

statement of the Vinaya Piṭaka may be viewed in connexion with the fact that the Buddhists never denote the *ājīvikas* as real followers of Gosāla. Thus it might perhaps obtain some little more probability.

After all, I have only wished with these few remarks to try to prove that *ājīvaka* originally had nothing to do with Gosāla especially, but was a much older name designating a sect to which he originally belonged and afterwards transferred to his disciples.

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IMPRECATIONS IN INDIAN LAND GRANTS

On pp. 248 ff. of this Journal for 1912 Mr. Pargiter has published a useful collection (increased afterwards by Professor Hultsch, p. 476) of those passages from the *Mahābhārata* and from the Purāṇas to which some of the well-known imprecatory and benedictory verses quoted in ancient Sanskrit grants of land may ultimately be traced. Most of the earliest grants themselves either state, in a general way, that these verses were composed or sung by Vyāsa or Veda-Vyāsa, the reputed compiler of both the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, or declare more distinctly that they were proclaimed by Vyāsa in the *Mahābhārata*.

In connexion with this subject, it may perhaps be mentioned that the fabulous Vyāsa is regarded as the author of a much quoted Smṛti or law-book as well, and that it is to this legal writer named Vyāsa that the authorship of the imprecations in the grants has been attributed in Dr. Burnell's *Elements of South Indian Palæography*, p. 114, where he says: "The last clause in most grants consists of imprecations on those who resume or violate them; and these generally consist of the words *from the Vyāsamṛti* given above, though often with considerable variations." The reference is to a previous passage in Dr. Burnell's *Palæography*, containing the whole chapter

on documents from the Smṛticandrikā in the original Sanskrit, and in it a text of Vyāsa : *ṣaṣṭivarṣasahasrāṇi dānācchedaphalaṃ tatha | āgāminṛpasāmantabodhanārthaṃ nṛpo likhet ||*

Now it is important to note that the texts assigned to Vyāsa in the Smṛticandrikā and other digests of law include, besides the text just quoted, which agrees closely with one of the commonest imprecatory texts in the grants, a number of other verses in which all the more substantial parts of a grant are carefully enumerated. Further details are supplied in other Smṛtis and in the commentaries, so that we may say, with Dr. Burnell, that the several clauses of a grant, which were legally necessary to its validity, are well described in the Indian law-books. Thus a proper copperplate grant is to contain—the place from which it is issued ; the genealogy of the royal donor ; a description of the gift, and of its conditions and boundaries ; an address to royal officials and other persons ; the information of future rulers regarding the gift and its preservation ; its religious object ; the name, caste, family, and Vedic study of the recipient or recipients ; the perpetuity, inviolability, and heredity of the gift ; special privileges granted ; the benedictory and imprecatory verses ; the signature of the king ; the date ; the official in charge of the grant ; the royal seal. For a detailed comparison of these rules with the contents and wording of existing grants I may be allowed to refer to my paper on “Theory and Practice in Ancient Indian Procedure”, ZDMG. xliv, 342 ff. (1890).

Would it be going too far, then, to credit some of the learned composers of Śāsanas, whose qualifications and acquirements are discussed in the curious Śāsanādhikāra (ii, 10) of the *Arthasāstra*, with a general knowledge of the above rules, and therefore also of some of the verses on gifts of land occurring in the law-books ? Thus the

short Smṛti of Bṛhaspati<sup>1</sup> consists of eighty verses chiefly on gifts of land, sixteen of which actually recur in land grants. They commence as follows: *phālakṛṣṭām mahīṃ dattvā, yathā bījāni rohanti, yathā gaur bharate, śaṅkhaṃ bhadrāsanam, ādityo varuṇo vahniḥ, āsphoṭayanti pitarah, bahubhir vasudhā, svadattāṃ paradattāṃ vā, ākṣeptā cānumantā ca, agner apatyam, bhūmim yaj pratigrhṇāti, sarveṣāṃ eva dānānām, harate hārayed yas tu, vāpikūpasahasreṇa, gām ekām, na viṣaṃ viṣam.* The śloka *svadattāṃ paradattāṃ vā* is also quoted as a Smṛti in Nandapaṇḍita's *Vaijayantī*. The triṣṭubh *sāmānyo 'yaṃ dharmasetuḥ* is both cited from Vyāsa in legal commentaries and quoted in many grants. Nor is Vyāsa the only authority for all these sayings even according to the grants, several of which introduce the verses on gifts of land by some such clause as *tathā coktaṃ dharmasāstre* (or *dharmasāstreṣū*), or *uktaṃ ca dharmasāstraiḥ*, or *uktaṃ ca smṛtisāstre*, or *bhavanti cātra smṛtislokāḥ*, or *uktaṃ ca mānave dharme*, or *udāharanti manvādayo maharṣayah*, or *atra manugītāḥ ślokā bhavanti*, or *tathā ca dharmaslokāḥ*, etc.<sup>2</sup> Judging from these references the Dharmasāstras or Smṛtis were certainly known to some writers of grants, and so it seems were the legal commentaries, one of which at least, the *Dānakhaṇḍa* of Hemādri (c. 1300 A.D.), is twice referred to in a grant as an authoritative work on gifts.<sup>3</sup> The *Dānakhaṇḍa* is no doubt one of the most comprehensive works extant on *dāna*, and contains a section on gifts of land (*bhāmīdāna*, pp. 494 ff.) full of quotations from the Epics and from the Smṛtis, in which we again meet with a number of verses familiar from the grants,

<sup>1</sup> *Dharmasāstrasamgraha* (Calc., 1876), i, pp. 644 ff. = *Smṛtinām Samuccayah* (Puna, 1905), pp. 108 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, pp. 45, 343, 348, 353, 357; iv, p. 259; vi, pp. 18, 97, 145; vii, pp. 93, 100; viii, p. 142; ix, pp. 45, 276; xi, pp. 97, 100, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Hemādrīdānāny akarot, Hemādrīdānavratī* (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 61).

such as *phālakṛṣṭāṃ mahīm dattvā, ādityo varuṇo viṣṇuḥ, vindhyātāvīṣv atoyāsu, svadattāṃ paradattāṃ vā, ṣaṣṭivarṣasahasrāṇi, āsphoṭayanti pitarah*, etc.

These considerations tend to show that the law-books should not be overlooked as a possible source of some of the verses on gifts of land in the grants. It is not intended, however, to question the correctness of the statement that those verses, which are attributed to Vyāsa in grants of the Gupta period and later on, were taken from the ancient Epics rather than from the Vyāsasmṛti, as suggested by Dr. Burnell. The *Mahābhārata*, as we have seen, is distinctly mentioned as the source of these verses in some of the grants. As regards the Purāṇas, we have, besides the verses actually traced by Mr. Pargiter to various Purāṇas, the express statement in several grants that the verses come from a Purāṇa,<sup>1</sup> and a remark in such an authoritative legal work as the *Vīramitrodāya* (p. 194) to the effect that an imprecatory verse from the Purāṇas shall be inserted in the grants (*ṣaṣṭivarṣasahasrāṇītyādi purāṇavacanaprasiddham . . . svargādīnarakādīphalaṃ lekhyed rājety arthah*).

WÜRZBURG.  
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P.S. The additional two verses, which Mr. R. Narasimhachar has quoted on p. 388 of Journal for 1913 from a land grant of about 400 A.D., and traced to the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, are also found in *Manu* viii, 98, 99.

#### THE ALCMANIC FIGURE

An interesting and ingenious attempt has been made of late by Mr. J. Fraser<sup>2</sup> to bring the so-called Alcmatic

<sup>1</sup> *Purāṇavacānāni likhyante or bhavanti cātra paurāṇikāḥ ślokāḥ: Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 63; iv, pp. 109, 117; viii, p. 156, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Classical Quarterly*, iv, 27-9.