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Dīpābāi of Tanjore, and his Works—  
Between A. D. 1675-1712

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# RAGHUNĀTHA, A PROTÉGÉ OF QUEEN DĪPĀBĀI OF TANJORE, AND HIS WORKS—BETWEEN A.D. 1675-1712

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AUFRECHT<sup>1</sup> mentions an author of the name Raghunātha Sūri, who composed a work on Dietetics called the *Bhojana-Kutūhala*. He mentions no other works of this author, though many other namesakes<sup>2</sup> of Raghunātha and their works are recorded by Aufrecht. I propose to examine in this paper the question of the identity of some of these namesakes with Raghunātha Sūri the author of the *Bhojana-Kutūhala*, with which I have dealt with elsewhere<sup>3</sup>. When I studied this work on dietetics I had no idea that this author had composed any other works. Subsequently Mr. R. Rangachariar published a paper<sup>4</sup> on the

<sup>1</sup> CC.I, 484—"रघुनाथसूरि—Bhojana-Kutūhala".

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 483-486.

<sup>3</sup> My paper on this work will be published after some time.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of S. M. Library, Tanjore*, Vol. I, No. 2 (1939-1940), page 29—"Raghunathsūri and his *Bhojana-Kutūhala*". Here the Colophons of the भोजनकुतूहल and धर्माश्रितमहोदधि are recorded as follows :—

—“इति श्रीमद्विद्वद्वन्द्वन्यपाशरविन्दश्रीमदनन्तदेवोदयस्य रघुनाथविदुषः कृतौ भोजनकुतूहले  
द्रव्यगुणागुणकथनं नाम प्रथमः परिच्छेदः”

—“इति श्रीमत्सकलभूमण्डलमण्डलायमानश्रीमदनन्तदेवात्मजश्रीमदापदेवतत्सुतश्रीमदनन्तदेवो-  
दयस्य रघुनाथविदुषः कृतौ धर्माश्रितमहोदधिनिबन्धने गोदानविधिः”

Mr. Rangachariar identifies अनन्तदेव common to both the above Colophons with अनन्तदेव the author of the मीमांसान्यायप्रकाश who “is known to have flourished during the end of the 16th Century A.D.” The author of मीमांसान्यायप्रकाश was आपदेव and not अनन्तदेव. His genealogy is as follows :—

a. of मी. न्या. प्रकाश

एकनाथ→ आपदेव (I)→ अनन्तदेव (I)→ आपदेव (II) (A.D. 1600-1650)→ अनन्तदेव [a. of  
स्मृतिकौस्तुभ] (A.D. 1675-1700).

(Vide my paper on Āpadeva in the *F. W. Thomas Com. Volume*).

If the statement of the Colophon of धर्माश्रितमहोदधि is correct we must verify what अनन्तदेव is connected with रघुनाथ the author of the *BK* and the धर्माश्रितमहोदधि.

Mr. Rangachariar further observes :—“This Raghunāthasūri appears to be a native of northern parts and a *Maharatta* for he quotes *Maharatta* Synonyms frequently in this work” (i.e., भोजनकुतूहल). These remarks are correct as will be seen from the Marathi works of our author mentioned later in this paper.

*Bhojana-Kutūhala* in which he disclosed another work of this author, viz., *Dharmāmṛtamahodadhi*. This paper led me to an inquiry regarding any other works of this author and the evidence for proving the identity of the authors of these works with Raghunātha, the author of the *Bhojana-Kutūhala*. Fortunately for my inquiry I was able to get the necessary evidence to prove the authorship of several works attributed to the namesakes of Raghunātha, the author of the *Bhojana-Kutūhala*. This evidence is as follows :—

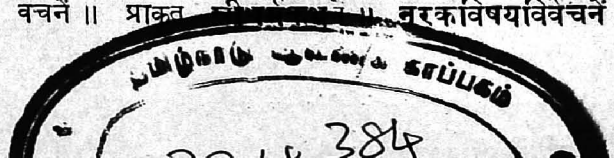
Raghunātha, the author of the *BK* (= *Bhojana Kutūhala*) took to the composition of Marathi works after he had composed many Sanskrit works as stated by him in his Marathi work *Naraka-varṇana* composed in *Ovī* metre. A MS of this work is available in the Sarasvati Mahal Library at Tanjore.<sup>5</sup> In this work Raghunātha not only claims the *BK* as his own work but also gives us a list<sup>6</sup> of his earlier Sanskrit works. According to this list Raghunātha composed the following works :—

(1) *Bhojana-Kutūhala*, (2) *Sāhitya-Kutūhala*, (3) *Prāyaścitta-Kutūhala*, (4) *Janārdana Mahodadhi*, (5) *Dharmāmṛtamahodadhi*, (6) *Kāśīmāmsā*. The identity of the author of the *Naraka-varṇana* a Marathi work composed by Raghunātha with his namesake, the author of the *BK* is clearly proved as the former mentions the *BK* as his own work in the *Naraka-varṇana* represented by the Tanjore MS, referred to above. We are thus in a position to have reliable information regarding Raghunātha's literary activity both in the Sanskrit and the Marathi fields as this information is vouched by the statement of the author himself. In fact the list of our author's works as recorded in the *Naraka-varṇana*

<sup>5</sup> *Descriptive Cata. of Marathi MSS*, Tanjore, by Ramachandrarao, 1929, p. 191—No. 573—*नरकवर्णन रघुनाथकृत—ओव्या—folios 10*. On folio 19 the author informs us :—“ जें जें पुसिलें नृपनायकें ॥ तें तें सांगितलें शुके ॥ तें सर्वही दीपांबिके ॥ प्रति निरूपिलें रघुनाथें ॥ ४९ ॥ ”

*Dīpāmbikā* asked Raghunātha to compose Marathi works for the benefit of the masses who found Sanskrit difficult to understand (संस्कृत कठिन म्हणून प्राकृत). Raghunātha devotes in this work some *Ovis* (59-67) to the eulogy of his patron दीपांबिका called दीपांबास्तवन. She was a royal personage with three illustrious princes as her sons :—“ तीन पुरुषार्थ तिघे भूप । जयेचे पुत्र कुलदीप । दीपांबिका यथार्थरूप । नाम म्हणौनि शोभतसे ”.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 191—“ पूर्वी केले ग्रंथ बहुत ॥ तथा माजी भोजनकुतूहल ॥ दुजे साहित्य-कुतूहल ॥ चित्ररचनेसहिता निवल ॥ ५१ ॥ प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल ॥ श्रौतस्मार्तपर केवल ॥ रचिले प्रयोग । श्रौतानुष्ठान कराव्या ॥ ५२ ॥ जनार्दनमहोदय आधी ॥ आणि धर्मामृतमहोदधि ॥ रचिल्या जीर्णनिबंधी ॥ विद्यमान अर्थ शोधूनिया ॥ ५३ ॥ ग्रंथ काशीमीमांसा ॥ ५४ ॥ साहित्याचे कुतूहली ॥ पहिले राजवंशावळी ॥ मग वार्षिकी नगरस्थळी ॥ अंबास्तुति तदनंतर ॥ ५५ ॥ राजवर्णन अतिसुंदर ॥ मग चित्रें एकशतविंशोत्तर ॥ अन्यापदेश अनंतर ॥ बहु प्रकार रचिले ॥ ५६ ॥ सोडून संस्कृत परिपाठी ॥ धरिलो प्राकृताची धाटी ॥ लोकोपकारासाठी ॥ गोवर्द्धनोद्धारण रचिले ॥ ५७ ॥ मग दीपांबिकेच्या वचने ॥ प्राकृत रचिले ॥ नरकविषयविवेचने ॥ देली भागवतोक्ते ॥ ५८ ॥ ”



is a key to the author's literary career covering a period of at least one decade, if not more. We must, therefore, see if we can trace MSS of works mentioned in this list in the Collections of various MSS libraries in India. We must also identify the royal patron *Dīpāmbikā* who inspired Raghunātha to compose Marathi works<sup>7</sup> for the benefit of the public who could not understand the difficult Sanskrit language. It is for students of the history of Marathi literature to trace the Marathi works of the author of the *BK* and give us a critical account of them for the benefit of Sanskritists. I am concerned in this paper with Raghunātha's contribution to the different branches of Sanskrit learning, indicated by the varied titles of his works recorded by him in the Marathi work *Narākavarnana*.

Before I discuss and record some information about Raghunātha's works referred to above I must try to identify his royal patron, *viz.*, *Dīpāmbikā* because this identification will alone give us an exact chronology for the literary career of our author. In the Marathi works of Raghunātha he refers to *Dīpāmbikā* as follows :—

(१) नरकवर्णन—“तीन पुरुषार्थ तिघे भूप । जयेचे पुत्र कुलदीप । दीपांबिका यथार्थरूप ।  
नाम म्हणोनि शोभतसे”.

(२) पतिव्रताधर्म—“मग दीपांबिकेच्या वचने । प्राकृत स्त्रीधर्मकथने”.

It is clear from the above references that *Dīpāmbikā* was a queen and she had three illustrious princes<sup>8</sup> as her sons (तिघे भूप कुलदीप) and hence the name दीपांबिका or the mother of these कुलदीपस was significant. The

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 193—Besides the *Narākavarnana* MS there are 2 MSS of a work called पतिव्रताधर्म (on the duties of wives) in the Tanjore Library, *viz.*, Nos. 578 and 579. I have no doubt that रघुनाथ the author of this work is identical with the author of the नरकवर्णन and भोजनकुतूहल. On folio 1 of MS No. 578 the author informs us :—“समस्त जनांस उपकारक ॥ हा मनीं करूनिया विवेक ॥ पाहोनिया पुराणश्लोक ॥ भाषाप्रबंध करीतसे”. This work may have been composed earlier than the नरकवर्णन which states that the author wrote on स्त्रीधर्म by order of दीपांबिका :—“मग दीपांबिकेच्या वचने ॥ प्राकृत स्त्रीधर्मकथने”.

<sup>8</sup> One of these three princes, *viz.*, Sarabhoji comp. sed a *māhākāvya* called *Rāghavacarita* (*vide* pp. 17ff of *Tanjore Library Journal*, Vol. I, No. 3). In the 10 introductory verses of this poem he refers to his grandfather “शाहाजि” (v. 2), his father “एकोजि” (v. 5) whom he calls तज्जाधिप. He refers to his mother queen दीपांबिका and himself and his elder brother शाहेन्द्र in verses 7, 8, 9, 10 which read as follows :—

“विश्वंभरोऽसाविह दीव्यतीति । स्वयं च लक्ष्मीरवतीर्य भूमौ ॥ दीपांबिकेति प्रथिता पतिं तम् ।  
अविन्ददिन्दुं किल रोहिणीव ॥७॥ तस्यामजायन्तु सुताखयोस्य । शले च शाले च निकामदक्षाः । तेष्वग्रजन्मा  
जगति प्रतीतः । शाहेन्द्रनामा जितभोजकीर्तिः ॥ ८ ॥ तस्यानुजन्मा तपनातिचण्डप्रतापभूमिः  
प्रथमानरुक्ष्मीः । जगत्रयद्योतिजयापदानो । जयत्युदारः शरभेन्द्रनामा ॥ ९ ॥ प्रौढैः कवीन्द्रैः  
परिशीलनेन । विज्ञाय साहित्यविलासभेदान् । करोति काव्यं रघुवीरगाथा । पवित्रितं सैष मुदे  
बुधानाम् ॥ १० ॥”

queen *Dīpāmbikā* mentioned by Raghunātha in the two works in Marathi appears to me to be identical with the queen *Dīpāmbikā*, wife of *Ekarāja* (or *Ekōji*) step-brother of the Maratha King Shivaji the Great. She has been mentioned in a contemporary Sanskrit work called the *Bhosalavamsāvalī*<sup>9</sup> in the following verses :—

“तस्यैकराजस्य गुणैरनूना । वाणी विधातुः कमलेव विष्णोः । दाक्षायणीव स्मरशासनस्य ।  
दीपांबिकाऽभूत्किञ्चल धर्मपत्नी ॥ २६ ॥ अरुन्धतीवात्मभुवस्तनूजं । सीतेव रामं नलिनीव भानुम् ।  
ज्योत्स्नेव चन्द्रं ललनामणिः सा । सम्प्राप्य कान्तं तमियं व्यलासीत् ॥ २७ ॥ तस्यामभूवन्नवनी-  
सुधांशोः । शाहेन्द्रनामा शरभाभिधानः । भुवि प्रतीतस्तुलजाभिधश्च । समानरूपाकृतिशालिनोमी ॥ २८ ॥  
तेष्वग्रजः शाहमहीमहेन्द्रः । भीमार्जुनाभ्यामिव धर्ममूनुः । अमुक्तपार्श्वीं गुणशेवधिभ्यां । सहोदरा-  
भ्यामवनीं प्रशास्ति ॥ २९ ॥”

I have no doubt that the queen *Dīpāmbikā* mentioned by *Venkaṭabhaṭṭa* in his account of the genealogy of the *Bhosalas* of Tanjore is identical with *Dīpāmbikā* the royal patron of Raghunātha the author of the *BK*. If this identification is accepted we must regard *Venkaṭabhaṭṭa* as contemporary of Raghunātha because the former composed his *Bhosalavamsāvalī* during the reign of *Shahāji*, the son of *Dīpāmbikā* and *Ekōji*<sup>10</sup> (or *Vyankōji*) the step-brother of Shivaji the Great. *Ekōji* was the founder of the Maratha rule at Tanjore<sup>11</sup>. He ruled from A.D. 1676–83. At the time of his death in A.D. 1683 *Ekōji* was only 54 years old. Shivaji's expedition<sup>12</sup> into the Carnatic to claim his share of his father's jahagir from *Ekōji* the husband of *Dīpāmbikā* took place in A.D. 1676–77. *Ekōji* left three sons : (1) *Shahaji*, (2) *Sarabhoji*,

<sup>9</sup> Ed. by S. M. Divekar in the *Siva Caritrapradīpa*, Poona, 1925, pp. 129–134. In the Intro. (p. 11) we are told by the Editors that *Venkaṭabhaṭṭa* composed the *Bhosalavamsāvalī* during the reign of *Shahāji*, son of *Vyankōji* (also called *Ekōji* or *Ekarāja*). The author refers to the ancestors of Shivaji, viz., *Ekōji*, *Parasoji*, *Babaji*, *Maloji* and *Shahaji* and then deals with *Shivaji* and his step-brother *Ekōji*. In verse 16 Shivaji is called as the very incarnation of God *Siva*—“शिवक्षमेशः शिव एव साक्षात्”.

<sup>10</sup> According to *Sabhasad Bakhar* (composed A.D. 1697) pp. 2-3, *Shahaji* had two wives viz., (1) *Jijai*, the mother of Shivaji the Great and (2) *Tukai*, the mother of *Ekōji*, the husband of *Dīpāmbikā*. The *Jedhe Chronology* refers to the meeting of Shivaji with *Ekōji* in Saka 1599 (=A.D. 1677) in the month of *Śrāvaṇa* and the defeat of *Ekōji* by Shivaji in the month of *Kārtika* of the same year (vide pp. 28-29 of *Siva Caritrapradīpa*). The poet *Jayarāma Pindye* in his *Parnalaparvatagrahanakhyana* composed in Śaka 1595 (A.D. 1673) refers to *Ekōji* as “एकमहीपति” (I, 3) and his “गौरीविलास” assembly hall at Bangalore (बेंगळूरुखयनगरे). In this poem *Jayarāma* gives *Ekōji* an account of his elder brother's (*Shivaji*'s) exploits. In I, 51, *Shivaji* is called “दाजीस्वामी”. *Jayarāma* has given us an account of the life of *Shahaji* in his *Radhamadhavavilasa Campu* (composed about A.D. 1653–58). In this poem one *रघुनाथभट्ट चाऊरकर* is mentioned (p. 230 of *Rajawade's Edn.*) as also one *रघुनाथ व्यास* (p. 245). On p. 267 *एकराजा* or *Ekōji* is mentioned along with his mother *तुकाई* (p. 268).

<sup>11</sup> Vide p. 17 of *The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore* by K. R. Subramanian, Madras, 1928. According to a Maratha inscription in the Tanjore temple *Ekōji* captured Tanjore in January 1676. This inscription dates *Ekōji*'s death in Śaka 1604 (A.D. 1683).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, p. 20, “*Raghunatha*, minister of *Venkoji* (or *Ekōji*), chaffing under his master's control instigated Shivaji to lead this expedition for his share of the inheritance.”

and (3) *Tukkoji*. These sons ruled jointly.<sup>13</sup> Shahaji died heirless in A.D. 1712 at the age of forty. After him Sarbhoji ruled jointly with Tukkoji till his death in A.D. 1728. Tukkoji succeeded Sarbhoji as sole ruler in A.D. 1728 and ruled till his death in A.D. 1736.

In view of the above chronology of the three illustrious sons<sup>14</sup> of *Dīpāmbikā* we must put A.D. 1736 as the later limit for Raghunātha Sūri, the author of the *BK*. As the husband of *Dīpāmbikā* died in A.D. 1683 and as Raghunātha refers to her and her three sons as Kings (भूपस) I presume that Raghunātha composed the Marathi works when all these three sons were living. As Sarbhoji died in A.D. 1712 the later limit to Raghunātha's works will be about A.D. 1700 while the earlier limit may be about A.D. 1676 the year of Ekoji's capture of Tanjore. Perhaps he may have migrated to Tanjore about this time from the Mahārāṣṭra to seek patronage of the Tanjore rulers and their accomplished queens and mistresses.<sup>15</sup> *Dīpābai* or *Dīpāmbikā* was one of these eleven queens.<sup>16</sup> She appears to have been responsible for the wise administration of the Tanjore Kingdom under her sons.<sup>17</sup> Even during the life-time of her husband Ekoji, it was her advice that settled the quarrel between Ekoji and Shivaji. Shivaji gave her a territory of 5 lacs of *hons* in appreciation of her endeavour to settle the dispute between her husband and Shivaji amicably.<sup>18</sup> Ekoji was given a territory of 7 lacs of *hons* by an agreement of 19 clauses which directed Ekoji to drive away all haters of the Hindus from his Kingdom. *Dīpābai's* son Shahaji

<sup>13</sup> This joint rule of brothers presents a fine contrast to Aurangzeb's murders of his brothers, which were accomplished a few years earlier than the joint rule of three brothers at Tanjore from A.D. 1684 onwards.

<sup>14</sup> *Vide* p. 44 of *Tanjore Gazetteer*, by Hemingway, Madras, 1915. The periods of the reigns of these sons as given in her appeal to the East India Co. by Kāmākshi Ambabai Sahib are :— (1) *Shahaji* (1687–1711); (2) *Sarbhoji* (1711–1727) and (3) *Tukhoji* (1728–1735).

<sup>15</sup> *Vide* p. 24 of *Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*, Venkoji or Ekoji had two wives and nine mistresses. Many of the royal mistresses were accomplished ladies. They were noted not only for their beauty but also for their scholarship and skill in music and dancing. In the *Madhyayugīna Caritraḥosa* by Chitrav Shastri (Poona, 1937), p. 457, the following information about दीपाबाई भोसले (= दीपाम्बिका) is recorded :—

She was the queen of Vyankoji. When Vyankoji refused to give his brother Shivaji a share in the ancestral property *Dīpābāi* settled the whole affair satisfactorily through *Raghunāthpant Hanmante*. Shivaji has praised her. She came from the Ingle family and had three sons शहाजी, सरफोजी and तुकोजी.

<sup>16</sup> *Vide* p. 174 of *Madhyayugīna Caritraḥosa*, article on *Ekoji Shahaji Bhosale* (A.D. 1631–1685). We are informed here that Ekoji had three queens including *Dīpābāi* and that he died in A.D. 1687. This date of Ekoji's death is contradicted by the statement of the Tanjore inscription in Marathi which dates this death in Śaka 1604, i.e., A.D. 1683 (*vide* p. 17 of *Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*). For information about Ekoji's three sons who ruled Tanjore see pp. 431 (तुकोजी राजे), 797 (सरफोजी भोसले) and 758 (शहाजी भोसले).

<sup>17</sup> *Vide* p. (त) ५ of महाराष्ट्रीयज्ञानकोश, Vol. XIV (1925), article on तंजावरचें राजघराणें—Shahaji (A.D. 1682–1711) ruled the state peacefully in consultation with his mother and her two brothers, viz., (1) *Sarfoji* (A.D. 1711–1728) and (2) *Tukoji* (A.D. 1728–1735). Ekoji had three queens, viz., (1) *Dīpābāi*, (2) *Sābbai* and (3) *Anūbai*. *Dīpābāi* alone had three sons while *Anūbai* had two daughters.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. (त) ४.

(1684-1712) was a capable ruler. He was a scholar himself and also a patron of learning. "Sanskrit works of a high order were produced in large numbers during the age 1676-1736."<sup>19</sup> "Marathi works also have come down to us from this period. Translations, panegyrics and a few original works constitute the legacy in this field. The Deccan was the chief source of Marathi literature to Tanjore."<sup>20</sup>

I am of opinion that the literary career of Raghunātha, the author of the BK, was synchronous with the first half of Shahaji's reign. He was under the patronage of Shahaji's mother and we must assign him to a period between A.D. 1650 to 1700.

We shall now consider the different works of Raghunātha in the order in which he mentions them in his Marathi work *Narākhavarṇana*.

- (1) भोजनकुतूहल—Aufrecht records the following MSS of the work :—  
 CCI, p. 419.—"K. 190.214. Burnell 72b. Oppert. 1015, 3825, 6103, II, 6365."  
 CCII, p. 95.—"Gov. Or. Libr., Madras, 63, Stein 185 (paricheda 1)."  
 CCIII, p. 90.—"in 3 Paricheda. T b 172 (paricheda 1), 173 (beginning of the same)."

(I have already<sup>21</sup> pointed out the importance of this work for the history of Indian dietetics with special reference to the Mahārāṣṭra diet).

- (2) साहित्यकुतूहल—Aufrecht<sup>22</sup> records only one MS of a work called साहित्यकौतूहल with a commentary उज्ज्वलपदा by यशस्वी कवि (I. O. 1616 fr.).

<sup>19</sup> Vide pp. 30-36 of *Maratha Rajas of Tanjore* which deal with the literary activity at Tanjore during Shahaji's reign. In the account of the works of several writers of this period no mention is made of our Raghunātha, the author of the भोजनकुतूहल and other works.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* Vide also "तंजावरचें राजघराणें" by D. B. Parasnis, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1912, pp. 47-54 (Reign of Shahaji—A.D. 1684-1711). Mr. Parasnis gives in this book a picture of Shahaji to face p. 44 and that of Vyankoji Raje (A.D. 1675-1682) facing p. 17. The agreement of 19 clauses between Shivaji and Vyankoji is recorded on pp. 39-41 of this book from शिवदिविजय *Bakhar*. In clause 15 of this agreement there is reference to "सौ. दीपाबाई".

<sup>21</sup> In a paper to be published shortly.

<sup>22</sup> CCI, p. 715. The description of this MS as given on p. 337 of *India Office Catalogue*, Pt. III (1891), is as follows :—

"Folios 66.....writing.....of about A.D. 1730." "First Chapter only."  
 "Sāhitya Kōtūhala, a versified manual of poetic composition, by Yaśasvin Kavi, son of Gopāla and Kāśī, with a commentary entitled *Ujvalapadā* by the same author." The work deals with चित्रकाव्य. Aufrecht (CCII, 171) records another MS of the work, viz., "BL 307". This MS is No. 307 described on pp. 154-155 of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Lists* (Private MSS), Part I, 1893. The identity of the author and commentator is clear from the following statements of the *Text* and *Comm.*

*Comm* (१) साहित्यकौतूहल व्याख्यां व्यातनुते सद्उज्ज्वलपदां धीमान् यशस्वी कविः ।

*Text* (२) भारद्वाजकुलालवालजनितो गोपालकः पद्मः

काशीसल्लतिकावृतोर्थाहितकृत्स्नकीर्तिपुण्योस्ति यः ।

तत्पुत्रेण यशस्विनेति रचिते साहित्यकौतूहले

पूर्णोयं रुचिरः कलावति परिच्छेदो द्वितीयोभवत् ॥

The date of this MS is Śaka 1597=A.D. 1677.

Raghunātha states in his *Naraka-varṇana* that he composed a work called साहित्यकुतूहल and that it was devoted to चित्ररचना only (दुर्जे साहित्यकुतूहल । चित्ररचनेसहिता निवल). The India Office fragment bears the title साहित्यकौतूहल and its subject-matter is also चित्रकाव्य or artificial poetry and the different modes of its construction such as पद्मबंध, चक्रबंध, सर्वतोभद्र, etc., as stated in the I. O. Catalogue. It is, however, difficult to prove the identity of यशस्वी कवि with रघुनाथ in spite of the similarity of subject-matter and the identity of the titles of this work, viz., साहित्यकुतूहल.

(3) प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल<sup>23</sup>—Aufrecht (CCI, 362) records the following MSS:—

“—by Raghunātha, K. 10, B. 3, 108. Burnell 276.  
प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहले अग्निहोत्रप्रायश्चित्त Khn. 76 ”.

CCII, p. 81—“Stein 96” (dated Śaka 1729=A.D. 1807).

CCIII, p. 77—“As. p. 111.” (See also p. 8675 of *Tanjore MSS catalogue*, Vol. XVIII—1934, where a MS of प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल is described).

(4) जनार्दनमहोदधि—Aufrecht (CCIII, p. 43) records a MS of this work in the Adyar Library—“जनार्दनमहोदधि vaiṣṇava. Adyar Lib. 38.”

The statement of Raghunātha, viz., “जनार्दन महोदय आधी” in the list of the works composed by him is probably a misreading for the correct title of his work “जनार्दनमहोदधि” because in the next line he refers to a similar title of his work, viz., “धर्माश्रितमहोदधि”.

<sup>23</sup> Vide P. V. Kane : *History of Dharmasāstra*, I (1930), p. 591 “प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल by रघुनाथ son of गणेशभट्ट and pupil of अनन्तदेव. Stein Cat. p. 96. Hultzsch Report III 56. On both श्रौत and स्मृत प्रायश्चित्त. About 1660-1700.”

Compare Raghunātha's statement in the नरकवर्णन :—“प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल ॥ श्रौतस्मार्तपर केवल ॥ रचिले प्रयोग । श्रौतानुष्ठान करावया”.

In the extracts of प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल (p. 56 of Hultzsch III, 56) the expressions “अनन्तेन गुरुणा” “अनन्तदेवीयरघुनाथविरचिते” and “अनन्तदेवोदयस्य रघुनाथविदुषः” appear to indicate that अनन्तदेव was the गुरु of रघुनाथ.



(5) धर्मामृतमहोदधि<sup>24</sup>—Aufrecht records only one MS of this work (CCI, 270)—

“धर्मामृतमहोदधि dh. by Raghunātha, son of Anantadeva, Burnell, 137a.”

This MS is in the Tanjore Library. Possibly it did not migrate outside like other works of Raghunātha and especially the *Bhojana-Kutūhala*.

If the date of composition of this work, viz., Śaka 1623 (=A.D. 1701) as found in the only Tanjore copy of the work is genuine we shall have to adjust the chronology of other works of Raghunātha accordingly. If the work *Narakaṣaṇṇana* (before A.D. 1712) mentions *Dharmāmṛta-mahodadhi* composed in A.D. 1701, its date must lie between A.D. 1701 and 1712.

(6) काशीमीमांसा—No MSS under this title have been recorded by Aufrecht.

Apart from the five Sanskrit works attributed to Raghunātha recorded above, out of which four appear to have been represented by MSS, he mentions that he wrote some Marāṭhi works, viz. :—

(i) गोवर्द्धनोद्धारण—Perhaps the Tanjore Library may have a MS of this work.

(ii) स्त्रीधर्मकथने—Possibly same as पतिव्रताधर्म represented by two MSS in Tanjore Library.

(iii) नरकविषयविवेचने—Same as नरकवर्णन of which only one MS is found in the Tanjore Library. As this work gives us a list of the author's works in Sanskrit and Marāṭhi it is very important. But for this list it would not have been possible to identify several authors of the name

<sup>24</sup> This work has been represented by only one MS in the Tanjore Library which is described on pp. 8572-74 of their *Des. Cata.*, Vol. XVIII, 1934. In verse 2 at the beginning of the work Raghunātha refers to his *guru* as follows :—

“अनन्तस्वामिपादाब्जमिन्दिरानिजमन्दिरम् ।

सस्मरञ्शारदां वन्दे वरदां वाग्बिलासदाम् ॥ २ ॥”

In the Colophon he refers to his work as “श्रीमदनन्तदेवात्मः श्रीमदापदेवतासुतश्रीमदन्तदेवोदयस्य रघुनाथवेदुषः कृतौ”. After the Colophon we find the following two verses :—

“बहियुग्मरसचन्द्रसंमिते ( १ ६ २ ३ ) शालिवाहनशके वृषाह्वये ।

वत्सरे तपसि कुम्भगे रवौ शूलिनः प्रियतिथौ महाव्रतेः ॥

साम्बमीशमभिपूज्य तत्पदे वाक्सुमाञ्जलिरसौ समापितः ।

तेन तुष्यतु स भक्तवत्सलः कोसलाधिपसुतासुतो हरिः ॥”

The Chronogram recorded above gives us Śaka 1623 = A.D. 1701 as the date of composition or rather the completion of the work as stated in the above Catalogue. If this date is genuine the relative position of Raghunātha's works will be as follows :—

नरकवर्णन --- Before A.D. 1712 and after A.D. 1701 as it mentions all the three sons of Dīpābai as living. One of these sons, viz., Shahaji died in A.D. 1712.

It mentions धर्मामृतमहोदधि, composed A.D. 1701.

धर्मामृतमहोदधि—A.D. 1701 (if the date recorded in the only Tanjore MS of this work is a genuine date of composition and not of copy). Other Sanskrit works may possibly have been composed before A.D. 1700.

Raghunātha recorded by Aufrecht. Professor P. V. Kane<sup>25</sup> also has made two separate entries for the authors of धर्माभृतमहोदधि and प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल the works of Raghunātha on *Dharma*.

I now give below the Chronology of the period to which Raghunātha belonged and the relation it bears to Raghunātha and his works as discussed in this paper :—

A. D.

1600-1650	Āpadeva, author of मीमांसान्यायप्रकाश flourished.
1675-1700	Anantadeva, the son of Āpadeva and author of मीमांसाकौस्तुभ flourished. He may have been the Guru of Raghunātha as stated in the colophon of धर्माभृतमहोदधि and hence a contemporary of Raghunātha. अनन्तदेव was a descendant of the Maratha Saint एकनाथ (A.D. 1528-1600).
Shivaji's Expedition into Carnatic to claim his share of property from Ekoji.	1676-77
Ekoji Bhosale, the step-brother of Shivaji captures Tanjore.	1676
Death of Ekoji.	.. 1683
Rule of Ekoji's Son at Tanjore.	1684-1712
	....
	1701
	....
Death of Shahaji.	.. 1712
Rule of Sarabhoji I.	.. 1712-1728
Rule of Tukkoji.	.. 1728-1736.

Dipābai or *Dīpāmbikā* the patron of Raghunātha becomes a widow. She was the Chief Queen of Ekoji Bhosale.

Venkatabhaṭṭa composed his भोसलवंशावलि which refers to दीपांबिका.

Possibly Raghunātha composed before A.D. 1701 his works साहित्यकुतूहल, भोजनकुतूहल, प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल and जनार्दनमहोदधि.

Raghunātha composed his धर्माभृतमहोदधि.

Raghunātha composed his नरकवर्णन which mentions his earlier Sanskrit works भोजनकुतूहल, साहित्यकुतूहल, प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल, जनार्दनमहोदधि, धर्माभृतमहोदधि and काशीमीमांसा.

Sarabhoji composed his राघवचरित in which he refers to his mother दीपांबिका.

<sup>25</sup> Vide *History of Dharmśāstra*, I (1930), pp. 591, 570.

