युमात्रावार्थ.
नारायणलाल, son of विनय और a. of लक्षणात्मक and com. लक्षणात्मकता thereon.
निजामदाद व a. of अप्रयोगसार.
निजामदाद a. of कलमदीपिका.
निजामदाद a. of पदमकथाव्याख्यानप्रियता-मणि.
निघराम a. of अश्वारामाला.
निवन्धकार m. in सरस्वतीविलास (pp. 51, 349).
निघरामदादी व a. of सत्यासपक्त.
निघरामदादीविविधतात्मम म. in the दानकार- of जीवनप्राप्त.
निघरामदादीविविधतात्मम a. of व्यासनवी-पिका com. on सत्यारामा of विज्ञान.
निघरामदादी मुख a. of तरोपासारसंग्रह and संयुक्तताविवाहकारिनीपेय.
निघरामदादी व श्रीगाँधी a. of दीपज्ञकरम.
निघरामदादी a. of अश्वाराम वर्तक.
निघरामदादी a. of कुण्डमणपपतिदिक विभाग.
निघरामदादी, son of बडीरमाठ; a. of कुण्डमणपपतिदिक.
निघरामदादी a. of com. on दानकार.
निघरामदादी a: of मरजियांगीत.
निघरामदादी a. of com. on आदिमविज़क of छूलपाणि
निघरामदादी a. of निघरामदादी.
निघरामदादी, son of बडीरमाठ. Sec. 107; a. of अग्रवतामक्षर (divided into 12 मूल्य ), व्यवहारतंत्र, कुण्डमण-पपतिदिक.
निघरामदादी son of वासक; a. of वान-दीपिका.
निघरामदादी a. of आश्वाराम वर्तक.
निघरामदादी a. of दानकरायण.
निघरामदादी a. of दानकरायण.
निघरामदादी a. of कुण्डमणपपतिदिक and कुण्डमणपपतिदिक.
निघरामदादी (निघरामदादी) व a. of अपविवेक.
निघरामदादी दत्तीम a. of वातिनमनस्वासत्ति.
निघरामदादी दत्तीम a. of परीक्षण.
निघरामदादी व a. of स्थायत्रयार.
निघरामदादी (काशीवि) a. of कालपरेत-चाराका.
निघरामदादी मुख a. of गोवायर (author of कालसार). Before 1500 A. D.; a. of कालकाशीवि; m. in कुक्कुल कोशी (p. 275) of गोविन्दानन्द. He is probably the same as निघरामदादी m. as भाष्यकार of कायाण in the विज्ञानविभागतर्थ of दुगनन्द (vol. II. p. 496).
निघरामदादी (?) son of श्रीमण; a. of com. on आदिकार्यसूत्र or नवकार-कार्य of कायाण. It is probable that निघरामदादी is a misreading of निघरामदादी meaning हरस्वर.
वृंदिन (काशीवि). Later than 1400 A. D.; a. of आश्वाराम वर्तक and तिघरामदादी.
HISTORY OF DHARMASATA.

Drishti a. of निबन्धकविरोधिय.  
Drishti, of the कौणिकन्याप्रसाद, son of रामण्डनचार्य. Between 1360–1435 A. D.; a. of वेदान्तपारिशाल.

Drishti of अंगिनम, resided on the वचसाती near चन्दनगिरिय in वैसानाथ. Earlier than 1565 A. D. and later than 1300 A. D.; a. of विचिनानाथ. He mentions चन्द-कविकालीनात्मक.

Drishti a. of भृत्तमानकाचार्य.

Drishti, son of माधवचार्य वाणिज्य-वाणिज्य; a. of com. on वैसानाथसरस्वती and वैसानाथसरस्वती.

Drishti, son of रामचन्द्रचार्य surnamed खेम. 1400-1450 A. D.; a. काल-निर्धारणीयविलिकाविवरण, and of com. on निधिनिश्चयमान (of रामचन्द्र), निधिनिश्चय, गोविन्दपूजे or भार-तत्त्वावलोक; ms. 10410 (Baroda O. I.) gives date of composition (?) as शाक्तात्मकाशास्त्रसंधिप्रसंगिते विरोधिका (i.e. 1330 शत).  

Drishtidvar a. of प्रमाणप्रद.  

Drishtipadhat a. of नोदात.  

Drishtamadu, son of सिद्धांत मुर्ति of कुष्ठ-कुष्ठ; a. of संकारान्यानाथ.  

Drishtamadu a. of दुस्कुस्वरानव.

Drishtamadu, son of लोकमन्त्र; a. विद्याधरीसीमांता.

Drishtamadu (सीमान्तक) a. of स्त्रिलिङ्ग.

Drishtamadu, son of नारायणमुर्ति. Between 1500-1600 A. D.; a. of महोदय.

Drishtipadaya a. of सुतिलमिता.

Drishtahara a. of द्रिष्टिहारका. Earlier than 1440 A. D. Vide Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84 p. 76; a. of विद्याधर्मिकाविवरण.

Dhir a. of शाक्तदीप alias निबन्धचार.  
Before 1607 A. D.

Dhir, surnamed पठरुण; a. of तामाल्पुरी.

Dhir, pupil of मुख; a. of सदाचार-स्त्रिलिङ्ग.

Dhir आश्रमीय a. of शाक्तदीप.

स्वायप्राणन (probably नोदात) a. of नोदातविवरण.

पत्रचारणिक, son of महामोहापाण्य नेपार. Earlier than 1600 A. D.; a. of तत्त्वावलिवर्ण (N. vol. V. p. 155).

पत्रचारणिक a. of निधिनिश्चय. Probably he is identical with the preceding.

पत्रचारणिक a. of निधिनिश्चय; ms. of विद्याधरा was copied in 1464 A. D. by him.; probably the same as above (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 145 p. 146).

पञ्जाम a. of कांमेयकाशाह.

पञ्जाम m. in कांसार of गडाचर.

पञ्जामचार्य m. in जटाकविवरण.

जिकाकारकिक a. in कालिकेविक (p. 63) of जीतजावङ्ग.

जितोत्तोपकार m. by हेमात्रि (III. 2. 481) as refuting गोविन्दपूजा's view. Between 1075-1225 A. D.

पञ्जाम a. of मधुमिनीपालासंबंध-कविकाल.
पश्चादन, सन्तान of बलभद्र. Between 1460-1550 A. D.; a. of दुर्गावती-
प्रकाश or समयालाखी (under दुर्गावती, queen of वर्णाटि, king on
the नरसिद्ध).

a. of भोजपरवतिन्धिष्य.

Earlier than 1700 A. D.;
a. of राजप्रवाहिन्धिष्य.

पश्चादन a. of संतप्तसरलनाथी (ac-

cording to समयमत).

पश्चादन, son of शामीवर्गन, son of

श्रीकृष्ण. Between 1340-1400 A.D., as he composed his त्रिप्रवयायण

in 1367 A. D.; a. of आचारय-

चन्द्रका.

पश्चादनदीपित, son of गोपाल, son of

गारावर, residing on the banks of the

प्रवय at निवासरु; a. of प्रतिसंगीतवरः

and प्रयोगवरः. (Vide

Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84

p. 355 for both).

पश्चादनदीपित a. of अन्वितार्थी.

पश्चादनदीपित a. of याबारायणी.

पश्चादनदीपित a. of अन्वितार्थी.

पश्चादनदीपित, son of सीताराम. Later than

1685 A. D.; a. of com. on शृंगार-

वाची.

परामस्थ a. of बालपुजनप्रवृति.

परामस्थ a. of दुर्गावतीकोहरी.

परामस्थ a. of अन्नसाहिनर्वण (on

स्तवाचिनगराभामण).

परामस्थ a. of अन्नसाहिनर्वण.

परामस्थ a. of अमन a. of com.

on चौधरायनवर्षुरार.

परामस्थ a. of विजयगुष्टि or संतवा-

श्रेयसी.

परामस्थ a. of जुबारवज्र.

परामस्थ, son of कर्थि, an उदयवाची; a.

of महाकाेषप्रवृति composed in

1458 A. D.

परामस्थ a. of जुबारवज्र. Later than 1685 A. D.;

a. of com. on शृंगारवाची.

परामस्थ. Sec. 35; a. of स्तुति.

परामस्थ a. of मामतिवेदक.

परामस्थ or परामस्थ m. as an author

on politics in com. on नीति-

वाचकावय.

पाण्डवति, minister of दुधास्येन and

son of प्रसन्न. About 1160-

1200 A. D.; a. of दुधास्येन, वर्णे

कर्मधीपिका or वशस्मर्नप्रवृति, आन्धर

प्रवृति and पाकायनप्रवृति.

पाण्डवराज, son of चिन्तामणि, sur-

named टिके; a. of प्रतिन्दाराय

वाचिका (composed in 1780 A.D.)

at गारावरी near Nasik and शिक-

शालाग्रेद्वन्द्वनिधेन.

पाण्डवराज मोरेश्वर बुध a. of कांडंगरिणिका

पाराक a. of जुबार.

पाराक a. in the प्राचीनराजवर.

पालक m. as a writer on politics in

com. on नीतिवाचकावय.

पितामह. Sec. 44; a. of a स्तुति.

पितामह son of काम्पातचार्य. Between

1500-1675 A. D.; a. of परमर्ज्या

and सर्वार्थामनोगेम.

पितामह a. of शालाग्रेद्वन्द्वनिधि (B. O.

History of Dharmasastra

Pitambarasthirabhaanitaprabhaa a. of shya-kokaishvi and vibabzkokaishvi. About 1604 A.D.

Dhronastra a. of shayavaahavachanshmoyam.

Dhronastra a. of uraanastru.

Dhronastra a. of uraanastru, vibahavachanshmoyam.

Dhronastra a. of sambhatrayamandavirananiyam.

(D.C. mss. No. 177 of 1884-86 is dated sambhat 1816 i.e. 1759 A.D.). It deals with uraana svarupa to abhavann for the followers of bhuddhacharya. Based upon brahman's work.

Dhronastra son of Pitambar. Born sambhat 1724 (1668 A.D.) and died sambhat 1781 (1725 A.D.); a. of shalaprabhaabharanawaad, bhavabuddhvirika, vibahavacebravan. He was 7th from the great Vallabha-carya.

Dhronastra a. of uraanastru.

Dhronastra a. of vibahavachanshmoyam.

Dhronastra a. of karmasat or karm-

siddhasanant (ms. No. 8361

Baroda O. I.).

Dhronastra son of devaraj a. of
dhronastra.

Dhronastra a. of dhronastra. Earlier than 1675 A.D.

Dhronastra prince of mahapat dynasty;

(reputed) a. of sattvikachintamaani.

About 1500 A.D.

Dhronastra and mahapat Early than 1450 A.D.; a. of mahapala-

Mahar or maha mahar and maha mahar

Mahar.

Dhronastra vibahavachanshmoyam a. of prayaagam-

Mahara.

Dhronastraabhaanitaprabhacakrvati child pupil of purnana, a. of patakshar, patakshiarchametaraan, svaahisastaan.

Udrav Section 45; a. of a svastik.

Udtr a. of svastik; m. in svastikachintamaani.

Uddaka m. in sambhatrayamandavirananiyam.

Uddanatati m. in aap. ch. I. 6. 19.

and I. 10. 28.

Udproachivacharnimata a. in shkshtram

(p. 314) by shrutjiv.

Udproachivacharnimata son of narama; a. of

achyachakara (part of karmasat-

khandanita).

Udproachivacharnimata a. of varma.

Udproachivacharnimata a. of maharaja. Probably

the same as the maharaja attributed
to maharaja who was a brother of

udproachivacharnimata and son of vadhva.

Rajak a. of svastik; m. in maitakara

(on yaja. III. 18, a prose pas-
sage), svastikachintamaani (on aadhi,


Vedantis Section 24.

Pravesh Section 46.

Vajapat Section 47.

Pratapprav Section 100; (reputed)
a. of pratapamartanda or pratapamart-

antanda, sarvasvachintamaani and

vishvesh-

santanda. His koomkshintamaani (vide
D. C. ms. No. 981 of 1887-91) is not a work on धर्मोद्धारा, but on erotics and poetic fantasies like शिशुगमन, प्रेमिका and magician's tricks &c.

प्रतिहर्ष a. of a परमाणूति; m. in कृत्य-निर्णय of वर्णमान.

पद्मीकाय m. in सरस्वतीविहार p. 361. Vide sec. 80.

प्रणवन्दिमण्ड; son of ध्रीवश्वरण; a. of आयुर्वीर. Earlier than 1525 A.D.

प्रभोतानखार, son of बहमद. Latter half of 16th century. He wrote शरणागाम और चन्द्रभूककम्भागाः by order of बीरसदेश, a Bundella chief; a. of प्रायजनत्तमकाला.

प्रभाकर a. of काशीश्वरीपिका and काशीश्वरीपिका, नयाप्रभुतिदीपिका.

प्रभाकर वेष्ठ a. of शाकुषमला a com. on the वोजनवीण of केशव-वेष्ठ.

प्रभाकर Earlier than 1600 A.D.; a. of दर्शन.

प्रभाकरभुव ऋषि of प्रभाकराष्ठिक.

प्रभाकरभुव a. of दर्शनमला.

प्रेमनिधि a. of मैतिष्ठानिक प्रभाकराष्ठिक.

प्रेमनिधि धुर, son of इन्द्रपति, son of शिशुगमन. A शिशुगमन lived under जैन's reign in निधिला; a. of शिशुगमनवीणी (completed in 1410, of what era is rather doubtful; probably संवत). Vide under शिशुगमनवीणी.

E. D. 90.

प्रेमनिधि पति (or पति), son of उसापति, of the भार्गवन जी; a. of उसापति, भार्गवन जी, भार्गवन जी, प्रसादस्रवण, प्रायजनत्तमकाला (composed in 1675); जानार्दननामात्मक सम. on शास्त्रविद्वार, ज्ञानमोहन (D. C. ms. No. 126 of 1884-86 says it was composed in 1659).

प्रेमनिधि a. of प्रायागतलसंस्कार.

प्रकटिक्रमित a. of धर्मोद्धारा.

वालिचर a. of धर्मोद्धारा.

वाचित vide under वाचि or वाचित.

बहा a. of स्वति.

बहदेश a. of बहदेशालिक.

बहामद a. of नित्याज्ञाननयति.

बहामद m. in श्रैवेश्वरी (p. 33) of गोविन्दनवन्य and in ज्योतिषत्तथा pp. 690 and 686 (where we have श्रावनाइतामाना). Earlier than 1500 A.D. He is probably the same as the author of आयुर्वीर.

बहामद a. of आयुर्वीर.

बहामद a. of आयुर्वीर.

बहामद a. of महाराजश्रुति, महाराजमहात्मण-पद्वति.

बहामदत्तकार्मीकाम्यहुदाराचर्य a. of श्रावण-शवानी.

बहामदमुख, son of स्वरप of the बस्त-गोम. He came from सम्भावित (modern Cambay); a. of द्रव-तलसपूतिं (composed in 1623 A.D. and) com. composed in विक्रम 1699 i.e. 1643 A.D. (vide D. C. mss. No. 204 of 1884-87) and of चांद्रमूखकार्य.
that बापुमुहु was originally an inhabitant of फण्डीगाम (in the Ratnagiri District). Baroda O. I. No. 8442 gives the date as 18वैद्यकालके (i.e. 1740) and seems to be the correct date. This would show that he is the same as the above. In the कल्याणकार he refers to श्राब-मझली as his work.

बापुमुहु or कोणामुहु a.of स्मार्तमोज and of बोपणमुहुसूबी, जातिक (सत-समी).


बापुमुहु, son of महादेव, surnamed केळकर (modern Kelakara); a. of उत्तरकल्याणकारण, मायाबद्धतम, जातिक (composed in 1814 A.D.) and आलक्षक (composed in 1810 A.D.). Vide N. vol. IX p. 302 for the first.

बापुमुहु, son of महादेव, surnamed केळकर of the विस्तारण caste; a. of भावमुहु (composed in श्वेतङ्गुकालके i.e. 1640) at शालीविश्व on southern bank of the river कुंजा. Vide N. vol. X. pp. 217-219. Therefore either this date is wrong or there were two बापुमुहु केळकर, whose father's name also was the same. कल्याणकार he further says...
List of Authors on Dharmaśīstra

Husāvatātapī m. in śītaśāstra (on yājñ. III. 290).

Husāvatātapī

Husāvatātapī m. by avadaraśāstra of jīvaśāstra.

Husāvatātapī

Vide sec. 35, pp. 195-196 above.

Husāvatātapī m. in śītaśāstra, by haravā on yājñ. p. 22. 18, apanārāk (pp. 910, 1125, 1171), ārya-māyuk.

Husāvatātapī m. in śītaśāstra (on yājñ. III. 256, 265) and in śāstraśāstra of jīvaśāstra.

Husāvatātapī m. in the śītaśāstra (on yājñ. III. 277).

Husāvatātapī

Husāvatātapī m. in śūtikāṣṭhānīka.

Husāvatātapī

Husāvatātapī m. in śrāvaṇāyaṇavāra of yādāna, by haravā on yājñ. p. 23. 12, arpaśāstra p. 1074, śītaśāstra (on yājñ. III. 255).

Husāvatātapī m. in śītaśāstra (on yājñ. III. 290), kāhāmarāk (p. 140).

Husāvatātapī m. by kālaśāstra of jīvaśāstra.

Husāvatātapī m. in śītaśāstra (on yājñ. III. 254, 261).

Husāvatātapī by rūjanāna, in śītaśāstra.

Husāvatātapī m. by śītaśāstra (on yājñ. III 20), kālaśāstra of jīvaśāstra, sāṅkaraśāstra, śāstraśāstra.
History of Dharmatilaka

ब्रह्मविद्या m. in भिडतारा, कार्यालय (p. 386) of शिबद्वाह, आशावादनवाच, कार्यालय (p. 114).

ब्रह्मविद्या एवं m. in भिडतारा (on यास. II 155 and III. 20), साधारणसंबंध, व्यापारितमसंबंध, अध्यात्मिक (pp. 909, 1070, 1243).

ब्रह्मविद्या एवं m. in भिडतारा (on यास. III. 290), व्यापारितमसंबंध.

ब्रह्मविद्या a. of श्रमज्ञानसंबंध composed at the bidding of king हरिद्वीर. (B. O. Mss. cat. vol. I, p. 111).

ब्रह्मविद्या a. of श्रृवणसंबंध.

ब्रह्मविद्या Sec. 26, 37.

ब्रह्मविद्या son of महेश; a. of महामाया-राज्य composed in 1681 A.D. and महामायाधिकरण (probably the same as the preceding).

ब्रह्मविद्या a. of a श्रृवण; m. in the तत्त्वावलि of कुमारलिखित.

ब्रह्मविद्या m. in अध्याय (pp. 27, 51, 229, 533) हरिद्वीर, व्यापारितमसंबंध.

ब्रह्मविद्या vide under ब्रह्मविद्या; a. of आधारविद्या; m. in पुरस्कारसंबंध.

ब्रह्मविद्या a. of अयुक्तकाक्षकीय (com. on परंपरा-मंतर), of मोहनवस्त्रिका (com. on तात्त्विक संबंध, चतुर्वारितमसंबंध, व्यापारितमसंबंध).

ब्रह्मविद्या a. of श्रृवण and of a परम्पर; sec. 6; a. of श्रृवण; a. of नामप्रसंवीकरण; a. of नामावलितमसंबंध.

ब्रह्मविद्या a. of श्रृवण; m. by भिडतारा (on यास. III. 262, 268), अध्यात्मिक (pp. 447, 536, 880), व्यापारितमसंबंध.

ब्रह्मविद्या. Earlier than 1100 A.D.; a. of महामायाधिकरण; m. by रघुनाथ in युद्धितसंबंध (p. 312) as referred to by अनसनक.

ब्रह्मविद्या a. of श्रमज्ञानसंबंध.

ब्रह्मविद्या एवं m. in भिडतारा (on यास. III. 290), व्यापारितमसंबंध.

ब्रह्मविद्या a. of व्यापारितमसंबंध.

ब्रह्मविद्या son of मोहनवस्त्रिका; a. of अयुक्तकाक्षकीय (com. on परंपरा-मंतर), of मोहनवस्त्रिका (com. on तात्त्विक संबंध, चतुर्वारितमसंबंध, व्यापारितमसंबंध).

ब्रह्मविद्या m. in भिडतारा (on यास. III. 257).

ब्रह्मविद्या a. of हेमाविद्यासंबंध (कार्यालय, Stein's cat. p. 110).

ब्रह्मविद्या a. of काशीविद्या.

ब्रह्मविद्या a. of व्यापारितमसंबंध.

ब्रह्मविद्या a. of com. प्रतिपादिक (com. on कृत्तिकी).

ब्रह्मविद्या. Earlier than 1520 A.D.; ms. No. 3883 (Baroda O. I.) is dated संवत 1579 (1522 A.D.); a. of com. on विष्णुकृष्णी and com. on आशोच्यंग or श्रृवण-संबंधसंबंध (same as the preceding work).

ब्रह्मविद्या a. of com. on कृत्तिकी.

ब्रह्मविद्या, son of जस्तीविद्या and brother of सचिवालयविद्या. About 1575-1650 A.D.; a. of आधारविद्या, of com. on विष्णुकृष्णी, आधार-विद्या, आधारविद्या (संबंध).
List of Authors on Dharmaksetra

भवनाथ a. of com. on आशोक-विषयकोनी. (B.O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 175 p. 186). This is probably a misreading for बुधाशाहारा. Baroda O. I. ms. No. 765 by बुधाशाहारा has the same opening verses and opening words.

भवसहर a. of the लोपालकंड्क. First half of 14th century; a. of गोळाक-महाध्यक्षति (written at the bidding of रामदत, minister of king चूरसिंह of निर्मला of the काराटंत्र). I. O. cat. p. 549. It is probably he who is referred to in the न्यासितोपाध्याय as गोलाकसंहार's contemporary.

भवनान्दसहर a. of वायुशास्त्रवाचिप. भवानान्दसहर a. of गुजराताक्षिक.

भवानीबाग्र a. of स्वायत्तसहर.

भागवतमश्र a. of ज्ञात्यात्मकसहर and भागवतप्रतिह.

भागुरी m. in कालिकाप (p. 14) of जीवनवान and वि. r. (p. 104), where he appears to be regarded as earlier than कक्षपति and even राजपति.

भागुरवाजी a. of com. on राजनीतिकाराजीय or शाक्तराजी. Between 1550-1600 A. D.

भागुरवाजीकित्र, son of गोळाकवाजीकित्र. About 1650 A. D.; a. of गोळाक-विशेष.

भागुरु a. of गोळाक-सहर.


बवदन a. of com. on आशोक-विषयकोनी. (B.O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 175 p. 186). This is probably a misreading for बुधाशाहारा. Baroda O. I. ms. No. 765 by बुधाशाहारा has the same opening verses and opening words.

भवसहर a. of the लोपालकंड्क. First half of 14th century; a. of गोळाक-महाध्यक्षति (written at the bidding of रामदत, minister of king चूरसिंह of निर्मला of the काराटंत्र). I. O. cat. p. 549. It is probably he who is referred to in the न्यासितोपाध्याय as गोलाकसंहार’s contemporary.

भवनान्दसहर a. of वायुशास्त्रवाचिप. भवानान्दसहर a. of गुजराताक्षिक.

भवानीबाग्र a. of स्वायत्तसहर.

भागवतमश्र a. of ज्ञात्यात्मकसहर and भागवतप्रतिह.

भागुरी m. in कालिकाप (p. 14) of जीवनवान and वि. r. (p. 104), where he appears to be regarded as earlier than कक्षपति and even राजपति.

भागुरवाजी a. of com. on राजनीतिकाराजीय or शाक्तराजी. Between 1550-1600 A. D.

भागुरवाजीकित्र, son of गोळाकवाजीकित्र. About 1650 A. D.; a. of गोळाक-विशेष.

भागुरु a. of गोळाक-सहर.


मावदन a. of com. on आशोक-विषयकोनी. (B.O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 175 p. 186). This is probably a misreading for बुधाशाहारा. Baroda O. I. ms. No. 765 by बुधाशाहारा has the same opening verses and opening words.

भवसहर a. of the लोपालकंड्क. First half of 14th century; a. of गोळाक-महाध्यक्षति (written at the bidding of रामदत, minister of king चूरसिंह of निर्मला of the काराटंत्र). I. O. cat. p. 549. It is probably he who is referred to in the न्यासितोपाध्याय as गोलाकसंहार’s contemporary.

भवनान्दसहर a. of वायुशास्त्रवाचिप. भवानान्दसहर a. of गुजराताक्षिक.

भवानीबाग्र a. of स्वायत्तसहर.

भागवतमश्र a. of ज्ञात्यात्मकसहर and भागवतप्रतिह.

भागुरी m. in कालिकाप (p. 14) of जीवनवान and वि. r. (p. 104), where he appears to be regarded as earlier than कक्षपति and even राजपति.

भागुरवाजी a. of com. on राजनीतिकाराजीय or शाक्तराजी. Between 1550-1600 A. D.

भागुरवाजीकित्र, son of गोळाकवाजीकित्र. About 1650 A. D.; a. of गोळाक-विशेष.

भागुरु a. of गोळाक-सहर.

History of Dharmakirti


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List of Authors on Dharmaśāstra


बृहाक or राजा refers to भोजवेद. Vide under भोज; m. in समर्थपीय of भौतिक, वाक्यताकर्त, ध्वनि.ताकर्त (as a. of यात्त्वमचय).

भरसेन्द्र son of भ्रमराज; a. of हरिकेश्वरसार. About 1827 a. D.

बृहाक son of विजयसार; a. of युगानिकरिका (सामवेदीय).

बृहम m. in आग्नेयकर (p. 417).

बृहम्मदु a. of मापंसष्टी.

बृहत sometimes treated as the pro-
mulgator of महास्तुति. In many works verses are quoted as बृहत्'s which are not found in the महास्तुति; (reputed) a. of कर्मे-
शिक्षाक.

बृहदेश a. of प्रवरक्षाय.

बैयाकक, son of महाराजमदु; a. of धर्मराम; ms. No. 12524 (Baroda O. I.) is आयधारीसार from it.

बैरमभु a. of सिन्हासापघा. वैरेन्द्र (reputed) a. of महालालनिक्षेप or महालालमयोगपथित (the real author being वाच्यतातिविय) and of विलासमाप्तीत (vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 340 p. 383). About 1440-1460 a. D.

बॉल a. of विविधिकारिण्विचारशुद्ध (ms. dated 1490 a. D.)

बॉल शेख Sec. 64; a. of शुपालापुरुष, शुपाललचय or शुपाललन्तस्थचय, शुलबलसीम, शाकुरपर, शाकुरकाल, राजनीति, राजमार्ग, शिवचर- पकानिका.


भोलानाथ a. of वैष्णवाचक.

माज्ञाचार्य a. of आन्द्रान्तरसारमण्य-दीपिका.

मथुरावल a. of चर्मपरिता.

मिश्रान a. of अनुस्करि. Probably the same as the author of अनुस्करि.

मिश्रान a. of चर्मपरिता or - रिवरसार. Probably same as author of चर्मपरिता above.

मिश्रान दीक्षित, son of महाराज, son of शिवप्रताप. About 1630-1660 a. D.; a. of अनुशिलास or अनुभास, आजाऱ्ण (a part of आजाऱ्ण), झुर्जन, and समारंभ, झुर्जनिकी com. on मानसपरिभाषा (Stein's cat. pp. 98, 313).

मिश्रान दीक्षित a. of अनुभास.

मिश्रानवीकित a. of कुष्ठिनिर्माणशास्त्र-दीपिका. Later than 1640 a. D.

मिश्रानवीकित a. of ग्यायाप्राप्य.

मिश्रान a. of com. on ग्रामभाष.

मधुरानाथ चक्रवर्तिन a. of चुम्बलाजुल.

मधुरानाथकर्मनिपालिशुद्धयाय a. of पाणि-

मधुरानाथनी a. of अनुभिसिद्ध, अनुभिसिद्ध, अचारमज्जी, अचारम्ब, आचारम्ब, आहोरिमण्यस्ती, कालाध्यापनिका (com. on. काल-

मधुराचार, क्षिप्राश्रुद्ध, तिष्ठि-
History of Dharmasalāstra

मिंकें, विभक्तस्वालेवा, हुमान्यान्यामचि, विद्वतमांस्वादिन्त्र, सिद्धान्त (com. on शाक्तप्रत्यंबक), शुचि-सबोकात्मकम (com. on शाश्वतसंस्कृत)।

महनाथसम्यक a. of शुचिसाकासिद्धि।
महनाथसम्यक a. of सुधेरनामिकविशिष्ट.
महनाथसम्यक written to please prince नागरिक (B. O. ms. cat. vol. p. 126).

महरेश a. of अपेक्षितःसागरसर।
महनाथ Sec. 93; (reputed) a. of महनाथविष्णु, भूतकौशिकी (or भूपचारविद्वाची), महापरमाणेयपाक तिथिनिर्यायसर।

महानोवर or महानोहर, son of महान सम्प्रदाय, son of रामिनाथ. Both names occur in mss. (vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 252 p. 274 and No. 253 p. 275); a. of पश्चिमी-पल्लवता and शास्त्रीय। One ms. of पश्चिमी-पल्लवता is dated शके 1694 (B. O. mss. cat. No. 253 A p. 275).

महानिविन, son of शाक्तनिविन. Sec. 94; (reputed) a. of महानला alias महानलस्वयम, the several parts of which such as नादरामिक are separately entered in the catalogues.

महापालिक a. of अर्जुनमिथि (composed at the bidding of his mother's sister's son इववानाथ and based on अर्जुन and शिव-भक्तिशिष्ट)। Later than 1600 A. D.

महामिथि or महादारामिथि m. in चुररे-चिन्तामणि (III. i. 1134 and 1343).

महायुद्ध a. of नीतिसारसंग्रह।
महायुद्ध a. of शास्त्रीय।

महायुद्धमोहवासी, son of श्रीमान; a. of गोविन्दविशिष्टसंग्रह, अधिकारिक-माध्यमिकशा and श्रवणालंकाराधिकारी, निर्णय-संबंध, सिद्धान्तसर (com. on सिद्धान्त)। श्रवणालंकार and अन्य-श्रवणालंकार। Ulwar cat. extract No. 306 gives for आदिश्रवणसंग्रह the date संवत्स 1812.

महायुद्ध गोष्ठी a. of व्यासपदृष्टि।

महायुद्धमोहवासी a. of भवकाशीनीपिचि, प्रकाशितापिचि।

महायुद्ध वासित, son of मोक्षद्वार; a. of सुतिरामवाची।

महायुद्धमिथि a. of छोडीसिंह।

महायुद्धमिथि महात. Later than 1500 A. D. and earlier than 1624 A.D.; a. of देवनिविष्टालंकार or देवनिविष्टालंकार and आदिराम a. com. on सम्बन्धस्वयम of श्रीमान।

महायुद्धवाचस्तित भट्टाचार्य a. of अवस्थ-संग्रह।

महायुद्ध वाचस्तित of the भट्ठि family; a. of आदिरामसंस्कृत।

महायुद्ध वाचस्तित a. of इन्द्रधनुशालिक-नितिकारी, श्रवणालंकारत्न, ब्रतकाल-नितिकार।

महायुद्धवाचस्तित a. of महाबंडिलिसापन।
महायुद्धनाथ a. of शरसीरोपिनि।

महापालिक a. by सिद्धान्त (on पान. III. 243, 247, 257, 260).
List of Authors on Dharmapātra

Mahāvīra vide under आनंदवालिका.

Mahā Vide sec. 31.

तांत्रिक सन्त son of महावीर ; a. of आनंदवालिका (हिंदुत्तवीकृत).

महासन a. of वासुदेवा.

तांत्रिक मानवी. First half of 18th century; a. of व्यवहारीरिपत्तिपुर्ण (under orders of जयसिंह), व्यवहारसार, भिंतारासार, व्यवहारारसा, महासन.

महाराजा Sec. 48.

तांत्रिक मानवी. a. of आनंदवालिका.

तांत्रिक a. of वासुदेवा.

तांत्रिक वासुदेवा a. of भारतवर्ती.

तांत्रिक महावीर, son of महावीर and nephew and pupil of गोपीनाथ; a. of तांत्रिकमहाराज com. on पिदवानिकार of श्रीत्रानि.

तांत्रिक a. of श्रीत्रानि.

तांत्रिक महावीर, son of श्रीत्रानि; a. of बनावती-संस्कृत (3rd chap. of which is on भारतवर्ती).

तांत्रिक महावीर, son of विश्वविद्यालय, of the अगस्त्यनाथ; a. of आंशिकतत्त्व.

तांत्रिक महावीर a. of हुवानिकार.

तांत्रिक महावीर a. of तांत्रिकमहाराज.

तांत्रिक महावीर a. of गोपीनाथमहाराज and तांत्रिकमहाराज.

तांत्रिक महावीर a. of बनावती-संस्कृत, on भारतवर्ती.

तांत्रिक महावीर, son of भारतवर्ती, who was the guru of हैदराबाद.

Haultrao, some Maratha chief;
a. of क्रांतीमृदी and com. thereon, क्षेत्रमृदी (composed in 1661 A. D.) and com. thereon, and of क्षेत्रमृदी.

तांत्रिक महावीर, son of कांतिलिख (which is probably a misreading for कांतिलिख); a. of कांतिलिखमहाराज (composed in 1652-53 A. D.) and com. thereon. He was honoured by the chief of Girnar and composed the com. at सुर्व. From these details it appears that he is the same as the next.

तांत्रिक महावीर सोमयाजी Earlier than 1650 A. D.; a. of com. व्यवहारीरिपत्तिपुर्ण on हिंदुत्तवीकृत and of a com. on हिंदुत्तवीकृत. Vide pp. 49-50 above and BBRAS, cat. vol. II. p. 189.

तांत्रिक महानन्द, son of विश्वनाथ; a. of आश्विनीचालित. Bik. cat. p. 490 shows that he only ‘ revised ’ or ‘ restored ’ the आश्विनीचालित (सौर्यदेव आश्विनीचालिता सा प्रभृति).

तांत्रिक महावीर a. of भारतवर्ती मेघधार; m. in भारतर व (vol. I. p. 213) by रघुनाथ.

तांत्रिक महावीर महावीर m. in भारतर मेघधार of कुङ्कुमभूमि and in हेमाति (III. i. 1440).

तांत्रिक महावीर म. in भारतर मेघधार of कुङ्कुमभूमि. Probably same as the preceding.

तांत्रिक महावीर a. of आनंदवालिका.

तांत्रिक महावीर a. of अज्जुवार्येक.
मोहवर a. of भाविकार्य.
मोहवरसिन्ध a. of भाभ्यवर्ष.
मादिवेद a. of मठसेव.
माणिक्यवेद a. of भाभ्यवर्ष.
माणिहम् m. in कालविद्याकोष.
माणिहम् a. of work in 12 अग्नियोग on the Ganges (vide Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. 1919-22 p. 5161).
मातुल a. of com. on भुवनकेशायक्ष-ना.
Mention भ्रमात्मक and भ्रमात्मक. Between 1350-1600 A.D.
माधव a. of भर्मात्मकलितिक.
माधव. Later than 1500 A.D.; a. of भर्मात्मक.
माधव a. of हस्यप्रवक्त. Later than 1500 A.D.
माधव, son of भ्रमात्मक of भ्रमात्मक गोत्र; a. of भ्रमात्मक of which हस्यप्रवक्त is a part.
माधव a. of com. on भ्रमात्मक.
माधव a. of भ्रमात्मक.
माधवप्रतिहार a. of भ्रमात्मक.
माधवपाड a. of भ्रमात्मक.
माधवभ्रान, son of राजेश्वर. About 1520-1570 A.D.; a. of भ्रमात्मक, भ्रमात्मकहस्यप्रवक्त.
List of Authors on Dhammastra

Maigamen a. of com. on छल्लार्यांच.

Maigam महामहोपाध्याय, son of विष्णु-
हरस्त्र ; a. of द्वारपाल प्रति.

Maigam a. of com. द्रोणपिन्धु.

Maigamvarpu a. of com. नवानिस्प्रका on अर्घशास्त्र.

Maigamvarpan, son of रघुनाथ, of the रघुवर family; a. of अनुरस्यांपर्यं. Later than 1200 A. D.

Maigamvarpu, son of कुटु, son of ध्यान-
नारायण, an भोगीय ब्राह्मण of कान्त्यगोवा; a. of कुटुख्यस्त्र (composed in 1656 A. D.) and com. thereon.

Maigamvarpu m. in the युध्यन्तनाकार of युध्यन्तनाक as explaining a सुख of संहृतिलिसित.

Maigamvarpu a. of कुटुख्यस्त्र or महालय.

Maigamvarpu, son of महापण and छल्लिनित. Sec. 92; several works are attributed to him, but their authenticity is doubtful; a. of पराशरभाषीय and कान्त्यगोवा, धत-
कमीरासार, मोघप्रवरित्तीय, द्वारपाल-द्वारिनियिष्ट, महारूपपन्नाय, स्मृतिसंग्रह, वायुप्रवरित्ति.

Maigamvarpu (अभिवृद्धि); a. of मोघप्रवर-
ित्तीय, अभिप्राधामिरीय.

Maigamvarpu a. of सर्वप्रचावतिष्ठाययोग.

Maigamvarpu a. of काँगिविशाल.

Mahanik a. of आचारविषेक and मान-
सामीर्प्रति.

Maigamvarpu a. of युज्मूलय्याणगतमताष्ट्र or युज्मूलय्याणमता; ms. dated 1477 A. D. (डे. 358).

Maigamvarpu, son of महापण ; (reputed in some mss. as) a. of महापण-कमीनिपुक.

Maigamvarpu m. in मितांक्त्र (on याज्ञ.
III. 19).

Maigamvarpu a. of प्रायस्तत्तांग.

Earlier than 1620 A. D.

Maigamvarpu, son of युज्मूलय्याणगतमताष्ट्र.

Maigamvarpu, son of महापण; a. of महापण
dरसित. About 1627-1655 A. D.

Maigamvarpu, son of पराशरभाषीय, son of इतिपाठत्. Sec. 108; a. of वीर-मित्रविद्य (com. on याज्ञवल्क्य) and वीरमित्रविद्य (a digest).

Maigamvarpu? तथा द्वि a. of प्रयोगवाहका
विश. Later than 1650 A. D.

Maigamvarpu a. of विचारस्त्र (compos-
ed by order of भक्तिमायेनी, wife of prince चण्डासींग of मितांक्त्र). Sec. 97.

Maigamvarpu a. of महापणकाल्यांकी.

Maigamvarpu a. of सर्वप्रचावतिष्ठाययोग.

Maigamvarpu a. of कश्मिनिपुक.

ibus. Earlier than 1700 A. D.; as it is men-
tioned in रामनिर्यान of केल्लाम.

छात्र, a. of पर्निमेण्य.

छात्र, son of द्रहश्तर, son of हरि-हर who was chief judge of देव-सिह, eldest son of नवेश. So about 1425-1450 A.D.; a. of हड्डिनित्रणेय.

हरातिरिम्म, son of बेदुमिन, son of विश्वदर्शीविनित; a. of माथ्य on पार-कश्मराहसम्म. Earlier than 1370 A.D.


छहमठ a. of छहमठयोग.

छह्युल्लाग कोकिल a. of छहतक्षेत्रक and com. मा thereon.

तेजनाथ, of the family of सर्वज; a. of द्रहस्तुहानपक्ष्टि.

तेजनाथिल्ल, son of वीरस्वामित्र. Sec. 63; a. of माथ्य on महुस्ति and of स्वतितिपिवेक.

मेघेश a. of द्रु; m. by निर्धनविन्य.

मेघेय or मोहेय, king. Earlier than 1380 A.D.; a. of कर्मविपक; m. in दुस्तिरहस्याएव and in सादग्राह-कर्मविपक by the son of कालावेय.

मोहनचन्द्रनिवासांवासस्तित a. of कारिका, वायुवितःवर्षासंग्रह, छहि-कारिकाली.

मोहनबािख a. of विश्वानत्तिरोहपि.

मोहनप्रिण तकितिलक, son of द्रहकारास ; a. of com. on कालनिमेण्य of माथ्य (composed in 1614 A.D.).

मोहन्य m. in बो. घ. ख. II. 2. 67.

प्रजानित म. in रस्तातीविलास (p.362).

प्रजापत्र a. of संघकारिका; m. in महापर's माथ्य on रासकरवाङ्ग, in महापर जित (pp. 543, 576).

प्रजातिरिम्म, son of विश्वनाथ; a. of कुण्डमणिपक्षिनित्रण.

प्रजास्वामित्र a. of com. on विषंधास्म-छुठ (according to गोर्विन्दवामित्र on बो. घ. ख. II. 2. 51).

पदेश a. of हरिवेोहाराष्ट्र (ms. No. 5247 Baroda O. I.). Later than 1550 A.D.

पवित्रा a. of कामेशि and वारितकस (composed in विषंधास्मवापर निर्मिते i.e. 1840 संग्रह i.e. 1784 A.D.). He was son of देवकश्मर and belonged to छहुर and was of कुरुक्षुल (Stein's cat. p. 314). Wrote under विजय-पाल, son of अदुलपाल.

पहुँचनविपि a. of छहांसम्बरी (composed in 1670 A.D.).

यम Sec. 49.

पहुँच a. of हलतोक, दोसियानि.

पद्माध ज. son of पहुँच; a. of पह्लानी, पैदुरिशक.

पहुँचनविपि a. of प्रयोगलकमार.

पहासरमठ a. of प्रायवित्रितिनित्रणेय.
List of Authors on Dharmasastra

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Vasudeva a. of Balamakaram.
Earlier than 1530 A.D. Probably same as above.

Vasistha Sec. 69.

Vasudeva a. of Balamakaram.

Vasistha (P?) a. of Vasantavamsa.

Vasistha a. of Vasantavamsa.

Vasuveda a. of com. on Pindavarta,

which is a com. on Purushottamagama.

Vasuveda a. of Vasantavamsa.

Vasuveda a. of comm. (on Pre-emption).

Vasuveda a. of Vasantavamsa.

Vasuveda a. of Bhramarajasya.

Vasuveda a. of Brihadaranyaka.

Vasuveda a. of Rishikeshasuya.

Vasuveda a. of Dvarapalasuya.

Vasuveda a. of Sthiram.

Vasuveda a. of Bharhutagama.

Vasuveda a. of Kanyakubja.

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Vasuveda a. of Sthiram.

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Vasuveda a. of Rishikeshasuya.

Vasuveda a. of Kanyakubja.

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Vasuveda a. of Dharmasastra.
रुणाथ a. of जातिविवेक.
रुणाथ, surnamed नवहस्त (modern Navāthe); a. of प्रयोगरत्नसुया.
रुणाथ a. of व्रजसुन्दर.
रुणाथ a. of त्रिसेतु.
रुणाथ a. of त्रिमाला.
रुणाथ, son of गणेशमठ्ठ and pupil of अनन्देश; a. of प्रायमिज्जूकुटवल.
रुणाथ a. of शुभरत्न.
रुणाथ, pupil of विज्ञेश; a. of com. on संयासनिधि of बड्साकार्य.
रुणाथ a. of व्यत्नकर्मपित.
रुणाथ, son of श्रभट्ठ surnamed अयार्य; a. of प्रयोगकर्मपित, मातिक-आखुशयोग, राज्यातिरिक्तयोग.
रुणाथ a. of शतदर्पण com. on शाक्तपायक.
रुणाथ, son of अनन्देश; a. of नरो-भुतमहेश्वर.
रुणाथ, son of भाद्री, of शारीरिक्य-गोश; a. of प्रयोगतत्त्व (composed at Benares in 1656 A. D.).
रुणाथ, son of विज्ञातिस्वरूप; a. of कार्लीवार्धकारीन्द्रयुद्ध.
रुणाथ, son of सरस, of the चिन्तामणि subcaste and शारीरिक्यगोश; a. of शुभरत्नमाला.
रुणाथ, pupil of रामदगुप्त; a. of काशितत्तवकौशली (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 63 p. 57).
रुणाथदास a. of काशीमाहास्तकौशली.
रुणाथ श्रीकृष्ण a. of आंब्लांकांतपुरा-कारिका.
रुणाथमठ्ठ, styled सरास्त्यपति, son of मापत, son of रामेश्वरमठ्ठ. Flourished between 1545-1625 A. D.; a. of आक्रमकरत, अद्वातमाहापशारी-निधि, आक्रमक्षयोग, कालकालिकविवेचन (composed in 1620 A. D.), गयापदुक, गोविशारदनिधि, विवेचन-क्षेत्रिकीतयार or आशोकचाेन्य, वृश्चिकोत्तरिका (composed in 1578 A. D.), श्रमातितादुसंपूर्णिति, आक्र-पदुक, विद्यापदुक, विनिधि, रावसंकालिनिधि.
रुणाथमठ्ठ a. of व्यत्नकर्मपित.
रुणाथमठ्ठ a. of वाज्जलक-स्थत.
रुणाथमठ्ठ a. of सपित.
रुणाथमठ्ठार्थ a. of द्वितिःचतुर्शष्ठ.
रुणाथरामचर्यचर्याधिकार a. of प्रयोगरजिनात and com. on सत्तात्मकविश्वास (vide Peterson's 6th Report p. 10 for व्यवहार portion)
रुणाथसार्वबोध a. of स्वत्त्वाध्वस्थाप्य-सैकुट.
रुणाथसार्वबोध, son of स्वपेत; a. of स्मार्तव्यास्थानिधि (composed in 1661-62 A. D. at the order of king रानकराम).
रुणाथदार्शन a. of प्रयोगगत्तेश.
रुणाथप्रमाणीक्षेत्रिकी a. of काश्यकर्म-काराहिका or काशीशारीरोपार.
रुणाथप्रतापसरस्त्राती a. of काश्यकर्म.
रुणपति a. of तदागविधि.
List of Authors on Dharmanitraya

रहुमाणि, said to be the real name of author of द्वारकनाथपिनिका. About 1800 A.D.

रहुमाणि a. of सिद्धान्तनिष्पाद. (probably same as above).

रहुमाणि, pupil of रहुमाणि; a of द्वार- 
कान्तपिनिका.

रहुमाणि मुनि a. of कृष्णदीपिका.

रहुमाणि मुनि, son of जयराम, son of वैकुण्ठ; (collected materials of कृष्णनिष्पादनास्त्र.

रहुमाणि a. of साधुसंहार.

रहुमाणि मुनि, son of विद्वान, son of द्वार- 
कान्त, a. of मरीचिमाला com. on the कुष्ठका of शकुर and of शकुरस्वामि (composed in 1635- 
1736 A.D.).

रहुमाणि मुनि a. of सिद्धान्तनिष्पाद.

रहुमाणि मुनि a. of कृष्णदीपिका.

रहुमाणि a. of पितृमधवविचरण.

रहुमाणि मुनि a. of रहुमाणि मुनि, a. of रहुमाणि मुनि.

रहुमाणि मुनि, pupil of कृष्णनिष्पादनास्त्र.

रहुमाणि मुनि a. of रहुमाणि मुनि on भावभाज- 
नादव.

रहोमिनि a. of तीर्थसामायनिकत (or rather तीर्थसामायनिकत). Vide B.O. 

राजप्रायस्थ a. of स्वतंत्रवार.

राजनाथबाबार a. of भाजवेदासस्त्र- 
पत्र.

राजपाणि a. of स्वतंत्रवार.

( B. 
O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 428 p. 505). He mentions हरिचर. He was a सैलिन.

राजपाणि मुनि, son of गोकुली राजाव- 
श्वरपस्म, patronised by रहुमाणि of सिद्धान्तनिष्पाद. Later than 1550 
A.D.; a of नारायणस्वात, एकोहर- 
सारिणि, कृष्णनाथचक्रिका, कृष्ण- 
कान्तपिनिका, पारम्परिक, भावभाजनिका, भाव- 
साहित्यपरिचयत, महाद्वारास्त्र, निर- 
मूलसाहित्य, रामचरितमाचारिका, 
हरिचर, व्रताचर (probably his last work as it was written 
for महेश्वरलिङ्ग ग्रंथ से युक्त, गोकुली (composed for 
रहुमाणि नामक), रहुमाणि (composed for रहुमाणि नामक)). In his 
रामचरितमाचारिका (composed at the bidding of रहुमाणि of सिद्धान्तनिष्पाद निष्पाद) he says that he follows the 
प्रतितालब्ध रहुमाणि. (Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 300 p. 341).

राजक a. of भानवंकम्बली (based on भानवंसागर). Vide B. O. mss. 
cat. vol. I No. 196 p. 111. Probably same as above.

राजक a. of प्रायुक्तसारस्त्रेद, प्राय- 
स्वरूपवाचक.

राजक, son of देबकुमु; a. of अब- 
विरागकल्यानम (composed in 1713 
A.D.). The work is also called 
भूमिकोशपतात.

राजक a. of द्वारकानाथ.

राजक a. of जयपदा.

राजक a. of जयपदा, m. in आचार्यसार of कृष्ण;

राजक a. of जयपदा, m. in आचार्यसार of कृष्ण.

राजक a. of जयपदा, m. in आचार्यसार of कृष्ण.

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राजक a. of जयपदा, m. in आचार्यसार of कृष्ण.

राजक a. of जयपदा, m. in आचार्यसार of कृष्ण.
History of Dharmaśāstra

रमानाथ a. of com. on नारायणस्वति.
रमानाथविद्वानवाचस्पति a. of व्रताचरणस्वति.
रमापति of the शंकराचरण; a. of श्याम-निवासस्वति.
रमापति a. of देवालयपतिस्वति.
रमापति उपाध्यायसाम्राज्य; a. of आचार्यसन्मान, आचार्यवाचित्र and विवाद-वाचित्र.

रमापति सिद्धान्त a. of तिलिणविषय.
रविनाधिमिश्र a. of आचार्यतिर्क्त.
रावणसंहत a. of निर्भरसार. Mentions रामकृतकुम, माधव, निर्णयसंहिता and रूपालि. Later than 1612 and earlier than 1700 A.D.

रामबान, son of वृन्दावन. About 1493-4 A.D.; a. of दुर्गास्वति and com. दुर्गापुर्णेश्वर on शास्त्रातिसंक म. by दुर्गानुव (in वेदांतस्वति p. 580).

रामबान. Later than 1640 A.D.; a. of तिलिणविषय and तिलिणविषयोद्धा or तिलिणविषय, स्वतिर्विषय.

रामबान, pupil of लक्ष्मण; a. of com. called दीर्घ on आशोचिनि-वधूकोडी.

रामधव a. of com. प्रकाश on शाक्तिसरस्वति of श्रीविनाश.

रामधवस्वति प्रती। Earlier than 1600 A.D.; m. in आचार्यसन्मान of वक्त.

रामधवनाथ a. of शिवपुराणस्कृति.

रामधवन्द्रस्वति, pupil of अक्षायस्वति.

Later than 1350 A.D.; a. of मन्नयस्वति com. on महाभारत.

रामभेद, son of काशीनाथ; a. of रामभेद and of a com. on काश- निश्चितवीणीका also called रामभेद.

Flourished in latter half of 17th century.

रामभेद a. of com. on जयतिप्रण's com. on कमलिणमिश्र and सदाप्राचार स्वति of आचार्यतिर्क्त.

रामभेद a. of श्रीदुर्गाश्रमणकारिकाका, रामभेदाकारिकामेघाकारिका a. of आ- श्रीचन्द्रभिक्षु.

रामभेदकारिका, son of रामभेद श्रीविनाश विनाश; a. of वाचित्रसार.

रामनारायण हृदोपाध्याय a. of हृदोपाध्याय.

रामनाथ a writer on politics; m. in अदृश्यसार and in com. on नितिवाचकस्तु.

रामनिःस्वति. Earlier than 1550 A.D.; a. of वसकारस्वति.

रामाराम, son of सोमेश्वर. Earlier than 1725 A.D.; a. of आचार- कौली.

रामभावलेख a. of आयतिकतचन्द्रभिक्षु.

रामचन्द्र a. of पद्मशाहतज्ज्ञ, शिवाध्य- प्रतिष्ठा.

रामाधनायकमृंच a. of आशोचिनिस्वति (part of सायनस्वति).

रामश्रीहर नीत्वाचिनिकमुद्रायां. About 1800 A.D.; a. of commentaries on एकदर्शातिर्त, द्वादश, माया-प्रतिष्ठा, महामात्सरत, उपदेशक, and of तत्त्राज, of दीर्घाकारिका a com. on the विद्याग्रहा of विद्यातंत्र.

राम a. of असूरविश्वासिकमुद्रायां.

About 1660 A.D.

राम a. of com. on कुंभकोणपतिवंति of विद्यातंत्र.
List of Authors on Dharmanātāra

Rāma a. of कुष्णदत्त.
Rāma a. of मारावत्तीरिक्षा or मारावतीरिक्षा.
Rāma, son of चौंड or चाँड; a. of बोधपाल्पास्यायोगमाला.
Rāma Later than 1550 A.D.; a. of com. on नोभमवरसरकारी of केशव.
Rāma a. of com. on वचनसर्वनिव य of भाषकरमिवधकान्तमहन.
Rāma आवार्य a. of अन्योदेशनर्तम.
Rāmaसिकोर a. of बीचात्तचर्चकापकाविका.
Rāmaराम a. of कुष्णमार्गदर्श.
Rāmaराम, son of नारायणदु. Between 1540-1590 A.D.; a. of अनज्ञानर- पायमानयम, उत्साहनोपायमयम, कौटि- कोमवयम, जीविन्तुकर्ममिन्नयम or कार्पवस्तुभव, विभागत्व or तर्क- विचार, मातिकायुद्धिनिष्ट, बासु- शार्तिमष्टीयम, क्रस्तानपपूर्वत, किंवतिन्य- प्रतिसाधारित.
Rाम a. of आयुधायनस्योकारक-व्याप्त.
Rाम a. of आज्जकुर्भन.
Rाम a. of विजयविधार.
Rाम a. of भायंकरपायकरण and भाय- भाषा.
Rाम a. of आज्जकुर्भनगणिय.
Rाम a. of com. कौशीर on धु- पारित्र्यम्यायचतुर्वेष.
Rाम a. of विभेककौशीर, कौशीर, कौशीर, प्राचेरोपायकौशीर. Relies on हेनरिति.
Rाम a. of शारिरचर्चनिष्ट.
Rाम a. of सुकुमरकौशीर.
Rाम, son of कौशीर, son of धुपार त्रि of भाराजगोप. He was pa- 

tronised by विजयसिंह. Vide I.O. cat. p. 560 footnote; a. of com. called संस्कारवाय पर यानकर्ता.
About 1750 A.D.

Rाम, son of कोडहनु, son of प्रवासदु of the भाराजगोप re- 
siding in विनाशदर्पण on the विश्वरा river. He was a student of कापाला; a. of भागवानपीत or भागवान (composed at Benares in 1751 A.D.). Aufrecht treats the two राम as different, but this seems to be incorrect, as the grandfather of both is given as प्रवासदु and कोडहनु is another form of कोनर.

Rाम, son of ऋगीमहर, surnamed शीत (modern शीत); a. of विनाशपृवा (composed in 1702 A.D.).

Rाम, son of माधव, son of नारा- यण of the परासरोग. Between 1500-1545 A.D.; a. of तीम- रत्नाकर or रामसाज and प्रतापमा- तार.

Rाम, निपाठित, son of श्वेत. About 1616 A.D.; a. of com. on चुझासिंह, of छन्दोगायुद्धक्षित.

Rाम, निपाठित, son of नारायण; a. of मायाविषयोज्य com. on पाराग- तंत्र (compressed under लक्षण- ग्रंथम, About 1575-1600 A.D.

Rाम, योपाल्पास्यायोगमाला; a. of आधुनिकविषयकौशीर (com. on आधुनिक and other works of N. vol. X. pp. 119-
120). Probably same as the preceding.

रामचण्ड्र a. of आध्यात्मिक.
रामचण्ड्र a. of योगीकृपा.
रामचण्ड्र a. of मनुष्यविवि.
रामचण्ड्र a. of भूमिकृपा.
रामचण्ड्राचार्य a. of स्वयंकृपा; महाराजाचार्य.
रामचण्ड्राचार्य a. of कामिविपक.
रामणीयविभागमित्र a. of रामचण्ड्र, पुत्रकृपा of the चुदामन्द्र and resident of वासिनाथसिंह (N. new series I. No. 345).
रामचण्ड्र, son of अनांत of भारद्वाराम;
a. of अतिशेषच.
रामचण्ड्र a. of तुर्करामशिक.
रामचण्ड्र a. of कुंडकोटकृपा.
रामचण्ड्र a. of कुंडोपविष.
रामचण्ड्र a. of कुंडसेनीयणिनिधि or तोहेनिधि.
रामचण्ड्र a. of गंभीरदय.
रामचण्ड्र Earlier than 1600 A. D.;
a. of मन्त्रवाच.
रामचण्ड्र, son of क्रम, son of शूरि,
son of अतिलामिथa of the शेष family. About 1400 A. D.
Wrote according to his son भ्रमित three works on कालिन्ध्य.
रामचण्ड्र's ज्ञेय was नोपाल पराभिमान;
a. of कालिन्निधिपिका (com. on कालिन्य of माधव), लिखितपिपिका-
संग्रह (a summary of the सांस्कृतिक ज्ञान of अन्तत्र), वैष्णवविष्णुविन.
रामचण्ड्र a. of कालिन्ध्य (vide Baroda O. I: ms. No. 3871).

रामचण्ड्र a. of आध्यात्मिक. B. O.
mss. cat. 399 p. 468.
रामचण्ड्र a. of आध्यात्मिक.
रामचण्ड्र a. of निवणविन.
रामचण्ड्र a. of धार्मिक.
रामचण्ड्र a. of अर्जोनारायणसिर, अर्जो-
नारायणसिर.
रामचण्ड्र, son of सुर्खेत; a. of तप-
विकतपक, समसार, कुंडकृपा or कुंडकृपा and com.
रामचण्ड्र a. of कुंडनप्रसंसरी.
रामचण्ड्र, son of नारायण; a. of com.
on तपविकतपकसत.
रामचण्ड्र, surnamed जाले; a. of कुंड-
कृपा, composed in सके 1790.
रामचण्ड्र, son of पांडुरंग of the अभिनो; a. of com. on स्थिरुपां.
रामचण्ड्र, son of विकल, son of आध-
कण, surnamed तमस. He was
daughter's son of रुपवान, author of कालिन्यकविता. Between 1610-
1690 A. D.; a. of कुंडकोटकृपा;
कालिन्यकविता, कुंडकृपा, तमसका,
कृपा (composed in 1648-49
A. D.), शाकुरपापाध्यक्ष or आधा
कृपा. Ms. of कालिन्यकविा (Baroda O. I. No. 8455) is dated सके 1603 माघ
(1682 A. D.).
रामचण्ड्र, son of विकल; a. of कुंड-
विकलप्रसंसरी.
रामचण्ड्र, son of विकल; कुंडविकल;
a. of कुंडकृपा. Earlier than 1810 A. D.
List of Authors on Dharmaśāstra

Rāmacandra a. of विवाहपरात्.
Rāmacandra अध्यक्षीर a. of राजनीतिज्ञानारा. रामचन्द्राचन्द्रशास्त्रिक a. of द्वारकशास्त्र.
Rāmacandraśekhara a. of रामचन्द्रकेशरस्त्र.
Rāmacandraśekhara (reputed) a. of वद्यानुसारविद्वान (really composed by भारतीययुग वधानमहापात्र).
Rāmacandraśekhara a. of रामचन्द्रस्थिर पितरोभित.
Rāmacandrāma a. of स्वतितिस्त्रालंकार com. on अवधोषमित.
Rāmacandrāma a. of अचारार्य, प्राययित्र-चंकाभि, भारतीयविद्वान.
Rāmacandraśekhara a. of समवापकाश.
Rāmacandraśekhara, son of वेदवन्दराय; a. of अचारार्यसंस्कार.
Rāmacandra a. of द्वारकशोकपरमाणुकपकाशिक.
Rāmacandra विषाणुमध्यसिद्धि a. of com. on सत्त्वधदरत्वम रामचपन.
Rāmacandra तालाम्बर a. of वत्तकोटप, द्वारकोटप.
Rāmacandra a. of विषपन्यवीत or नव-रामीतिस्त्रवि विषपन्यवीत or नव-रामीतिस्त्रवि भाषाविद्वान. He was son of श्रीनाथ, son of दृष्टक, son of दृष्टक. Later than 1400 and earlier than 1600 A.D. For विषपन्यवीत see D. C. ms. No. 102 of 1882-83 (dated संवत्व 1673).
Rāmacandra a. of विययवेदप्र्ति, विद्वत्वा-शास्त्री.
Rāmacandra a. of द्वारकशोकपथानीक, विद्वत्वात्मक.
Rāmacandra m. in वजेन्द्रदेववस्त्रविद्वान (p. 640) of रामचपन.
Rāmacandra a. of द्वारकशोकपथानी.
Rāmacandra a. of द्वारकशोकपथानी.
Rāmacandra विज्ञान, son of गणेशराय and nephew of विज्ञान. First half of 14th century; a. of उपवनपश्चात्त or उपवनपश्चात्त, द्वार-पश्चात्त or द्वारावनपश्चात्त, नारायणपश्चात्त, विषाणुपश्चात्त or विषाणु-पश्चात्त, गर्भावनात्वसंज्ञानपश्चात्त, यज्ञोपवितपश्चात्त, शृङ्गावरपश्चात्त. He seems to have written a comprehensive पश्चात्त for वाजसानयिन, parts of which on उपवन, विषाणु and other संस्कार are separately noticed in the catalogues. Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. Nos. 315A, 316, 317 and pp. 353-355.
Rāmacandra a. of com. on शास्त्रविद्वान.
Rāmacandra, son of श्राव; a. of शिरिविद्वान.
Rāmacandra a. of रामचन्द्रकाश a com. on कालशास्त्रां.
Rāmacandra a. of गणेशरायनिष्ठ, गणेशरायनिष्ठ.
Rāmacandra, son of अनन्त, son of विषाणुमयी; a. of चारुविषाणुमयी (composed at Benares in 1600-1601) with com. प्रभास-मयी.
रामनाथ a. of com. on मृत्युर्लभ्याय of वास्तव.
रामनाथ a. of एकादशीर्षीयानिष्ठय.
रामनाथ a. of भक्तिरतिरहस्य (a com. on संकल्पबद्धति त्रि or कर्म-युक्ततिरहस्य of मवेश composed in 1622-23 A.D.) and रामनाथ-प्रदेश.
रामनाथ a. of व्योमसंग्रह.
रामनाथ a. of वधिशास्त्रसंग्रह.
रामनाथविवादास्वपति a. of ध्वनिमभाषक विवेक or ध्वनिरहस्य (com. on ध्वनि-भाषा) which is part of स्वतन्त्रवाचक (composed in 1657 A.D.). He quotes अर्जुन, चूहासि, हरिनाथ.
रामनाथका, son of विकेश्वर of the वस्तु-गोष्ठ. Later than 1400 A.D.; a. of इतिहासकारानीय.
रामादेशिक हेष a. of com. on धर्मसन्धारभय or शोकरुप्तेश्वरी of कादमोह.
रामादेशिक a. of सद्यकालम.
रामादेशिक a. of तिथिप्राकृति, राजशिद्धतांग्रह and स्तनक.
रामादेशिक वेदविश्व म a. of सरससंग्रहीतिकहर.
रामादेशिक a. of com. on विश्वकुमारी.
रामादेशिक a. of संतकालमहावर.
रामादेशिक, surnamed सिंह; a. of सापिभवविवेक (called अदुकुलमसा). Discusses the views of श्रीर in his सापिभवविवेक. (D.C. ms. No. 208 of A 1882-83).
रामादेशिक, son of विष्णुराय, son of गुढ्य, surnamed होसिल. About 1675 A.D.; a. of अदुकुलविवेक, वास्तवाय.
कर, आचार्यपृवहादिनिष्ठय, वास्तव-प्रयोग following तीर्थारुपण, दर्शनाम.
रामादेशिक a. of तिथिप्राकृति.
रामादेशिक a. of इतिहासकार.
रामादेशिक a. of स्वतन्त्रवाचक or स्वततस्थकार (on राजकृत शक्ति).
रामादेशिक, son of गुढ्य; a. of व्यास-संग्रह, स्वतन्त्रसंग्रह (of which the first is a part).
रामादेशिक व्यासादेशारामादेशिक, son of भगिनाथ आचार्यवंशीयानी. About 1525 A.D.; a. of com. on the ध्वनिरहस्य and of स्वततस्थकारण्य or व्यासादेश.
रामादेशिक a. of भारतीयमहादेश.
रामादेशिक वैभव, son of वृहद्वार, son of वृहद्वार, son of श्रीर मात्र, of the भारतवर्ष; a. of कुंडमण्डपवल्लभ or कुंडमण्डपवल्लभ with com. (कुंडमण्डपवल्लभ composed in 1449-56 A.D.), of समारंभ and of com. on वास्तवाद्य at the bidding of राजवर्ष of लक्ष्मुर.
रामादेशिक विवेक a. of तिथिप्राकृति.
रामादेशिक a. of श्रीरभवविवेक.
रामादेशिक a. of भाषारतिसपत.
रामादेशिक विवेक, son of रामादेशिक; a. of विराजमण्डपवल्लभ, वर्ण-विवेक. About end of 18th century.
रामेश्वर a. of यस्तिष्ठानविवेक.
रामेश्वर, son of विश्वासि or लेखराज; a. of तिथिप्राकृति or-
List of Authors on Dharmanātaka

Ramanānd, son of Bāṇīvat; a. of 
Ramanāṇḍa. 
Ramanāṇḍa bīṣṭādita a. of Bāṇīvinta-mātah. 
Ramanāṇḍa bīṣṭādita; a. of Bāṇīvinta or 
Bāṇīvit. 
Ramanāthā. a. of Anuṣṭāpikā. 
Ramanāthā. a. of com. on Sādāchāra- 
sūtra of Dīnēshāyā. 
Ramanānd a. of Ramanāndapūjita. 
Ramanāndapūjita or Ramanāndapūjita; a. of 
Kāśīnathapādakābhik, Rāmatkamā or 
Kāśīnath, Sāmājikśa-buddhistikā. 
Ramanānd bīṣṭādita of Bāṇīvinta-buddhistikā. 
Ramanāndapūjita. About 1750 a.d.; 
a. of Bāṇīvintacaraj. 
Ramanāndapūjita a. of Kāśīnathapādakābhik. 
Ramanāndapūjita a. of Ramanāndapūjita. 
Ramanāndapūjita a. of Kāśīnathapādakābhik. 
Ramanāndapūjita of Dīnēshāyā. 
Ramanāndapūjita on Kāśīnathapādakābhik of 
the Sādāchāra sūtra. 
Ramanāndapūjita a. of Kāśīnathapādakābhik. 
Ramanāndapūjita a. of Bāṇīvintacaraj. 
Ramanāndapūjita a. of Sādāchāra sūtra and 
com. 
Ramanānd, pupil of Bāṇīvat; a. of 
Sādāchāra (composed in 1653 
a.d.). 
Ramanānd a. of Kāśīnathapādakābhik. 
Ramanānd a. of Kāśīnathapādakābhik and 
Pādaśrīsūtra. 
Ramanānd, pupil of Bāṇīvinta-buddhistikā; 
a. of Bāṇīvinta-buddhistikā. 
Ramanāndapūjita a. of Sādāchāra sūtra. 
Ramanāndapūjita. Earlier than 1600 a.d.; 
a. of Bāṇīvinta-buddhistikā. 
Ramanānd, pupil of Bāṇīvinta-buddhistikā. 
Ramanāndapūjita a. of Dīnēshāyā. 
Ramanāndapūjita a. of com. on Dīnēshāyā. 
Ramanāndapūjita of Dīnēshāyā. 
Ramanāndapūjita. His com. on the 
Āg advising 
Ramanāndapūjita was composed in 1431 a.d.; 
a. of a paśupūjita m. in Bhāratva (p. 213 ) and 
Bhāratva (pp. 281, 283 ) of Bhāratva. 
Ramanāndapūjita a. of Pādaśrīsūtra-ikā. 
Ramanāndapūjita vide under Bāṇīvintacaraj; 
a. of Bāṇīvintacaraj. 
Ramanāndapūjita of Kāśīnathapādakābhik family; a. of 
Kāśīnathapādakābhik. 
Ramanāndapūjita a. of Kāśīnathapādakābhik. 
Ramanāndapūjita (on Bāṇīvinta), 
Pādaśrīsūtra-ikā. 
Ramanāndapūjita m. by Sāstria-bhāskara p. 307. 
Ramanāndapūjita a. of com. on Aṣṭāvān. 
Ramanāndapūjita a. of com. on Māraṇāṇi. 
Ramanāndapūjita a. of Kāshīnathapādakābhik. 
Ramanāndapūjita a. of Māraṇāṇi. 
Ramanāndapūjita a. of Kāshīnathapādakābhik. 
Ramanāndapūjita, son of Naraṇṇa, surnamed 
Tārī, and pupil of Ananta; a. of 
Pratapānātikā (composed in 1710- 
II a.d.). Several parts of it 
such as Aṣṭāvān, Kāshīnathapādakābhik, 
Pādaśrīsūtra, Sādāchāra- 
pādaśrīsūtra are separately entered in 
the reports.
History of Dharmakīstāna

दर्शन, pupil of जन्मदर्श. 1360-1400 A. D.; a. of द्विपिकार, विवादिकार, and भारतमलिका.

दर्शन महाभाषीपत्य, son of महामहोपाध्याय सब्रमणि and younger brother of देशर. Sec. 96; a. of वर्षदर्श, यत्तिवर्त, वायुविवेक, and भारतवर्त.

दर्शार्जन, son of दर्शार्जन; a. of दर्शार्जन.

दर्शकुंद, son of दर्शकुंद, residing at महात्मा; a. of दर्शकुंद and श्राविन्यास (called साम-यथासर.

दर्शार्जन, अ. इतिमििभिलास.


दर्शार्जन, son of महाभाषी, son of महाभाषी; a. of महाभाषी (composed in 1580 A. D.).

दर्शार्जन (दुप्रदिपंक), son of श्राविन्यास; a. of दर्शार्जन (of which महाभाषी seems to be a part); ms. No. 2393 (Baroda O. 1.) is दर्शार्जन (सामयिक), wherein दर्शार्जन, मोहरस, देशर, and दर्शार्जन are relied upon. So it is later than 1350 A. D.

दर्शार्जन, son of महाभाषी, son of महाभाषी of the शार्डिपिपिहार; a. of कारिकास on पारसुराम (composed in 1266 A. D.).

दर्शन m. in the com. on the नीति-वाच्यासृष्ट अस a writer on politics,

दर्शन वेदिका, son of कुंशलिपिविवेक. दर्शन वेदिका, son of श्रीमान. Probably 12th century A. D.; a. of कारसंबंधित वाच्यासृष्ट वाच्यासृष्टिक.

दर्शन वेदिका, son of वर्षदर्शविवेककोटी; a. of वर्षदर्श, वाच्यासृष्टि.

दर्शनवेदिका, son of रामकुमार, son of नारायणाचार. Between 1585-1630 A. D.; a. of वाच्यासृष्टि.

दर्शनवेदिका, son of वाच्यासृष्टि.

दर्शनवेदिका, son of वाच्यासृष्टि. Sec. 83; (reputed) a. of वाच्यासृष्टि (which was begun by his father).

दर्शनवेदिका, m. in the नीति-वाच्यासृष्टि.

दर्शनवेदिका, son of कुंशलिपिविवेक.

दर्शनवेदिका, a. of वाच्यासृष्टि.

रामसन, son of योपाल; a. of नारायणाचार (composed in 1618 A. D.).

रामसन, अ. इतिमििभिलास.

रामसन, son of योपाल, son of रामसन (composed in 1618 A. D.).

रामसन, wife of रामसन पायपायण.

रामसन, son of रामसन and श्राविन्यास. Earlier than 1525 A. D.

रामसन a. of देशरमनोहर. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

रामसन a. of देशरमनोहर.
सत्तासिंह a. of कुष्ठकरिका.

सतकी नाथ a. of नेपालार्चनप्रस्ता.

सतकी नायक a. of बाराथवाहिकारिक.

सतकी नायकरण, न्यायाधिकारिक.

सतकी नायकरण न्यायाधिकारिक.

सतकी नायकरण न्यायाधिकारिक.

सतकीदिवक a. of अपशोधनी com. on

विद्यानीति.

सतकीदिवक a. of com. on छहयुंसंग्रह.

सतकीदिवक a. of नीतिप्रभास.

सतकीदिवक दुधार, pupil of छहयुंसंग्रह or

कृतिनाम; a. of अध्ययन. Relies on

श्रीदेव and बाच्चपति; ms. No.

401 F (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. p. 472) is dated छ. सं. 525

(1644 A.D.). So he flourished between 1500 and 1640 A.D.

सुधारणक.

सुधारण m. by निर्जीवपिन्न, संस्कार-

कृतिनाम.

सुधारणक m. in प्राचीनसम्प्र.

सुधारणक.

सुधारणक m. by अपराक on वाजःकय

I. 238, by हलाहल in बांधकाट्यनाव.

सुधारणक m. by अपराक (pp. 1031,

1080), by हलाहल in बांधकाट्यनाव.

सुधारणक (vide Jivananda Sm. part

II. pp. 310-320).

सुधारणक.

सुधारणक (Anan. Sm. pp. 128-135).

सुधारणक.

सुधारणम a. by कालमच (p. 88).

सुधारण m. by कालमच (p. 88).

शिक्षक.}

शिक्षक a. of औपचारिक.

शिक्षक.}

शिक्षक a. of शिक्षक.

शिक्षक a. of छहयुंसंग्रह.

शिक्षक a. of नवम्परशि.

शिक्षक a. by नवम्परशि in छहयुं-

शिक्षक.

शिक्षक a. of विधानमकर.

शिक्षक a. of छहयुंसंग्रह.

शिक्षक, son of अग्रसागम, son of

गणराम of अरकाल; a. of छहयुंसंग्रह.

शिक्षक महाद्वार a. of शिक्षक.

शिक्षक a. by नवम्परशि (on जाग. III.

290), by अपराक pp. 1183, 38,

138.

शीखनाथ a. of छहयुंसंग्रह.

शीखनाथ, son of वैद्यनाथ; a. of अप-

शीखनाथ (part of सकाराम-

शीखनाथ).

शीखनाथ a. of अग्रसागम.

शीखनाथ a. of अग्रसागम. Between

900-1100 A.D.; m. in स्त्रीसंग्र.

शीखनाथ, अग्रसागम of नायक, in

विद्यानीति of नवम्परशि, in बाल-

सार of छहयुंसंग्रह.

शीखनाथ a. of स्त्रीसंग.

शीखनाथ a. of रूद्रकर.

शीखनाथ a. of अपराक.

शीखनाथ मासक, son of छहयुं; son of

शीखनाथ मासक, son of नवम्पर.

शीखनाथ मासक, son of अग्रसागम. Later
than 1400 A.D.; a. of आयुक्तमण्डिरी, निबंधारितमण्डिरी.

वंशीयर a. of कीर्तिकारका
बिब्रानेश्वर a. of विवेकगणकारका.
विशिष्ठ or विशिष्ठ a. of विवेकगणकारिका.

विशिष्ठ a. of सिद्ध (D.C. ms. No. 123 of 1884-86 was copied in संवत्सार 1632 i.e. 1575 A.D.).

वनेरेश्वर, son of नरेश; a. of तदन्तकमन्दिरी and सुभाषितमन्दिरी.

वन्त्र a. of स्त्री, m. in. कालमाधव (p. 134), by भक्तिंद्र.

वन्त्रराज (It is his son अच्छ या composed निबंधारितक); a. of निबंधारितरिका.

वन्त्रमाधव a. of वन्त्रमाध.

वन्त्रमाधव a. of विद्वानसारामाध.

वन्त्रमाधव a. of प्रायमाधसारामाध.

वन्त्रमाधव alias श्रीचालकारिका son of भोजसमिति and pupil of भोज. About 1650 A.D.; a. of कृष्ण-

कृष्णमाधव, भोजकारिका (सत्य-सम्प्रदाय).

वर्ध, son of श्रीनिवास; a. of आयुक्तमण्डिरी.

वर्धराज About 1450-1500 A.D.; a. of आयुक्तमण्डिरी (of which a portion is called आयुक्तमण्डिरी). It is probably this author that is mentioned in सत्यसारिखिनात.

वर्धराज 18th century; a. of आयु-

कृष्णमण्डिरा.

वर्धराज a. of तविषयविनिका.

वर्दराजमहाशय a. of com. on कामकारणीसिद्ध.

वर्दराजार a. of वास्तवचर्चापत.

वर्दराजार of वास्तवमान्यता; a. of स्त्रीसम्प्रदाय or मणिसंग्रह.

वर्दराजेश्वर, pupil of वेश्वरदास; a. of प्रायमाधसारामाध.

वर्दराज a. of आशोचारक, of नीति-

सं, of राजनीति.

वर्धमा as a writer on politics in com. on नीतिवाच्यवाच्य.

वर्धकवितारानन्द a. of वातिवाच्य during the reign of संभासिंह. Later than 1300 A.D.

वर्धमान a. of आयुक्तमण्डिरी.

वर्धमान a. of दक्षगणजजह.

वर्धमान a. of तत्तत्तरिका.

वर्धमान a. of तत्तत्तरिका (B.O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 74 p. 66). Mentions भक्तिंद्र and निबंधारित-

वर्धमान भारतीयमाधवमाण अ. of गुरुन-

सत्यमण्डिरी.

वर्धमान महामहोपायस, son of अजीत, of the विद्वानसार family. He was judge under अजीत and his son रामभक्त, king of विद्वान. 1450-

1500 A.D. His elder brother was गुरुकृष्ण, and श्रीकृष्ण and वाच्यसति were his gurus; a. of गुरुकृष्णमण्डिरी, वन्त्रमण्डिरी, नारायणपतिविनिका, नानाकारण-

विनिका, परिवारभिनिका, आयुक्तमण्डिरी, स्त्रीसम्प्रदाय or स्त्रीसम्प्रदाय and its सारीराम, स्त्रीसम्प्रदाय.

गयापुरि, गयापुरि, तविषयविनिका.
वाचसपति a. of जननमणिविवेक or जननमणिविवेक (vide ms. No. 12774 of Baroda O. I.).

वाचसपति a. of चुनिन्दा.

वाचसपति a. of स्तुतिसरसंग्रह.

वाचसपति a. of श्रृंगफ़नध.

वाचसपति (मौढ़) m. in श्रावसागर by कबीर.

वाचसपतिमिश्र. Sec. 98 ; a. of आचार्यविनायक, आचार्यविनायक, अन्नविनायक, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थचित्र, तीर्थchang error in ब्राह्मण विवेक (vide ms. No. 12774 of Baroda O. I.).
बालदेवभद्राय a. of स्वतितचन्द्रका. ।
बालदेव, महादेवधराय a. of भार्त- ।
पिखौका com. on आदशिितामणि of ।
बालदेव. ।
वासन a. of बालदेवधराय. ।
वासन a. of a पद्धति m. in आदशििता ।
( ठोकरानन्द ). ।
वासनमन्द a. of बालदेवधराय. ।
वासन, माण्ड of, m. in कास्थकोलिका ।
of कृषि. ।
वास्तवायण m. in आ. प. छू. 1. 10. ।
28. 2. ।
वाल्मीकि a writer on politics ; m. in ।
com. on नीतिविधान. ।
बालदेव a. of महादेवधरायनित्यनन्दसार. ।
बालदेव a. of com. on कृषिकप्रथ- ।
स्थत m. in. ठोकरानन्द. ।
• a. of दृष्टिपत्रसिद्ध. ।
बालदेव a. of पूर्णपुरिति. ।
बालदेव, son of बालदेव ; a. of बालदेव- ।
धराय. As ms. is dated संवत 1428 ( 1371-2 A. D. ), he is ।
probably identical with the commentator of the परस्करधरायन. ।
बालदेव a. of बालदेवधराय. ।
बालदेव, son of विद्याधर, son of ।
स्रवणक तर्कानाथ गोस्वामि ; a. of ।
com. on कृषििकाष्ठि. Between ।
1680-1760 A. D. ।
बालदेव, son of आदशिित, of the चिन- ।
pव पालिन क्षेत्रा ; a. of प्रमोदनवासा or ।
बालदेव. ।
बालदेव, son of बीसीपि ; a. of आदशिि- ।
pतामणि कसावला. Vid. ms. No. 7603 ( ।
Baroda O. I.; mentions हेमालिि, ।
देविकमीसपि. ।
बालदेवप्रीति हर्ष र तथा तथा कृषििहि. ।
बालदेवप्रीति a. of बालदेवधराय. ।
बालदेवधराय, son of गणेशन; a. of ।
आदशििता ( for वैशाली school of ।
बैशाख ). ।
बालदेव रघ a. of स्वतितचन्द्रका. ।
बालदेवादेश a. of आदशिितामणि, ।
पिखौसमरका. ।
बालदेव रघ a. of बालदेवधराय. ।
बालदेव रघ पिखौसमरका. ।
बालदेव a. of आदशिितामणि, ।
पिखौसमरका. ।
बालदेव रघ a. of आदशिितामणि, ।
पिखौसमरका. ।
बालदेव रघ ( supposed to be ) a. of ।
बालदेवधरायनित्यनन्दसार ( including बैशाख and ।
पर्यंत च). ।
निलकृषििगुप्त, pupil of छोटेय; a. of ।
पालकचन्द्रसिद्ध. ।
विज्ञानेश्वर. Sec. 70; a. of सिंत- ।
सारा ( com. on बालदेवधरायनित्यनन्दसार ); ।
आशोक- ।
विड़क, son of ब्रह्मदेव, son of राम- ।
चन्द्र; a. of com. on बालदेवधरायनित्यनन्दसार. ।
बिड़क, son of केशव; a. of स्वतित- ।
चन्द्र. ।
बिड़क, son of बालदेवधरायनित्यनन्दसार. ।
विड़क, son of गणेशन, surnamed वैशाख ।
and resident of बैशाख; ।
a. of com. on बालदेवधरायनित्यनन्दसार. ।
बिड़क, son of गणेशन, of the कुप्त- ।
मिथिला; a. of कृषििकाष्ठि or ।
कृषििकाष्ठि ( composed in ।
1619-20 A. D. ) and com. there-
List of Authors on Dharmatattva

on and of संहुंतकप्यम्यन्य (composed in 1628 A.D.) and com. मजसी thereon.

विल्हल a. of दुःञ्जलनमयोग. Probably the same as above.

बिल्हल, son of महादेव; a. of प्रयोग-लालन.

विल्हलदीक्षित a. of वदरती.

विल्हलदीक्षित a. of सम्यकीदी.

विल्हलाचाय a. of आल्हिक.

विल्हलेन्द्र or विल्हलदीक्षित, son of वदराचार्य; born in 1515 A.D. Said to have been a. of आल्हिकपवार्तित, आध्यात्मिज्ञत, जन्म-धनरामलाल, रामनस्कीकर, रामनन्दसीक. Com. on the संस्कृतिसंस्कृतियोग of वदराचार्य, सम्यकीदी, गबर्भस्थ (of which आल्हिकपवार्तित seems to be a part) or कृत्तिकार, भक्तिमार्गलय, सक्ति-हस, भक्तिविज्ञानी.

बिहृत a. of नीति (which is taken from the उपाय of the महाभाष्य chap. 33-40 of the Bombay edition).

विपिनकार वासपेयसिन, son of शास्त्रकर. Earlier than 1500 A.D.; a. of आध्यात्मिज्ञत, नियात्मिज्ञत, आ-भिक्षुमम्य; m. in पंकान्तस्तथ (vol. II. pp. 68, 75), देवभिक्षुस्तथ (vol. II. p. 505), आल्हिकतंत्र (vol. I p. 355), महामातस्तत्व (vol. I p. 744 speaks of विपिनकारहिकतंत्र), दाहित्यतंत्र (vol. II. p. 312).

विचार a. of दाहित्यसित and हेमाजी-प्रोग.
the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, for 1927 vol. XVI, where there is an informing paper on विधाताएँ.

विधापतिभूत a. of दौष्टुपाल्क.

विधापतिचारित m. in स्थापत्यसामान.

विधामात्र a. of स्थापत्यसामान.

विधाला लघु a. of स्थापत्यसामान.

विधाला कार्य a. of जातिरक्तशास्त्रिनीय (which seems to be purely astrological); vide N. (new series) vol. II. No. 69.

विधालिङ्ग a. of राजायणशास्त्र-प्रयोग.

विधालिंगप्रतिष्ठा vide under नयनप्रतिष्ठा.

विधालिंगप्रतिष्ठा a. of दुःखरक्षकप्रतिष्ठा.

विधारक a. of आचरण-साधारण or-विधेय composed by order of king रामगुरु in राजसाधारण son of दैवत (vide B. O. ms. cat. vol. I. No. 24, p. 21). About 1500 A. D.

विधारण m. in अपराध (p. 112).

विधारक m. as a writer on politics in com. on नीतिविद्याप्रयत.

विधास m. in दौराणीति's स्वस्तिसार.

विधासन a. of स्वस्ति; m. in स्वस्ति-प्रथना and in आचारमारम.

विधासन earlier than 1500 A. D.; m. in छात्रादलीय of गौणवानन्द and by श्रीदुर्ग in छात्रोपायोत्तम-तव (vol. II. p. 275) and छात्रितथ.

विधाकाश a writer on politics; m. in the कौटिल्यी, महामार्ग, by विन्यास on यास. I. p. 190 (Tri. S. series).

विधाकाश कृष्ण, son of भारमार्गेश and हरि कन्या; a. of रंग-विप्रेक्ष. Between 1450-1525 A. D.

विधाकाश a. of चतुष्फुर्त or संध्याकाशात्मक.

विधाकाश m. in com. on नीतिविद्याप्रयत as propounder of बालकाश्य; m. by रघुपार्थ (III. 2. 825).

विधाकाश a. of विधानमार्गा.

विधाकाश a. of छूतमार्ग.

विधाकाश, son of गोवाढ; a. of अस्मेंद्र-प्रतिष्ठा, अन्येंद्र-प्रतिष्ठा; com. on विधालिङ्गप्रतिष्ठा, औरवंदितकपथिक and औरवंदितकित्सपत्रप्रापति.

विधानाथ a. of क्रियाप्रतिष्ठा (probably the same as विधानाथ, son of गोवाढ). It deals with the rites from death to सप्तिकाल in the case of the माध्यमिने.

विधानाथ earlier than 1660 A. D.; a. of शुण्डादत.

विधानाथ son of श्रीपति, surnamed व्रेणविष्णु. Between 1450-1615 A. D.; a. of दुर्गादताक.

विधानाथ a. of अर्नाधिकारिणी.

विधानाथ, son of महादत; a. of संतानोत्सर.

विधानाथ, son of शारणवेद; a. of श्री-प्रतिष्ठा; probably the same as विधानाथ, son of शारणाथ below.
List of Authors on Dharmaśāstra

विभन्नान, son of कुशा Gurjara ब्राह्मण of नैढुपरान्त; a. of दुर्योधनायामनन्दन (ms. No. 12708 of Baroda O. I.); mentions गानान्द्र, विनयकोपाध्याय, and कृष्णस्वामि so later than 1680 A.D.

विभन्नान, son of गोपाल; a. of व्रतराज or व्रतमान (compiled at Benares in 1736 A.D.).

विभन्नान a. of शास्त्रयुगलसंस्कार-प्रदेश.

विभन्नान a. of स्वस्तितिबारसंग्रह.

विभन्नान, son of सुशिव, son of आचार्य; a. of शहस्दुर्दशकाधिकार on पारस्करप्रयोग. About 1550 A.D.

विभन्नान, son of हस्तोत्सव, son of विश्वास; a. of विभवसन्तकप्रदेश (आपस्तम्बीय) composed in 1544 A.D.

विभन्नान a. of तिथिचक्र or तिथिनिर्णय-चक्र.

विभन्नान a. of तिथिनिर्णयसार (probably the same as विद्वेश्वर.)

विभन्नान, son of हरि; a. of com. on विद्वेश्वर.

विभन्नान, son of शामुकानाथ, son of छप्पा; son of दुर्गोपास. He was the younger brother of रामदेव; a. of कुंभकौशिक or कुष्ठमंडप-कौशिक, कुष्ठविधान, गोस्वमपरिवर्ण (composed in 1584 A.D.) or रामदेवसार.

विभन्नान a. of गोस्वमपरिवर्णप्रकाशण or -वालकप्रकाश. Same as above; ms. No. 9375 (Baroda O. I.).

विभन्नान a. of जातिविवेकसंग्रह.

विभन्नान आचार्य a. of काशीमोर्तिसिद्धिमंगल.

विभन्नान उपाध्या a. of उपाध्यायनीय.

विभन्नानप्रीति a. of प्रवाहित.

विभन्नानप्रीति a. of उपनयनप्रीति.

विभन्नान वेदन, son of विद्वान; between 1612-1632 A.D.; a. of विभन्नान व्यापशास्त्र अबूर्त 1630 A.D.; a. of महात्माविवेक or विद्वान.

विभन्नानभूत a. of आधुनिक (भूपालीय).

विभन्नानभूत a. of चक्रवार्णयी-निःवार्ण और स्वतितारोबार. About 1600-1650 A.D.

विभन्नानभूतिष्ठ, son of मुरलिप्रभू, surnamed धर्म, a resident of वैराण (modern Wai); a. of आधुनिकप्रभूमृद्दिलाल. Mentions महानन्दाती. Later than 1650 A.D.

विभवसाराधिकार m. in शौकमालकर.

विभवस. Sec. 60; a. of वालकीदेश (com. on वालकल्पसंग्रह).

विभवस a. of विभवसपरिवर्ण and विभवसपरिवर्ण.

विभवसाराधिकार a. of आधुनिकप्रभूमृद्दिलाल.

विभवसाराधिकार m. by दुर्गोपास in गोरखपर-मज़री.

विभवस. Sec. 51; a. of स्वस्तित.

विभवसवेशी (reputed) a. of मक्त-वाक्यावली (really composed by विभवस.)
History of Dharmaditra

विशेष a. of लिपिनिर्णय.

विशेषज्ञ a. of प्रतिति on संयास (probably the same as the next).

विशेषज्ञ a. of उत्तरदाताम.

विशेषज्ञ. Earlier than 1500 A.D.; a. of निर्णयकोर्तन.


विशेषज्ञ, son of लक्ष्मीप्रभ. Later than 1650 A.D.; a. of com. on आशोचीयबाहरकोकी.

विशेषज्ञ, son of रामेश्वर, son of गणराम, of शारणदल्योगस्, surnamed महाशाय; a. of प्रतापक (by order of king प्रताप, grand-son of जयसिंह). About 1750.

विशेषज्ञमुद्र a. of अवचावर or दासनार.

विशेषज्ञमुद्र a. of आपत्तिपरन्मति.

विशेष रेखां a. of कुम्भसिंह.

विशेषज्ञमुद्र, alias गणराम, son of विनकर, son of रामकुमार. About 1620–1685 A.D.; a. of आपत्ति-परन्मति, आशोचीयपिका, काप्यधर्म-दीप or प्रकाश or काप्यपवंति, झुझानमयोग, विनकरकवाल (on आचार, आशोच, काति, वास, पूरा, महाज्ञा, ग्रामविक, आध्यात, वर्णकाल, बत, थुक, भानु and संस्कार), विम्बल-विम्बलमयोग, प्रयोगास्त, झुझानमयो- दु:य, समय, सापेक्षविचार. Besides he composed on पुरावृत्तांसा the मीमांसाक्षममाध्यमि, विषयकोविय and महाभिष्मामि and (on अध- ँघाजात्म) राक्षाम (a com. on the चन्द्राधोक). He officiated at the coronation of the great Shivaji in 1674 A.D. Ms. No. 9670 (Baroda O. I.) shows that the काप्यधर्मदीप was compiled in शक 1599 (1677 A.D.).

विशेषज्ञमुद्र, son of विनकर, patronised by महाशाय. Sec. 93; a. of झुझानमयोग (com. on the समाजसमितिरा, महाशाय, प्रभासमयविक, सुतिकोस्तु, महाधाव- पवंति and (probably) लिपिनिर्णय- सार.

विशेषज्ञ सरस्य, pupil of सरस्य-विशेष; a. of कहरुगर्भसार or कहरुगर्भसारसंग्रह, परसाधसत्वभाषक- पंसंग्रह or यतिभाषकास or यतिभाषकाससमावेश, यति- संस्कारभाष इसमें (from यतिसंस्कारसंग्रह); earlier than 1600 A.D.

विश्व a. of आशोचायामयोगानसि.

विश्व a. of कुम्भसिंहसिंहा.

विश्व a. of आज्ञायनदातिति, composed in 1559 (कोक ?) मार्गयापितित ११ घुरी (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 35 p. 34).

विश्व (शुद्धाकालिक); a. of com. on आपत्ति-परन्मति.

विश्वतीर्थ a. of संयासतिविधि.

विश्वदत्त a. of आज्ञायिकार.

विश्वदत्त a. of दुर्गिर्मिदनांकासार.

विश्वप्रबंध a. of गोस्वमदरी.

विश्वदत्त a. of भगवद्ग्रहितासारकी and com. काप्यासार (composed in 1634 A.D.), हरिभक्तिकल्पसारा.
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विष्णुभद्र (अतिहासिक); a. of मोमलग्रहणप्रस्वरूपित and विषालकर्मय.

विष्णुभद्र, son of रामचन्द्र, sur-named आतमिन. Earlier than 1780 A. D.; a. of उपमयार्यविनाशमणि.

विष्णुभद्र. Same as above; a. of ग्रहणार्यविनाशमणि (from उपमयार्यविनाशमणि).

विष्णुभद्र, son of कृष्णभद्र, of विद्यानगर; a. of स्थतितरलकर.

विष्णुराम सिद्धान्तवाचीरा, son of जयचेतन विशावची; a. of मायविनाशतस्वाध्य (com. on मायविनाशतस्वाध्य of रुद्र and भावस्वारूपमणि (com. on भावस्वारूपमणि of रुद्र).

विष्णुरामवीरस्त्र a. of संस्कारपदमिका.

विष्णुराम, m. as a writer on politics in the com. on मीतिवाच्याभूत.

विष्णुराम, a. of कृताकाव्य (for king कृताकाव्य, son of कृताकाव्य) parts of which are सन्तप्रकार etc.

विष्णुराम, a. of निषेधयात्रामणि (composed at the instance of श्रीरामरामबाबू, son of विद्यु, a वैदेश).

विष्णुराम, son of विद्यु; a. of भावलग्नोत्रोवधिय, भावाभासकर.

विष्णुराम, son of वैश्वदत्त; a. of भावलग्नोत्रोवधिय, भावाभासकर.

Gauda. He bows to श्रीचाराचार्य and व्रतिम and relies on पारस्कर and याज्ञवल्क्यस्वरूप. Later than 1200 A. D.

विष्णुराम, a. of स्थतितरलकर.

विष्णुरामिमाश आ. कृताकाव्यस्वरूप और महाकाव्य. वीरचिन्ह (पित्र) नाम of the कृताकाव्य; a. of अपराजित.

वीरचिन्ह of वशिष्टकीर्ति; a. of अपराजित.

वीरचिन्ह a. of प्रयोगवच्छिन्न, प्रयोग-मद्यण, प्रयोगतिलक, प्रयोगकालकाल.

वीरचिन्ह a. of नृत्यकृति; a. of सचरित्र-सुभाषित.

वीरचिन्ह of वाच्यकृति; a. of सचरित्र-परिचय.

वीरसिद्ध, son of वैयक्तमान, son of कृतसिद्ध of the तोरस race; (reputed) a. of वीरसिद्धपूर्वक (composed in 1383 A. D.). Aufrecht (I. p. 595) is wrong in ascribing हरिवंभकतिरणिणि to this वीरसिद्ध. That वीरसिद्ध was नरसिद्धवेध of मिन्धन of the कामेश्वर dynasty. D. C. ms. 85 of 1869-70 is dated संवतः 1572 (1515 A. D.).

वीरसिद्ध m. in चन्द्रगृहावलोकीत्रस (vol. II. p. 542), संस्कारसिद्ध (vol. I. pp. 867, 900) of रुद्रन्तु.

वीरसिद्ध, son of वैश्वदत्त; a. of साम-वेदीवदिरकारलकर.

About 1300 A. D.
रीरेच्छ, सोन्हे दुर्गिणेश्वर, युग्मसत्त्व 
(मोर्न पुंतम्बे) 
(कमो भाषा) 
(कमो भाषा) 
(तस्मिन) 
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List of Authors on Dharmadatta

**Vedantana** a. of वज्हादारविवेक.
**Vedantana** a. of सच्चारात्मक.
**Vedantavignesh** a. of सच्चारासंगत.
**Vedanthavignesh** a. of कालातृत्व and com. 
उपजाला.
**Vedanthaprin** son of क्रोणिपाण्ड्य; a. of वेशान्समस्ताकम्बिनिर्मित.
**Vedantary** a. of वच्चारागर्भसंगत.
**Vedantipanishad** a. of कालात्मक.
**Vedantaadhari** son of शालकुतात्मकाच; a. of आचार्यवाणिज्य.
**Vedantaadhari** a. of प्रज्ञावल्प.
**Vedantaadhari** a. of संस्काराय.
**Vedantaadhari or Vedantaadhara**, son of रुपाच of the वशीतागेभ. Later than 1200 A.D.; a. of com. on आशोच्चिन्द्र, of आशोच्चिन्द्र or आशोच्चिन्द्र and com. thereon, 
of स्थानिताकार, दर्शनिताक, दर्शनिताक and दर्शनिताक and its com. 
विद्यमानाक्षण, of पदमवसर and its com.
**Vedantaadhari** a. of स्मार्तायणिकित- 
विनिष्ठय.
**Vedantaadhari** a. of स्थवितानुसार.
**Vedantaadhari** रायस a. of आशोच्चिन्द्र or 
स्थवितानुसार or स्थवितानुसार.
**Vedantaadhari** a. of आशोच्चिन्द्र.
**Vedantaadhari** a. of स्थवितानुसार.
**Vedantaadhari** a. of स्थवितानुसार or 
आशोच्चिन्द्र.
**Vedantaadhari** a. of स्थवितानुसार.
**Vedantaadhari** a. of स्थवितानुसार; possibly 
the same as above.

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**Vedantaadhara** a. of सद्हसौविन्यामात.
**Vedantaadhara** राजेरियाद of सद्हसौविन्यामा. Earlier 
than 1580 A.D.; a. of com. 
प्राणान्यावत्तात.
**Vedantaadhara** a. of स्थवितानुसार.
**Vedantaadhara** a. of आशोच्चिन्द्र.
**Vedantaadhara** a. of com. on तथवातात्मक 
of नन्दवाणिज.
**Vedantaadhara** शालकुतात्मक a. of आशोच्चिन्य- 
पाद, मासमानात्मक.
**Vedantaadhara** (reputed) a. of निनिमात.
**Vedantaadhara** a. of वेदांगाय.
**Vedantaadhara** a. of वेदांगाय.
**Vedantaadhara** a. of विनिरद्दीक्षित.
Earlier than 1500 A.D.; a. of com. प्रकाश on पारस्तकस्वाम and of 
वाणिज्य (a. com. on astrological 
वाणिज्य, which is also 
called शालिमार्य.
**Vedantaadhara** (formerly called मालबाद) 
son of निरवालास्तु or समासानुसार, son of राममुख of आशोच्चिन्य. 
About 1643 A.D.; a. of आशोच्चिन्य- 
वाणिज्य, शालिमार्य वाणिज्य वाणिज्य.
**Vedantaadhara** ( between 1250-1500 A. 
D.); a. of स्थवितानुसार (written 
under the patronage of the king 
of कामसु).
**Vedantaadhara** ( रायस ) a. of इसरलन- 
वाणिज्य.
**Vedantaadhara** a. of हरिचन्द. Later 
than 1400 A.D.
**Vedantaadhara** तात्वाद अ. of संस्कार- 
वाणिज्य.
**Vedantaadhara** a. of वर्तितसंगत.

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H. D. G.
बेकुणमायाचार्य a. of युतानिकार.
बेलन (reputed) a. of युतानिकार and 
ध्रममाय.  
बेकुणमाय नोम तथा बेकुणमाय 
or बेदन, son of राष्ट्रीय.
बेकुणचार्य नोम an epithet applied to 
several scholars e.g. गुप्तीयविलेला 
लोचन is ascribed to a बेकुणचार्य 
नोम, so also प्रसोगवर्ण, स्मृति 
चारक.
बेलन a. of मायाकारचिन्तामिनि (of 
which तिथियनाम is a part). D. 
C. ms. No. 112 of 1895-1902 
was copied in संवत् 1719 
(1662-63 A.D.).
बेलन a. of विषाक्रिय.
बेलन, son of विषाक्रिय, son of महा 
देव. About 1675 A.D.; a. of अनु 
क्रममणी to several works of 
his father, such as आचारवार्तक, 
तिथ्यक, व्रतीयविलेला, पारमिताच 
वको, विचित्रचिन्ता (all parts of 
विषाक्रिय’s धमाकाचिन्तामिनि).
बेलन a. of कालिनिरुपण, विबाह 
निरन्तरण.
बेलन a. of उपाध्यक्षगति (कालव 
यात्री).
बेलन a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.
बेलन, son of महादेव पाप्पुल्लु and 
बेली and pupil of नागोजित्तु and 
father of बालभुमु Sec. 111. 
Auffret (I. p. 612) is wrong 
in identifying बेलन with बालभुमु 
(who was really बेलन’s son); 
a. of com. on विरायारस्मृति.
बेलन, son of रामचन्द्र तत्त्व, son 
of विद्वान; a. of अग्रिहोत्स्वार्य 
चारक and of com. on कार 
मायाधकारिक. He composed his 
उदाहरणचिन्ता in 1683 A.D.
बेलन, son of रावणम्बर, son of बेदन; 
a. of संस्कारपनि.
बेलन a. of आर्यचिन्ता.
बेलनदेवीसिक अनुमान में 1600 A.D.; a. 
of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह (parts of which 
are आदि, वायुमण, संस्कार etc.),
द्राचार्यविजय.
बेलनदेवीसिक a. of भद्दारामी.
बेलनदेवीसिक a. of वर्षसारभिं, वर्ष 
भाष्यम (both are probably iden 
tical).
बेलनप्रभु or बेलनप्रभु a. of a स्मृति; 
m. in सिताक्षर (on वायु. III 
17), अपराध p. 41.
बेलनप्रथम (reputed) a. of मीति 
प्रकाशिका.
बेलनप्रथम a. of a स्मृति; m. in सिता 
क्षर (on वायु. III. 326).
वेढम, son of केशव, and pupil of 
विषाल and protegee of वेलति; 
vide under वेढम.
वेढम a. of आशोचसंग्रह or विश 
भूवही.
वेढम a. of विषालसारसंग्रह.
वेढम see under वेढमप्रभु; m. by 
मितार, अपराध (pp. 132, 133, 145, 
521, 524, 1144, 1202), स्मृति 
चारक, हरभजन on श्री. च. 
(23. 11.) D. C. mss. No. 163 
of 1884-86 contains a वेढम.
List of Authors on Dharmadatta

Śrīti in 388 verses on daily duties such as śāna, tīlak, āna-
man, mṛdhākṣa, tārpaṇa, nātipīyam, saṃyogaṇṇa and āraś &c. A ms.
in the Bhadkamkar collection has an incomplete text in 260
verses.

व्याकरण m. as रस्तिरिकार (distinct
from व्याकरण) in नित्याचारप्रवीर
(p. 20).

व्याकरण or वाव. Probably same as
व्यास; m. by मन्त्राकार (on याज. III. 30), अपराक (pp. 112, 467,
892).

व्यास a. of Śrīti Sec. 52.

व्यास a. of झड़तिकुटि.

व्यास a. of तीर्थपरिमाणा.

व्यास, pupil of बुरसिंह; a. of सन्न्यासा.

व्यासदेव a. of व्यासमानीपविवेक or
निलाप.

अकालिन a. of बुद्धवर्मकार.

अकाल a. of आश्रित (डूंगरांगी for
followers of बुद्धमान). अकाल a. of संस्कारसर्वकल्पकता, संके
tस्तरकल्पनता. He was a devotee
of धृश्वेत son of बुद्धमान; prob-
ably same as the preceding.

अकालाज्ञान a. of बुद्धमानी, नीति-
विलास.

साह, son of व्यास, surnamed चारे
of the विनयचार वनस्थल; a. of
gāpyeṣuपुरस्त्रम्, तायर्कौड़ी, तीर्थसायन-
कौड़ी and प्रतीपायनकौड़ी (com-
posed in 1753 A. D.), वेदवायप
कौड़ी. बुद्धवर्मत्व (referred to
in ब्रोो).

साह a. of स्वाभायविवरण.

साह a. of वासुदिरोभिमणि (at the
bidding of श्यामसाह, son of मान-
लेरां).

साह a. of कुज्जेश्वरलाकार.

साह, son of रामकार, of the शारिक-
लगोत; a. of अस्त्यप्राप.

साह a. of प्रतििकौड़ी and प्रतििका-
प्रवर्त.

साह तात्त्विक a. of गोदामबर्ममारी;
probably same as the preceding.
Vide ms. No. 7659 (Baroda O.I.). Mentions ज्योतिरियन्य
and प्रवद्विरिका.

साह देवसा, son of दिख; a. of गोदान
प्रदर्शनीसाहरोबार.

साह देवसा a. of शालाम्ब्रमरिका.

साह विजय a. of मतादरा.

साहमुख, son of नारायणमुख; 
flourished between '1540-1600
A. D.; a. of दूरतनायेह or प्रसंहस्तनायेह,
निर्णयचन्द्रिका, परमेश्वरकार or सर्पेश्वर
प्रकार, अकालकपास्त and its com. 
(Stein's cat. p. 316).

साहमुख, son of निरक्तमुख, son of
शक्तमुख. Flourished between
1620-1680 A. D.; a. of कमे-
विपक, कुण्डकार, कुण्डबारक or
कुण्डविद्योद्दरिक (composed in
1671 A. D.). भारक, संकराभस्म
(of his father was revised by
him), स्वाभायसंबंध (of which
एकादशिनिन्य is a part).
History of Dharmakirti

 Vide sec. 12.

 Vaidyavata a. of com. on Adhojya-nirnaya of Brahmukitaparvati.

 Vajrayuddha a. of sthuti; m. in Mahaparinirvata.

 Vajrayuddha a. of sailamaka (m. in Jvoiti-satya vol. I. p. 596) and a Vajravadyacarit (m. in the kathasar of Mahabharata).

 Vajra a. of Suryavakya.

 Vajrayana, m. by nayanataru (on Ashok).

 Vajra Between 900 and 1100 A.D. m. in the stuvya-prasa, in sthuti-chandrika as a sthutisamudravaktra along with shrikan and dvaravati and by hemadri as refuting nayamati (III. i. p. 1148), Aufrecht ascribes the karmend to him. But this is wrong. Vide p. 295 above.

 Vajrasat a. of karasamag.

 Vajrayamabhisag a. of Kramagapr.

 Vajrayana śivabhāvanī pandit at the court of krama prince; a. of Akrama (composed in 1715 A.D.), vijnanaśr, bhāsaśrvadkūṣṭhadi, dveśājñavatākāśa, kāmadhāra (composed by order of king barnav, kṛṣṇaṁśrūti).

 Vajrayanaśastra a. of bhūvaśrūti. Probably the same as the preceding.

 Vajrayuddha kāśyapabha or dvarāśāśā, son of vajrakīra and pupil of vajraveś (he wrote his com. on mahatāśiva in 1708 A.D.); a. of

Earlier than 1050 A.D.; m. by kåtikik of abhāvatāna
(pp. 135, 306), by kāra (p. 117), by hemantri (III. p. 412 and III. 2. 479, 594, 610), by kåtikik of vajracāṇ, in mahajājana (p. 498).
श्म्भराज (He was Sambhaji, son of Shivaji, the great Maratha king and ruled from 1680-1689); (reputed) a. of फ्यूप्यून.

श्म्भराज (a Tanjore prince); a. of नीतिमारी (of which दुध-नीतिमारिक वरण is a part).

शारभोजी (king of Tanjore, 1798-1833 A.D.); a. of व्यवहारमकाए, व्यवसायमेंतत्त्वातिसारसारहम्भ (probably same as preceding).

शाकदायन m. in स्तुतिचित्रिक्का, हेमायिक, निर्मयादीतित, साह्यस्वल.

शाक्षु m. in व्यवहारमप्ल, दस्तक-नीमासा.

शाक्षार्यार्य a. of भुव्याप्यदकारिका or भुव्याप्यम्योन्यारिका.

शाक्षान a. of पूल।

शाक्षान m. in काव्यविषेक of जीवित- 

शाक्षायते (probably same as above) 

m. in अपराक्क (pp. 423, 424, 462, 

540), स्तुतिचित्रिक्का, हेमायिक, माध्यमाकार्य, समानपारिजात.

शापिन्द्र a. of गुरु (m. by श्रवण on आज. शै. १. ११. २१) and पफ्लटित m. by हरसन on शै. ३.

श. २३. १९, by स्तुतिचित्रिक्का on गाज- 

III. २८०, by स्तुतिचित्रिक्का (on 

आपोव p. १९०).

शालातप Sec. 28

शामिलित तिपाठित a. of तिथिदानाविव- 

पद्धत.

शाहार a. of विवाहवल m. in निर्लिन- 

शिल्प.

शाहार a. of भुव्याप्यम्योन्य or दौर- 

विन्यासारणी.

शाक्कायन m. in स्तुतिचित्रिक्का (on आपोव p. १९०), m. in आदर्शस्वल.

शाक्कायसहसवशती a. of परमबिंदसथ- 

निर्मण.

शिख, son of मध्याकारार्य; a. of संस्कार- 

पद्धत.

शिख, a. of आपस्तम्बप्यर्योम्यादपद्धत.

शिल्मशब्द (a वाक्षिणात्य); a. of आपहिकार, क्रमेवालिक and द्वार- 

रत.

शिव, son of मिल्कम्य; a. of राज्या- 

भिभेकनृवत.

शिव, son of गोविन्द, of the दुर्पेश family, originally from दुर्पेश (modern Kopargaon) on the Godavari; a. of चर्माचित्रकाव (composed at Benares in 1776 

A. D.).

शिव a. of देहसङ्कोची.

शिक्षद, son of दुर्पेश; a. of com. 

on समसतर.

शिवद a. by हेमायिक (III. २. p. 

५९४) and by राज्यानन.
History of Dharmadāstra

विषयां, son of दमाच्छा of the सौ-आकाशगंगा; a. of स्थितिस्थापन.

विषयसारसन्मत्र a. of ग्रामस्थापनार्थ.

विषयसास a. of com. on आशीर्वादस्वरूप of महारथ.

विषयरत्न, son of स्वर्यरत्न; a. of com. on समस्त.

विषय वैज्ञान, son of श्रीकृष्ण वैज्ञान of the भारतानियम; a. of शृंखलाप्रबंधामणि.

विषयन्नुन a. of निबन्धविनिधिनिष्ठित्व or नितिनिधिनिष्ठित्व.

विषयन्नुन्नात्र a. of नितिनिधिनिष्ठित्व (probably same as the preceding).

विषयरत्नान्सतासारी a. of प्रकाशभक्ति.

विषयसस्त्र a. of प्रयोगपत्र सर.

विषयसमां, son of भ्रमिनां of दुर्गापुर; a. of आसांसहा. Ms. No. 11958 (Baroda O. I.) was copied in 1610 (खगोपदपत्री शास्त्र) and the work mentions महानन्द and दुर्गापुर and so was composed between 1585-1685 A. D.

विषयसुद a. of आचार्यरण.

विषयसंगृ ह, son of वीरविसंगृ (possibly same as above). Later than 1640 A. D.; a. of व्यक्तिविवक्ति.

विषयसमां, son of विसाम of the Modha caste; a. of वाहिनीपालति and कार्यकार्यसाध्योपगी com. on the गोपिकायमित्र, नवग्रहालंकारत्वार्थ, of com. on कर्मसौति, छन्दोत्तरात्मकता, छन्दोत्तरात्मकता, आचार्यनिधिनिष्ठित्व, कर्मचारीनिधिनिष्ठित्व, of सम्पदकुमारनिष्ठित and com. प्रकाशभक्ति.

विषयसमां a. of वात्सर्यपालरभण.

विषयसमां a. of दुर्गापुराण.

विषयसमां a. of समस्तसंस्कृत.

विषयसमां a. of आसांसहाययात्र, आशीर्वाद-पद्धति and आशीर्वादस्वरूप, प्रकाशभक्ति.

विषयसमां a. of दुर्गापुराण.

विषयसमां a. of कुमारस्वरूप.

विषयसमां a. of कुमारस्वरूप, आशीर्वाद-पद्धति, आशीर्वाद-पद्धति and आशीर्वादस्वरूप, राज्यस्वरूप.

विषयसमां a. of आसांसहाययात्र, आशीर्वाद-पद्धति and आशीर्वादस्वरूप, राज्यस्वरूप.

विषयसमां a. of कुमारस्वरूप composed in 1578 A. D. He is probably the same as above. B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 72 pp. 64-65 gives 1562 शक (कालाधिकारकालीन शके तीसरे गुरुमार्गीति आदि) as date of copying.

विषयसमां दुर्गा (हृदीते?); a. of जाति-साधन.

विषयसमां a. of कुमारस्वरूप.

विषयसमां a. of कुमारस्वरूप.

विषयसमां a. of कुमारस्वरूप; a. of कुमारस्वरूप कुमारस्वरूप and com. कुमार-स्वरूप. Later than 1680 A. D.

विषयसमां a. of उपनयनचिन्तामणि.

विषयसमां a. of दुर्गापुर यात्रा.

विषयसमां a. of कुमारस्वरूप.

विषयसमां a. of कुमारस्वरूप.

विषयसमां a. of विक्रमादित्यस्वरूप.

विषयसमां a. of दुर्गापुर.

विषयसमां a. of विक्रमादित्यस्वरूप.

विषयसमां a. of विक्रमादित्यस्वरूप.

विषयसमां a. of कुमारस्वरूप.

विषयसमां a. of विक्रमादित्यस्वरूप. About: 1635 A. D.
List of Authors on Dhrdayastra

कवेश्वरिध, son of विहुलसिद्ध; a. of स्वतिशापिका.

छातवाय a. of नीतिसार.

मशान (probably मशरानाद्य); a. of स्वतिशापिका and com.

छुनेप a. of स्वती; m. in सिताकार (on याज्ञ. III. 16), अन्याराष्ट pp. 887, 902.

छुङ्गा m. in शेषालिंग and श्राविनियंत्र.

छुङ्ग a. of लिथिनिवेश (one ms. in B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 153D p. 163 is dated अश्वेत 1679).

छुङ्गा m. in परिवर्तित of श्रीभव.

छुङ्गणि Sec. 95; a. of श्रीपकलिका (com. on शाक्तफलनदर्शि), of परिवर्तित, स्वतिशापिका, (a digest of which at least 14 parts are known, vide p. 394). Au- frecht (I. 660) ascribes the समयप्रमाण to him, but this is not correct. Ms. No. 10849 श्रायितविवेक (Baroda O. I.) was copied in संवत 1501 अश्व (Feb. 1445 A. D.).

छेष्ठराय a. of अश्वसारिक.

छोलक (numerous works are attributed to him; the same कवेश्वरिध cannot be the author of all); a. of अत्तिदिशाप्रवर्तित, अस्थतिप्रयाप्तप्रवर्तित, अवेश्यंतनायामाल, एकाधिकान्त-श्रायितविवेक, अमुखोत्तिप्रयाप्ताल, अनाद्यकालम, अपवेश्यंतनायामाल, जीव-त्रायापयोग, कारिकावती, of श्राय and श्रायपरिवर्तित, of a श्रायसार श्राय (in which श्रायशत्ितार अवेश्यंतनायामाल is mentioned); of श्रायकरिता, of a स्वतन्त्र, of मर्यादानायामित्सारकार-मण्डित, नागमण्डित, श्रायशत्ितायामालम, श्रायसङ्केतसारित्तायामालम, सं- न्यासायामित्सार.

छोलक, son of रामसिद्ध; a. of बायश्वल-तीर्थयायामाल.

छायासिद्ध, son of गुप्तापर; a. of श्रायपरिवर्तित, समार्थकालम.

छायासिद्धरामचार्य a. of आचार्यविद्या.

छायादेव a. of श्रायसारिक.

छायादेव Earlier than 1150 A. D.; m. in श्रायपरिवर्तित of श्रीपर, होण्डे की आश्विन्ध मुल्यविश्द and by विश्वानन.

छायादेव a. of श्रायमणीकरीतिका.

छायादेव, pupil of महेश्वरतिर्थ; a. of श्रायतस.

छायादेव राय a. of श्रायसिद्ध.

छायादेवन a. of श्रायतसारम.

छायादेव Sec. 62.

छायाराज, father of श्रीनाथ आचार्य- श्रायमणि. About 1475-1500 A. D.; a. of श्रायनिर्णय, श्रायसिद्धिनिर्णय (of which श्रायनिर्णय seems to be part). Seems to have been connected with आश्विनिकितीय also.

छायादेव a. of com. on श्रायितविक of श्रायमणि.

छायादेव a. of श्रायसिद्ध.

छायादेव तात कुलकार a. of श्रायमिरसंग्रह, and of com. on श्रायमणि. About the middle of the 18th century.
History of Dharmadātra

Bīḍrāṇadhāraya, son of nārāyanaśvam-
ṛṣī; a. of sambhārāṇāgāra.

Bīḍrāṇaśaivaśastraī a. of śaṅkaraśastra-
ṇṛṣī or kāśyapaśastraīka.

Bīḍrāṇ a. of śaṅkaraśastraīka. Earlier
than 1540 A. D.,

Bīḍrāṇ Sec. 89. Between 1275-1310
A. D.; a. of nārāyaṇaśvam,
dhāmāśastraī, śaṅkaraśastra,
śaṅkaraśastraīka (for students of
yakṣaśāstra), śaṅkaraśastra,
śaṅkaraśastra (for
students of nārāyaṇaśvam), nārāyaṇaśvam,
śaṅkaraśastraīka. Vide N. vol. III p. 34
and vol. II p. 363 for śaṅkaraśastra
and N. vol. V p. 250 for śaṅ-
karaśastraīka. Aufrecht (I p. 668) is
wrong in regarding śaṅkaraśastraīka
as another name of śaṅkaraśastra; vide
Ultrawar cat. extract No. 351 for
śaṅkaraśastraīka.

Bīḍrāṇ, son of nāgappaśastraīkā. Before
1418 A. D.; a. of ekāndhaśastraīka,
hāppaśastraīka, (m. in the ekāndha-
hāppaśastraīka), nārāyaṇaśastraīka (pro-
ably of this author and not of
the preceding).

Bīḍrāṇ a. of śaṅkaraśastraīka.

Bīḍrāṇ, son of nāgarṣu ṛṣyaśāstra, of
śaṅkaraśastraīka. Sec. 81; a. of
śaṅkaraśastraīka and Bīḍrāṇī.

Bīḍrāṇ a. of dhāmpsāstraīka.

Bīḍrāṇ a. of kāśyapaśastraīka.

Bīḍrāṇ a. of śaṅkaraśastraīka. Pro-
bably the same as above.

Bīḍrāṇ son of bāhäuser, son of hīl,
who was sole minister of the king
of nāgappaśastraīka.

Bīḍrāṇ, son of pāmākṣarāṇāgāra; a. of
 śaṅkaraśastraīka. He was a fol-
lower of the śaṅkaraśastraīka re-
cension of śaṅkaraśastraīka and based
his work on śaṅkaraśastra; mentions
rāmakṛṣṇaśastraīka. Ms. No. 603 (Bar-
roda O. I. ) is dated sambhāra 1547
śaṅkaraśastra (1490 A. D.). He wrote
also śaṅkaraśastraīka on śaṅkaraśastraīka.
Vide Ms. No. 5491 (Barroda O. I. ). He mentions
śaṅkaraśastraīka therein. The ms. was copied
in sambhāra 1607 śaṅkaraśastra 19 (1551
A. D.). D. C. Ms. No. 119 of
1884-86 of the śaṅkaraśastraīka is
dated sambhāra 1434 śaṅkaraśastra 14
śaṅkaraśastraīka (i. e. 1378 A. D.).

Bīḍrāṇ a. of śaṅkaraśastraīka.

Bīḍrāṇ a. of nāgarṣu śaṅkaraśastraīka.

Bīḍrāṇ, son of nāgarṣu and younger
brother of nārāyaṇaśvam. About
1520-1590 A. D.; a. of śaṅkaraśastra-
śastraīka or śaṅkaraśastraīka.

Bīḍrāṇ (śaṅkaraśastraīka), son of Bīḍrāṇ, son
of nāgarṣu; a. of śaṅkaraśastraīka.

Bīḍrāṇ (śaṅkaraśastraīka), son of nāgarṣu, of
śaṅkaraśastraīka or śaṅkaraśastraīka.

Bīḍrāṇ (śaṅkaraśastraīka), son of Bīḍrāṇ, son
of nāgarṣu; a. of śaṅkaraśastraīka.

Bīḍrāṇ (śaṅkaraśastraīka), son of Bīḍrāṇ, son
of nāgarṣu; a. of śaṅkaraśastraīka.

Bīḍrāṇ (śaṅkaraśastraīka), son of Bīḍrāṇ, son
of nāgarṣu; a. of śaṅkaraśastraīka.

श्रीहर्षनाथ स्र. of स्वरूपसिद्धि com. on शास्त्राञ्चलः
श्रीकसापावर th. by अपराक्ष p. 485
श्रीकनोमिभिद m. by हेमांति
श्रीकौशिक m. by काशिवेशक of जीवनावलि, अपराक्ष (p. 483), कालापाव (p. 153)
श्रीकौस्तम्भ m. in मन्व. पा.
श्रीकौस्तम्भ m. in आचारयाच्य.
खेतेश्वर m. in आय. प. छ. I. 4. 13 19
संक्षेपःश्लोक a. of वैद्यसारमहामहमण्डली
सच्चिदानंत्र a. of वैद्यवाचारिणीय.
सच्चिदान्वनय a. of लक्षितदानसत्यग्रन्थ.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of परिस्थितासात्मणिय.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of परिस्थितासत्तती.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of लक्षितदानसत्यग्रन्थ.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of परिस्थितासात्मणि.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of परिस्थितासत्तती.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of लक्षितदानसत्यग्रन्थ.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of परिस्थितासात्मणि.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of परिस्थितासत्तती.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of लक्षितदानसत्यग्रन्थ.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of परिस्थितासात्मणि.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of परिस्थितासत्तती.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of लक्षितदानसत्यग्रन्थ.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of परिस्थितासात्मणि.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of परिस्थितासत्तती.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of लक्षितदानसत्यग्रन्थ.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of परिस्थितासात्मणि.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of परिस्थितासत्तती.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of लक्षितदानसत्यग्रन्थ.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of परिस्थितासात्मणि.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of परिस्थितासत्तती.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of लक्षितदानसत्यग्रन्थ.
सच्चिदान्वसत्तती a. of परिस्थितासात्मणि.
List of Authors on Dharmasastra

Sannakumar m. in Mr. Sir., Niripashruti, Vidyadhiraj.

Svatantraprasamish, son of Krsma and pupil of Krta and brother of yas and bhadram. About 1500-1550 A.D.; a of Achalana and Harnakhichidhasthak.

Sama - a Sthriti is ascribed to them. Vide under Sama Sarpana.


Sambhush A of 1000 A.D.; m. in Kasirved of Rambhut (pp. 240, 255).

Sarvadhanicarya or Narahari a of Sthritartha. About 1300 A.D.

Sarabanarayan vide under Sarabanarayan.

Samkshya son of Vishnubhar son of Bhuteshar; a of Vyabhacaryas.

Samkshya son of Srisahas; a of Sthritartha.

Samkshya compiled for Sir William Jones in 1789.

Sukhrung m. in com. on Asamchak of Bhrat.

Sukhrung vide under Sukhrung.

Sama A of Sama.

Sama A of Sama or Sama, son of Pratapayam of Kama.

Sama A of Pratapayam of Kama. He was a protege of Naman; a of Pratapayam and Varna and Sanyasa (vid. ms. No. 5887 Baroda O. I. for Rajbhakakap or the Pratapayamt and Varnakap is a part of it).

Sama, brother of Makhacharya and son of Sama. Vide sec. 92.

Several works are attributed to him, but one cannot be certain of their authenticity; a of Nirmalabhadram, Janashabdakamap, Purnarbhavabam, Sambhava, Sambhavat, Sambhavat, and Sambhavat.

Sama A of Sama; a of Sthritartha.

Sama (this is a mere title);

a of Sthritartha, Rama and Sthritartha.

Sama A of Sama.

Sama A of Sama and Sthritartha.

Sama A of Sama (compiled by order of king Pratapdev of Kalpi).

Sama A of Sama (part of Bhrat).

Sama A of Sama; a of Sama; a of Sama.


History of Dharmaśāstra

तिब्बलिनाथापति a. of श्रीमकर्त्त.
तिब्बलरण, son of तामोरण, son of शुद्धरदूत. About 1630-1670 A.D.; a. of संस्कारभार्तर or संस्कारमुख, सत्यकारण्त.
तिमाराम, son of तुलसिनाथ of कोपिण्ड्य-गोहर; a. of सत्यविवेदन. com. on नीतिपक्षका of वेदांतपाणि.
तिमारामनिग्रह, son of श्रीपरमेश्वर and काः; ग्रामका and grandson of सुधीर, of कोपिण्ड्य-गोहर; a. of कालिनिण्य-चारिन्का.
तिमारामाधिपत्र a. of इतरलप्तल.
झुत्यानाथार्य, son of ज्योतिषाध्याय. Earlier than 1500 A.D.; a. of तात्तद्वर्ण com. on आपस्तम्भकोष (pr. in Kashi S. series); आपस्तम्भकार, तिथिपिन्याय, आधुनिकय; m. in श्रीपरमेश्वर's com. on चातुर्जहर्षमित्र and in विधानपरिनाम, by गुरुमाराम in his प्रयोगम, in the गैतिनिण्य of शालबराम. He mentions कार्तिकेय in the तात्तद्वर्ण.
झुत्यार, son of राम; a. of वाराणसी-ल्याग.
झुटसेन m. in com. on नीतिपक्षका-सुध.
झुटहाण्य Sec. 29.
झुरेश्वर a. of यतिसंवाचारिक.
झुरेश्वर a. of तिथिसुधर्ष or सर्वतिथि-सुधर.
झरेश्वर वर्षावत्व. Earlier than 1500 A.D.; a. of व्यवहारार्त्व.
झरेश्वरार्त्व, pupil of रुपमारात्मक; a. of उपचारार्त्वकारकर्म and महाविष्कृतीयादयार्त्व.
झरेश्वरार्त्व a. of कालिनिण्यकारकर्म or कालिनिण्यकारकर्म.
झरेश्वरार्त्व a. of विकृतितया विकर्त्तवाय.
झरेश्वरार्त्व a. of नगराकर्मकार (compiled under orders of नगराकर्म, king of कालोत).
झरेश्वरार्त्व a. of कालिनिण्यकारकर्म.
झरेश्वर a. of तिथिवेदन. Later than 1500 A.D.; a. of com. on कालिनिण्यपीका of रामपुराण.
झरेश्वरार्त्व a. of नगराकर्म (compiled at the bidding of नवराज).
झरेश्वरार्त्व (ज्योतिर्णार्त्व) a. of आधुनिक-विद्व.
झरेश्वर a. of कार्यविवाहकार.
झरेश्वर (reputed) a. of निर्धाराय.
झोपेदेव, son of गोतमवेदनार्थ, son of झुपेरेश्वर who was treasurer (कोपिण्ड्य-पिकारी) to a शील prince; a. of झैवाच्छत (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 389 p. 456).
झोबीकारी आचार्य a. of सत्यप्रथाकथा-समुपक.
झोमण्ड m. in हेमार्थ (कालिनिण्य p. 79).
झोमण्ड a. of नीतिभाषाव्यत. He wrote his व्यासाल लक्ष in भाषा 881 (969-70 A.D.).
List of Authors on Dharmaśīlāstra

Sthanāya a. of Mahāraṇāya.
Sthānāya, son of Mahāraṇ and Śrīpāśārka
and surnamed Saktakulika and a
resident of Āravanes; a. of Jāti
Māta (D. C. No. 302 of 1884-
1886 is a work in about 160
verses in various metres on
Kśemīnīrū, Vaiśāvyā, Pārshīcitā, but
not on Kṛmāśātra or castes).

Sthānāyaḥpur a. of Mahāraṇa of the
Nīlaka family; a. of Sthānāyaīīā.

Stabhmāra m. in Apīnāla's Śrīpāśāraka.

Stabhmāra a. of Apīnālaṇīīā.

Stabhmāra, pupil of Saṁvīn, pupil of
Śamaṇ; a. of Kramaśīlākara (com-
posed in 1073 A. D.). HP. cat.
pXI.

Stabhmāraṇīśāya a. of Vaiśāyindalṭatvāk.

Stabhmāya Cālyaka king,
son of Vaiśāyindalṭā. Reigned
1127-1138 A. D.; a. of Abhi-
Maṇītāyaṭāpīntamaṇī or Maṇītāyaṭā
(composed in sāke 1051 i.e.
1129 A. D.).

Śambha m. in Śrītēṣaṇa.

Śambha m. in śrī.

Śambhā i.e. Ṛṣvanāyānmathāyā m. in the
ś. m.

Śrīnāyaḥkara m. in Kāleśhikeṣh of Śrīnāya-
ṇāṇa; vide p. 286 n. 631.

Śrīnāyaḥkara m. in Śrītēṣaṇ of Śrīnāya.

Harivānśa About 1610 A. D.; a. of
Śrīnāyānmathāyā.

Harivānśa Sec. 86; a. of Anātuka (com.
on Āap. v. 9.); Anātuka (com.
on Āp. v. 9.), Āvāsā (com.
on Āap. v. 9.), com. on Āap.
Śaṭāyīśaṁyānmath or Śaṭāyīśa (or
K≡̄k≡̄śaśīlākara); Mādūrī (com.
on Ga. v. 9.), com. on Āapatśa-
parīśrēṣhānmath.

Harivānśa a. of Śrītēṣaṇāyā.

Harivānśa a. of Āpśaṭēṣaṇīīā.

Harivānśa a. of Śrītēṣaṇāyā.

Harivānśa son of Nātīśa of the Ārapīṇa
family; a. of Āpśaṭēṣaṇīīā (com-
posed at Vaiśāyindalṭā, modern Wai,
on the Kṛṣṇā river).

Harivānśa a. of Vaiśāyindalṭāmīśāra.

Harivānśa tīvrah a. of Kramaśīlākara.
(ms dated 1668 A. D.)

Harivānśa a. of Vaiśāyindalṭāyā.

Harivānśa a. of Kramaśīlākara.

Harivānśaṇīśa a. of Āpaśaṭēṣaṇīīā.

Harivānśa son of Śrīṇāya; a. of Kramaśīlākara
(ms. No. 6892, Baroda O. I.).

Harivānśaṇīśa a. of Ṛgśaṭēṣaṇīīā.

Harivānśaṇīśa a. of Vaiśāyindalṭāyā.

Harivānśa, son of Kramaśīlākara; a. of Vaiśā-
ṇāṇa (composed in ś. 1614
i.e. 1557-58 A. D.).

Harivānśa, son of Vaiśāyān; a. of Ṛgśa-
ṇāṇa. Earlier than 1625 A. D.

Harivānśaṇīśa a. by Ṛṣvanāyānmath in
ṛkśiśrēṣh (ip. 243.)

Harivānśaṇīśa a. of com. on Vaiśāyān,
रिषेशभु म. in जातसागर of कुक्कुब्बु.
रिषेशभुर a. of विवाहनगर.
रिषेशचन्द्र a. of जहूतरपनक.
रिषेशचन्द्र a. of ग्रहभोक्तिप्रकाश (composed in 1795-96 A.D.).
रिषेशचन्द्र Sec. 91; a. of स्वतिसार or -सारस्तुक.
रिषेशचन्द्रभूषण a. of इतिकथासविन्यास or -विनिर्णय.
रिषेशचन्द्रचारण a. of सुज्जेतकौशली, सत्य-सतीपिका.
रिषेशचारण a. of कुक्कुब्ब्रा.
रिषेशचारण a. of वर्धमान.
रिषेशचारण a. of ज्ञानिन्दकारिका (based on रुपन्द्रून's work).
रिषेशचारण (a title of श्रेष्ठसिंह king of मिनिला) a. of महाराज divided into seven तत्त्रक्स on कुक्कुब्बु, आचार, विवाह, अथवा, त न, कुक्कुब्बु and आचार. B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 76 p. 69 contains the first viz. on कुक्कुब्बु.
रिषेशसागर, son of मकरन्द; a. of अचारात्मक.
रिषेशसागर, son of ग्रेश्व or ग्रेश्वर of मणिदार; a. of सदभरत्नस्वाभिलक in 62 verses.
रिषेशसागरमूर्तिम a. of प्रतिकारकाशा.
रिषेशभु a. of कुक्कुब्ब्रकाशा.
रिषेशभु a. of विवाहनगर.
रिषेशभुरातितिस a. of अन्यकिर्मेदानिका.
रिषेशभु छुट a. of शालसाराराज.
रिषेशमाकरसंकर, son of आचारभोक्ति or आचारभोक्ति. Vide under आचार-संकर.
रिषेशभूत a. of विषष्यविवाहमित्र.
रिषेशभूत later than 1600 A.D.; a. of com. on ज्ञानिन्द, of ज्ञानिन्दसार, of com. on ग्रहोपयरिकारकाशा of नारायण, of ज्ञानिन्दसार, of com. on कुक्कुब्बु, of com. on तत्त्वसार, of व्यवहारकाशा, आचारविद्या, पदकन्तिके.
रिषेशभूत a. of दिव्यमुनन्तज्ञ.
रिषेशभूत मोर्चापित a. of तत्त्वारातिक.
रिषेशभूत a. of दिव्यमुनन्तज्ञ.
रिषेशभूत a. of आचाराद्वा of बादर.
रिषेशभूत a. of तक्ष्यकीर्तिनाथ.
रिषेशभूत m. as a predecessor in काल्पनिक of जीवना and in ज्ञानिन्दसार of रुपु (vol. II. p. 295).
रिषेशभूत a. of यात्रायोगात्मक.
रिषेशभोक्ति Earlier than 1500 A.D.; m. in प्रायिकात्मक of रुपु (vol. I. p. 331) as ज्ञानकार of पारस्कार, in ज्ञानिन्दसार (vol. II. p. 305), उदाहरत्न (vol. II. p. 143) etc.; in यात्रायोगात्मक (vol. II. p. 488) हरिवर्धन and हरिश्चंद्र are separately mentioned in the same sentence on a passage of the काल्पनिक.
रिषेशभूत a. of चर्मचन्द्र.
रिष तामसताज, son of हरिपु; a. of वर्धमान.
रिषेशभूत a. of वर्धमान.
रिषेशभूत a. of वर्धमान.
List of Authors on Dharmaśāstra

Harṣeṇa of Benares; a. of Rajanīti.

Harīra a. of com. on एकायनस्यक or द्वारद्वीपी. Ms. (Baroda O. I.) No. 1526 is dated 1448.

Harīra (probably the same as Harīra above) a jurist m. in चि. र.

Harīra a. of com. on छन्दोपरिशिष्टवर्त्तका of नारायण.

Harīra a. of य स्रोगरात.

Harīra, son of भांड्रा alias भांड्रा; a. of अन्येतिप्रवर्ति (following the भारसाहज्जत).

Harīra अध्यक्षविक Sec. 84. Between 1275-1400; a. of माय on पारस्करस्यादुर and पत्रिय thereon and of com. on स्नानविषयक of कात्यायन.

Harīrapāṇित, son of नारायण; a. of बाचारसंग्रह.

Harīrāmāchārya a. of समयविनष्ट (composed in साहे 1481 i.e. 1559-60 A. D.).

Harīṛa a. of छाश्चिपरिच्छेद (B. O. Mss. cat. vol. I. No. 379 p. 434). Later than 1450, as he mentions रत्नाकर and छाश्चिपरिच्छेद.

Harī or बीणरसीतित a. of हरिकौविर (com.) on विषाणुलक.

Harīṇद्र a. in भारसाहज्जत of

Harīṇद्रसीतित, son of प्रसनाम; a. of स्नानतपण.

Harīṇa 1000-1100 A.D.; a jurist m. in कात्यायन, चि. र., स्वतितार of हरिनार.

Harīṇa, son of वनस्य of the वस्त्रोग, brother of द्वारसिद्ध्व, पदेतवर्त्तत (Sec. 72; a. of अन्येतिप्रवर्ति, पदेतवर्त्तत, वेणासिद्ध्व, द्वारसिद्ध्व, कमोपकेशीन).

Harīṇa a. of com. on नारायणविनष्ट of पत्रिय.


Harīṇa, son of पुराणोग; a. of गुप्तकवि वर्त्त (composed in 1474 A.D.).

Harīṇa a. of संवतसर्वविप (mentioned in the एकादशीतत्त्व and छाश्चिपरिच्छेद).

Harīṇa 1375 a. of com. on the अमृतानश्च of विषाणुलक.

Harīṛamāṭrāv a. of कामरुपाब्यग्नति.

Harīṛa. Sec. 11, 56; a. of वर्त्तादुर and (another Harīṛa) a. of a स्नान in verse on अन्य ग्रन्थाद &c.

Harīṛa न म. in बारसाहज्जत of जाहूक.

Harīṛa शमकेशीन a. of चर्मचतुष्ठिय, पिळुचचनाद, यादव.

Harīṛa न म. of नान्दीमुखार्हण (B. O. mss. cat. No. 242 p. 264); ms. dated 1753.

Harīṛa विषाणुलका a. of स्नानतारसंग्रह.
History of Dharmasastra

Hemakara m. by Krsna in Bhaskara.

Hemacharya a. of Brhadit. Flourished between 1088-1172 A.D.

Hemandin, son of Kaumodaka, son of Kshemdev. Sec. 87; a. of Bidhrinathya-Ma.

Hemavit a. of Visphaliticip.

Hemavit a. of Kshemadityap.

Hirantam (or Harihita); a. of Vasudeva or Svaravastipathi, Brahmabandhup (Ulwar cat. extract No. 355), Brahmabandhup.