THE

INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, HISTORY, LITERATURE, LANGUAGES, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, FOLKLORE,
&c., &c., &c.

EDITED BY

JAS. BURGESS, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.,
MEMBRE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE, FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY,
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEYOR AND REPORTER TO GOVERNMENT, WESTERN INDIA,
AUTHOR OF "THE ROCK-TEMPLES OF ELEPHANTA," "THE Temples Of ŚĀTRAṆAYA,"
"VIEWS OF ARCHITECTURE AND SCENERY IN GUJARĀṬ AND RĀṆPŪṬĀṆĀ," &c.

VOL. VI.—1877.

Swati Publications
Delhi
1984
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Authors' names arranged alphabetically.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAGE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rev. J. D. BATE, Allahabad:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Barisal Guns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hon'ble Sir E. CLIVE BAYLEY, K.C.S.I.:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on Gupta Coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. RAMESHNA Gopal BHANDARKAR:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Goldstücker's Theory about Pāṇini's Technical Terms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. BÜHLER, Ph.D.:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further Valarati Grants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on Pāṇini Bhagavānīlā Indrājī's 'Ancient Nāgari Numerals'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A New Grant of Govinda III, Editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three New Aśoka Edicts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleven Land-Grants of the Chaulukyas of Ashhavatśi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Edhātārasagītī (extract from official report)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explorations at Korkei and Kayal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excavations at Kayal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance of two Tamil Āsanas in Sir Walter Elliot's Collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEPULCHRAL URNS in Southern India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. H. DAMANT, B.C.S.:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Khamba and Thoibā, a Manipur Tale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The EDITOR:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEMORANDUM on the Buddhist Caves of Junnar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock-cut Temples at Bādami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemakant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Śaśān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir WALTER ELLIOT, C.B., K.C.S.I., Wolfeles:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. F. FLEET, B.C.S.:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. XX.—Kadamba Grant of Kālavatermārā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIV.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXV. XXVI.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVII.—Chālukya Grant of Pulikēt I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIX.—XXX.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXII. Inscrip. at Kaṭṭāṛeti, &amp;c. of Ś. 1018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at Bādami, Ś. 1061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. S. GROWSE, M.A., B.C.S.:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matchara Inscriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The late C. HORNE, B.C.S.:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper-Making in the Himalayas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PĀṇIIT BHAGAVĀNĪLĀ INDRĀJI:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the Ancient Nāgāri Numerals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. E. KERN, Ph.D., Leiden:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Inscriptions in the Bāndīha Caves at Junnar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Ancient Nāgāri Numerals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NILKANTHA JANĀRDAN KIRTANE:** | 105 |
| On Three Mālava Inscriptions, Sāh. 1031, 1078, and 1190 | 105 |
| Rev. F. KITTEL, Merkara: | 99 |
| Three Kāśi Inscriptions | 99 |
| J. W. McCRRINDLE, M.A., Govt. College, Pāṇā: | 118 |
| The Fragments of the Indika of Megasthenēs | 118 |
| Epitome of Megasthenēs from Diodorus | 130 |
| Book I | 130 |
| Book II | 131 |
| Book III | 236 |
| Book IV | 246 |
| Doubtful Fragments | 253 |

**JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D., Edinburgh:** | 251 |
| Notes on the Early Observance of caste rules and other features of social and religious life in Ancient India | 251 |
| On the Question whether Pālavandīr ever existed in Nārāyana Hindustān | 315 |
| SHANKAR PĀNDURANG PĀNDIT, M.A.: | 148 |
| Vākpātṛāja | 148 |
| E. REHATSEK, M.C.E. (see Weber and Book Notices) | 160, 161, 177 |
| W. F. SINCLAIR, B.C.S.: | 70, 230 |
| Notes on the Muharram Festival | 70, 230 |
| Notes on the Cave of Panjheeravāra, Bhamurēcē, near Punā | 98 |
| Nūrās and Dākhmas | 144 |
| Bījēpar | 230 |
| Karamihares and Dākmēs | 230 |
| Hemākant and the Gauḍī Rājās (see p. 366) | 277 |
| Ed. THOMAS, F.R.S., &c., London: | 277 |
| EARLY COINS OF WESTERN INDIA | 274 |
| M. J. WALHOUSE, late M.C.S., London: | 274 |
| Archæological Notes: No.XIV.—Curious Tombs and Entombments. | 41 |
| XV.—Gold Treasury-trove in Madras | 215 |
| Barisal Guns, &c. | 214 |
| Major J. W. WATSON: | 79 |
| Historical Sketch of the Hill Fortress of Pāvīgī in Gujārāt, &c. | 79 |
| The Derivation of the word Māhāvīr | 79 |
| PROFESSOR ALBRECHT WEBER, Ph.D., Berlin: | 161 |
| On the Krishnājanmāśṭāt, or Krishna's Birth-festival—§ 1 Translated by E. Rehatsck, M.C.E. | 161 |
| § 2 Translated by M. T. | 231 |
| § 4 | 349 |
| On the Mahābhārata | 301 |
| PROF. MONIER WILLIAMS, D.C.L., Boden Prof. of Sanskrit, Oxford: | 311 |
| First Funeral and Initiantory Rites, and the Pāśa Religion | 311 |
CONTENTS.

MISCELLANEA.

PAGE
Donation of Oriental MSS. to the Edinburgh University ... 107
Translation of a Japanese Song ... 107
Vedic Sātras ... 228
'Tāvānu' ... 224
Cinampa, by the Hon’ble Major-Gen. II. Yule, C.B. ... 228
Is the Sūtūn the Khulif? ... 231, 308
Chāṇakya and Pāṇini ... 231
Dr. H. B. New's Oriental MSS. ... 278
Hemachandra's Pāñcītīt Grammar ... 278
Hindu Sacrifice ... 307
Nāmamāli and Pāli Grammars ... 308
Sātrasaktī Chair at Madurai ... 308
Records of the Buddhistic Kingdoms, by A. Giles ... 308

BOOK NOTICES.

PAGE
Musharrah Fiqra'i Bible, Naya A'lidnama, by J. M. M. ... 83
Fergusson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, by W. S. ... 103
Carr's History of the Caves of Sanchi, by W. S. ... 142
Belloc's Kashmir and Kashgar, and Dow's Northern Barrier of India, by W. F. S. ... 338
Garcin's 'La Langue et la Littérature Hindoue' ... 148
Peace's Calcutta of Kālījān, by A. C. Barnett, M. O. S., Ph. D. ... 232
Wilson's Aboriginal Tribes of the Bombay Presidency, by W. F. S. ... 233
Dowson's 'Aboriginal Tribes of the Bombay Presidency', by W. F. S. ... 233

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE
1 Valahhi Grant of Dhruvamena I, ... (2 pages) 14, 15
2 ... Siiddhītya V. ... (2 pages) 38, 19
3 Kadamba, of Kākañjēvāra ... 23
4 ... Mṛgītā ... (2 pages) 24, 25
5, 6 ... Rāvivarma ... (4 pages) 20, 27
7 ... the reign of Rāvivarma ... 28
8 ... Rāvivarma ... 29
9 ... Rāvivarma ... 30
10 ... Rāvivarma ... (2 pages) 32
11 Inscriptions from the Caves of Junar ... 33
12, 13 Ancient Nāgarī Numerals ... on pp. 44, 45
14 Copperplate Grant of Vīskatui Rājā of Dhāra, a.d. 974 ... to face p. 51
15 ... 2nd plate ... 54
16 Śākana of Bhoja, a.d. 1021—1st plate ... 53
17 ... 2nd plate ... 54
18 Śākana of Bhoja ... a.d. 1193-4 ... 50
19 Grant of Govinda III., Rāthor—Plate I. ... 65
20 ... Plate II. (2 side) 66, 67
21 Grant of the Western Chalukyas, dated S. 535 (2 pages) 73, 74
22 Copperplates of the Western Chalukyas, a.d. 76, 77
23 ... (2 pages) 80, 87
24 ... S. 614 (2 sides) 88, 89
25 Two Kāłīyā Inscriptions, ... (2 pages) 102, 103
26 Stone-Tablet Inscription at Kattegiri, S. 1018 ... 118
HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE HILL FORTRESS OF PÀWÀGADH, IN GUJARÀT, &c.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON.

GUJARÀT in former times included a considerable portion of what is now called Ràjputànà,—Abù, Sirohi, Dungarpur, and even Nàgor, being included in its limits; towards the south it comprised Sultànpur and Nandurbàr, now part of Khandesh; while the sea-coast as far as and including Bombay formed part of its dominion. It included many first-class fortresses, amongst which the most famous were those of Junàgad-Girnàr in Sorath, Achałgadh on Mount Abù, Idar in the Mahi Kànthà, and the subject of the present sketch. Of all these, that of Pàwàgadh was incomparably the strongest, so much so as to have been impregnable in latter times except by famine. I distinguish between latter times and the times when it was ruled by the Khichi Chohàns, because under these last-mentioned chiefs Pàwàgadh fortress hardly included the almost impregnable summit, and it is doubtful whether before the Muhammadan times buildings of any consequence existed there. In fact under its Chohàn rulers the fortress occupied that lower portion of the hill commencing at the Buria Darwàza and ending with the palace of Pàtàí Ràwal (as he is fondly called), which lies on an isolated portion of the hill some 1500 feet below the summit. And when we read of the siege of Pàwàgadh by Màhmùd Bégadhà, we must disabuse our minds of any idea that the upper plateau was invested,—for it was in those days probably not even fortified, being defended, if at all, by a gate only. And it is under these circumstances alone that we can fully realize the conditions of the siege by Màhmùd Bégadhà, which otherwise would be incomprehensible, for no breach could be made in the stubborn rock, nor could guns be got into position; nor, if breaches be dismissed as out of the question, would it have been possible to escalade the place, save under circumstances which would imply the grossest negligence on the part of the garrison.

The earliest mention of Pàwàgadh is that of the time of Bhim Deva I., of Ànhilwàda, quoted from the bard Chànda by Mr. Kinloch Forbes at pp. 95 and 97 of the Ràs Màià, vol. I. There Ràm Gàur the Tuàr is styled ‘Pàwà’s lord.’ The first authentic account, however, that we find of it is that, after the taking of Ranthambhòr and Gàdh Gàgràwn in Khichiwàdà by the army of Sultan Alàu’d-dìn Khàlji, a large body of the Chohàns emigrated to Gujaràt, and soon, whether by marriage or conquest, became the lords of Pàwàgadh and Chàmpàner and the surrounding country. The hill itself is called in the local Màhàtmîa, Pàwàkàchal, and this name is preserved in an inscription found at Nàhàni Umarwàn under HàloI, which is valuable as furnishing the genealogy of the Chohàn rulers antecedent to the chief from whom Màhmùd Bégadhà conquered it. This chief is styled in the Miràt-i-Sikandàri, one of the most accurate of the Persian histories of Gujaràt, Jèsìngh.
son of Gangadas, and the inscription in question attests the accuracy of the Muhammadan historians, and it may probably be conceded that now no reasonable doubt exists but that this was his correct name. The name by which he is familiarly known throughout Gujarat, viz. Pātālī Rawal, is probably merely a contraction of Pāwāpatī Rawal, or the Rawal lord of Pāwā; and this view receives confirmation from the fact that Chohāns of this race, if asked their tribe, will tell you they are Pāwāpatīs, which name, indeed, has since the fall of Piwagadā become the common name of their branch of the Khichi Chohāns. The inscription is as follows:—

"Hail! In the Samvat year 1525, on the 8th day of the dark half of Magh, on Saturday in the Anurāsana nakṣatra, on this day, here in the fortunate fortress of Pāwā, during the victorious reign of Maharaja Sri Jayaśingh Deva. Many rajas have ruled of the race of Sri Pṛthvirāja, the chief Chohan. In the family of Rājārī Hamiradeva, the ornament of his race, was Rājāśīrī Ramaṇḍeva, (then followed) Sri Chāṅgadeva, (then) Sri Chāchindadeva, Sri Sonamdeva, Sri Pālhasingh, Sri Jitkaran, Sri Kumpa Rāwal, Sri Viradhavāl, Sri Svarāj, Sri Rāghava-

deva, Sri Trimbak Bhumā, Sri Gangā Rājēsvāra: his son, renowned for increasing the religious merit of his ancestors, the worshipper of the Śrī Saktī, the daily bestower of both cows and gold, and giver of annatities and elephants to Bhīmānas, the illustrious king of kings Śrī Jayaśingh Deva; he built this well for the spiritual benefit of his mother, Śrī Phāmādevī, in the village of Ayaśāmanu [words wanting]. May it remain for ever! [words wanting] Mehtā Dinhuk Modiān [words wanting]."

The Pṛthvirāja above mentioned is probably Pṛthvirāja, the famous hero of the Pṛthvirāja Rāṣṭra, and Hamiradeva may probably be the celebrated Hamiradeva of Rantambhor, which fortress was conquered by Alqud-dīn Khilji in about A.D. 1300. This inscription is dated A.D. 1469, or about fifteen years prior to the conquest of Chāmpāner and Piwagadā by Mahmūd Begdā. The father of Jayaśingh is called Gangā Rājēsvāra, who evidently corresponds to the Gangadās of the Mirat-i-Sikandī, as does Trimbak Bhumā to his ancestor Trimbakdās mentioned by the Mirat-i-Sikandī. The Tabakki-i-Akbari alludes to a Vir Singh who reigned at Chāmpāner in the reign of Ahmad Shāh. This would probably be Viradhaval, and the reigns of Savarāj and Rāghava-deva may have been short. This explanation would make the list of kings here given exactly correspond to what we hear of these chiefs in the Persian historians, and it connects the chiefs of Choṭā Udayapur and Bārā not only with Hamiradeva of Rantambhor, but also with the celebrated Pṛthvirāja, of whom Hamiradeva was an acknowledged descendant. The name of Jayaśingh's mother is put Phāmādevī, but probably is Kāmādevī. The Śrī Saktī mentioned in the inscription alludes doubtless to the shrine of Kālkā, which crowns the summit of the loftiest pinnacle of Pāwakachal. The fortress, too, is styled after the hill, Pāwak Durgā. But it must not for a moment be supposed that the fortress taken by Mahmūd was that now called Pāwagadā on the summit of the hill; and, as previously mentioned, that portion of the hill was probably defended by a single gateway, and was only used as a retreat on an emergency. The palace of the chief is still

* Amēra is an archaism for Amāra.
† Since writing this I am informed by Mr. Sinclair, of

the Bombay Civil Service, that in some Marāṭhā inscriptions of the same period one of the chief archaiisms is the cutting of a like ph.
shown on an abutting spur of the hill scarped by rocks at least a thousand feet in height, and only accessible by a narrow neck from the main mass of the hill. Here are the remains of the palace from which the devoted garrison watched the construction of the Jama Masjid at Champaner, and here it was that Jayasingh himself and his minister fell wounded into the hands of the Gujarat Sultan’s army; neither he nor his minister would seem to have ever gone to the modern Pawagadh at all. Both the Mirat-i-Sikandri and the Tabakdāt give a very interesting account of the siege by Mahmūd.

But this was not the first time Champaner and Pawagadh had been besieged by the banners of Islam. In a.h. 821, according to the Tabakdāt-i-Akbari and Mirat-i-Sikandri, Ahmad Shah unsuccessfully besieged the fortress. Ferishtah places this siege in a.h. 822. In a.h. 853 according to the Tabakdāt-i-Akbari, and a.h. 855 according to the Mirat-i-Sikandri, Sultan Muhammad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh, besieged the fortress, and invested it so closely that the garrison, had they not been relieved by a diversion made in their favour by the Sultan of Malwa, Sultan Mahmūd Khilji, which caused the king of Gujarat to raise the siege, might have been reduced to extremities. The Malwā Sultāns appear always to have been allies of the Rawals of Champaner until the time of the bigot Ghiyāsu’-d-dīn, who, though appealed to for help by Jayāsingh in his extremity, through fear or bigotry neglected to aid him. It is clear that the fortress of Pawagadh, as it was in the time of the Rawals of Champaner, though proof against a sudden attack, was not calculated to stand a long siege by a superior force, and when an enemy once got a footing on the hill they could easily dominate the fortress and render it untenable; and, indeed, as will be seen hereafter, this is what eventually happened.

After the conquest of the Girnar fortress and Junagadh, Sultan Mahmud Begaḍhā was always determined to conquer Chāmpāner, and though the conquest of Dwarka, and the suppression of the disturbances created by the Jats and other turbulent tribes in Kachch and on the Sindh frontier, and other warlike operations, delayed him for some years, yet eventually he found no difficulty in picking a quarrel with Jayāsingh, because in a.h. 887, during which year there was a scarcity in Gujarāt owing to a small fall of rain, Malik Asad, the Thānādīr of Morānī under the Sultān, having made a foray into Chāmpāner territory, was attacked, defeated, and slain by Rawal Jayāsingh, and two elephants and all his baggage also fell into the Chāmpāner chiefstain’s hands. Although the Rawal had acted strictly in self-defence, and although the foray into his territory by Malik Asad was wholly unjustifiable, the Sultān was exceedingly enraged and determined to conquer Chāmpāner, and collecting a powerful army he advanced to Baroda. On hearing of the Sultān’s arrival at Baroda the Rawal became seriously alarmed, and sent ambassadors with most submissive messages and humble apologies, but the Sultān refused to listen to any overtures for peace, saying to the ambassadors, according to the Mirat-i-Sikandri, “Except the sword and the dagger, no other message should pass between me and you.” The Tabakdāt-i-Akbari represents him saying, “The sword of adammant will answer your message to-morrow.” The Sultān then sent in advance Tāj Khan, Aẓī’-Mulk, Bahrām Khān, and Ikhtiyyār Khān, and there were daily conflicts between the besieged and the army commanded by these nobles. Shortly afterwards the Sultān himself moved his camp to the vicinity of Champaner and pressed the siege. After the siege had lasted about a year the Rawal again made overtures of peace, offering to pay nine māss (or 360 lbs.) of gold if the siege were raised, but the Sultān declared that he would not leave the place until the fortress was conquered. The Rawal now, seeing that no submission would avail him, sent his vāzīl to Sultān Ghiyāsu’-d-dīn of Malwā, imploring aid, and promising to pay one lākh of fakkas for every march made to his aid by the Malwā army. Sultān Ghiyāsu’-d-dīn at once marched from Mandū to Nalchah, a few kos distant from his capital, and purposed advancing on Chāmpāner via Dohad. As soon as the Gujarāt monarch got news of his intention, he entrusted the conduct of the siege to his nobles, and himself advanced to Dohad to oppose Sultān Ghiyāsu’-d-dīn. The Malwā Sultān, however, alarmed at his advance, consulted the Muham-
madan priests as to whether it were lawful for him to succour an intitled when attacked by a true believer, and on their replying in the negative he returned to Mandu without striking a blow in defence of Champaner. Sultan Mahmud now returned to Champaner and laid the foundations of the Jamaa Mosque, to show the besieged that not only was their hope of aid from Malwa gone, but that until the fortress was conquered he would never depart. In spite of this, and though the garrison must have known that their surrender was now merely a matter of time, owing to the difficulty of introducing fresh supplies of provisions into the fortress, the Rawal continued gallantly to defend the place. At last the approaches came so near the walls that the soldiers of the approach, presided over by the Sultan in person, were able to overlook the walls and see what the garrison were doing. This statement, which is taken from the Tabakdt-i-Ahbari, distinctly shows that it is not the upper fortress that is here alluded to,—that fortress being surrounded on all sides by a scarp which is nowhere, save at the gate, much lower than two hundred feet of sheer rock; whereas, near the ruins of the Rawal's palace on the lower spur it is quite possible that approaches might have been constructed which would overlook the defences. The soldiers observed that in the early morning the defenders were wont to disperse, to obey calls of nature and for other reasons, and that consequently at that time the batteries were badly manned. The siege had now lasted about two years, and, as the Sultan was exceedingly anxious to obtain possession of the place, he directed Kiwamu'T-Mulk to scale the fort next day at first dawn. Kiwamu'l-Mulk accordingly, with a body of picked men, entering the fort when the garrison were off their guard, attacked the Rajputs, and after much slaughter drove them within the citadel. The Rawal and his Rajputs now prepared the javhdhr, or funeral pile, and continued to defend themselves. But during the previous cannonade several breaches had been made in the western face of the fortifications, and Malik Ayas Sultan, mounting 'one of these, suddenly arrived over the big gate. Sultan Mahmud, observing this from his post, sent strong reinforcements. The Rajputs vainly tried to dislodge Malik Ayas and his men from their position over the gate, by throwing there a large canister of powder with a slow match attached to it. This, however, was, fortunately for the assailants, blown off the gate by the wind in the direction of the Rawal's palace, and there harmlessly exploded. It was now too late for any further advance, but the whole of the Muhammadan army remained under arms all night, while the Rajputs, lighting the javhdhr, burned all their wives and children. They then separated into two bodies, a few hundreds flying to the upper fortress (Pawagadh), while seven hundred Rajputs, bathing, determined to conquer or die. In the morning the gate was forced open, and a great slaughter ensued of the gallant defenders, and both the Rawal and his minister Dungarshi fell wounded into the hands of the Sultan, who handed them over to Mulafiz Khan in order that their wounds might be dressed. It is said that when Rawal Jayasingh was brought wounded into the Sultan's presence he refused to do him obeisance, though urged to do so by his guards. This happened on the 2nd of Zilkad a.h. 880, and on this day the Sultan named Champaner Muhammada-bad. Three days after this the Rajputs who had fled to the upper fortress, being probably ill provided with provisions as well as demoralized by their defeat, surrendered.

Fico or six months afterwards, in a.h. 890, when the Rawal's wounds were healed, he was sent for to the Sultan's presence and ordered to embrace Islam, and on his refusal was slain, together with his minister Dungarshi. Rawal Jayasingh had two, if not three, sons. One of these, Rasisinghji, who died before the siege of Champaner, left two sons, Prithviraja and Dungarji, the founders of the houses of Chot and Baria respectively. Another son, Limbaji, is said (vide Bombay Government Selections No. XXIII., New Series, note to p. 146) to have emigrated to Sasrodia (wherever that may be), and the third embraced Islamism. The Mirat-i-Sikandri only mentions two daughters and one son, and says that the daughters were sent to the Sultan's harem, and that the son was made a Muhammadan and entrusted to Saif'un-Mulk to educate, who brought him up, and in the reign of Sultan Muzaffar, son of Mahmud, this youth was ennobled by the title of Nizamu't-Mulk. The Sultan now, making Muhammadan a Dababad Champaner his capital, built the fortifications of the town called Jahân Panah, and con
structured numerous noble buildings. He further strengthened the fortress on the hill, both the lower and upper forts, and made them what they are, viz. almost impregnable.

The author of the Mirat-i-Sihanri is most eloquent in praise of the different kinds of fruit grown at Chāmpānēr, and especially of the mangoes, which appear to have been as famous in their time as those of Bombay in ours. But after the reign of Sultan Bahādur, Chāmpānēr seems to have been not only relinquished as a capital, but to have rapidly become wholly deserted: for the same author, writing in Akbar’s time, describes it as being then even quite waste. After a long description of the various fruits and flowers grown there, he says:—“They say that, besides fruit trees and flowers such as caused envy, there was so much sandal to be found in the neighbourhood of Chāmpānēr that it was used by the inhabitants in building their houses, and it sufficed them. O Purity of God! Is that this Chāmpānēr which now is the lair of the tiger and lion? Its buildings have fallen into ruin, its inhabitants have given their property to the wind of destruction, its water is as it were poisoned water, and the climate is such that it rapidly enfeebles the human body, and in the place of each flower thorns are growing, and in place of each garden there is a dense interlaced jungle, and there is neither the name nor trace of sandal trees. However, the truth of this verse has been here shown, ‘Everything on the earth shall perish, And God does what He willeth.’”

The same author describes the introduction of fountains into Gujarat by a Khurasani, and the laying out by him of a garden with fountains, artificial waterfalls, &c., with which the Sultan was very pleased. It seems that this man, anxious to keep the secret of his fountains unknown, employed only ignorant labourers, and would not allow any one to inspect the work while in progress. A carpenter of Chāmpānēr determined to discover the secret, disguised himself as a labourer, and discovered how to make them. He then laid out a still finer garden, which pleased the Sultan even more than the first one, and on inquiring from the carpenter how he had learned the art of constructing fountains, the Sultan was so pleased at his recital of the stratagem he had practised, that he bestowed on him large presents and a dress of honour. The writer goes on to say: “And that garden is well known and famous, and by the natives of Gujarāt this garden is called Hālōl.” Afterwards a village sprang up near this garden, which gradually grew into a town, and close to this town the unfortunate Sīkandar Shāh and his equally ill-fated brother Latīf Khān lie buried. It seems singular that, while the once proud capital of Gujarāt lies waste, the little village which sprang up near the carpenter’s garden is still a flourishing town. Chāmpānēr remained, as mentioned above, the capital of Gujarāt till the close of the reign of Bāhādur Shāh, after which Ahmādābād resumed its former position and importance, which it has ever since retained.

Since its capture by Muhmūd, Chāmpānēr, as well as Pawágadh, was so strongly fortified that the upper fortress both was and is almost impregnable; nevertheless, whenever it has since been besieged, it has invariably fallen, strange to say, with scarcely any resistance.

The Mirat-i-Sihanri gives an animated description of the next siege of Chāmpānēr and Pawágadh in A.H. 942 (A.D. 1535), when Humāyūn, after defeating the Sultan Bahādur near Mandisur chased him to Mandu, and after capturing that fortress pursued him to Chāmpānēr, whence Sultan Bahādur fled to Khambhat, and thence to Div. Humāyūn followed the Sultan to Chāmpānēr, where he gave up the lower town to pillage, and then pursued him to Khambhat, but failing to overtake him returned to prosecute the siege of this fortress, which contained all the treasure of the Ahmādābād kings. The fortress, however, which was commanded by Rājā Narsingh Deva and Ikhtiyār Khān on behalf of the Sultan, held out gallantly. An enormous cannon, called the Bahādur Shāhī, the garrison were unable, on account of its weight and size, to take up to the fort, and they had only got it up halfway when Humāyūn’s army arrived; they therefore drilled three holes in it and left it where it was. When Rumi Khān, who, deserting Bahādur Shāhī, had now taken service with his enemy Humāyūn, saw the cannon, he said he could repair it, and did so by pouring into the holes a mixture of several metals; and though now it took a little less charge of powder, and the range was somewhat diminished, it was still a very formidable weapon. Regarding this
the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandar* thus expresses himself:—"They say that the very first shot that Dámi Khán fired with it cast down the gate of the fortress, and with the second shot he rooted up a great tree which was near the gate. In the mean time the garrison, seeing this, began to tremble. Now there was a Faringhi in the fortress, by name Saktá, who had been made a Musalmán by Sultan Bahádur with the title of Farang Khán. He said to Ikhtiyár Khán, 'Since matters are thus, shall I fire a ball down the muzzle of that cannon?' Ikhtiyár Khán said, 'If you can do what you say, I will enrich you beyond your wants.' The Faringhi at the first shot so struck that cannon that he broke it into pieces, and the garrison were delighted. Ikhtiyár Khán, however, gave him but a small recompense, but Rája Narsingh Deva gave him seven manes of gold."

After this reverse Humáyún was unable to make any impression on the fortress. Rája Narsingh Deva, however, shortly after this event died of his wounds, and, as he was the soul of the defence, the ardour of the garrison somewhat abated. But the natural strength of the fortress defied Humáyún’s utmost efforts. This strength has only to be seen to be appreciated, and so great is it that the following extract from the *Mirat-i-Sikandar* is scarcely an exaggeration:—"It is related that one of God’s servants named Sayacl Jalal, who had also the title of Munáwarul-Mulk Bukhári, often used to say that the fortress of Chámpánér is such that if an old woman were but to hurl a stone from the top of the fort, all the men in the world could not continue the siege; wonderful was the good fortune of Humáyún Bádsáh that so strong a fortress was so easily conquered."

The way in which the fortress was eventually conquered was this. The garrison, though they had, it is said, supplies of grain sufficient to last them for ten years, nevertheless one night sent down two hundred Kolfs to bring up further supplies. These Kolfs, incansently going too near one of the outposts of the army, were captured and brought before Humáyún, who ordered them to be put to death one after another. When seventy or eighty of them had been thus killed, one of the survivors said that if his life were spared, he would show the besiegers a road whereby to ascend the fortress, which was not only unknown to the army of Humáyún, but of which the garrison even were ignorant. The Emperor that very night sent some picked men under the guardianship of these Kolfs, who were as good as their word, and took them by a road whereby they arrived at the foot of the fortress at an unguarded spot, and scaling the rock with some difficulty they climbed over the battlements,§ and shouting Allah! Allah! furiously attacked the garrison, who were astonished and confounded at this sudden appearance of an enemy who had as it were come from the skies, and in their alarm some threw themselves over the walls of the fort, and some were slain; while others, amongst whom was Ikhtiyár Khán, fled to the lofty citadel now crowned by Kálka’s fane, which citadel was in those days called the Mau r i yáh (so named from the Arabic *muulafa*, a lord), because it, so to speak, dominated over the whole interior of the upper fortress. This conquest of the fortress took place on the 7th Safar A.H. 942 (August 1535), and two days afterwards Ikhtiyár Khán also surrendered. Eight years after this, viz. in A.H. 950, when Sultán Mahmúd II. became independent of Daryá Khán’s control, the latter, when expelled from Ahma dábád by the Sultán and Álam Khán, depositing his women and treasure in the Chámpánér fortress, fled to Burhánpur. The command of the fortress was entrusted to one of his devoted followers named Fátuji, who, it is said, made a gallant defence. But the young king, imitating the courage of his great namesake, pressed the siege in person vigorously, and, though several men were slain by his side, he would neither leave the field, nor consent that the royal umbrella, which made him so conspicuous a mark, should be lowered. Such gallant conduct did not fail to make an impression on the garrison, who were out of heart both at fighting against their lawful sovereign, and at seeing that their leader had deserted them and fled to Khándesh. They made, therefore, but a half-hearted resistance, and the fortress was conquered; and Fátuji, who fled to the Mauliyáh citadel, was captured and bound and brought before the Sultán, who sent him to be confined in the fort of Surat. Afterwards, during the reign of the last Mu zafar, when Gujárát was divided among the

---

§ They climbed the scarp by the aid of iron spikes which they drove into the rock.
nobles, Châmpânér fell to the share of Changes Khan, who for a short time exercised almost kingly power. As soon, however, as that accomplished noble was assassinated by Jhujhar Khan Habshi, Châmpânér was seized on by Shâh Mîrzâ. Previous to this, Châmpânér had, during the inglorious reign of Ahmad Shâh II., fallen to the share of Sayâd Mubârak, who gave it to Âlam Khân, but it remained in their hands only a short time.

When the emperor Akbar conquered Gujarât the Mirzâs were expelled, and Châmpânér became an imperial possession. Pâwâgâdî now received an imperial garrison, and remained in the hands of the house of Timur until a.d. 1727, when Krišna Kânda Bânde, foster-son of Kantâji Kâdâm Bânde, made a sudden attack upon Châmpânér, and captured the fortress, the garrison being surprised, and from that time Kantâji’s agents remained permanently in Gujarât to collect his share of the tribute. Afterwards it fell into the hands of Sindhia, by whom it was handed over to the British Government on August 1st, 1853. It had in the mean time been taken, in 1803, from Sindhia by a small British force commanded by Colonel Woodington, but was, however, restored to him in 1804.

Under the Moghal viceroys Châmpânér formed a separate charge or government (sârkâr). The author of the Mîrât-i-Ahmâdî thus notices it:

“The fifth sârkâr is that of Châmpânér, which consists of thirteen mahâls, and a fortress named Pâwâgâdî on the summit of a lofty mountain very rugged, which is nearly four kos in elevation, and in area the fortress is nearly half a kos, and it has several gates, and in one place there is an abyss sixty cubits deep, over which they construct a bridge of planks, and when occasion arises they remove them; this place is known as the Pâtid pul. And the shrine of Bhâwanî is on the summit of the rock, and above this temple is the shrine of Sadan Shâh, whom they consider a famous saint.”

There is also this notice of the temple of Kâlkâ:—“Kâl kâ Bha wânî’s temple is on the summit of Mount Pâwâ, and on the top of that temple is a shrine which is that of Sadan Shâh, one of the people of God (i.e. Muhammadian), and the Brâhmans consider that place one of the chief places of worship, and they tell wonderful stories about it. Large numbers of men come to worship there from places both far and near, and they also pay their respects to the shrine of Sadan Shâh.” This shrine of Sadan Shâh is built on the spire of the temple, the top of which has been removed to make room for the shrine; it was probably done as a concession to Muhammadian fanaticism, and to ensure the protection of the rest of the temple. This temple of Kâl does not appear more than two hundred years old, and her old shrine is probably the roughly carved stone smeared with vermilion outside the precincts. The temple is evidently modern, in that it occupies the site of the old citadel, as well as from its style of architecture.

In the upper fort there are the remains of several Jaina temples carved with much spirit, though of no extraordinary excellence. There are the remains of a mosque near the Machhi Haweli, about midway up the hill, formerly the residence of Sindhia’s Thânâdîr. In ascending the
hill one first comes to the Medi and the Medi Talao. Here, they say, was a palace called the Medi; and here, as everywhere, were fortifications. Then further up comes the Buria Darwaza and the principal fortifications, very strong, and with a terrible ascent for troops in the face of a determined enemy. Next, one arrives at the plateau of the Machhi Haweli to the right of the gate, and as one issues forth on the ascent of the hill, just before reaching the Machhi Haweli, there is a curious sort of palace or summer-house in three stories, called the Champavati, or Champá Rāṣṭī Mahāl, which is said to have been the residence of a favourite queen. It was, however, I think, meant for the ladies of the zanānā to sit in and witness a grand hunt, as it overlooks a deep valley, and is perfectly secure, while it commands an extensive view. Almost opposite to this is a spring of very good water, called the Pānekh kund. From this point the hill is covered with lines of fortification defending every practicable spot. From hence one ascends, past the Machhi Haweli and a tank near it, to three large domes called the Makāi kotār, or 'maize granaries,' and from here one sees before him the isolated spur of the old ruined palace of Jayasimh Deva. On this spur are the remains of the palace, and covered-in tanks of water, and on the extreme point is a small shrine of Bhādrā-Kāli (or 'the favourable, propitious Kāli'). From this spur one can form an idea of the difficulty of taking the fortress, even supposing that troops could reach this point, as the whole of this plateau is commanded by the gate and batteries by the Pātīā pul; and as there is only one narrow path for about a hundred yards exposed to the full fire of the garrison, to find themselves in front of a strong double gateway. On entering these two gates one faces the great rock on which Kālikā sits in state; and on turning to the right, one arrives, after a walk of a few hundred yards, at the domes or kotārs, which overlook a tremendous precipice. Between these domes and this gate, following the fortifications, come tanks of cut stone, and it is evident that water was also stored in other places, and there is still another tank even higher still, at the foot of the stone steps which lead to the Mātā's temple.

With a very little trouble, and with but moderate expense, this upper fortress might be transformed into a very comfortable sanitarium; all that is wanted is the repair of, and additions to, the beautiful domes now standing. Already one of the lower domes has fallen, and unless the upper domes are speedily repaired they will fall too. Dr. Arnott, in 1839, reported on the advantages of the spot; and during the past year Lieutenant Gibbs, R.E., of the Great Trigonometrical Survey, specially reported on the subject to the officer commanding at Baroda, in a very interesting report.

Were the fortifications repaired the cost would of course be greater, but it would be a healthy spot, and one of the strongest fortresses in India. The only disadvantage that the place possesses as a sanitarium is that the wind is so violent in the hot weather that no buildings other than domes could stand it unless very strongly constructed. Colonel Wallace, when Resident of Baroda, once built a small bungalow on the hill, but it has long since had its roof blown away into the Bāriā jungles, and even the walls are considerably out of the perpendicular; but if Government were to build verandahs to the domes, and one or two out-houses, and improve the water supply, the residents of Baroda would doubtless gladly pay a small rent for the occupation of the domes during the hot season.

In the Chohān annals Pāwāgadh occupied a prominent place. Their principal hero is, of course, Pri thirāja of Delhi, then Hamira-deva of Ranthambhor, then Pātāi Rawal of Pāwāgadh, Kānād Deva of Songadh Jhalor, and A chaldās of Gāgrāwn. The more famous of these will be found mentioned in the verses quoted at p. 99, vol. III. of the Indian Antiquary. It will be observed that of the five Rajput heroes therein praised three were Cholians, viz. Hamiradeva of Ranthambhor, Pātal (poetical license for Pātāi, the name by which Rāwal Jayasingh of Pāwāgadh is usually known), and Kānād Deva, the Songadh Chohān of Jhalor. Of the remaining two, Chund Rāo is poetical license for Rāo Chon dā, the Rādhaō ancestor of the present Chief of Jodhpur, and

¶ There were formerly verandahs, now fallen down.
January, 1877.]

FURTHER VALABHI GRANTS.

By G. Bühler.

(Continued, from vol. V, p. 212.)

The first of the three Valabhi grants now published was found in the ruins of Valabhi by Kolis who dug for old bricks. I acquired it in January 1875. The second was found at Botad, in the Bhaunagar territory. It was kindly forwarded to me for deciphering by Messrs. Percival and Gaurishankar Oza, the Joint Administrators of the Bhaunagar State. The third grant was found by Mr. Raoji Vithal, formerly special Political Assistant in charge of Lunavādā (Revākāntā), in the Raja's palace at Lunavādā. I owe its loan to the kindness of Major J. W. Watson, Acting Political Agent, Revākāntā.

A.—The Grant of Dharasena I.

The grant of Dharasena I. is written on two plates 9½ inches by 16½. The rings with the seal have been forcibly half torn, half cut out, whereby semicircular pieces of the lower portion of the first and of the upper portion of the second plate, originally situated round the left-hand ring, have been lost. This accident makes some letters in the first lines of the second plate very faint and indistinct. They can just be traced with a strong glass. The second plate has also lost a piece low down on the right-hand side. Both plates were covered, when I bought them, with thick layers of sand and verdigris. A prolonged immersion in lime-juice cleaned them. But the first plate is nevertheless not easily readable, and is unsuited for photography. The second gives a tolerable photograph.

The letters of the plates show a predilection for round forms like those of Guhasena, and resemble the latter in their thinness. The grant is dated from a 'camp of victory,' the location of which is not certain, as the name of the village appears to be mutilated. The beginning of the name is Bhadrapatta.

The variedsvaraa gives the usual list of rulers from Bhātārkā to Dharasena I., the son of Guhasena. It offers only one addition to our knowledge of the history of Valabhi. Dharasena I. calls himself (Pl. II. 1) mahād-manta, 'the great feudal or provincial chief,' as well as 'mahārāja,' and shows thereby that down to his times the rulers of Valabhi paid homage to a lord paramount. In my article on the grant of Dhruvasena I. of Sañvat 216, I pointed out that this mahārāja was certainly a vassal of some greater king, and that Dro nasimha's boasted coronation had not raised him much above that position which his predecessors, the two Senapatis or generals, occupied. Dhara-asena's confession confirms my view about Dhruvasena I., and permits the inference that his grandfather Dharapatta and his father Guhasena likewise did not enjoy independence. I will now express my belief that eventually we shall find it proved that the Valabhi dynasty was at no period free from vassalage, except perhaps during the reign of Dharasena IV., who calls himself 'king of kings, chakravartin, emperor, and supreme lord.'

I should not wonder if further finds of inscriptions, and farther investigations regarding the position of the villages granted by 'those of Valabhi,' entirely destroyed the legend of the power and greatness of the kingdom, which, first started by Colonel Tod, has since been adopted by most Indian historians and antiquarians.

The grantee is the ' monastery called that of Śrī Bappapāda, which had been built by the Achaṅya Bhadanta Sthiramati, and was situated in Valabhi.' (Pl. II. lines 3 and 4.) There can be, I think, no doubt that this vihāra is the one which Hiwen Thsang ascribes to the Arhat 'Oche-lo. His remarks on this monastery are as follows: (Mémoires, vol. II. p. 164):—"At a little distance from the town (Valabhi) there is a great convent which was erected in olden times by Arhat 'Oche-lo. It is there that the Bodhisattvas Gaṇamati and Sthiramati fixed their abode, and
composed various treatises which have become famous and widely known."

The Sthiramati mentioned in our grants and by Hiwen Thsang is, no doubt, the famous pupil of V asubha ndu, who composed commentaries on the writings of his master.*

The objects granted are two villages,—Ma he svardasenaka, in the dhara of Hastavapra, and Devabhadrappallikain the sthala of Dhåraketha (pl. II. 1. 3). ‘Hastavapra’ occurs in the grant of D hrvasena I. dated 207+ as Hastavapra, and has been identified with the modern Háthab, which Colonel Yule has since conjectured to be the Greek A stakam pron. Ma he svardasenaka is probably Mahidevapura, which lies to the south-west of Háthab. Dh árasesa’s grant reads distinctly hastavaprakarávaná, and thus confirms my emendation of the reading ‘haranum,’ and my statement that ‘dharan’ must have denoted a territorial division.

The purpose for which the two villages were granted was, as usual in the case of grants to Bandhá monasteries, to defray the cost of the worship of the Divine Buddhás, of clothing, food, and medicine for the reverend Bhikshus, and the maintenance of the second sign I* follow Pandit Bhag- J it as 269 Chaiśca, dark half 2. In the interpretation of the repairs of the monastery. (PI, II. 1. 4.)

As regards the date of the grant, I now read it as 269 Chaitra, dark half 2. In the interpretation of the second sign I follow Pañtí Bhagvántál Indrají, who, in my opinion, has succeeded in clearing up the difficulties regarding the signs for 40-70, with the help of a number of Kshetrapa coins in his possession.‡

As regards the language of the grant, the incorrect phrase hastavaprakarávaná maháv ra- rásenakárvára dhárakesthalakyácha deva- bhadrappallikáryámin, instead of "áadesakáraiva and "pallikáryámin, shows that the writer habitually spoke Prakrit, and possessed but an imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit grammar.

In conclusion I may add the explanation of the word ‘divirá’ which occurs in the title of the writer, Skándabháta, ‘sudhívigradhádhiráádádhikri- tadinívápyaśakandabhatana.’ (Pl. II. 1. 16.) In the PetersBerg Dictionary, which is followed, as usual, by Prof. Monier Williams, divíra is said to be a proper name, and the Kájñaratansá, VI. 180, VII. 111, 119, is quoted as the authority.

In the first passage the reading divirá is merely a faulty reading of Mr. Troyer’s edition, for divirá, which latter the Calcutta... edition and the Szárdá MSS. give. The other two passages have been badly translated by Mr. Troyer. Otherwise it would have been recognized that a ‘divirá’ must be an official. The first, VII. 111, runs as follows:—

and the translation should be:

"Formerly a son, called Chándramukha, was born to a Dívíra called Devamukha by the courtezan Áppupiká."

The second passage, VII. 119, is, I think, as follows:—

The correct translation:—

"Whilst the ministers thus were worthy (of their places), and the king of a forgiving disposition, some Dávda, Dívíra, and Dámanas became overbearing."

In the land-grants divíra or divirapatí is always used as a title, especially for the officials who drew up the ásanas. This position shows also that it denoted the holder of some office. Kásemndra, the author of the Lokaprákána, gives us a clue to the exact meaning of the word. Firstly, in Práhsa III., he speaks of various classes of divíras, ganjadalívas, nagaradívas, grāmadívas, kándasadívas; and the next word is káyah. Secondly, when beginning to give the forms for kúndás and other bonds, he says, "I will now propound all written documents according the details of each, in their proper order, for the benefit of the Dívíras."

Hence it becomes evident that these officials had to do with writing and accounts, and we may render the word by the modern ‘kárkum,’ or writer and accountant. Divirapatí Skándabhaṭa means, therefore, ‘Skándabháta the chief clerk or secretary.’ I am not able to find an etymology for the word in Sanskrit. Perhaps it may be connected with the Persian déjí, ‘writings,’ which occurs in the cuneiform inscriptions.

* Wasseillief, Buddhísmus, p. 84.
* Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 514.
* A paper which gives the substance of his very remarkable discoveries on the ancient Indian numerals will appear in the next Part of the Indian Antiquity, p. 42. § Lokappr. II. —'Evam visháhakagacchay pratyek printed yathikramam | divírajánam hitartháya bhurjasrasthamanu- chchayam. ||

\[\text{\textcopyright}\text{The Indian Antiquary, [January, 1877.]}

\[\text{\textcopyright}\text{In the first passage the reading divirá is merely a faulty reading of Mr. Troyer’s edition, for divirá, which latter the Calcutta... edition and the Szárdá MSS. give. The other two passages have been badly translated by Mr. Troyer. Otherwise it would have been recognized that a ‘divirá’ must be an official. The first, VII. 111, runs as follows:—} \]

\[\text{\textcopyright} \text{and the translation should be—} \]

\[\text{\textcopyright} \text{"Formerly a son, called Chándramukha, was born to a Dívíra called Devamukha by the courtezan Áppupiká."} \]

\[\text{\textcopyright} \text{The second passage, VII. 119, is, I think, as follows:—} \]

\[\text{\textcopyright} \text{\textcopyright} \text{Divirapatí Skándabhaṭa means, therefore, ‘Skándabháta the chief clerk or secretary.’ I am not able to find an etymology for the word in Sanskrit. Perhaps it may be connected with the Persian déjí, ‘writings,’ which occurs in the cuneiform inscriptions.} \]
Jitnusr, 1877.]

FURTHER VALABHĪ GRANTS.

Transcript.

Plato I.

(1) स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धचारव [तु] भद्रपाल-वस [कातु] पश[प्रणामःप्राना गै०] पल[बुद्धकलसप] मातंबणोऽय [लत] ब्राह्मसंस्कारभारानादय व्रदक्षम् प्रतापः प्राणा।

(2) [पेपनान] दानमाणिकोपदितिनायुरागु[र कर्मेल] पुरस[मिन] वेदीकवासाराजास्थः परमं महोदयः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः

(3) नन्यविनीक्षितिराय: विरोधनतसुपुरुषार्भामभाविश्विरियात्वस्य: ििीनायकपण-ज्योप्यमालविभः परमयः

(4) धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः

(5) धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः

(6) धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः

(7) शारायतिभवान् शुभविनियाः यथाविनियाः यथाविनियाः परम्यिनियाः परम्यिनियाः परम्यिनियाः परम्यिनियाः परम्यिनियाः परम्यिनियाः परम्यिनियाः परम्यिनियाः परम्यिनियाः परम्यिनियाः

(8) तुष्यविद्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः

(9) [प्रभतिः] श्रीमहेश्वरार्जस्थः तब्ब स्वस्तियानुपादतप्यायस्यायस्य: श्रवणाधारणम् अद्वीतस्यायस्य: प्रमाणाः प्रमाणाः प्रमाणाः प्रमाणाः प्रमाणाः प्रमाणाः प्रमाणाः प्रमाणाः प्रमाणाः प्रमाणाः

(10) [दक्ष] गच्छाटकोपदितिनियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः विशिष्यानियाः

(11) धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः धर्मः

(12) प्रणवायाः स्थविनियाः स्वस्तितवायाः स्वस्तितवायाः स्वस्तितवायाः स्वस्तितवायाः स्वस्तितवायाः स्वस्तितवायाः स्वस्तितवायाः स्वस्तितवायाः स्वस्तितवायाः

(13) प्रणवायाः स्वस्तितवायाः स्वस्तितवायाः स्वस्तितवायाः

(14) प्रणवायाः स्वस्तितवायाः स्वस्तितवायाः स्वस्तितवायाः

(15) प्रणवायाः स्वस्तितवायाः स्वस्तितवायाः स्वस्तितवायाः

Letters 11-14 doubtful. Line 1, read संप्रकाम। L. 6, read संप्रकाम। L. 7, read संप्रकाम।
The grant of Dhrusvasena II is written on two plates 10 inches by 12\% each. The rings # L. 1, aksharas 9-13 and 16-17 are extremely faint. L. 2, aksharas 11-13 and 15-18 are extremely faint. L. 3, aksharas 9-18 are very faint. L. 4, aksharas 11-18 are very faint, and some doubtful. L. 5, read \( \text{\textit{\textquotedblleft}}}", \text{\textit{\textquotedblright}}} and seal are in their proper places. The plates are now extremely thin, and in some places pierced by small holes. It would seem that, as

\[ \text{\textit{\textquotedblleft}}}", \text{\textit{\textquotedblright}}}
the surfaces were badly corroded and covered by verdigris, the finder knocked off the upper layers. Fortunately a kernel of sound copper had remained in the centre, in which the strokes of the letters were visible. Nevertheless, when I received the plates, I doubted whether I should ever be able to make out the whole grant. But, when I had filled up all the strokes visible with white paint, I found, to my delight, that the whole was readable except a line or two, which could easily be restored by means of the published plates.

The grant is dated from Valabhi. The vanaspati offers nothing new. But it ought to be noticed that the grantor, Dhruvasena II., called also Baladitya, does not assume the title Maharaja, and that none of his predecessors receive any epithet but śrī, the illustrious. It may be that the omission is due to an accident; but, considering the habitual grandiloquence of Indian princes, the case is suspicious, and it would not be surprising if it were found eventually that Dhruvasena II. had some cogent reasons for being silent about his magnificence.

The grantee is (Pl. II. L 11) “the community of the reverend Bhikshus dwelling in the monastery erected by Gōhaka, which was included in the precincts of the monastery built by princess Duḍḍa, and situated in Valabhi proper.”

Duḍḍa and her vihāra are known from the śāsana of Dhruvasena I.† and of Guhasena.‡ If she is here called vijyā, literally “queen,” I presume that the writer means to indicate that she was of royal blood,—not that she was married to a king. For Dhruvasena I. calls her “my own sister’s daughter.” I am not quite certain that I have got the exact meaning of valabhisvalasamāvivishāt, literally ‘seated on the own surface of Valabhi.’ It may mean, as I have rendered it, ‘situated in Valabhi proper, i.e. within the walls.’ But possibly the compound ‘svatala’ may have a technical meaning.

The purpose for which the grant was made is the same as that mentioned in the preceding śāsana of Dhruvasena II.

The object granted is (Pl. II. 18) the village Bhāsanta in Kālpakapatha in Surāshtra. Kālpakapatha must be the name of a subdivision of Soraṭ. Regarding ‘Surāshtra’ it ought to be noted that the word is always used in the plural, Surāśṭrāḥ, and that it is, therefore, really the name of the people who inhabited the country, just as ‘Panchālaḥ,’ ‘Kaśmirāḥ,’ &c. The form Soraṭ is probably not a corruption of ‘Surāshṭrāḥ,’ but of ‘Surāśṭrāṃ’ (manḍalam). For Sanskrit au caused by a Taddhita affix is regularly represented by Prakrit o. Rāsāheb Gopālji S. Desai, Deputy Educational Inspector of Kāthiavād, suggests to me that Bhasanta is probably the modern Bheṣaṇ, a village of the Soraṭ Prānt, belonging to the Navāb of Jāngāgadh.

As regards the relation of Surāśṭra to the kings of Valabhi, Hiwen Thasang also states (Mémoires, vol. II. p. 165) that “this country is subject to the kingdom of Valabhi.”

In the date, the year is Samvat 310, and the month Asvayuja. The day may be read either ‘baha 5, i.e. baha (lekapakha), dark half 5;’ or ‘ba 15, dark half 15.’ For on this plate the letter ha and the sign for 10 bear a very close resemblance.

Plate I.

† Ind. Ant. vol. IV. p. 108. † L. 1, read śrī. ‡ L. 2, read śrī. L. 4, read स्न. ते ते पारे. L. 5, read रत्नाकर.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

January, 1877.

(6) गांगितमानप्रदानपरत्या विपदवा सांस्कृतिकार्यानलं व्याप्तिनाथायामात्रादानदिनतिविदित्वदुहारयः-

(7) व तथाप्रवृद्धमण्डलमोक्षाधि: परमादीत्वः श्रीरुद्धसेनस्तरो सुस्वस्तदनर्ससुलमहात्मः-

(8) प्रश्नविषयेकथाकथने: प्रश्निकवातादियोऽपियमानं संपूर्णादितिविदित्वससमागमात्रेकुर्यकोणे-

(9) सांस्कृतिकार्यान्तितित्वदशुद्धरुद्रः प्रयत्नसत्ततितित्त्वदुमन्तपालिता चम्बन्धदानानामपकर्षः-

(10) धातुवाचकारिणामुस्यवानाम् दश्यिता श्रीरुद्धसेनरूपायृतिवाचस्य सृष्टिवाचपरमानमोक्षाकाराकः विकासकः-

(11) [प्रा] विभिन्नियः विविधिप्रमाणेण परमादीत्वः श्रीरुद्धसेनस्तरो सुस्वस्तदनर्ससुलमहात्मः-

(12) [भ] तस्मयदुहारयः प्रयत्नसत्ततित्त्वदुमन्तपालिता चम्बन्धदानानामपकर्षः-

(13) [स] प्रकृतिभाष्यान्तितित्त्वदशुद्धरुद्रः प्रयत्नसत्ततित्त्वदुमन्तपालिता चम्बन्धदानानामपकर्षः-

(14) गांगितमानप्रदानपरत्या विपदवा सांस्कृतिकार्यानलं व्याप्तिनाथायामात्रादानदिनतिविदित्वदुहारयः-

(15) हृःदानात्स्तरसक्षमतायुक्तस्थिरसंपूर्णादितिविदित्त्वदितित्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्वदितित्त्ब-
January, 1877.

FURTHER VALABHI GRANTS.

Plate II.

(25) कसम्पुरुषविनायकशाळकलोकचरितग्रहरविभागोपि परमप्रकटितरप्रकटितेऽ

(24) य निधिविशेषणः समरसतजयपताः कारणमयलोकदेवानिषिद्रुताः

(1) निखिलमातिपाठ्यपददेवः समुद्रप्रभारपरिनामानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(19) नाय्येन्द्रपीताकारात्मकत्वानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(2) मनोदितत्वादणप मनोधारणाः त्रिशीरसेत्यायनस्विनिनित्वादानाशुक्ले

(20) न यक्तदैवतनामाभिनिनित्वादानाशुक्ले श्रीमान

(3) तत्कज्ञात्मकत्वादि धारायनाथसमन्वयानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(21) कल्यात्मकत्वादि धारायनाथसमन्वयानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(4) राजनिमेत्रे| तत्कज्ञात्मकत्वादि धारायनाथसमन्वयानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(22) नाय्येन्द्रपीताकारात्मकत्वादि धारायनाथसमन्वयानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(5) नाय्येन्द्रपीताकारात्मकत्वादि धारायनाथसमन्वयानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(23) तत्कज्ञात्मकत्वादि धारायनाथसमन्वयानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(6) तत्कज्ञात्मकत्वादि धारायनाथसमन्वयानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(7) तत्कज्ञात्मकत्वादि धारायनाथसमन्वयानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(8) तत्कज्ञात्मकत्वादि धारायनाथसमन्वयानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(9) तत्कज्ञात्मकत्वादि धारायनाथसमन्वयानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(10) तत्कज्ञात्मकत्वादि धारायनाथसमन्वयानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(11) तत्कज्ञात्मकत्वादि धारायनाथसमन्वयानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(12) तत्कज्ञात्मकत्वादि धारायनाथसमन्वयानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(13) तत्कज्ञात्मकत्वादि धारायनाथसमन्वयानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(14) तत्कज्ञात्मकत्वादि धारायनाथसमन्वयानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(15) तत्कज्ञात्मकत्वादि धारायनाथसमन्वयानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

(16) तत्कज्ञात्मकत्वादि धारायनाथसमन्वयानात्रकलन्यातिभविष्यतः

† L. 1, read दशपाठी; L. 3, read विभागः; L. 5, read प्रभाषित; परे. L. 7, read 'हिरी'; शालातीरिः निधिविशेषणाः; L. 8, read शीर्षकथा; दीपकवति; L. 10, read वपंमानवर्ण;

L. 11, read मद्यालनागः; L. 12, read भूमिः; तपायिनीस्वरूपणाः; L. 13, read वर्णप्रकतिः; श्रीमान्; L. 14, read 'हिरी'; शालातीरिः निधिविशेषणाः; L. 15, read 'श्रीमान्'; विभागः; दीपकवति; L. 16, read वपंमानवर्णः.
C.—The Grant of Śīlāditya V.

The grant of Śīlāditya V. is written on two plates of the largest size, 11 inches by 17½. The left-hand ring has been lost. The right-hand one, to which the seal is attached, is in its proper place. The latter is, even for Valabhi plates, excessively massive. It bears the usual cognizance and inscription.

The letters resemble in general those of the Baroda and Kāvi Rāṣṭrakūṭa plates. But they show some curious forms, which I have never met with before. Thus da is invariably represented by ṇ, which in the older inscriptions would be dhra or dhra; for ksha we find sometimes a sign which resembles bha; and for ska a sign resembling ja—E, or tha—□.

The execution of the plates is slovenly in the extreme. Not only does every line abound with mistakes, and whole lines have been left out, but frequently the engraver has not taken the trouble to connect his strokes, whereby the letters become rather doubtful. It would be impossible to read the plate if we had not numerous nearly identical inscriptions. The preservation of the plates is nearly perfect. There are only two small rents, one high up on the right-hand side, and one low down on the left-hand side of the second plate.

The grant is dated from "the camp of victory fixed at Godrāha." Godrāha may possibly be Godhra, the chief town of the Panch Mahāls. The word Godrāha is formed from Godra by the individualizing or determinative affix ka, and godraha means 'a lake for cows,' or 'the lake of the cow;' compare also nāgadraha in Vākpati's grant. Now this name fits Godhrā very well, which possesses a very large taldo. The name Godraha occurs also in Śomāśvara's Kīrtikāvumālā, IV. 57, where it is stated that the lords of Godraha and Lāṭā betrayed their master, Rāṇā Vīrāhavala of Dholkā, and joined the kings of Marudeśa who fought against him. In that passage Godraha can only refer to Godhrā. I do not feel so confident that it designates the same place in our plate. For it is quite possible that another Godhrā may have existed in Kāthīvād, though I am not at present in a position to prove this.

The vānasṭhālī carries us one step further than the Onaḍal plates translated by Rāṣṭheb V. N. Mǎṅḍlik. It appears that there was a fifth prince who bore the name Śīlāditya. Our iṣāna (pl. II. 20-22) gives the following description of this new king:

"His (i.e. the fourth Śīlādityadeva's) son is the ardent devotee of Maḥēśvāra, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Śīlādityadeva, who meditates on the feet of the supreme sovereign, the great king of kings, the supreme lord Boppa, who humbles the pride of all (hostile) armies, who is an abode of auspiciousness (produced) by great victories, (who resembles) Purushottama, because his bosom is caressed by the embraces of Fortune, because he is possessed of marvellous power by assuming the shape of a man-lion, and because

---

1 I. 12, read रिवाल. I. 20, read दश्ती; प्रवर्तेत्.
2 Especially Pl. II. 26-29.
4 Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune, is the wife of Vishnu—Purushottama.
he protects the whole earth (gomanḍala) by destroying hostile princes (samuddhatavipakaṁśhābhādhṛīḥ), just as Purushottama protected the herds (gomanḍala) by raising a wingless mountain (samuddhatavijpahnā), whose toe-nails possess a brilliancy enhanced by the jewels in the diadems of numerous princes prostrated (at his feet), and who has effected a conquest of the faces of the nymphs of all quarters of the universe."

Śilādityadeva V. is the eighteenth king of the dynasty who has become known. The number of Śilādityas who have now revealed themselves becomes rather perplexing. It is evident that the Jaina legend, attributing the reestablishment of their faith to "Śilāditya of Valabhi," is about as explicit as a narrative would be which referred an event to the reign of "Louis of France."

The grantee is an Atharvavedi Brāhmaṇa of the Pārdāra gotra, called Sambhuila, the son of Dātiṣa, who resided at Dāhaka. He is called tāchchādurvīḍa, i.e. "a member of the community of the Chaturvedis of that (town)."

The purpose for which the village was given is to defray the expenses of an agniḥotra and other sacrifices.

The date I am inclined to read as "Samvat 441, Kartīka Śuddha 5," or "the fifth day of the bright half of Kartika of the year 441." The first two signs must be taken together and read as 400. This is perfectly certain, as the Gondal grants of Śilādityā IV. are dated 408. The next following figure might be read as 4 on account of its resemblance to the second sign, which must be taken with the sign for 100.

The object granted is the village Bahuabata, situated in the zilla (vishaya) of Suryapura, on the banks of the Vapi river. The date I am inclined to read as "Samvat 441, Kartīka Śuddha 5," or "the fifth day of the bright half of Kartika of the year 441." The first two signs must be taken together and read as 400. This is perfectly certain, as the Gondal grants of Śilādityā IV. are dated 408. The next following figure might be read as 4 on account of its resemblance to the second sign, which must be taken with the sign for 100. But as a horizontal stroke follows, which appears to represent 1, it must be taken as a figure denoting one of the numbers between 10 and 90, and it comes nearest the sign for 40. I admit, however, that the last horizontal stroke may in reality be meant to form part of the third sign. In that case the whole stands for 404.

Plate I.

1) सस्त्रि गोद्रकसमायितजयक्ष-धारावारात्र्यमण्डतानिवाण 

2) तापातायपिनन्ददानमलाजेवयालावनुगस्तुक्तस्वमिलृम्यहीलसीलासरसार्यस्स्स 

3) छिन्नतायासारययितचराचारङ्कनिपुष्टतितितन्त्रसौक्लम्य 

4) तद्भवायतायतीतुच्छारान्नन्माणसम्मानसब्जितसंहित 

5) जच्छद्दारिष्यतन्त्रविवण्मल्लूङ्गु चं : 

6) तुत्तुवसुपरायमरवर्षकल्प : प्रायतनादिकायांद्राणविश्विदमुनिमुद्यवधात्रीत 

The date I am inclined to read as "Samvat 441, Kartīka Śuddha 5," or "the fifth day of the bright half of Kartika of the year 441." The first two signs must be taken together and read as 400. This is perfectly certain, as the Gondal grants of Śilādityā IV. are dated 408. The next following figure might be read as 4 on account of its resemblance to the second sign, which must be taken with the sign for 100. But as a horizontal stroke follows, which appears to represent 1, it must be taken as a figure denoting one of the numbers between 10 and 90, and it comes nearest the sign for 40. I admit, however, that the last horizontal stroke may in reality be meant to form part of the third sign. In that case the whole stands for 404.

Plate I.

1) सस्त्रि गोद्रकसमायितजयक्ष-धारावारात्र्यमण्डतानिवाण 

2) तापातायपिनन्ददानमलाजेवयालावनुगस्तुक्तस्वमिलृम्यहीलसीलासरसार्यस्स्स 

3) छिन्नतायासारययितचराचारङ्कनिपुष्टतितितन्त्रसौक्लम्य 

4) तद्भवायतायतीतुच्छारान्नन्माणसम्मानसब्जितसंहित 

5) जच्छद्दारिष्यतन्त्रविवण्मल्लूङ्गु चं : 

6) तुत्तुवसुपरायमरवर्षकल्प : प्रायतनादिकायांद्राणविश्विदमुनिमुद्यवधात्रीत 

† I take the compound samuddhatavipakṣabhādhṛīṃśhā 

sūratriṇāḥdhyāvāyāmāndarākṣāḥ to consist of a Bahuvrihi—sa 

muddhaṇā vipakṣabhādhṛīṃśhāḥ yena sa—and a Tatpurusha 

-śāndhyāvāyāmāndarākṣāḥ—which together form a Karmadhāraya compound. It is possible to explain the grammatical connection of the first part differently, but the general sense remains the same. There is a pun on the words samuddhatavipakṣabhādhṛīṃśhā and gomandala, which the story of Krishna's lifting Mount Govardhana suggested.

* Forbes, Rel. Mālā, vol. I, p. 245, names Sūrāpura as one of the harbours of the Anhilvad kingdom, and thinks that it may be Surat. This identification cannot stand, as Surat is a modern town. I am unable to offer any suggestion as to the whereabouts of the town.

§ Line 1, read "समाबासिनः"; सत्सत्सह।. L. 2, read परमधर्म।. L. 3, read "पितृः"; चतुर्विविवंकुतः; प्रकटवितः. L. 4, read "रूपमावर्नकल्पः; निम्; "त्यागमयिनः; L. 5, read "कृपः; गान्धिस्यंविनः; दुष्टसरसार्यस्स्; प्रायत्तिनः; L. 6, read "कालः; प्रदानः; हरयः;


FURTHER VALABHĪ GRANTS.

January, 1877.

{22} लोक चरितमार्गविभागमापौर परमभद्रतृतिरकृतमप्रतियादितिविनयोविविधतम् समरसनामस्तम् लाकाहरप्रकारहितम्

{23} वाहुदास्विवितविस्मिततिस्मिद्यमकारोदयः स्वभुमापौरपिरूप्रचारकीसाधिनानम सत्कल्पपदस्मिताभिनीक्षंदनस्ताहानम् परायणम्

{24} हे श्रीरामेने वस्तानुप्रायत: स्वरितातिसाधित सकलभुवेश्वरसाधितानांनापत्रिविविधानां तत्त्व-नायिनि प्रताधिक्या विषयां पुत्रिमहिनिः

{25} पुष्पाकारः परिव्रमणानुमागनिशर्चितप्रविष्टः मनुरित स्वर्यमुखप्रमः प्रकाशिकार्यकालस्य लाभ कार्यिनियोग्यसत्साहनस्यमुक्

{26} दर्शनम प्रायवत्ताप्रमोगितिदिगंतराल प्रस्तित्वदायांस्य: सत्तवादित सति ब्रह्म प्रक्ष्य ब्रह्म प्रयत्नमयात्मकप्रमाणिगीतियोजनानुवन सागः

{27} मपरिपूर्वी विद्यान संपिनयणमहसामानिः तथापिनुपादिक सदन मुद्राध्यक्षणानि संस्कारसामुः प्रायवत्ताप्रमाणिगीतियोजनानुवन सागः

{28} व्यायमभोजः प्रणाल: प्रकृतिकिरकाबोध ब्रह्माणुदयः श्रुतवाचय हराविनिः कान्तीपिव ब्रह्म्से स्वमिनापि प्रक्ष्य

{29} स्वपुण्यनिजननानुरागार्यसङ्गितमूर्तंमयमधिधीतप्रबिंत वायाद्विद्यधातीनानागमेऽप्रमेयवर्षः \\

{30} कर्षणनित्तातिरिसंवधानलोकलयसंकल्पसिंहहृदयां एव अवणिगितमकालकालकारिथकारिभाषमान्यतुविशेष विद्वानसिद्धार्थाखलिकमहसागः

{31} विद्या इत मुद्रकर्माधिकालधंसिवधिक संसिद्धान्य एव अवणिगितमकालकारिथकारिभाषमान्यतुविशेष विद्वानसिद्धार्थाखलिकमहसागः

{32} मणिलोममितिमूर्तचुंडूमाणिकमिष्यमनश्च: परमेश्वरः परमभद्रकर्मकर्मकालाधीनताधीनपर्यः

{33} तत्त्वात्मकाभावातिशीलीतिस्य शारिरिसरिसार्यार्यमनो महिनस्तुरावव.. रतिविदिय सत्यादानि \\

{34} चर्चनमशिशुः प्रमाणा यथाक्ष्ये नियमममिलितमान्याधिश्चगमलस्य राजस्वैदिश्चिन्तमात्वायसा \\

{35} लिखा यथानां कर्यन मंडितकुक्ष नवसिद्धिरसिद्धिसिद्धिसिद्धिरति

{36} वेदमाधलितय- 

Plate II.

(1) पयादपस्माशिशकरचुंडूकुणितमिन्यस्तनुमयाय: विष्य: पत्: श्रीदरमन्दृपायाः श्रिवति- 

8 L. 22. read वृत्तिमयाध्यक्षमाण्डः मनाः। L. 23. read स्त्राहे वर्षम।। L. 24. read हुकामाण्डः। L. 25. read दुर्हरिस्वरतमाण्डः। L. 26. read शतांतिमाण्डः। L. 27. read रावणाण्डः। L. 28. read गृहाण्डः। तत्त्वात्मकाभावातिशीलीतिस्य शारिरिसरिसार्यार्यमनो महिनस्तुरावव.. रतिविदिय सत्यादानि 

9 विद्या इत मुद्रकर्माधिकालधंसिवधिक संसिद्धान्य एव अवणिगितमकालकारिथकारिभाषमान्यतुविशेष विद्वानसिद्धार्थाखलिकमहसागः

10 L. 22. read मंडितकुक्ष नवसिद्धिश्चरिष्यमिलितमान्याधिश्च। L. 23. read शतांतिमाण्डः। L. 24. read दुर्हरिस्वरतमाण्डः। L. 25. read शतांतिमाण्डः। L. 26. read दुर्हरिस्वरतमाण्डः। L. 27. read रावणाण्डः। L. 28. read गृहाण्डः। तत्त्वात्मकाभावातिशीलीतिस्य शारिरिसरिसार्यार्यमनो महिनस्तुरावव.. रतिविदिय सत्यादानि 

11 तत्त्वात्मकाभावातिशीलीतिस्य शारिरिसरिसार्यार्यमनो महिनस्तुरावव.. रतिविदिय सत्यादानि 

12 विद्या इत मुद्रकर्माधिकालधंसिवधिक संसिद्धान्य एव अवणिगितमकालकारिथकारिभाषमान्यतुविशेष विद्वानसिद्धार्थाखलिकमहसागः
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY. [January, 1877.

(8) वियमण्यन्य: कुतपरियह: श्रीयवतिवतुतदारवकविचरणदामण्डलमण्डलामिसावलबंसामान
वाक्यं प्रदत्तमकृप्तार्थौ मुक्तविवेच्यं [पवित्र:] प्रसञ्ज;

(9) धनावा परामुव्वे विपृवदायितकरप्रयण: पूवयेव विपृवदायितन्मुखावशिषोधितकरप्रयणयुङ्ग: पुणः पुत्रकेन राजनालकरः

(10) जालतदायोच: परसुपुरकर्मकरकोपकाठपलिकरमविचित्रणदामालिवलिवासककविसंविशेषकाकुणात्मकानुपयामुः [र-]

(11) हस्तविशालसरलवनलाभिलिवालतामानजपरिषिद्धिवर्ण्यतिबन्धः: परममहे गहरीध्रण्यः: तस्यायो परममहीपिलिविदीयः:

(12) पनायायायाय लक्ष्यास्य स्वमितसचिवालयद्यहि: विपृवदायितचरितर्यः चारिगार्मपरिविश्वेत

(13) सवजीवतप्रस्तुतसतसतसंवेदककृपामणिमुख्यदित चरणकलमुगः: प्रोदादरादोदितरः

(14) प्राष्टकात्यावुँकाश्च: प्रणविशनकनिधितसंस्कृतै: प्रेमितदाोहितसङ्करायाः: परिहारलकीहिनाधः

(15) डोक्कमतजसंस्वपूर्वतपतसम: सांकल्पम: इच्छयस्यस्पातिनिधितरणामाः: पृवपुसुथितिमिति

(16) तेयामपतिसकलकलमन्तरसयुतसंकलनानुमादनाः: परिनुदितमूलमानगरिदोक्कूसलात्रूपयोकामूच्चाविशिष्टविनननानादेशः देवत्रिव जगुरुः

(17) नारुः याहामनवसस्यस्यतिम: होल्जादिदियान राजसानुसात्तायपादार्थादस्त्रीकृ: परादपुरी:

(18) धर्मावदियन्तुर्तियनामाः परमपादैः: श्रीवर्हप्रस्तुतस्यायाः: कुमुदप्रपंचकाल्पितायम: कलाकाशात्यन्त्र: दिफः: कः म्यालकसकलदिफः

(19) इलास्य खृष्णतामुकुबलिपियाद्यजापतामिलिवादियपरिपाल्यायाः: किष्ट्य: प्रसुः: श्रीवर्हादिवियय

(20) पृवपुसुथितिकरण इव मतिदिनसांस्करणकलकालिनव: केतरथकशिवुरश्रीजालसपेरवहँपात्मतीविलापरेव: विश्वकर्मकेत

(21) वधानाकलाचन्द्रावः: केतरथकशिवुरश्रीवर्हादिविययायपरमादस्त्रकमहाराजाधिराजाधिराजपरस्यः

(22) रक्षीराजाधिराजपरस्यः श्रीवर्हादिविययायपरमादस्त्रकमहाराजाधिराजाधिराजपरस्यः

(23) कृष्णनिलिपिविदिलितानितकरुमस्तोल्यस्यमृतमहात्मापादार्थपालिता गतन्त्रमहानल्लुपायत्वः

1 L. 2, read “महसितप्रायासपानादिकान”.
2 L. 3, read “वेधानि” अदिति; L. 4, read कलकलकित.
3 पुष्पः: the $ belonging to $ jog$ in the lower line has got into the up$ where it appears that the engraver copied from a MS. See$.
4 L. 5, read कल्वभावः
5 मुक्ताभावः
6 विभवः: सचीदा:.
7 L. 6, read ग्रहिता: माशिकाविदः.
8 L. 7, read अशोरः: स्थिरितप्रणः सांकायारः
9 L. 8, read अशोरः
10 L. 9, read पुरुषोऽनम: इववेदः
11 L. 10, read “महानाशा;
January, 1877.] FURTHER VALABHI GRANTS.

(17) लघुवानामोगामाजा सन्यासालिन्विश्वासिन्मुखत्रिसृष्टिप्रणालमुकधूर्योऽगैरतानेन पिंहिततपव: परमभेदः परमभारक महाराजाधिराज्यम्।

(19) भृगुश्रीवपादानेन विप्रभंभेत्यं कर्ममहाराजाधिराज्यम् भृगुश्रीवपादानेन तणुष्यः प्रतापारागमप्य समसतानमानव चुजःसमागमयः।

(19) भजनितिः पदार्थविद्याः परमभेदः परमभारक महाराजाधिराज्यम् भृगुश्रीवपादानेन विप्रभंभेत्यं कर्ममहाराजाधिराज्यम् भृगुश्रीवपादानेन तणुष्यः प्रतापारागमप्य समसतानमानव चुजःसमागमयः।

(20) दित्यदेवः तत्सामानः प्रश्नाम्बालमलटं विपुळवनमश्लायः प्रीत्वालिकालिवत्वश्च समपारारितिबिवः जलादिनः।

(21) शक्तः समुद्वत्वपधमृत्विनिदयितवोऽरामः पुःपासा: प्रचंदभृतावद्वकरितमण्यमश्चिं च प्रणमवस्तमृतविद्यितवः।

(22) मधुमलः परमभेदः परमभारक महाराजाधिराज्यम् भृगुश्रीवपादानेन विप्रभंभेत्यं कर्ममहाराजाधिराज्यम् भृगुश्रीवपादानेन तणुष्यः प्रतापारागमप्य समसतानमानव चुजःसमागमयः।

(23) वः सवैनेव समाज्यस्वसूः वः संविदितं यथा मया मातानिराणनभवं पुष्कराशिकथित कृत्यः ऐतिहासिक्मकरितवः वहकवस्तवद्वातिुहियमातीसा।

(24) मान्य्पारारसगोविणाय आङ्गिवशिष्ठतिरित्नश्च सुमुखाया आङ्गिवशिष्ठतिरित्नश्च सुमुखाया बलिनेने श्रेष्ठवर्गवृत्ततियां तथा निविद्यायां

(25) सूर्यपुरस्विये कपोलकान्तिहो बहुवक्त्रमम् सोहुः स्थिरः साधयामानवाधिक्रिया: सम्भवर्तः साधयुद्धः।

(26) सदासाकारायः सभिष्यभोगः: वास्तवरिद्धण्यायः स्वार्जकीयानामस्वस्तत्क्षेपयीः: भृगुचिविद्वेदः: क्रियावद्यानाय: भृगुराजः।

(27) भृमिमप्राणीनाचन्दनः वित्वरितित्वर्तमासकालिनेन पुःपितान्वितान्वमोषुइकतातिसम्योऽणे।

(28) प्रतिपाद्यत: यतोऽस्यविचित्र्य: ब्रह्मविकल्पिक्ष्या: नुणतः: क्रत्व: कर्तव्यारापितिरितिः वा न क्रियारापितिः: परस्तः।

(29) यमामाभाङ्गुपुरपितिम्न्हिमस्मेतस्नायुर्ध्विनायिन्यमयश्चमास्त्रयूक्तसामान्यः च भृमिदायस्य

(30) वमवचारहरेवस्मादानुमुन्तः: परिपश्चित्विक्ष्या: उऽकः च बुधिनेनुमुन्त भुजा: राजांभः सागारिदिः: वस्यः।

(31) स्य यदा भृमिस्तयवस्य तद्या फलः यानीह दारिद्रमयानेवेदनानि धर्ममित्वाशोकानि निमायतः

(32) वांलप्रतिपादनानि नागा काल सुपुन्तमादीति वा प्रतिविद्यमानमयुर्विद्यामयुनेश्वः स्मार्यािः।

(33) ति भृमिदः आच्छोदः चातुरुमतोऽऽ च तत्वेऽऽ नरेऽऽ वेदविदति तु दृग्विक गाजानाशतिस्वेश्वः।

(34) हितविधिंमय लघुमयकरं साधयुद्धः। संवृत्तं भृमिदः कालविभागः। (8) (38) सहस्त्रो यम्।
No. XX.

This and the following six copper-plate inscriptions have been previously published by me in the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., vol. IX., No. xcvii., pp. 229 et seqq. I now give revised transcriptions of them, with full translations.

The originals, which now belong to myself, were found some sixteen years ago in a mound of earth close to a small well called Chakratiha, a short distance outside Halsi on the road to Nandiga, in the Bidi Taluk of the Belgaum District. They are all in the Cave-alphabet characters not yet developed into the Old Canarese characters, and in the Sanskrit language.

They record the grants of an old dynasty of Kadamba kings, and, in connexion with three more recently discovered copper-charters noticed below, they establish the following genealogy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kakustha, or</th>
<th>( \text{Santivarman} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{Santivarman} )</td>
<td>(not named.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrigesa, or</td>
<td>( \text{Mrigvasara} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrigvasara, or</td>
<td>( \text{Mrigvasarvarman} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harivarman.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This dynasty is known as yet only from the present inscriptions, though other branches of the Kadamba stock have been noticed by Sir W. Elliot and by myself. Kakusthavarn was probably the first of the family to enjoy regal power; but, as allusion is made in lines 4-5 of the first of these inscriptions to an era dating from some victory over a hostile dynasty that took place eighty years before his time, the way must have been prepared for him by his father or grandfather. These kings were of the Jain religion. Their capital was Palaśikā, —the modern Halasi itself; but we have also the mention of the city of Vaijayanti, or the modern Banawasi, as a residence of Mrigėśa.

The exact date of these kings cannot be determined at present, no reference to any known era being made in these inscriptions. But the type of the alphabet, and the contemporaneous allusions, enable us to allot them with tolerable certainty to about the fifth century A.D., and to decide that these must be the Kadambas whose power the Chalukya king Kirttivarman is said, in lines 4 and 5 of the Aiṭtivarman inscription, No. XIII.† of this series, to have overthrown.

The application of the term 'Panaśhaka year' to the third year of Mrigēśa's reign in one of the Dharwad plates, and of the term 'Vaiśākha year' to the eighth year of his reign in No. XXI., below,—and the mention of the eighth fortnight of the rainy season in one of Mrigēśa's grants from Dharwad, and of the sixth fortnight of the winter season in No. XXIII. below, indicating that, at the time of these grants, the primitive division of the year into three seasons only, not into six as now, was still followed,—probably contain the clue, which will enable us hereafter to determine the exact date of these kings with accuracy.

As I have intimated, three more copper-charters of the same dynasty were found about a year ago in the Dharwad District. When I can see the originals, I hope to include them in this series. Meanwhile, I have seen transcriptions and translations of them by Mr. Pandurang Venkateš Chintamanpotkar, of the Educational Department. Two of them are dated in the third and fourth years respectively of Mrigēśa of the above table, or as he is called in these plates, Mrigēśavarvarman or Mrigēśavarnam, and are issued at the city of Vaijayanti. We learn from one of them, that the Kadambas were of the
January, 1877.] Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions.

23

Aṅgirasagotra. The third is of the time of Dēnavarmā, the son and Yuvarājī of the Kadamba Mahmāra Kṛishnāvarma, and is issued at (the city of) Tripāravata. There is nothing at all in this inscription to indicate the date of Kṛishnāvarma and Dēnavarmā, or the place to which they should be referred in the above genealogy. There can be little doubt, however, that they belong to this same branch of the Kadamba stock; rather than to the other branch, of which the genealogy, commencing with Māyūravarmadēva, followed by his son Kṛishnāvarmadēva, followed by his son Nāgavarmadēva, and so on, is given by Sir W. Elliot. And, equally, there can be little doubt that this same Kṛishnāvarma is the Kadamba king who is mentioned in Mr. Rice's Merkara and Nāgamaṇḍalain Copper-plates, and whose sister married the Chēra king Mādhava II. The Merkara plate† being dated (? Saka) 388, in the time of the son of Mādhava II, and the Nāgamaṇḍalain plate§ being dated Śaka 699, in the time of Kōṅgaṇi-Mahādhīrāja, who was subsequent to Mādhava II. by nine generations,—we have about Saka 380 (A.D. 438-9) as the date of Kṛishnāvarma. This will make him and his son anterior to Kākusthāvarma and his successors, according to the estimate that I have formed of the date of the latter.

The present inscription, No. XX., the earliest of the set, is the smallest and most illegible; in some places the plates have been completely eaten through with rust. It consists of three plates, about 6½' long by 1¾' broad, fastened together with a ring, the seal of which bears the figure of apparently a dog. The inscription, in this and the remaining six cases, begins on the inside of the first plate and ends on the inside of the last plate. It records the grant of a field at the village of Khatagrama to the General Śrutakirtti by Kākusthāvarma, the Kadamba Yuvarājī.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Nām: II जयति भगवानःजनके गुणस्तुः।ः [धिःपरः] [कारणमः]

[2] वैलवयःसतकरी दयपारंकोष्ठात् यस्य II परमः

[3] श्रीविषयपत्जाकाकारम् प्रजाधारणः [वा] नामम् II†

Second plate; first side.

[4] कदम्बानम् युवराजः श्रीकाकुलसमत्ति श्रीविषयके अहं तिति [म्]

[5] संसरोरे भगवतामहेंद्रम् तद्भूमिशरणयामाम् वैलवयनिलतार-

[6] काणाम् खेत्राग्मे वदेतर्वेश्च [म्] भूतकीतिः (तिः) तेनापवेय II‡

Second plate; second side.


[8] त पञ्चमायापरकस्तुके भक्तिः (ति) [I] ये भितसारी (ति) तस्य तत्वः सु:-


Third plate.

[10] [रा] जम्मिस्तारधिदिम्: यस्य यस्य य [दा भुः] भिम: तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [I]


† Vol. I., p. 363. § Vol. II., p. 155. ¶ Contrary to the rule of these seven plates, the original here has the visarga itself, and not the upadāmāṇiya. * These three syllables are omitted altogether in the original; but they are required to make up both the metre and the sense.

†† This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

‡‡ This mark of punctuation, also, is superfluous.

§§ The corrected reading must be either suruva-guna, गु, omitting the tya as inserted by mistake, or satya[m as suruva-guna, गु.

¶¶ This mark of punctuation, also, is superfluous.
Reverence! Victorious is the holy one, Jînêndra, who abounds in good qualities, and who is renowned as being extremely compassionate: the banner of his tenderness, which comforts the three worlds, is lifted up on high!

At the most glorious and victorious ('city of) Palâsikâ, in the eightieth year of his victory, Śrî-Kâkusthavarmâ, —the Yuvârajâ of the Kâlanâyas, who enjoy the general good wishes of their subjects,—gave to the General Sûratâkîrtti, as a reward for saving himself, the field called Bâdêvârakshêtra, in the village of Kêtâgrâma, which belongs to the holy Arhat, who are the refuge of created beings and the savours of the three worlds.

He incurs the guilt of the five great sins, who injures this grant, whether he is born in his own lineage or in the lineage of another; he, who preserves it, shall verily obtain the religious merit of all victorious qualities! Moreover it has been said:—land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sâgrâma; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruit of it! He is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years, who seizes upon land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

Reverence! Reverence! Reverence to Ri-shâbha!

No. XXI.

This inscription consists of three plates, about 8½ long by 3 ⅓ broad, fastened by a ring, the seal of which bears the name of 'Śrî-Mîgâvârâh.' It records how Mîgâvâh caused a Jain temple to be built at Palâsikâ, and endowed it with a grant of land, in the eighth year of his reign.

Translation.

Reverence! Victorious is the holy one, Jînêndra, who abounds in good qualities, and who is renowned as being extremely compassionate: the banner of his tenderness, which comforts the three worlds, is lifted up on high!

At the most glorious and victorious ('city of) Palâsikâ, in the eightieth year of his victory, Śrî-Kâkusthavarmâ, —the Yuvârajâ of the Kâlanâbas, who enjoy the general good wishes of their subjects,—gave to the General Sûratâkîrtti, as a reward for saving himself, the field called Bâdêvârakshêtra, in the village of Kêtâgrâma, which belongs to the holy Arhat, who are the refuge of created beings and the savours of the three worlds.

He incurs the guilt of the five great sins, who injures this grant, whether he is born in his own lineage or in the lineage of another; he, who preserves it, shall verily obtain the religious merit of all victorious qualities! Moreover it has been said:—land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sâgrâma; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruit of it! He is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years, who seizes upon land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

Reverence! Reverence! Reverence to Ri-shâbha!

No. XXI.

This inscription consists of three plates, about 8½ long by 3 ⅓ broad, fastened by a ring, the seal of which bears the name of 'Śrî-Mîgâvârâh.' It records how Mîgâvâh caused a Jain temple to be built at Palâsikâ, and endowed it with a grant of land, in the eighth year of his reign.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Sûratâkîrtti, the donor.


[3] Padâm, the donor's lineage.


Second plate; first side.

[5] Sûratâkîrtti, the donor.


[7] Sûratâkîrtti, the donor.

[8] Dânaprâvâkshêtra, the village.

Second plate; second side.

[9] Sûratâkîrtti, the donor.

[10] Sûratâkîrtti, the donor.


[12] Sûratâkîrtti, the donor.

* Jinêndra,—a Jain saint, a Brâhda.
† 'Rundro'—see vol. IV., p. 204, note §, 'Guna-rundra' is evidently equivalent to 'guna-mahat,' which, though it is not an expression of frequent occurrence, we have had in No. XV. of this series, line 6, vol. V., p. 135.
‡ The classical spelling would be 'Kâkusthavarmâ,' but 'Kàkusthâ' is manifestly an established corruption of 'Kàkusthâ.'
§ 'Arhat,'—hī, venerable,—a superior Jain saint or divinity.
|| Viz.,—among the Jains,—destruction of life, lying, stealing, unchastity, and immoderate desire.

\* Sc. 'the donor's.'
\* The first Arhat, the first of the twenty-four Jain Tirthankara or sanctified teachers, of the present age.
KADAMBA GRANT OF MRIGESA.

January, 1877.] Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions. 25

Third plate.

14] उकम् [1] वर्मिशुप दत्ता राजसभापदनिमः यस्य वस्य यदा
15] भुमि: तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [1] सदात(तां) परदात(ताः) वाम(व) यो हेतु
16] अर्थाम् पाठवित्सहायचे कुमाराके स सप्ते [11] तित्तरसु।

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the holy one, Jina-vattra, who abounds in good qualities, etc.

The son of the king Śri-Kākūṣha, who was the glory of the family of the Kadambaśa on account of his riches which consisted entirely of meritorious actions, was the king Śri-Sāntivaravarmā, who was, as it were, a second sun, and whose eyes were like the blue lotus-flower; as if she were a woman of easy virtue, the goddess of the fortunes of his enemies was enticed by him from their abodes.

His beloved eldest son was the king Śri-Mīrīgās, who was most eminent in piety among all mankind, and who was worshipped by the twice-born and by chieftains. Having reflected upon the saying that ‘The gifts of the poor have a rich reward,’ he, though poor himself in the sensation of fear, gave great fear to his enemies.

On the day of the full-moon of (the month) Karttika, in the Vaisakha year, the eighth of his victory, he,—who uprooted the family of Tūṅgagā, and who was a very fire of destruction to the Pallavas,—while residing at the glorious and victorious (city of) Vaiśalī, through devotion for the king (his father) who was dead, caused to be built a temple of Jina at the glorious and victorious (city of) Pālāśikā, and gave to the holy Aṛhats thirty-three n-ha-rfenuts (of land), from the river Manasar up to the sacred confluence of rivers called Ingenisagama, for the purpose of supporting the Kūrchatas, who are naked religious mendicants. The specification (of the principal grantees) was:—Dāmakīrtti, the Bhūjakā; and Jivanta, the minister and the general superintendent.*

Moreover it has been said:—Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sāgarā, etc. He is tormented in the hell called Kumbhāpac for the duration of sixty thousand years, etc. May there be success!

No. XXII.

This inscription consists of five plates, about 7½” long by 3½” broad; the device on the seat of the ring is almost entirely worn away, but seems to have been the same as on the seal of No. XX. It records grants and ordinances, for the celebration of the Jain religion, made by Rāvivarṇā and others.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] जयति भगवान्मनोदो गुरुदासः,प्रतिपर्ययकिभिगः, वैलुकया
[2] व्रतस्तव्रतसुधिः प्रति || सांवर्मासन्तनगणपुत्रे:
[3] धा(ध्व)नान्तरभावमुनिवृत्ताः द्वारिषोत्सवाः पातिकसावाच(ध्व)यच(ध्व)

† The meaning of this expression ‘Vaiśākha year’ is not apparent, ‘Vaiśākha’ being the name of a month, and not of any of the sixty rāmasanās. Vaiśākha was not originally the initial month of the solar year. Perhaps at the time of this inscription it was usual to speak of each year as a ‘Vaiśākha year,’ in order to bring constantly to notice, and so to firmly establish, a method of computation that had been only newly introduced. Or it may even be that the year in which this grant was made was the first, not the last of the winter month of the year, as is usual in the modern calendar. As noted in my remarks above, the contemporary historical allusions, and the style of the alphabet, point to about this time as the date of Kṣenakasvanu and his successors. Curiously enough, I find that in one of the plates from Dharmādheś, the third year of Mygē’s reign is called in a similar way a Paśa year. But, by the Useful Tables, the year commenced with the month Paśa in A.D. 431!

§ Another form of ‘Jayantipura’, an old name of Vaiśalī, modern Banavasi, which was always a Kālindaka capital.

|| Apparently some Jain sect; they are mentioned again in No. XXV, line 12.

* ‘Bhūjakā’, name of a class of officiating priests in Jain temples: in No. XXII., line 6, we have again ‘Bhūjaka,’ and in No. XVIII., line 11, ‘Bhūjakā.’

* Conf. the amended reading and translation of No. XVIII., II. 10-11, as notified in the Errata to vol. V.
Second plate: first side.

[4] पारमाण्व स्त्रीलक्षणोपन्नां (पाणी मूलाक्षणीय विचार)-
[5] वैष्णवीमोहाभाविनाम् संतति दयानाम् कदशनाम् कन्याकृत-
[6] वै मूलाक्षणोपन्नां कीर्तिसारसान्ति।-संधः युक्तिविरितिज्ञानीयतमाणाय:

Second plate: second side.

[7] प्रारम्भ पुरा नूतने वर्णनुष्ठानमानि विदाहके यज्ञनादायो-
[8] परम: तत्त्वसन्योगी शास्त्रियांकनोजि: माते भवमार्थ दशवनादा-
[9] सकृत्रेः मूलाक्षणसुंग्रह्योपनीय:- पिताजुआं धार्मिको दान-

Third plate: first side.

[10] सेविः ब्रह्माक्षरसुंग्रह्यांकितः संतति उपाध्याय सिीदाण्डीयुक्ते:- यथावत-
[11] नूतनो एतमेवं विविधता विकृतिबन्धु युक्ते। सुप्राण्डीय:- आचार्येन्द्रनुकृतः
[12] वेणपी निमित्ततज्ञानार्थे: स्थापितोऽभव विहनः ब्रह्माकृति-

Third plate: second side.

[14] म्हको विनीतताया प्रारम्भेत्तितकायम् यज्ञाकृति सर्वराहः कसादाहारः
[15] ते सेवेः उपाध्यायामिकानुकृतः दशवनादाननवते: जीनेन्द्रमहामयी
[16] कार्याः परमिभक्ष्यं क्रमाः अन्तःकत्वमयीदा करात्मकत्वदना-
[17] गमाय विविधं विविधोऽहारान् यापनात्यांलपतिन: यु[प्रज्ञ सु]

Fourth plate: first side.

[19] अहंकारांभावसुरस्यास्तूः भाववितायास्मिनानावित: गणोः
[20] स्या तेवा भवति भ्रामणः: धर्मंसुभिभाष्यान्त्यदत्तार्थायेः
[21] जीनेन्द्रपुञ्ज सततं प्रेमयो दाति स्थिति विविधतात्रिीः पल्ल[स्विता]-

Fourth plate: second side.

[22] या नगरे विसाहे तथा यथविकाया पुष्पाणुमयथथया वचनप्रेष्यु नि-
[23] बलादैौ धर्मयमैः गृहाणुयास रस्तां संसारायाय प्रत्यावर्षये
[25] यदा मूलाक्षणस्य तस्य तदा फलम् सदस्यां प्रवचनं यो हरेत

Fifth plate.

[26] व्युत्प्रयार्थार्थी वर्षकित्तेन रक्षते मूलाम् अनिधिते निकृति
[27] भूमिके तदक्षये परिपालितम एवर्म न निर्कालस्य ब्रह्मायुक्तम् च [11]
[28] यथेऽमालंद्वपुञ्जा वर्षकृते तत्र तत्र देवपातिरुढः
[29] नागरां निर्मिताः तदेवस्थापिनायचिह्नाः नं नमो नमः [11]
GRANT OF THE KADAMBA KING RAVIVARMA.

[Text image]

[Text image]
Translation.

Victorious is the holy one, \textit{Jinendra}, who abounds in good qualities, &c.!

In former times the \textit{Bheda} priest \textit{Srivatsakirtti}, the best among men, who was the receptacle of sacred learning, who enjoyed the rewards of many meritorious actions, and who was possessed of the qualities of performing sacrifices and bestowing gifts and tenderness,—he who had acquired the great favour of \textit{Kakushhavarna}, the king of the \textit{Kadamba}s, who meditate on the assemblage of the mothers\footnote{The six \textit{Krittikas}, the Pleiades, who nursed \textit{Mahatana},} of the lord \textit{Mahasana}; who are of the kindred who are the descendants of \textit{Hariiti}; who are thoroughly well versed in the system of private study and prayer that they have adopted; who enjoy the rewards of meritorious actions performed by themselves; who partake of the enjoyment of the riches acquired by the prowess of their own arms; and who are the abiding-places of the true religion,—enjoyed the village of \textit{Kheta}.

When he died, (\textit{there was}) the king \textit{Santhvarma}; and his son, the pious \textit{SrBMrigesa}, who was renowned in the world, gave the grant (\textit{again}), for the sake of piety, and according to the direction of his father, to the mother of \textit{Dakshakirtti}.

The eldest son of \textit{SrDakshakirtti}, who was widely renowned for his meritorious actions, and whose pure intellect adhered to the path of true religion, was the doorkeeper \textit{Jayakirtti},—who was intent upon religion; who was famous; who was possessed of a pure intellect and limbs; who was first in good qualities; whose family had been established in the world by the \textit{Akharya}s called \textit{Banda}\textit{shena}, who were versed in the knowledge of omens; who had acquired fortune through his\footnote{Or \textit{Mrigesa}'s, or \textit{Ravi}'s.} favour; who was diligent in the rites of charity and worship; who was devoted to his spiritual preceptor; and who was well-behaved through his desire for the welfare of others and of himself. In order to increase his good fortune and fame and family, and for the sake of religious merit, he, through the favour of king \textit{Ravi}, gave (the village of) \textit{Purukhetaka} to the mother of his own father.

The lord \textit{Ravi} established the ordinance at the mighty city of \textit{Palasika}, that the glory of \textit{Jinendra}, (the festival of) which lasts for eight days, should be celebrated regularly every year on the full-moon of (the month) \textit{Karttika} from the revenues of that (village); that assestics should be supported during the four months of the rainy season; that the learned men, the chief of whom was \textit{Kumaradatta},—whose intellects had been wearied by (successive study of) many scriptures and collections of precepts; who were renowned in the world; who abounded in good penances; and whose sect was his authority for what he did,—should according to justice enjoy all the material substance of that greatness; and that the worship of \textit{Jinendra} should be perpetually performed by the pious countrymen and citizens.

That (\textit{land etc.})—which has been conveyed by copper charters under that same ordinance, as accepted by previous kings, should be preserved by the king, not inattentive to religion, having pondered over the misfortune of being born again and again (\textit{if he does not comply with this command})! Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with \textit{Sagara}; &c.! He is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.! That (\textit{grand}) which is bestowed with libations of water, and that which is enjoyed by three\footnote{Or \textit{Mrigesa}'s, or \textit{Ravi}'s.} (generations), and that which is preserved by good people\footnote{Or \textit{Mrigesa}'s, or \textit{Ravi}'s.},—these are not resumed; and also (\textit{grants}) that have been made by former kings! Wheresoever the worship of \textit{Jinendra} is kept up, there there is increase of the country, and the cities are free from fear, and the lords of those countries acquire strength! Reverence, reverence!

No. XXIII.

This inscription consists of three plates, about...
The characters on the seal of the ring that fastens the plates together are too much worn to be legible. It records a grant made by Bhanuvarmā, and another by a follower or subordinate of his, in the eleventh year of the reign of his older brother Rāvariṃā. It is dated in the sixth fortnight of the winter season. These inscriptions, therefore, as I have already intimated, belong to a time at which the primitive division of the year,—into three seasons only, Summer, the Rains, and Winter, each of eight pahṣas or fortnights, instead of into six seasons, each of four fortnights, as is now the practice,—was still followed; and this should enable us hereafter to determine the era of these grants with accuracy.

I observe that the same division of the year into three seasons only is followed in the Nāsik Cave-inscriptions, a paper on which, by Professor Bhanḍākar, is published in the Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists of 1874. Thus, No. 27, at p. 338, runs 'Sūlaḥma, raṇğā Vasāthi-puṣāsara-Padumayya savachārā chha[(?)]he 6 Gīmā-paṅkha pachan[?] 5 divasa. —and is translated "To the Perfect One. In the sixth year of the King, the prosperous Padumayya, the son of Vāsāthi, in the . . . . . . fortnight of Gṛiṣhma, on the fifth (?) day." But the analogy of the expressions containing the dates of the other inscriptions of the same series shows that the word and numeral 'pachanā 5' belong to 'Gīmā-pankha' and not to 'divasa,' and that the word and numeral denoting the day stood after 'divasa' and have been effaced. Accordingly, the date of it is "In the sixth year . . . . . , in the fifth fortnight of the summer season, on the . . . . . day." No. 25, again, at page 319,—in line 6 of which the Professor reads 'Vasā-pankha 4(?) divasa . . . . . . ',—is possibly dated in the fifth, sixth, seventh, or eighth fortnight of the Rains.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] सर्वभवित्व
[2] णुर्याधिक मय्याम
[3] परमाशीर्षय
[4] सर्वकारसेना
[5] दातेवास
[6] पञ्चदशनिकृत
[7] ज्ञातविविध
[8] यहतं विज्ञानि
[9] पञ्चदशनिकृत

Second plate; first side.

[10] पञ्चदशनिकृत
[12] पञ्चदशनिकृत
[13] ज्ञातविविध
[14] पञ्चदशनिकृत
[15] ज्ञातविविध

Second plate; second side.

[16] पञ्चदशनिकृत
[17] ज्ञातविविध
[18] पञ्चदशनिकृत

Third plate.

† This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the holy one, Jinendrā, who abounds in good qualities, &c.!

The beloved eldest son of the glorious king Kānṣṭha was king Sāntivarman; and his eldest son was the king Śrī-Mrigēśā, who was possessed of renowned and wide-spread fame. His son was the glorious king Rāvi, who acquired good fortune by his excellence and fortitude; and his younger brother is king Bhanuvarmā, who is resplendent, and who effects the welfare of himself and of others.

By him, desirous of prosperity, this land was given to the Jainas, in order that the ceremony of ablution might always be performed without fail on the days of the full-moon.

Land of the measure of fifteen navaratnas, in (the field called) Kardamapati at Pālāśikā, free from the gleaming-tax and all other burdens, was assigned in a copper charter (and so was given), on the tenth lunar day in the sixth § fortnight of the winter season in the eleventh year of the reign of the pious Great King Śrī-Rāvivarman, by the Bhajaka Pāṇḍara, the worshipper of the supreme Arhat, who had acquired the favour of the feet of the glorious king Bhanuvarmā.

He who injures this land, whether he is born in his own lineage or in the lineage of another, incurs the guilt of having committed the five great sins! And it has been said:—Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sāgara; &c. He is tormented in the hell called Kumbhipaka for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.!

No. XXIV.

This inscription consists of three plates, about $5\frac{1}{2}$" long by $2\frac{1}{2}$" broad; the seal of the ring that fastens the plates together has the device of a dog, as in the case of Nos. XX. and XXII. It records a grant of land to the god Jinendra by Rāvivarman.

Transcription.

First plate.

1. सप्ति pāñcathūtrō गुणसन्न प्राचिवतपकायः
2. शिकः चैलोमण्डातवलिर दयापादानानानात् यस्य ||
3. भीविणासमीपः चित्तेनानासमीपः निष्णात स्वधिमलाय दयापादानानात् सम [स्व] ||
4. उत्तालाध्य कालियाचन्द्रदर्श्य पलाशकायाः समविस्पद्यतः:[ ||]

Second plate; first side.

5. राविः अदालीकुमारलेख गुणसमीपसौत्निय धारातः सस् ||
6. समनेन चतुररी निवर्तनानान ददै जिनेन्द्राय वही(ही) मदेन: ||
7. सनाय भावाद्य धमेंमात्तरायात्त धमेंमात्तरायात्त दामकिलोऽः ||
8. सनाय धारियम्भुविततिसमम सूक्ष्मानलावण तु च ताकिनः: ||

Second plate; second side.

9. रामात्माददाद्यायात्त ञोभात्त स्यानात हिसादिह शूमित- ||
10. पालः आसायम तस्य कुले कालियाचन्द्रदर्श्य नैपि तंत्रसरियात्यात्यात्यात् ||
11. तान्वेय यो तस्य ध्वसानकानकः स्ववसाहो त यवसेवाः ता ||
12. स भादानुषुद्धारीभिं चिं तदा भ्रेति नाकर्षेऽः: ||

Third plate.

13. आद चोकाय मुनुः [1] भ्रुमिब्यगुणो दत्ता राजिवसागरारभिमः: ||
14. यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलस्य: ||

† 'Patt' is probably for 'pattī', 'strip, slip', which, in both Canarese and Marathi, is commonly used for 'a strip of land'; 'pattīkā' is used in the same sense in other inscriptions.

§ According to the present method the year consists of six seasons (paikās),—Vasanta, spring; Grishina, the hot weather, or summer; Yashas, the rains; Sarad, autumn; Hāmasa, the cold season, or winter; and Sīsra, the dewy season,—and each season consists of only four fortnights.

Footnotes:

[1] Apparently, then, Rāvivarman and Bhanuvarmā were reigning jointly.

[2] 'The donor's.'

[3] 'The word "mustāt" seems to have been engraved before 'jaya-', but to have been cut off in shaping the plate; so that only part of the second syllable can be seen in the margin.'
Victorious is the holy one, Jinendra, who abounds in good qualities, &c.!

That mighty king, the sun of the sky of the mighty family of the Kadamba,—who, having slain Sri-Vishnuvarma and other kings, and having conquered the whole world, and having uprooted Chaupadaya, the lord of Kāchī, had established himself at Pālāśikā,—having pervaded the whole earth with his rays, which were his virtuous qualities, gave four nivartanas (of land) by measure to Jinendra, having obtained the favour of the feet of the mother of Dānakīrtti, who was a very incarnation of religion; the motive that incited him was to increase his religious merit.

And he, who bore the name of Śri-Kīrtti, was his younger brother.

That king, who, from envy or negligence or even avarice, injures those (nivartanas), his family shall be plunged into hell and shall not escape from it up to the seventh generation; but he, whether born in his own lineage or in the lineage of another, who, being desirous of acquiring religious merit, preserves them, shall disport himself for a long time in heaven with the lovely women of the gods!

Moreover, it has been said by Manu:—Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sāgara; &c. He is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.!

No. XXV.

This inscription consists of three plates, about 6 3/4 long by 1 1/2 broad; the seal of the ring connecting the plates bears apparently the name of Śri-Hari varma. It records the grant of the village of Vasantu vātaka, in the district of Sudhikundūra, to a Jain sect, by Hari varma, in the fourth year of his reign.

Transcription.

First plate.

Second plate; first side.

Second plate; second side.

Second plate; first side.

[1] The name of Ravi, or Rāvivaṁśa, the son of Mrgiḍa, is introduced here by a play on words, the word used for 'ear' being 'ravi'.
[2] Possibly the Pallava king Vīshnuvaṁśa; see vol. V., p. 50, text, and note.
[3] Probably the person of this name who is mentioned in line 10 of the Ahole inscription, No. XIII, of this series.
[4] This statement is introduced in a very casual and disconnected way; and it is not at all clear whose younger brother Kirtti was.
[5] The original has 'sman' but partially erased so as to show that 'ew' is intended.
It is accomplished! Hail! Śrī-Ḥarīvarṇa,—the Great King of the Kadambas, who are consecrated by meditating on the assemblage of the mothers of the lord Mahāsēna; who are of the lineage of Mānava; who are the descendants of Hāriti; and who have adopted the practice of private study and prayer,—being kindly disposed towards his subjects, acquired, through the pious acts performed by him in many [previous] states of existence, a sovereignty that was free from all troubles, and pervaded the whole world with his fame, and, being the receptacle of the waters which are the sacred writings, adhered to the path prescribed by those who were mature in science, and cleft open the mountains which were his enemies by the blows of the thunderbolt which was his own arm.

In the fourth year of his reign, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Phālgunā, at the hill or village, called Jehchasrihgi, he, giving such a promise as gladden the hearts of all people, at the advice of his father's brother Sīvaratha, having made Chandrakshanta the principal (donee), gave into the possession of the sect of Yarishenacharja of the Kurchalcus (the village of) Yasuntavutaka in the district of Suddikunda, free from all claims, saying that it was for the purpose of providing annually, at the great eight-days sacrifice, the perpetual anointing with clarified butter for the temple of the Ṭhūnā which Mṛigeśa, the son of the General Śiṁha of the lineage of Bhradvaja, had caused to be built at Palāśikā, and that whatever might remain over after this was to be devoted to the purpose of feeding the whole sect.

He, who with justice protects this grant, shares in the reward of the religious merit of the grant; but he, who through envy or hatred or avarice or folly confiscates it, falls into the most low condition! And it has been said:—He is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.! Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sāgara; &c.!

May the practice of sitting in abstract meditation, which is the doctrine of the Arhat Yārīnaka, and by which (is effected), even in the present time, the destruction of the sins of worldly existence, flourish! Reverence to the Arhat Vardhamāna!

No. XXVI.

This inscription consists of three plates, about 8¾" long by 2½" broad; the seal of the ring connecting the plates bears the word Śrī-Ḥarīvarṇa, preceded and followed by a Scastika. It records the grant of a village by Ḫarīvarṇa, in the fifth year of his reign, at the request of king Bhrāna-śakti of the family of the Śendrakas.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] सिद्धवर्त ॥ स्वनिः ॥ स्वभिरभवनिलवाच्यनामानि ॥
[2] हारितश्रद्धालयान् ॥ प्रतिक्रियसाधारणायकारणम् ॥

† Either 'the hill of the high peak,' or 'the village where there is the hill of the high peak.'
‡ The last and most celebrated of the twenty-four Jain Tirthakaras of the present age.
§ A mystical mark, to denote good luck, shaped like a Greek cross with the extremities of the four arms bent round in the same direction.
¶ This word is given in the margin of the plate, by the side of the hole for the ring, instead of in its usual and proper place as the first word of the inscription.
It is accomplished! Hail! In the fifth year of his own reign, at the capital of Pālāśīkā, at the request of king Bhaṇusakti, who was the glory of the family of the Sēndrākāṣṭha, the Great King Śrī-Hārīvarma, the excellence of whose body and intellect had been produced by the great religious merit acquired by good actions performed in a previous state of existence, and who was a moon to the blue lotuses Śrāmanas called Aharishṭi and the family of whose body and intellect had been produced by the great religious merit acquired by good actions performed in a previous state of existence, and who was a moon to the blue lotuses Śrāmanas called Aharishṭi and the

Translation.

* There being no room for this letter,—"ya"—at the end of the line, it is inserted below the letters 'sama.'
† This word was omitted in its proper place in the line, and was then inserted in the margin at the end of the line, and two Swastikas were employed to indicate the place to which it belongs.
\* Notices of the Sūndrakās are not frequent. I find the family mentioned in line 8 of No. 98 of Major Dixon's collection, a small stone-tablet inscription in the Cave-alphabet characters at Balugāvīlo belonging to the time of one of the Vikramadityas of the Chalukya family, probably the first of that name in Sir W. Elliot's list; but the photograph is very small and indistinct, and I cannot make out the whole passage.
§ 'Śrāmanta,'—a Jain (as well as a Bauddha) religious mendicant, or ascetic.
THE caves of Junnar,* like those of Bhūjī, Beḍēśi, Talijā, Śīni, Knūṭi, and other groups, are remarkably devoid of figure ornament or imagery: in this respect contrasting strongly with those at Ajanṭā, Elera, Kūrlā, Aurangābīḍ, and elsewhere. The Dāhagoba a alone is common to all: and, on comparing the different groups, one might almost suppose that the Dāhagoba and Buddhist rail were the earliest ornaments as well as furniture of the caves: that the Chaitya or horse-shoe window with its latticed aperture was next developed, both as a structural feature and an ornament,—and at Jannar there are some peculiar applications of it; and that figures of Buddha, as in the later caves at Nāśik, at Kanheri, and at Ajanṭā, Elera, and Aurangābīḍ, were introduced at a later date. Or is it possible that a puritan sect of Baudhās, objecting to all anthropomorphic forms, made the Dahgoba their only gebah, while a separate school delighted in pictures and images of their Great Teacher, his Mother, and all the Baudhā Saints? This is a point deserving the attention of archaeologists in attempting to arrange the Buddhist remains in anything like chronological order. We know that in early times it was usual for one school or sect almost to monopolize the popular religious attachment of particular cities or even provinces: these sects doubtless corresponded with the arch of the cave: for all instances of its occurrence is more correctly given by Colonel Sykes as No. 10 of his copies in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. V. p. 161*; but the result was very unsatisfactory. The translations in the following article by Dr. H. Kern will be read with interest.

The Chaitya to be noticed below. The door is per-
usual form, a plain circular drum or base 8 ft. 9\frac{1}{2} in. in diameter and 6 ft. 4\frac{1}{2} in. high, with a Buddhist-rail cornice, supporting the yarbhita or dome on which stands the torana or capital, consisting of a square block, representing a box ornamented with the Buddhist-rail pattern, surmounted by an abacus of five thin slab-like members, each in succession wider than the one below, until the uppermost is 5 ft. 10 in. square, with a hole in the centre of it to support the shaft of a wooden umbrella; as at Kāñchī, and four shallow square ones for relics: for it was on this torana, as on an altar, that the relics of Buddha or of Buddha saints were deposited for adoration. In some cases, as at Bhājā, the box under the capital of the torāṇa was hollow, for the preservation of the relics. The whole height of this Dahgoba is 16 ft. 5 in.

The next cave east of this is a Vihāra,—the door-jambs now broken away. It has two windows, is 25 ft. wide by 29 deep, and 8 ft. 2 in. high, with a bench or seat 16 ft. 10 in. wide round the three inner sides. At the back are three cells, and at each side two, for the resident monks. In the cells are high stone benches for their beds: on these they spread their quilt and enjoyed their rest,—simple beds for simple monks. In the wall is a square hole into the shrine is enclosed by wooden doors, Outside the shrine is taken care of by a priest or committee, who pay the god's wages out of a yearly endowment of Rs. 62 per annum. The god goes there daily from Junnar.

The next cave is higher up in the rock and is a small square one, with a stone bench-bed at the right end. The next, still to the east, is similar, about 8 ft. square, with a bench at the left end. The next again is similar, with a bench at the left end and one large cell at the back, also a small recess,—probably for a water-vessel. In the wall is a square hole into the next cave, which is 13 ft. 8 in. deep at the left or west side, but at the other has a cell about 7 ft. by 6 inside, having a bed at the east end. In front of this is a verandah, with two pillars, supporting a projecting frieze carved with the Buddhist-rail pattern as in several of the caves at Nāsik.

Returning now to the Chaitya, and proceeding westwards, an ascending stair enters under the rock and comes out in the verandah of the largest Vihāra cave here,—now known as the Gāyegā Vihāra, because this fine cave has been appropriated by some low Brahman in which to enshrine an image of the pot-bellied, elephant-soutsed Gaṇapati.|| This personification of the misformed is named Asitā Vinayaka, as being, according to the Gāyegā Purāṇa, the eighth avatāra of this deva, performed here to please his mother, Giriṣṇu. He is a favourite idol of the populace, and is visited from far and near at the annual jatris or fair held in his honour. The shrine is taken care of by a priest or committee, who pay the god's wages out of a yearly endowment of Rs. 62 per annum. The god goes there daily from Junnar.

The stair originally came up in front of the east end of the verandah: as it now stands, it is built, and closes the entrance to a cell or cistern partly under the Vihāra. The hall is 50 ft. 6 in. by 56 ft. 6 in., and 10 ft. 2 in. high, with three doors and two windows in front, and a stone seat round the three inner sides. It has seven cells on each side, and five at the back—the central one altered to make a shrine for the rat-riding god, whose large image is cut out of the rock, probably, from a Dahgoba that may originally have occupied this cell. It is smeared red, and the shrine is enclosed by wooden doors. Outside the hall is a verandah 7 ft. wide with six pillars and two demi ones, rising from a bench as in Cave III. at Nāsik, the back of this bench forming the upper part of a basement carved in the old Buddhist-rail pattern: this also resembles the general style of the Nāsik Cave just mentioned, in having animal figures over the capitals, but on the outside only, and in having a projecting frieze above, carved with rail pattern ornamentation.

Further west are two cells, noways peculiar; then a Vihāra without cells, the verandah of four columns totally gone except the bases. It had a door in the centre, another at the west

Prinsep, correcting the second anomalous letter conjecturally, reads it—

"Dharmika sentyastā gabbhān utahi cha dayadharmam, which corresponds precisely with the Sanskrit dharmikasaṃgata satyagābhān udbhṛtā dayadharmam—"The hundred caves and the tank of Dhārmika Sen—his act of piety and compassion." But for woh we should surely read pañca.

See Notes on Junnar Tīkāka by W. F. Sinclair, Bo. C. S., Indian Antiquary, vol. II. p. 44.
end, and two windows, and measures 31 ft. 3 in. wide by 23 ft. 2 in. deep. The next is difficult of access, and of the plan of the most easterly cave, which is a very common type here.

Passing along a ledge of rock and over a small water-cistern, we come to the next, also a small Vihâra about 25 ft. wide, the front entirely gone, and with a cell at the left end and stone bed in it. Close to it is another similar to the most easterly one,—that is, a cell in the corner of a large one. Lower in the rock the next is like the last, and has a verandah with two pillars and a low screen in front, with a cistern outside at the east end.

The next is a rectangular flat-roofed Chaityâ 21 ft. 10 in. deep by 12 ft. 9 in. wide and 13 ft. 8 in. high, with a Dabhgoba 6 ft. 11 in. in diameter standing 3 ft. from the back wall. The cylinder is 5 ft. 7 in. high, including a base of 7 in. formed of three projecting annuli, and a cornice 12½ in. deep, of the Buddhist-rail pattern. The dome rises about 3 ft. 4 in., and the torana 2 ft. 4 in., and is 4 ft. 4 in. square at the top. This is connected with the roof by the stone shaft of the umbrella, for here, as in the case of several at Bhûjâ, the canopy of the umbrella is carved on the roof. To this cave there is a verandah 2 ft. 7 in. wide and 19 ft. 5 in. in length, which has had two pillars in front. On the left of the door outside is an inscription in two lines. (No. 3)¶

Above this are,—(1) a cell with a stone bed at the right side; (2) a small room enclosing a cell, after the common plan here; (3) another similar, but a horizontal flaw in the rock has opened the top of the inner cell and of the whole of the next cave; (4) a Vihâra, with two cells at the back, and a bench seat along each side, but the front wall is gone. Under the left front corner is a cistern, and outside is another; and (5) further along are three more cisterns. Over the side of a cistern, is another inscription (No. 8),|| in three lines, of which, however, the lines (No. 5), but the letters have a slant, and are not so neatly cut as most of the inscriptions here.†

We now come to a Vihâra 29 ft. 5 in. deep by 24 ft. 3 in. wide, the front wall much destroyed, but which was perforated by a door, and probably two windows. It has no cells, but has a stone bench round the three inner sides, and may have been a refectory or a school. Under the left corner is a well with abundance of cool water. Still westwards is a cell and cistern, then a small hall,—the front wall gone and without any cells; next, one or two more cisterns, beyond which the advance becomes more difficult, and leads to, or through, three more small caves, on the wall outside the last of which is an inscription in three lines (No. 6)‡ measuring about 2 ft. by 8 in., with the Svetâkâ to the right of it, and a curious trisular symbol at the commencement, which appears also in a modified form at the beginning of No. 2, and sometimes on other caves and on coins.

To the left of this is a recess, then two cells, and still further west are two or three others, which are almost inaccessible. An avenue of trees said to have been planted by Amîtrâto, the adopted son of Râghanâ, runs from the Kukâdi river to the foot of the hill in which these caves are, and which is said to be mentioned in the Gañesa Purâya under the name of the Lekândrâ: locally it is known as the Gañesa Pâhâr or Sulaimân Pâhâr.

The Mûnmodi Hill lies to the south-south-west of Junnâr, about a mile west of the main road. Proceeding to the east face of the hill, I went up to the level of the most southerly group of caves. The first reached was a recess over a cell or cistern, the front fallen away; on the left side of the recess is an inscription (No. 7)§ in one line. A little to the north of this, on the left side of a larger recess over the side of a cistern, is another inscription (No. 8),|| in three lines, of which, however, the


This is No. 12 among Colonel Sykes's copies; No. 5 in Jour. As. Soc. Beng. vol. VI. p. 1046; and No. 4 of Liêt. Brett's, Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. V. p. 161.

† This is given by Colonel Sykes as No. 11 among his, and No. 5 among Liêt. Brett's copies.

‡ This is No. 6 of Brett and Stevenson, Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. V. p. 163; No. 13 in Colonel Sykes's copies; and No. 6 of those sent by him to Prímaep, who read it—Sâmaçaçasa putasa,


Svâkâkâtas daâna dânam, Karpâtâkasa yasa nityâtanam.
Sâmaçaçasa putasa Svâkâkâkâhaçasa (?) dayâhran-
madhânapâm krîpâbhadra yasa nityâtanam.—The pious and charitable endowment of Śiva Kukâ (?), the son of Sâmaçaçasa (?), redounding to the glory of this most compassionate person.” Jour. As. Soc. Beng. vol. VI. p. 1047.

* This is No. 3 in Brett's copies, Jour. As. Soc. Beng. vol. VI. p. 1046; and No. 4 of Liêt. Brett's, Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. V. p. 161.

† This is given by Colonel Sykes as No. 11 among his, and No. 5 among Liêt. Brett's copies.

‡ This is No. 6 of Brett and Stevenson, Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. V. p. 163; No. 13 in Colonel Sykes's copies; and No. 6 of those sent by him to Prímaep, who read it—Sâmaçaçasa putasa.
first letters are quite obliterated. Above a precipice to the north of this are—(1) a single cell, (2) a broken cistern, and then (3) seven cells in a line.

Returning from these and scrambling along the precipice to the south; we reach first a small Vihâra without cells, then another with two octagonal columns and two pilasters in front of the verandah, rising from a seat. The door is 5 ft. 10 in. wide and reaches to the roof of the hall, which has been frescoed. The verandah is about 2 ft. higher than the cave, and the back of the seat or low screen outside is carved with the rail ornament. The hall is 33 ft. deep and varies from 11 to 13 ft. wide, but at the back stands a mass of rock over 8 ft. wide by 5½ thick, with a squatting figure roughly sketched out on the front of it. This mass of rock is very rotten behind, and at the left side of it is a well of excellent water. The verandah is 4 ft. 7 in. wide and 19 ft. 10 in. long; the columns are of the usual Nâsîk pattern but without animal figures above: over them the frieze projects considerably, and is carved in the style of Cave IV. at Nâsîk,—the ends of the rafters projecting on the lower fassia, and the upper being carved with rail pattern. Over this is a recess some 2 or 3 feet deep with the Chaitya arch over it, but without any carving.

Lower down in the face of the cliff and somewhat to the north of this are some cells choked with prickly-pear and milk-bush. A few yards south of the larger cave above mentioned is a Vihâra with two pillars and pilasters in the verandah, and with three doors leading into as many cells. Still further on are one or two others almost inaccessible.

Returning from this point to the north and winding round the hill to the north-west side, we come upon another group of caves, the lower ones of easy access. Among them is an unfinished Chaitya the front of which is almost covered with inscriptions; but from their positions, and the circumstance that in most cases the surface of the rock has not been smoothed before cutting them, it may be inferred that they are only the work of visitors, and not the records of the original excavators. Three of them are given by Colonel Sykes, and others by Dr. Bird and Lieut. Brett. This Chaitya has a verandah with two columns of the Nâsîk type in front, which support the entablature above the great window. Inside it is wholly unfinished: the aisles have not been commenced, for a great fault in the rock seems to have stopped operations. The capital of the Dahgoba is blocked out, and portions of a square mass from which to carve the dome. The floor is now much filled up with mud. The cave faces north by east.

At the east side of it is a cell, also deep in earth, in which is a Dahgoba, the chhatré or umbrella carved on the roof, but the staff has been broken,—evidently with a view to convert it into the usual Śaiva emblem. Beyond it are portions of other cells and a fragment of an inscription beside some modern steps leading up to five cells above those last mentioned. The two at the west end are converted into one by cutting away the partition. In the back wall of this apartment are two defaced figures of Buddha, and in the west wall a third sitting under foliage, with diminutive attendants or figures in the parigara. The vihâra or lion is traceable on one or two of the amanas or seats, and a wooden framework seems to have been fitted to them, for there are holes in the stones for the wood to hold. This is now dedicated to the goddess Ambî, a name of Pûrvatî indeed, but also the Šakambarî or patron goddess of Neminâtha, one of the favourite Tirthankaras of the Jains,—by whom she may have been borrowed from some Buddhist sect. Here we have Brâhmans worshipping the mutilated images of Buddha as a Śaiva goddess! In the outer wall of the first of these cells there have been a standing and a sitting figure of Buddha, but these are now almost obliterated. They are the only figures of the kind I have met with in the caves here.

On the west of the Chaitya are some cells much choked up with earth, and with at least three inscriptions in them, and high up above these are a few more cells, but inaccessible. Further to the west is a cistern under a tree.

Two of the inscriptions (Nos. 9 and 10) are in the cells on the right or west of the Chaitya; a third—one of those on the left side of the façade—is given by Dr. Bird as No. VI., but this copy is certainly wrong, at least in some of the letters.

Proceeding a considerable way round to the north-west on the slope of the hill, another unfinished Chaitya is reached, facing north-east by north, towards Junnar. This is the cave of which a very imperfect sketch by Professor Orlebar is given by Dr. Bird (plate XVI.) The door is nearly the whole width of the cave; the lintel of it is broken; and the top of the aperture of the window is much lower than the arched roof of the cave. The great arch over it in the façade, however, is high, and over the window the space is divided fan-wise into seven petal-shaped compartments; in the upper or middle one is a female figure with a lotus-flower on each side; the compartments next to this have each an elephant standing on a lotus and holding up a water-jar, as frequently represented beside figures of Lakṣaṃkī or Śīrī on old Vaishnava temples. In the compartment behind each elephant stands a male figure, his hands over or in front of the head, doing puja towards the central figure; and in the lowest or outer petals are two females in similar attitudes: beside each is a lotus flower and bud. Over and outside this the architrave or jamb of the great arch projects, and on each side of the finial of the arch is a figure (very unlike those in Professor Orlebar’s sketch): that on the left holds a chauri and has wings, and some animal’s head above his jaunty turban; the other holds some object in his right hand, and behind each shoulder are two snake-hoods with their tongues (?) hanging out. Right and left of these are Dahgobas in high relief but roughly formed. On the projecting frieze over all are seven Chaitya-window ornaments, with smaller ones between their finials; and two on the faces of the jambs. Inside the cave three octagonal pillars on the right side are blocked out, as is also the Dahgoba, but without the capital. There is a horizontal soft stratum in the rock, which has probably led to the work being relinquished in its present state.

Higher up the rock, on the east side of this, are four cells with neatly-curved façade, each door having a Chaitya-window arch over it, projecting about 15 in.; and between the arches are two Dahgobas with chhatris in half-relief, while over the shoulder of each arch is a smaller one as an ornament, and the Buddhist-rail ornament along the top. There is one plain cell west of these; and rather higher up on the east are four others. Under these latter is a Vihāra with two cells in the back and two in the left or east side, but the front is gone. It communicates by a passage with another to the west of it, nearly filled up with mud. West of the Chaitya are two small cells high up in the rock.

The Tulajā Lena group of caves lies in a hill about a mile and a half or two miles west from Junnar, and are so named because one of them has been appropriated by the modern Brāhmans to Tuljā Devī. They face north-east, but all the façades have fallen away. Beginning from the south-east we come to (1) two sides of a cell; (2) a small Vihāra with two cells on the left side, two in the back, and one in the right side; and (3) a Chaitya of a form quite unique: it is circular, 25 ft. 6 in. across, with a Dahgoba 8 ft. 2 in. in diameter in the centre, surrounded by twelve plain octagonal shafts 11 ft. 4 in. high, supporting a lofty dome over the Dahgoba.* The outer aisle is arched over, from a wall line 9 ft. 1 in. from the floor, to the upper side of an architrave 7 or 8 in. deep over the pillars. The Dahgoba is plain, the cylinder being 4 ft. 4 in. high, but the capital has been hewn off to convert it into a pīnde of Śiva, and even the dome is much hacked. Before the last cave, this, and the next is a platform built by the modern votaries of Tuljā Devī. The next (4) is the back of a cell with a recess appropriated to Tuljā; then come the remains of three more cells, and a fourth on which is hung a wooden door, the cell being appropriated by the priest. The next is a plain cell, and beyond it the backs of two cells,—over the front of one of them are Chaitya-window ornaments and two or three figures: then two more plain fronts, and two with Chaitya-window heads over the doors, and smaller ones between, and the rail ornament, and quadrantal carved roll supported by slender brackets in entire relief, as at Bhajā. The last cave is a hall 23 feet wide, with one large cell at the left corner, and a seat round the three sides. In front of and considerably below the cells towards the north-west end is a tank with masonry walls on two sides. The rock is so cut away in front of the cells above, that

* See Plan and Section of this cave, from the writer’s drawings, in Ferguson’s History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (1876), p. 167.
it must have undermined the fronts of them, and aided in causing their destruction. Possibly this tank was originally a large cistern in the rock underneath the cells, and the pressure at the same time destroyed its roof and the front of the caves.

The Šivanorī hill fort lies to the west of the town, and going well along the east face of the hill towards the south, after visiting several cells in the lower scarp, we come to a cave which has had originally two columns and pilasters in front of a narrow verandah. The cave has a wide door, and inside is a large square cell with the cylindrical base of a Dahgoba—all coarsely hewn. Can the tops have been of wood or other perishable or removable material? This cave faces E.N.E. On the sides of the scarp to the north of these excavations are several cisterns.

The side of the hill is peculiarly steep, and, owing to the slippery dry grass, it was ascended with difficulty. At the south end of the upper scarp a cave is reached, and in the north end of this cave is a stair leading to an upper floor. It has been a small hall, but the front is entirely gone except one pilaster at the south end. In the south wall is a small roughly hewn recess, and along the wall near the roof is an inscription (No. 11)† in one line of deeply incised letters, with a raised device at the commencement. The hall below this has three cells on each side and four at the back—several of them quite unfinished.

Further north and somewhat higher, beyond a recess and a cistern with two openings, is a Vihāra, the entire front of which is open, with a plain pilaster at each side having holes in them for the fastenings of the wooden front that has once screened the interior. There is a bench round the walls, and an advanced seat at the back as if for an image, or perhaps a guru or teacher. The cave has been occupied in more recent times, as evidenced by a mud wall inside. Next we come to some large cisterns of which the roof has fallen in, and over the north side of them is a large Vihāra with four cells at the back and two in the south end. In this case, again, there seems to have been originally only a wooden front; but for it has been substituted a stone one of ten courses of ashlar most carefully jointed, with a neatly carved door of the style of about the 10th century, and a well-wrought lattice stone window let into the wall. These were probably substituted by some Hindu sect not Buddhist. There is a fragment of an inscription at the north end, over a bench outside. North of this are some cells, much decayed, but which had probably all wooden fronts: holes in the rock seem to indicate this.

After a difficult and painful scramble from the last group, I reached the Bārā Kotri group, so called from a large Vihāra with twelve cells. First, over a cistern broken in, is a Dahgoba in half-relief in front of a large cell with one stone bed, and having on the south side of the door a long inscription in five lines of varying length and in somewhat florid characters. Time did not permit my copying this, but, as the letters had all been painted, I doubt not it was copied by Dr. Bhājī Daji's pandit. Next come four cells, the last with a stone bed; third, three wells, with a small hall over the last, which once had two square pillars in front; it is reached by a stair-landing in the north end of the verandah. Fourth, the Bārā Kotri, 36 ft. 8 in. wide and 33 ft. 5 in. deep, with four cells on each side, and a bench round all four. It has two doors and two large windows, one of them measuring 9 ft. 10 in. in width, with a groove in the sill for the wooden framework. Beyond this are several cells and a well, then a small Vihāra with three cells on the south side, and two at the back, with a Dahgoba in half-relief, in a recess—probably an older form than that in Cave III. at Nāsik.

The next is a fine cave; it is a lofty flat-roofed Chaitya. The front wall was probably originally pierced for two windows and the central door 6 ft. 1 in. wide, but the south window has been hewn down until it forms a door; inside the front wall is an outer cross aisle or vestibule 4 ft. 9 in. wide, separated from the inner hall by two octagonal pillars and two others just attached to the wall: these have the Nāsik or water-jar base and capitals, but the latter do not reach the cross beam above; from the capital rises a short square pillar about 2½ feet high reaching to the roof, which is perhaps 18 or 19 feet high. The inner hall is 30 ft. 11 in. by 20 ft. 6 in., near the back of which stands a well-proportioned Dahgoba 10 ft. 3 in. in diameter, the cylindrical part 5 ft. 11 in. high, and surround-

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE CAVES OF JUNNAR.

No. 1

No. 2

No. 3

No. 4

No. 5

No. 6

No. 8

No. 9

No. 10

No. 11

No. 12

J. Burgess, Script.
ed on the upper margin by the rail pattern and with what are intended to represent the ends of bars projecting out below it. The umbrella is carved on the roof, and connected with the capital by a short shaft. The ceiling has been painted, and still retains large portions of the colouring: the design is in squares, each containing concentric circles in orange, brown, and white; but light was beginning to fail, and I could not be certain of the darker tints. Outside is an inscription in three lines (No. 12), first given by Colonel Sykes; in a not very accurate copy. Beyond this are some wells and fragments of cells.

After a four miles' walk and a steep climb the caves in a spur of a hill to the east of the Gānesa Lena are reached, about 400 feet above Junnar. They face S.S.W. The Chaitya, the most easterly of the group, is a small one 8 ft. 3 in. wide inside and 22 ft. 4 in. in length, or about 15 ft. 4 in. from the door to the Dahgoba, which is 4 ft. 10 in. in diameter. The sides or jambs of the facade are carved with Chaitya-window ornaments, some having a Dahgoba inside, and others a lotus-flower, while the rail ornament is interspersed in the usual way. The face of the moulding round the window is also carved with a geometrical pattern. The walls are not straight, nor the floor level, and altogether the work seems to have been left unfinished, except perhaps the upper part of the Dahgoba, the cylinder of which is 4 ft. 10 in. high, and the total height 9 ft. 4 in. The aisle, which is never wanting in a finished Chaitya cave, has not been begun here. To the narrow ledge over the architrave of the walls is 16 ft., and to the roof 18 ft. 2 in. Next to this, but higher up and almost inaccessible, are two cells; then a well; and thirdly a small Vihāra with two windows and two cells at the back, one with a stone bed, and some rough cutting in the wall between the cell doors resembling a Dahgoba, but quite unfinished. It has also a cell with stone bed at the left side; outside are two more cells, and a chamber at the end of the verandah, which runs along the front both of the Vihāra and the cells. These caves, usually represented as inaccessible, from the precipice being almost perpendicular, are really difficult of access, and dangerous for any one not having a steady head or unaccustomed to climbing.

Prof. H. Kern, of Leiden, has translated a number of the inscriptions in a paper in the *Indische Studien*, XIVter Bd. S. 393—397, of which a translation is given in the next paper.

**THE INSCRIPTIONS OF JUNNAR.**

**BY PROFESSOR H. KERN, OF LEIDEN.**

Translated from the *Indische Studien*, XIVter Band, by Miss M. Tweedie, Edinburgh.

J. Burgess, in his *Memorandum on the Buddhist Caves at Junnar,* has lately published again, and very completely, the Cave-inscriptions, some of which were formerly communicated by Col. Sykes.

These inscriptions are indeed of different dates, but collectively they are later than those of Aśoka. To judge by the forms of the characters, they are perhaps 300 or 300 years later. But the way of writing is quite the same, for the double consonant is either not given at all, or is indicated by a mark like the anusvara standing before the consonant that is to be doubled. It is so also in Aśoka's inscriptions from various places. The only exception which was believed to have been found, namely ḍḍa,

----


A pious gift of charity, designed for the
sanctuary, for the common weal and happi
ness, by Virasesana, a distinguished house
holder, confessor of the Dharma.

Dharmamigama I have not met with else
where; I suppose it is "one for whom the
Dharma is the source of authority."

Nos. 4 and 1 have the same word at the
beginning, the reading of which is not perfectly
certain; this much, however, is certain, that
Prinsep's reading (Jour. As. Soc., Beng., vol. VI.
p. 1046) is inexact and in contradiction to the
form of the letters. I read in No. 4—

kalisamadha Kuṣṭhayatunan saruna-
karesu Sa(ī)naghadhama paṭi degadhama

That is, "As a pious gift of charity from
the pure-hearted Sāṅghāka, goldsmith, son of
Kuṭija." That the proper name usually fol
ows the name of the father is seen also from
No. 10—

Suyāgaṭiyapūṭatāna galaccana Sivādīsana.
Paṭi, paṭi also stands, as indeed we might ex
pect from the Sanskrit, after the governing
 substantive, and in fact in No. 7—

Sivasaṃpatatāna Sūnaṭabhati(?) paṭi degadhama paṭi
That is, "For a pious gift of charity, from Śimt
abhati, son of Sivasamanu."

No. 1 runs thus:

kalisāmata Haranipūṭatāna Sūnasādātana (?) Sa
Kapilaputaseduḍukutasa Śivaddhama greyaharaniyuta
degadhama:

"A pious gift of charity, designed for the
sanctuary, by the pure-hearted Sūnasāda, trad
er, son of Haranika."

Thakka, as is clearly seen from the Mārāthī
thakka and this inscription, is the correct spell
ning, instead of thakka, as is printed in the Kathāda-
sitāgāra, lxx. 140, 143, 152, and tādā, as in
Rajatarājyā vii. 415. In the latter place it
signifies "a charioteer," and probably also in the
Kalidaśarātāgāra. We see by the word being
used in the inscription that in itself it is no
word of abuse, and was only understood as such
because "merchant" and "deceiver" come to
pretty much the same thing according to Indian
ideas, since the period of the Veda (let us think
of the pañī). A similar case as with pañī and
thakka, thakka is afforded by the term kīrāt.
This by itself signifies "trader," and is used by
Utpala as the customary paraphrase for pañī;
in Rajatarājyā viii. 332, however, it occurs
as a term of contempt. According to this
idea the taddhāra-formation keraṇīko contained
in the Pāli denotes 'hypocrite, charlatan,
humbug' (perhaps 'cheat' also). The pas-
sage in the Rājatarangīni is instructive and pretty, and as it has been entirely spoilt by the editors, as has generally been the case with the whole excellent work of Kalhana, I present the following reading of the strophes referred to (128-134) :-

srotobhir vyastam ambhodhau labhyam megharankhaih payah | praptir bhuyas tu nā 'sty eva vaniggrastasya vastunah ||
tailasnigdhahamukhāh svalpalapo mridvākritir bhavan | nyāsagrāsavitvādgro vanīg vyāghrād viśishyate ||
vivāde śreṣṭhīnā śāthyaṁ smitaiḥ prāk sa-
khyaṁśanāḥ | sūstham-sūsthan jāyamā-
nam prāñjante 'pi na munhyaṭe ||
nisargavaṃchakā veṣyāḥ, kāyastho 'pi, varo
vaṃkī | gurūpadesopaskārāir viśisṭaḥ sa-vi-
shāśīṣhaḥ |
chandaukākāle śvetāśūne dhūpādūvinīṣaṁ : viśvastah syāt kirāte yo viprakṛṣṭaḥ sa nā 'padāḥ ||
laṅkāṭhikṣatrāśrotadvandvahṛdgraśasthanda-
naḥ* | śhāhīndhrvijśiḥika īva kshaṇāṣa prā-
ṇantakṛjdv vanīk ||
pāṇḍuṣyāmo 'gnidhūmārdraḥ sūcyāṣyo gahā-
nodaraḥ | tumbhālōpamaḥ śreṣṭhaṁ raktāṁ mānīṣaṁ cha karṣhaḥ ||

The etymology of the word thakka is un-
known; it may have been originally the name
of a tribe* At least takva
is interchanged with
Bāhiṣka. It is known that the Bāhiṣka also
did not enjoy a good reputation.

ARCHÉOLOGICAL NOTES.
BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.
(Continued from vol. V. p. 241.)

XIV.—Curious Tombs and Entombments.
In an account of a Toda dry funeral (Ind. Ant. vol. III. p. 95), when speaking of the circle of stones within which the last remains were finally burnt, doubt was expressed whether the circle was ancient or new; from the late Mr. Breeks’s exhaustive work on the Primitive Tribes of the Nilagiris, lately published by the India Office, it appears to be doubtful whether these circles, called by the Todas Āzārams, are old, or made for the occasion. It seems that sometimes a circle of old date is used, and sometimes a new one is formed; the ashes of the deceased are scraped together and buried under a large stone at the entrance of the Āzāram. At any rate it is clear these circles are claimed and formed by the Todas. We learn also from Mr. Breeks that when all depart hurriedly after the final farewell rite in the gray dusk of the morning, none may look back—a point occurring in the superstition of many races. The Kurumbas and Irulas of the same mountains, after every death amongst them, bring a long water-worn stone (devva hotta hallu) and put it into one of the old cromlechs sprinkled over the plateau. Some of the larger of these have been found piled up to the capstone with such pebbles, which must have been the work of generations. Occasionally, too, the tribes mentioned make small cromlechs for burial purposes, and place the long water-worn pebbles in them. Mr. Breeks reports that the Kurumba’s in the neighbourhood of the Ranga-svāmī Peak and the Barliar burn their dead, and place a bone and a small round stone in the sāvri-mani—death-house, an old cromlech. On the Travancore mountains, the Maleiarriyans, a numerous tribe, make miniature cromlechs of small slabs of stone, and place within them a long pebble to represent the deceased. (See Fergusson’s Rude Stone Monuments, p. 479.) The same practice is said to prevail amongst jungal tribes in Orissa. Dr. Livingstone noticed a similar custom in Africa: —“ In various villages we have observed miniature huts about two feet high, very neatly thatched and plastered; here we noticed them in dozens. On inquiry we were told that when a child or relative dies, one is made, and when any pleasant food is cooked or beer brewed, a little is placed in the tiny hut for the departed soul, which is believed to enjoy it.” (Livingstone’s Last Journals, vol. 1. p. 156.) So the Malei Arriyans offer arab and sweetmeats to the departed spirit supposed to be hovering near the miniature cromlech. All these instances existing to-day are of especial value as showing a connection of funeral rites with monuments of pre-historic type—stone circles and cromlechs—amongst living
tribes who most nearly represent pre-historic peoples.*

In 1874 the Right Reverend Mar Kurillus Jehoiakim, Syrian Metropolitan of Malabar, died at Kottayam,—a venerable and highly respected prelate. The Madras papers at the time contained the following account of the funeral, which has an interest and air of antiquity about the details that make it worthy of record in an antiquarian journal:—“The body was dressed in full canonicals and placed in a sitting posture on a chair, and then removed into the church, where it was left in that position, with the pastoral staff and crozier placed in the hands, until the third day; and during this time the usual ceremonies prescribed by the Syrian ritual were performed. On the third day— it is rather singular that about this time only signs of decay showed themselves—nearly two hundred priests and about ten thousand people assembled for the funeral. The body, still seated on the chair, was carried by priests under a canopy in solemn procession to some distance, and brought back to the north-east side of the church, where a tomb measuring eight square feet, with a seat inside like a chair, was built. The custom hitherto was to bury bishops within the church, but the deceased had desired that his body should be buried outside, but close to the church. In this seat the body was placed again, in a sitting posture, facing the east, and the burial service was chanted. The brother of the deceased then removed the ring, pastoral staff and crozier, to be sent to the Patriarch of Antioch. From the roof of the tomb a globe lamp was hung up about a foot or so before the face of the deceased, and after the entombment it was lit, and a large quantity of incense thrown into the tomb until it reached the neck of the corpse, when the stones were piled up, and the builders closed the tomb.” This antique ceremonial of an antique church has probably come down, with little change in many of its features, from the remotest antiquity. The eight feet square tomb filled up with spices and incense, in which the dead was seated in his habit as he lived, recalls Egyptian and Etruscan tomb chambers, as well as mediaeval modes of interment; and possibly all may be developments of the kistvaven or sepulchral stone chamber of pre-historic times, in which, too, skeletons have at times, as in Guernsey, been found placed in a sitting posture.

Here perhaps a place may be found for recording another funeral memorial of bygone days. The port of Bätkal, in South Kânara, was once important, possessing a factory, and frequented by vessels from Europe. It is now deserted except by native craft, and three mouldering tombs preserve the else forgotten names of some of those bold and enterprising pioneer Englishmen who, in times before “the Company,” sought their fortunes in the then half-fabulous East. Many such memorials survive in now deserted nooks and spots in India, mute witnesses of daring and wasted lives. Copies of the inscriptions on the Bätkal tombs are subjoined:—


ON THE ANCIENT NĀGARI NUMERALS.

BY PĀNDIT BHAGVĀNLĀL INDRĀJ."

The researches of Mr. Thomas, Dr. Bhau Dāji, and General Cunningham have proved beyond doubt that the system of numeral notation used in the most ancient Indian Nāgari inscriptions employs four sets of different signs, viz. one for the numbers from 1 to 9; a second for the numbers 10 to 90; a third for the numbers from 100 to 900; and a fourth for the thousands. Most in Scarpur and Haidarābād (Dekkan), found several skeletons laid in the stone cists with the face downwards too.
of the signs employed for this notation are now well known through the numerous inscriptions which express numbers both in words and in figures, and it is only regarding the signs for 40, 50, 60, and 70 that some confusion is observable.

The object of the present paper will be—firstly, to settle definitively the signs for these numbers, and, secondly, to explain the origin of the whole of this ancient system of notation. The explanation will, I trust, give further proofs of the correctness of the value assigned to the signs.

As regards the first point, the figures for the four doubtful signs are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Sign 1</th>
<th>Sign 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>( \sigma )</td>
<td>( \beta )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>( \gamma )</td>
<td>( \gamma )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>( \lambda )</td>
<td>( \lambda )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>( \zeta )</td>
<td>( \zeta )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The signs for 40 have already been correctly read by General Cunningham. Prof. Bhandarkar has mistaken its Valabhi form for 50, and Dr. Bühler for 60. The proof that it is really the sign for 40 may be derived from the coins of the Kshatrapa kings. In the Jasdan inscription Rudrasena I., the son of Rudrasimha and grandson of Rudradaman, gives as his date the year 127 or 129. A coin issued by the same Rudrasena bears the date 138. A second, on which the father's name, Rudrasimha (putrasta), is clearly legible and certain, while Rudrasena's name is obliterated, shows, after the sign for 100, the doubtful figure \( \sigma \), which, under the circumstances, can only be read as 40. The sign for 50 occurs on a third coin which bears the name of Dama sena, another son of Rudrasimha. The coins of sons of Damasaena show the signs for 60 and 70, viz. Viradaman 160, Vijayasena 168, 174, Dama ja da r i 174, and finally two coins of Viradaman's son Rudrasena II. are dated 188 and 189. The old forms of the figure for 70, which slightly differ from those given above, appear also in the Girnar inscription of Rudradaman \( \zeta \), and in the inscription of Ushavadata, Naski Cave No. 16 \( \zeta \). In the former the words 'vrshe devaptatisme,' and in the latter 'saharvati sattari' are added.*

As regards the origin of these figures, I believe that I can confidently assert that all of them except the three first express letters or groups of letters, and that the variations which occur in their forms in the inscriptions of different dynasties and centuries are caused chiefly by the variations of the forms of the letters in the alphabets of the same times and dynasties. At the same time, however, it seems that there was a tendency to distinguish the signs which were to be read as letters from the corresponding ones which were to be taken as numbers, by very slightly changing the forms of the latter.

The resemblance of very many figures in the Kshatrapa, Valabhi, and Gupta inscriptions and coins to letters, e.g. of \( \sigma \) to \( \gamma \) and of \( \zeta \) to \( \lambda \), struck me a long time ago. When I then found that the Jainas on their palm-leaf manuscripts, and the Baudhas of Nipal both on their palm-leaf and paper manuscripts, marked the pages both by the ordinary numerals, and by letters and groups of letters which correspond to the alphabetical value of the old numerals, I felt that my conjecture was more than a mere haphazard guess. But I gained only the full conviction that my views were correct when I found the numerals expressed by letters in the plates of Vinayakapala,† of Mahendrapala, of Balavarman, of Bhanja, and in the late inscriptions of Nipal.

I now give a conspectus of the figures found in the following inscriptions, coins, and manuscripts:—(1) in the inscriptions of the Bavahana dynasty on the Nanaghat, (2) of the Kshatrapa and Andhrabhritya inscriptions of Nasik, Kanheri, and Junnar, (3) on the Kshatrapa (vartg) Saha coins and in their inscriptions at Girnar and Jasdan, (4) in the Gupta inscriptions of Sanchi, Malwa, and Central India, and in the Lichhavi inscriptions of Nipal, (5) on the Valabhi and Chalukya plates, (6) on the Pala and other plates from Eastern India, (7) on the margin of a palm-leaf manuscript of the Prajñā pāramitā acquired in Nipal, (8) on the margin of the Śraddha Dinakātiya and the Brāhkalpapātra (collection of the Bombay Government 1872-73), (9) on the margin of modern Baudha paper manuscripts.

*This sign has been read correctly by General Cunningham, Jour. Beng. As. Soc. vol. XXXIII. p. 38.

† Jour. Beng. As. Soc. vol. XXXIII. p. 320.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numerals</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(=)</td>
<td>(=)</td>
<td>(=)</td>
<td>(=)</td>
<td>(=)</td>
<td>(=)</td>
<td>(=)</td>
<td>(=)</td>
<td>(=)</td>
<td>(=)</td>
<td>(=)</td>
<td>(=)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>४</td>
<td>४</td>
<td>प</td>
<td>प</td>
<td>प</td>
<td>प</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>ज</td>
<td>ज</td>
<td>ज</td>
<td>५</td>
<td>५</td>
<td>स</td>
<td>स</td>
<td>स</td>
<td>स</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>६</td>
<td>६</td>
<td>६</td>
<td>६</td>
<td>६</td>
<td>त</td>
<td>त</td>
<td>त</td>
<td>त</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>७</td>
<td>७</td>
<td>७</td>
<td>७</td>
<td>७</td>
<td>थ</td>
<td>थ</td>
<td>थ</td>
<td>थ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>८</td>
<td>८</td>
<td>८</td>
<td>८</td>
<td>८</td>
<td>ध</td>
<td>ध</td>
<td>ध</td>
<td>ध</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>९</td>
<td>९</td>
<td>९</td>
<td>९</td>
<td>९</td>
<td>त्र</td>
<td>त्र</td>
<td>त्र</td>
<td>त्र</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>र</td>
<td>र</td>
<td>र</td>
<td>४</td>
<td>४</td>
<td>त्र</td>
<td>त्र</td>
<td>त्र</td>
<td>त्र</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>॥</td>
<td>॥</td>
<td>॥</td>
<td>॥</td>
<td>॥</td>
<td>त्र</td>
<td>त्र</td>
<td>त्र</td>
<td>त्र</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>३</td>
<td>३</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400</td>
<td>र</td>
<td>र</td>
<td>र</td>
<td>४</td>
<td>४</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>५</td>
<td>५</td>
<td>५</td>
<td>५</td>
<td>५</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>६</td>
<td>६</td>
<td>६</td>
<td>६</td>
<td>६</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700</td>
<td>७</td>
<td>७</td>
<td>७</td>
<td>७</td>
<td>७</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
<td>न</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I think that a careful comparison of these figures with each other and with the corresponding groups of letters will go far to establish my proposition. But I must add some further considerations regarding each numeral.

The oldest sign for 4 appears to be (p. 44, col. 1) \( \text{kt} \); in the Kshatrapa and Andhrabhūriya inscriptions (col. 3) it resembles partly \( \text{kt} \) and partly \( \text{hka} \). The latter group is clearly observable in the Gupta inscriptions and on the Valabhi plates (col. 5), on which latter, however, \( \text{hka} \) also occurs, and the sign from the manuscripts resembles \( \text{phra} \) or \( \text{shkra} \)—mistakes I think, for \( \text{hka} \). Now the remarkable fact is that, though the upper part of the sign is not always the same, the lower always shows the figure of that form of \( \text{ka} \) which is used in the alphabet of the period. Thus the first two columns show the simpler cross, which is the oldest form of the letter \( \text{ka} \), and the third a cross where the vertical stroke is curved towards the left, just as we find the \( \text{ka} \) in Radradaman’s Ginnār and the Jasan inscriptions, while the manuscripts give the usual Devāndāri \( \text{ka} \). The \( 4 \) of the Gupta and Valabhi inscriptions likewise shows the particular \( \text{ka} \) of those alphabets.

The sign for 5 is in the old Budālā and Jaina manuscripts distinctly \( \text{tri} \). The signs in the Andhrabhūriya and Nahāpāna inscriptions may be read in the same manner, though the \( \text{ri} \) vowel is not, as usual, attached to the right-hand curved horizontal, but to the left-hand vertical stroke of the \( \text{t} \). This discrepancy may be either the result of the desire to distinguish the numeral sign from the syllable \( \text{tri} \) (in order to prevent mistakes), or be owing to the indifference which the old writers felt as to the manner in which they joined the parts of compound letters. Similarly \( \text{krī} \) is sometimes \( \text{f} \) and sometimes \( \text{r} \) or even \( \text{f} \). The same remark applies to the Kshatrapa signs (col. 4), but it ought to be observed that as the \( \text{ri} \) in their inscriptions receives a stronger curve to the left, so the sign for \( 5 \) shows the same peculiarity. The first two signs in col. 5 are simply repetitions of those in col. 3, but it agrees with the nature of the Gupta characters that the left-hand stroke has no curve to the left. The third sign of the same column is clearly a \( \text{fri} \) in the later form. The same sign actually occurs as \( \text{fri} \) in the name Mātrivihāra in the

Eran inscription. The fourth sign of col. 4 seems to owe its upper right-hand stroke to a desire to show a difference between the syllable and the figure. The fifth sign of the same column, and that in col. 9, may be read \( \text{htri} \). But it seems to me that they are merely a corruption of the second form in col. 3, the vertical stroke of which was curved towards the right.

The Valabhi figures in col. 6 offer at first sight some difficulties. But the first figure is clearly \( \text{t} \), and the sign for the long \( \text{a} \) which we found already in the fourth (Gupta) form is probably owing to the desire for differentiation. The following two signs, which look like \( \text{na} \), are mere corruptions of \( \text{t} \). For the \( \text{A} \) for \( t \) does appear occasionally instead of \( \text{h} \) in other inscriptions, e.g., in the Nāsk inscription No. 12, l. 1, 1,\( \text{f} \)—velidatapataana. The loop was no doubt caused by hasty writing.

The sign for 6 in the Baudālā books (cols. 7 and 8) is clearly \( \text{phra} \), and all the other signs represent the same group or \( \text{phra} \), with the exception of the second sign in col. 4 and that in col. 8. The former may be read \( \text{pha} \), and seems to be a mutilation of the full figure, made for convenience sake. The latter, which represents \( \text{phra} \), is apparently owing to the fact that the scribes mistook the subjoined \( \text{ra} \) in the old books for \( \text{a} \), and the \( r \) before the \( ph \) is the remnant of the long \( \text{a} \) which we find in the Valabhi and Gupta figures.

The sign for 7 is throughout \( \text{gra} \) or \( \text{grā} \). It ought, however, to be observed that only the second sign of col. 4 shows the little notch at the junction of the two letters, which is usual when the syllable is not to be taken as a numeral.

The sign for 8 is clearly \( \text{hrā} \) or \( \text{hra} \) in the manuscripts, on the Eastern plates, and on the Valabhi plates. On the latter the \( \text{ra} \) is, however, joined to the \( \text{ha} \) in a manner different from that in the words, where we have (\( \text{f} \)). The reason is probably the desire for differentiation. The other columns show mostly \( \text{ha} \).

The sign for 9 is throughout \( \text{d} \). The shape somewhat differs from that usually employed in the texts, but agrees exactly with that used in the word \( \text{dhā} \); compare, e.g., the \( \text{dhā} \) svasti of the Valabhi plates with the sign for 9 in the same inscriptions.

The sign for 10 is in the ancient Baudālā (col. 8) and in the Jaina manuscripts clearly

\( \text{Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. VII. 4th plate at p. 52.} \)
On the Eastern plates it looks more like \( \text{Iri} \), for which it has been mistaken by Babu Pratapchandra Ghose.\(^8\) But there is no objection to reading the sign \( \text{Iri} \). The fourth sign of col. 6 is likewise clearly \( \text{Iri} \). The signs in cols. 2, 3, 4, the first two in col. 5, and the first in col. 6, correspond to the letter \( \text{Iri} \), as it appears in the inscription of Radradaman, and on one Valabhi plate. The second and third figures of col. 6 appear to be corruptions of this letter. It ought, however, to be kept in mind that we do not know what was the oldest form of \( \text{Iri} \); and the signs for \( \text{Iri} \) and \( \text{Iri} \) have not been identical. The sign in col. 10 is clearly \( \text{Iri} \), which stands for \( \text{Iri} \), as the Nipālese have not \( \text{Iri} \). The fifth sign in col. 6 and the third in col. 5 may be read \( \text{Iri} \) and \( \text{Iri} \), and appear to be corruptions of \( \text{Iri} \).

The signs for 20 and 30 offer no difficulties, as they exactly correspond each to the \( \text{Iri} \) and \( \text{Iri} \) of the period.

The sign for 40 is in the older inscriptions and in the manuscripts clearly \( \text{Iri} \). On the Valabhi plates and in the coins of the later Kshatrapas it looks like \( \text{Iri} \). The difference is caused by the omission of the lower part of the right-hand vertical stroke, and is perhaps intentional.

The sign for 50 used in the manuscripts and on the Eastern plates corresponds to the \( \text{Iri} \) of the manuscripts of the \( \text{Iri} \). This as it occurs in the manuscripts of the \( \text{Iri} \). The sign on the Kshatrapa coins is the same, only turned the other way, and that on the Valabhi plates a further corruption of the latter.

The original meaning of the signs for 60 and 70 is doubtful to me. Only this much seems certain, that 70 is derived from the former by the addition of a horizontal stroke on the right. The manuscripts read them \( \text{Iri} \) or \( \text{Iri} \), and \( \text{Iri} \) or \( \text{Iri} \), respectively.

The sign for 80 corresponds to the ancient \( \text{Iri} \), such as we find on the Valabhi plates and in the alphabets of Kamir and Nipal (\( \text{Iri} \)). The sign for 90 is the \( \text{Iri} \). In some cases it occurs also for the \( \text{Iri} \).

The sign for \( \text{Iri} \) corresponds originally to the syllable \( \text{Iri} \) or \( \text{Iri} \), and appears as such in cols. 2, 5, and 9. Cols. 7 and 10 show \( \text{Iri} \), which seems to be a mistake, arising out of the great resemblance of the ancient forms of \( \text{Iri} \) and \( \text{Iri} \). The signs in cols. 3, 4, 6, and the second in 5, I take for mutilated forms of the ancient \( \text{Iri} \), caused by hasty writing. The \( \text{Iri} \) in col. 8 is another corruption of \( \text{Iri} \).

The oldest sign for \( \text{Iri} \) may be read \( \text{Iri} \), later it is clearly \( \text{Iri} \).

Postscript by G. Bühler.

At the request of Pannitä Bhagavănîlā, who is not able to express himself in English, I have translated the above article on the Nagari numerals from his Gujarâtî notes. I undertook this task because, after considering all his arguments, I felt convinced of the general correctness of his views, and because I wished to secure for my fellow-Sanskritists a speedy publication of this important discovery, and to the Pannitä the credit due to him. I now use this opportunity to add a few remarks of my own on the subject.

Firstly, as regards the Pannitä's chief point, that the Nagari numerals are aksharas or syllables: its correctness can be proved by the statement of Malâyagiri, a Jain writer of the 13th century, which Professor A. Weber first brought to light.\(^1\) This statement occurs in the commentary on the beginning of the Sikraprajkapāti, where a short-hand description of the town of Mithilā is given. The text runs as follows:

"At that time, during that period there was a town called Mithilā, rich in wealthy men, filled with joyful citizens and country-people—down to—adorned with palaces, \( \text{Iri} \)."

In commenting on the latter portion of this passage, Malâyagiri states first that the word \( \text{Iri} \), "down to," indicates that the description of the town is not given in full, and that a whole paragraph has to be supplied, in accordance with the conventional descriptions occurring in other works. Then he goes on according to Professor Weber's text, to say—

\( \text{Iri} \) [my manuscript has a sign which may be read \( \text{Iri} \) or \( \text{Iri} \), or even \( \text{Iri} \), just as that used by Professor Weber.]

\( ^8 \) Jour. Beng. As. Soc. vol. XL p. 166.  
\( ^1 \) Bhagavatika, p. 246.
ON THREE MĀLVĀ INSCRIPTIONS.

BY NILKĀNTHA JANĀRDAN KIRTANE.

While at Ujjain in November 1875, I obtained a copper-plate grant or inscription, which had been brought to the local authorities by a farmer, who found it while digging in his field. This led to the acquisition of two more inscriptions, one of which is a copper-plate grant, the other is engraved on a stone.

The first in chronological order is that of Śrī Vāk pātī Rājā Dēva. This inscription is on two plates of copper, that were held together by two copper rings inserted through holes made in the plates. The rings are now wanting. Each of the plates measures 12 by 8½ inches. The inscription contains 34 lines, and each line, on an average, contains 35 letters. In the left corner of the second or last plate is engraved the figure of Garuḍa holding in his right hand a cobra de capello;—for what purpose the reader will easily imagine. The numeral छ stands at the beginning of the grant. The last two characteristics are common to both the copper-plate inscriptions; and the characters in which all the three are written are those of the old Kāśyapa Sanskrit alphabet, in which the padmātā is very frequently used. I got this inscription of Vāk pātī from the archives of the Central India Agency, and am indebted for it to the kindness of Sir Henry Daly and Paṇḍit...
The second copper-plate inscription I got at Ujjain through the kindness of the local authorities there. It is signed by the famous Raja Bhoja of Divar, and purports to be a grant of a village by name Virahaaka to a certain Brhaman of the country of Râdha Navasanga Karutaka, by name Dhanapati Bhuta, who had come into Malwa from Srivada, in the country or division of Vella Valla. This inscription also is on two plates of copper joined together by two rings of copper. Each of the plates measures 12 inches by 8.

This second grant connects itself with the first by enumerating some of the kings mentioned in the first grant, thus enhancing the value of both. It was turned up by a farmer while digging in his field, which adjoins a small stream now called Nagajira, which must apparently be the same as the Nagadraka mentioned in the grant. This stream is included within the holy Pancakroshi of Ujjain.

The date of this inscription is Chaitra Shukla Ashadha of the SUznvat year 1078, i.e., 1021 A.D., and the date of the grant is Magha Asitatriya A.D.; the date of the latter is ascertained from the inscription on the Godasari kings of Ujjain or Malwa, the hereditary enemies of Sâlivaana of Pratishtana or Pathana on the Godavari—in other words, the successors or descendants of the same family and race of the damsel. The reply of the Râja Bhartl by name Gohadesvara. Sri Vija-yapaladeva is the grantor of this inscription also is on two plates of copper joined together by two rings of copper. Each of the plates measures 12 inches by 8.

The third inscription is engraved on a slab of stone measuring about 20 inches by 14, which is now let into the wall of a newly built temple at Indora, in the territory of the junior Raja of Devas. It purports to be a grant of a village, called Agasiyaka towards the expenses of a temple of the same year.

The date of this inscription is Chaitra Shukla Ashadha of the SUznvat year 1078, i.e., 1021 A.D.; the date of the grant is Magha Asitatriya A.D.; the date of the latter is ascertained from the inscription on the Godasari kings of Ujjain or Malwa, the hereditary enemies of Sâlivaana of Pratishtana or Pathana on the Godavari—in other words, the successors or descendants of the same family and race of the damsel. The reply of the Râja Bhartl by name Gohadesvara. Sri Vija-yapaladeva is the grantor of this inscription also is on two plates of copper joined together by two rings of copper. Each of the plates measures 12 inches by 8.

The third inscription is engraved on a slab of stone measuring about 20 inches by 14, which is now let into the wall of a newly built temple at Indora, in the territory of the junior Raja of Devas. It purports to be a grant of a village, called Agasiyaka towards the expenses of a temple of the same year.

The date of this inscription is Chaitra Shukla Ashadha of the SUznvat year 1078, i.e., 1021 A.D.; the date of the grant is Magha Asitatriya A.D.; the date of the latter is ascertained from the inscription on the Godasari kings of Ujjain or Malwa, the hereditary enemies of Sâlivaana of Pratishtana or Pathana on the Godavari—in other words, the successors or descendants of the same family and race of the damsel. The reply of the Râja Bhartl by name Gohadesvara. Sri Vija-yapaladeva is the grantor of this inscription also is on two plates of copper joined together by two rings of copper. Each of the plates measures 12 inches by 8.

The third inscription is engraved on a slab of stone measuring about 20 inches by 14, which is now let into the wall of a newly built temple at Indora, in the territory of the junior Raja of Devas. It purports to be a grant of a village, called Agasiyaka towards the expenses of a temple of the same year.

The date of this inscription is Chaitra Shukla Ashadha of the SUznvat year 1078, i.e., 1021 A.D.; the date of the grant is Magha Asitatriya A.D.; the date of the latter is ascertained from the inscription on the Godasari kings of Ujjain or Malwa, the hereditary enemies of Sâlivaana of Pratishtana or Pathana on the Godavari—in other words, the successors or descendants of the same family and race of the damsel. The reply of the Râja Bhartl by name Gohadesvara. Sri Vija-yapaladeva is the grantor of this inscription also is on two plates of copper joined together by two rings of copper. Each of the plates measures 12 inches by 8.

The third inscription is engraved on a slab of stone measuring about 20 inches by 14, which is now let into the wall of a newly built temple at Indora, in the territory of the junior Raja of Devas. It purports to be a grant of a village, called Agasiyaka towards the expenses of a temple of the same year.

The date of this inscription is Chaitra Shukla Ashadha of the SUznvat year 1078, i.e., 1021 A.D.; the date of the grant is Magha Asitatriya A.D.; the date of the latter is ascertained from the inscription on the Godasari kings of Ujjain or Malwa, the hereditary enemies of Sâlivaana of Pratishtana or Pathana on the Godavari—in other words, the successors or descendants of the same family and race of the damsel. The reply of the Râja Bhartl by name Gohadesvara. Sri Vija-yapaladeva is the grantor of this inscription also is on two plates of copper joined together by two rings of copper. Each of the plates measures 12 inches by 8.
latter belief, which gains strength from Munja's name being omitted from the list of kings in both inscriptions. Munja, it is notorious, was elected to rule the state after the death of Sindhu Raja Deva, the father of Bhoja, as the latter was then a minor of only eight years of age, and that he tried to usurp the regal power after Bhoja his nephew had come of age. Bhoja is said to have addressed to Munja several couplets, still well known, wherein, reproaching Munja with his base schemes, he said, "Kartha Raja Vikrama is no more, and he carried nothing with him of his immense treasures, but died like other men." This Kartha Raja Vikrama had, it is said, usurped the powers of his master, who was a great monarch. There was disseminated a prophecy which said that Bhoja his nephew had come of age. Bhoja, it is said, had the desired effect, and Munja resigned his powers into the hands of Bhoja, and himself leading an army into the Dakhan in the service of the state died in battle there. All this, I think, shows the existence of bad blood between the uncle and the nephew; yet, I presume, the natural aversion of a high-spirited and gifted youth towards a regent who tried to delay his desires is not sufficient to explain the omission of a brave and learned predecessor, if the end in view were not to mention one's own lineal ancestors only. This much I advance to support my assertion that the kings of his own lineal ancestors only. This much I advance to support my assertion that the kings mentioned in Vakpati's and Bhoja's inscriptions stand to each other in the relation of direct ancestorship. The Dvandhanavikad certainly supports this view in cases of all sorts of religious grants, as it is incumbent on the grantor to name in the deed of grant at least the names of his father and grandfather.

Of the proper names mentioned in Vakpati's inscription, the most notable is the Ahichchatra from which the philosopher Vasanta Charaya, as the grant says, emigrated into Malwa, which to him naturally was a 'Dakschina Dhama,' or 'Southern country.' The locality of the place granted by this inscription can even now be clearly identified. The Piskha Tirtha remains till this day, and also Chikkilikha, now called Chikkaludha—a talluk of Holkar's. The Gandhabanadi is now called Kharja, a word of the same meaning. This place now is in the Dharampurí talluk of H. H. the Raja of Bhair. Of Ahichchatra it will be sufficient to say that it was formerly the capital of the North Panchal, and is now identified with Adhi-Kotha, near Rannaagar, in Rohilkhand. A pretty full account of Ahichchatra is given by General Cunningham in his Ancient Geography of India (pp. 358, 390, 363).

The grants of the second inscription—Dhanapati Bhat, I am told by Balkrishna Sastri of Indor, was a very learned man at the court of Bhoja. I do not know anything of Radvura Sang Karnatya or of Veula Vella. The village Virauna no longer exists in Malwa. There is a certain Virauna mentioned in the Rajaaramagiri; but that is not the Viranaka of the present grant, I suppose.

The Ingnanapat of the third grant is the modern village of Ingnoda, in Western Malwa. Agasiyak no longer exists. About seven miles from Ingnoda there are to be seen on the banks of the Kshipra the ruins of a Saiva temple of large dimensions. I think this must have been the temple of Gohadevar named in the grant.

As Bhoja is not mentioned by any foreign writer, it was impossible, until very lately, to ascertain with any near approach to the time at which he lived. Dr. Bühler says:—"The date

"These lines are wrought into the Bhoja-prabandha. An earlier work in which they occur is the Sranpadasan- padhasta, written in A. D. 1363. They appear as an anonymous extract."—Jour. As. Soc. Beng. vol. XXXI. pp. 202-3.—En.

Dr. Hall thinks Ahichchhatra may not have been far from the Vindhyas, and Wilson supposed there were several places of the name. The former adds—"Many is the pious Marathé who never submits himself to the hands of his barber without repeating these lines:—

Anantvahishya: Pratishyayuktitarivisthitah: Bhairah: 
Bhairiviratandate Vishva Niyasasthitah: 
"By the recollection, on shaving, of Anarta, Ahichchhatra, Pulkiputra, Aditi, Diti, and Srisha, the evils incident to the operation are all obviated."—En.
of Bhoja is, unfortunately, not yet satisfactorily ascertained. Lassen places his reign between 997 and 1053. But the only certain date in his reign is the year 1043, in which his karana, the Rājvarājyakā, is dated. My reasons for placing him later are, firstly, that Bhillana states that during Bhoja's reign, Sōmeśvara I. (1040-1069) took Dhārā by storm, and secondly that Kalhana asserts (Rājatarangini vii. 259) that Bhoja and Kshiti Rāja or Kshiti Pāti were, after 1062, the only true friends of the poets, &c.

Now the date of our inscription is Saṅvat 1078, Chaitra Śudī Chatturdashi, i.e. A.D. 1022, and it is evident that the Rājvarājyakā was written nearly twenty-one years after the date of the present grant, which, there is reason to suppose, was drawn after Bhoja had attained undisputed authority in the state. Let us now suppose that this happened in his eighteenth year, according to the provision of the Hindu Law in such cases. But we have further aid; for the Jain poet Aṃtage, in his work called the Subhadśaritārāmaprasthita, says that he composed it in the Saṅvat year 1050 (994 A.D.), when Rāja Munja was reigning. We know also that when Sīadhū Rāja, the father of Bhoja, died, the latter was a minor of some eight years only. If we take now the year 994 A.D. as the first of Munja's regency, which it is generally be

---

I.—Vākpati's Inscription.

1 Krishna Rāja Deva.
2 Vaira Śīlha Deva.
3 Siyaka Deva.
4 Vākpati Rāja Deva.
5 Sīndhu Rāja Deva.
6 Bhoja Deva.

I do not know much about the kings mentioned in the third inscription. Mālāw, at and before the time of the Muhammadan invasion, was split into a number of small kingdoms, and the kings in this grant may be some of them.

---

* The exact date is given as 65 years, 7 months, and 3 days. * Read sandhashaṁ. ** Read pūṣṭhaṁ. * Read vākṣyaṁ. ** Read nīśhāthaṁ. * Read 56 years, 7 months, and 3 days.
Translation of Vākpāti’s Inscription.

May the resplendent beauties of the manly throat of Śrīkaṇṭha (Mūhādēvī), smoky in appearance from their mixing with the smoke issuing, as from the fire-like poison of the hissing snake, which, as they reach where the ever-changing and shining crescent is placed on his head, may appropriately be compared to Rūm,—beauties which are the result of frequent contact with the quivering cheeks of Girijā (Pārrāthi), and which are mistaken for the mask applied to them,—increase your prosperity!

May the active body of the enemy of M u r a (Krishna), which the face of Lakshmi could not please, which the waters of the ocean could not cool, which the lotus of the lake of his own navel was powerless to pacify, and which could not be soothed by the fragrant breath issuing from the thousand mouths of Śesha: that body of Krishna so heated by Hāda’s separation, profit you!

Happy be the great monarch, the king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Amogha v a r s a h a D e v a, otherwise called the illustrious Vākpati D e v a, lord of the earth, the lord of wealth, and the lord of kings, successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Sīyā k a D e v a, successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Vai r i sīn h a D e v a, successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious K r i s h n a r ā j a D e v a! He no doubt, with much greater fidelity than was observed by the dilettante who first published it—Dr. P. Hāl, Jour. As. Soc. Beng. vol. XXX, p. 197, notes that Vākpati’s inscription may assist in settling the date of Bhāravatī if the assertion of Kalpāṭa in the Bāḷaśāntāpita be true—

‘[sic] kābīkāśitalaśī śeṣāyānādyāśīśēt. | jñāte yādī yādaśīmā yonānātāḥbhīhratah’
SÁSANÁ OF BHOJA, dated Saḿvat 1078.

इनिवासमध्यें माये विविध स्थलातुरुक्त हो गये। बीमार मलेमागंबर जानता नरिमा

नवं दुःखार्थ: कल्याण निर्भर काल्याण निर्भर काल्याण मन्द सायम समय रूपी ते। इत्यादि

पञ्चायतं नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: काल्याण काल्याण काल्याण काल्याण काल्याण नि साधा नू

थ नायन नं मन मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नि साधा नू

पालन पंत नं मन मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नि साधा नू

पर मन मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नि साधा नू

पर मन मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नि साधा नू

पर मन मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नि साधा नू

पर मन मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नि साधा नू

पर मन मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नि साधा नू

पर मन मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नि साधा नू

पर मन मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नि साधा नू

पर मन मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नि साधा नू

पर मन मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नि साधा नू

पर मन मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नि साधा नू

पर मन मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नि साधा नू

पर मन मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नं मद्यार्थ: नि साधा नू
February, 1877,] THREE MALWA INSCRIPTIONS.

58

orders all the Government officers, Brāhmaṇa and others, paṭṭas, and inhabitants, and cultivators assembled in the Taddār by name Pīp-parrīkā, situate on the banks of the holy Narmadā, to the north of the portion of waters called the Gardabhapāni, that it be known to them that the said Taddār (?), which is bounded on the east by the Agūrvarāhā, and on the north by the rivulet which flows into the ditch belonging to Chikhilliṅkā, and on the west by the Gardabha river, and on the south by the Piśāchātīrtha—the Taddār whose boundaries on the four sides have thus been described—the king being at Ujjain on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhadrapada, the auspicious day of the Pavitraparvanī of the Sāhvatī 1031, after bathing himself in the waters of the Śiva lake and worshipping the lord of every living as well as lifeless thing, the lord and husband of Bhavānī, and considering on the vanity of the world—

"The dominion of the earth is as shifting as the tempest clouds," &c.;

"The life of man is like a drop of water," &c.;

"Wealth is changing like the edge of the circumference of a revolving wheel," &c.;

—being thus convinced of the vanity of all created things, and choosing to abide by the unforeseen rewards for meritorious deeds, bent on furthering the merits of his mother and father as well as of himself, with singleness of heart and the ceremony of pouring water (on the palms of the hands of the grantee) does hereby give away the above-mentioned Taddār, with all its proper boundaries, which extend as far as the ground for the tending of the cattle and for cutting grass and fuel extents, covering the space of one kos,—with all the rows of trees thereon and the minerals therein, with all the gold, the land revenue, and the servitude and sundry other revenues or fines, and with all sorts of rights belonging to it,—to the very learned Brāhmaṇ philosopher the illustrious Vāsanāchārya, son of Dhanika Paṇḍit, who has emigrated from Ahiḍchhātra into this southern realm,—as long as the sun and moon, the earth and the seas endure.

Knowing this, they are henceforth to give to this Brāhmaṇ, in obedience to the royal order, all established rents, servitudes, taxes, and the gold.

"Considering that the merit," &c.;

"This earth has been enjoyed by many princes," &c.;

"Of wealth, which is as transitory as a bubble of water," &c.;

"To all future kings of this earth," &c.;

"Looking upon wealth," &c.;

Dated 1031 Bhadrapada Śaṭdi Chatturdasi 14. This order has been given by Śrī Kanhapāika. This is the signature in Vāḵpatrāja Devā's own handwriting.

II.—Bhoja’s Inscription.

Plate I.

Dr. Hall reads this Vedor.—Ed.  
† The full translation of the slokas marked thus † is given in the translation of the second inscription, where they occur again.
Glory to the god whose hair is the sky (Maha-deva), and who bears on his head the horned moon, emblematic of the shoot from which sprang the world!

May the braids of the enemy of the god of love,—brown like the dread lightning of the day of final dissolution, always extend the sphere of your prosperity!

Happy be the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Bhoja-deva, the successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Sinahrājadeva, the successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Vākpatirājadeva, the successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Siyaka-deva. He orders all the officers of Government, good Brāhmans and others, pūdīla and rayats

Translation of Bhoja’s Inscription.

Glory to the god whose hair is the sky (Maha-deva), and who bears on his head the horned moon, emblematic of the shoot from which sprang the world!

May the braids of the enemy of the god of love,—brown like the dread lightning of the day of final dissolution, always extend the sphere of your prosperity!

Happy be the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Bhoja-deva, the successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Sinahrājadeva, the successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Vākpatirājadeva, the successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Siyaka-deva. He orders all the officers of Government, good Brāhmans and others, pūdīla and rayats

assembled in Virāṇāka, situate within the limits of the division or country to the west of the Nāgadraha, that it be known to them that on the 3rd day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha of the Svayata year 1078, on Sunday when the sun began his northern journey, he being then at the glorious city of Dhar, after bathing himself and worshipping the lord of every living as well as lifeless thing, the lord and husband of Bhavani, and considering on the vanity of the world (as in the slokas) —

"The dominion of the earth is as shifting as the tempest-clouds that are wafted on the wind, and the enjoyments which it offers are pleasing only for a moment.

"The life of man is like a drop of water hanging on the point of a blade of grass. If one wish to go to heaven, virtue, O men, is the greatest friend in the journey!

"Wealth is changing, like the edge of the cir-
सासना ओळ BHOJA (2nd plate)

ब्रह्माण्याक: मनी राजमान: बालिनार्त्यनिवाल: महो विरुद्धनयं

तु वाचताय नाभासापा स्वयं बिग्रितायानि पदानि एकरः प्राप्तिरत्न हूँ सिद्धिः केवला रत्न

यस्मेवं प्राप्ति मम नक्षत्राम्बेधि देवानसुपून्यान्वित हृियं तुष्टं परं च लोम बाहेतव

हार्व्यायुर्व निम्न का लेख्या तर भातसाजीननार: न दृपतियार्दमकलिता: यया

वामाण्या मनुष्यस्य सात्विकाः कृत्यं इत्याते विद कामान्व वा वातावर्धुष्म वा महा असुस्वास्तिकनाय

मामां लोकायतां इति विकलप्ये। इसकिन्तु विविधिनां भिक्षुसाहित्यहि न भूयार्कव कर्मायो

मधु मधुपुः पातालीया जगपर व रात्रिक धेरदा ईशानीहि। मातु अगुरुः का वायूयो

सुकलावणु केष्मगुया यानी स्व तनिपुणानां ध्यानानिपुणा व तनावबित्ती च व भविष्यीनां

वाक्यिन्द्रियम पारित नानिकानामसंस्कृष्टमान कार्यान्ते। नाना वीत्रवर्धु वानीकरास्ते दृष्टान्तोऽपि नानावर्तमाना च व भविष्यातः

राजसिक मन्त्र मार्गायान यान्यायास्ते । दुधवेगास्ते वेद ज्यायामानं पल्लवक्यस्य न भवाया

जत्वा महास्त् कृताः श्रीकाल: धीरेश्वरायान्त्रयामानी यात्रातु दिश्रेष्ठ विषालला बिद्वेस्ति नवस्मर्यु: किं ज्योत्ति विवेकनास्ति नामांकु: (३२)
camference of the revolving wheel of worldly life. Repentance, therefore, will be the sole reward of those who obtaining wealth will not bestow it in works of charity."

And being thus convinced of the vanity of all created things, and choosing to abide by the unforeseen rewards for meritorious deeds, bent on furthering the glory and merits of his mother and father as well as of himself, with singleness of heart and the ceremony of pouring water (on the hands of the grantee), by this writ of the ploughs\textsuperscript{1} of land to be given (in charity), he (the king) grants away, as long as the sun and moon, the earth and the seas endure, the above-mentioned village, with all its proper boundaries, which extend over the space of one kos, as far as the ground for tending cattle, with all the gold, the land revenue, and the servitude and sundry other revenues or fines, and with all sorts of rights thereof, to Dhanapatī Bhatta, son of Govinda Bhatta, a Rigvedī Brāhmaṇa of the Ásvālayaśādhi, of the Agastī gṛta and tripyavara, who, being an inhabitant of Rādhā Sūrāsanga Karṇāta, has come from Śrivāda, situate in Vellu Valla. Knowing this, they are henceforth to give to this Brāhmaṇa, in obedience to the royal will, all established rents, taxes, and cash.

Considering that the merit of this charitable deed belongs to them in common with him, all succeeding kings, whether of his family or of any other, ought to acquiesce in this his charitable grant and uphold it; for it is said:

"This earth has been enjoyed by many princes, Sagara and others, and the merit (of charitable grants) has successively belonged to those who, for the time being, were possessed of sovereign power over her. Things given away in charity by former kings with aims of philanthropy and renown are likened to rejected things and to vomitings, and what good man would again resume them?

"This charity of ours should be acquiesced in alike by those who will glory in the nobility of our family, and by those who may be strangers to us.

"Of wealth, which is as fleeting as a flash of lightning or a bubble of water, there are two good fruits or uses, and only two: one is its employment in charities, and the other is the maintenance thereby of other men's fame.

"To all future kings of this earth does the Śrī Rāmachandra entreat again and again that as the bridge of charity is a common boon, which benefits all kings in their times alike, it should in successive times be maintained intact by them all."

Therefore, looking upon wealth as if it were a drop of water on the petal of a lotus-flower, and upon life as quite uncertain, and thinking on all that I have said, a man should never try to undo what others have done to commemorate their names.

Dated in the Samvat year 1078, Chaitra Suddhi 14 Chaturdaśi, Svayamajñīyā Maṅgala Mahāṛī. (Witness) this signature in Bhoja Deva's own handwriting.

\textit{III.—Inscription at Ingnoda.}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{1} A plough of land in Mālwa is equal to a piece of ground one can till with one pair of bullocks. \textit{Drona} is another measure of land mentioned in old grants.
\item \textsuperscript{2} \textit{fad} may be short for \textit{fē} (modern फेंट).
Translation of the 3rd Inscription.

Adoration to Śiva. On the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Ashāḍha of the Samvat year 1190, here in İnganapat, by me the king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Vījaya-padadeva, the successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Tihunapāladeva, the successor of the prosperous Pri-thavipaladeva, who shone resplendent among the row of the kings, and who possessed the titles of the lord, king of kings and lord paramount: (By me) after worshipping the lord and husband of Bhavani, and meditating on the vanity of the world—in order to increase the merit and fame of my mother and father as well as of myself, in the presence of all my councillors, the family priest, and the astrologer, and all other dependants, and of the Brahmaṇ Indu Svāmi Sādelāk, resident of the Brahmaṇ purī street of this place, and of Mahākoka, and Brahmānandaka, and Śrī Lālā, and Śrī Saḍāk, and Śrī Lakshmana, and others of the merchants, on the propitious 11th day of Ashāḍha, is given, with the ceremony of pouring water, the village of Agāsiyaka as far as its own boundaries extend, with all the trees, shrubs, and riches contained therein, as well as all the rents and servitude, taxes and titles, to the god Gobadēvarā, situate within the division or country to the south of İnganapat.

In virtue of this, the pāțīla and cultivators of the village should, in deference to the king's order, henceforth pay all this to the above-mentioned god.

Things granted in charity by former kings, &c. &c.

This earth has been enjoyed by many princes, &c.

He who resumes land given (in charity) either by himself or by anybody else, lives a worm in the hell called Raurava for sixty thousand years.

The dominion of the earth is as shifting as a tempest-squall, &c.

This has been written by Ashādhabha, son of Kelahna, son of Kājapāla, a Kāyastha of the family of Valerieba.

This is engraved by Sagana, son of Harsena, son of the artisan Mahābal, of the family of Kukas.

† The last two paragraphs are unintelligible as they stand in the original; the translation is merely a guess at what the writer and engraver may have meant. This inscription, again, it will be observed, is interspersed with glaring grammatical mistakes, which, however, may easily be corrected. The transliteration given, however, is a faithful copy of the original,—of which a reduced facsimile is given in the accompanying plate.
NOTES ON GUPTA COINS.

BY THE HONOURABLE SIR E. C. BAYLEY, K.C.S.I.

Since the publication of Mr. Thomas’s latest paper on the dynasty of the Guptas* I have become possessed, through the kindness of Dr. Bühler, of three coins which tend to elucidate some of the points left doubtful by Mr. Thomas.

The first of these coins is a duplicate of that in the late Mr. Freeling’s cabinet,† which Mr. Thomas attributes, though doubtfully, to “Śrī Gupta.”

The rough execution of that coin alluring it with those of the latest Guptas renders it, as Mr. Thomas points out, a priori unlikely that the coin could have been struck by the founder of the Gupta dynasty; but if the reading were correct it might still be attributed to a later king of the same name.

My coin, however, is in considerably better preservation, and though, unfortunately, the actual name of the king by whom it was struck is not legible, yet the rest of the inscription leaves little doubt that his name was not Śrī Gupta.

The words “Śrī Gupta” undoubtedly occur, but in the beginning of the legend; and though the letters which follow them are, unfortunately, too rudely cut to be legible, still there can be small doubt that the entire word is merely some epithet applied to the king, referring to the Gupta race. The legend reads as follows:—

\[\text{Śrī Gupta rd} \quad \text{ptarva} \quad \text{Gupta vikramārasya.}\]

My own impression is that the blank for the fifth word in the above legend should be filled up with the word Kūmarā, but I cannot pretend to make any suggestion as to the emendation of the third word.

The next coin is only curious as being allied to the above, for it is undoubtedly one of “Chandra Gupta,” and in all probability of Chandra Gupta II.

Both coins have the same style of head on the obverse (unfortunately no dates), and the symbol which Mr. Thomas terms the Pārvatī symbol on the reverse.

I give the legend on the reverse:—

\[\text{Rāja Śrī Chandra Gupta Vikramānākasya.}\]

The three first letters seem to be the same as those at the commencement of the legend on the coin already described, viz. Śrī Gupta; and the letters 4, 6, 7, and perhaps 8, seem (interrupted by a star) to form the conclusion of the word thus commenced. The 9th and 10th letters are not clear, and may be de, va,—deva Rāja—being an epithet assumed by Chandra Gupta II.;* but while the ninth letter seems preferably to read ja, the tenth may be dhi.

The entire legend would therefore read—

\[\text{Śrī Gupta} \quad \text{vd} \quad \text{ja-dhiraja Śrī Chandra-de-va}\]

Gupta-vikramānākasya.

I believe the epithet Vikramānākasya is new to Indian numismatics,—at least I can recall no other example of it.

These two coins have, however, rather a purely numismatic than an historic interest. The third coin is of value historically, for it gives the date of a king hitherto unplaced in the Gupta dynasty, viz. Bākra Gupta.

I do not give any description of this coin: for, save in the points noticed below, it is exactly the same as that figured by Mr. Thomas in his paper already quoted as No. XII.* (Archaeol. Rep. p. 63).

The only points of difference are that the letter B is more clearly B on my coin,—squarer, that is, than in Mr. Thomas’s figure, or \(\text{B} \); and secondly the obverse is that of the coin No. X.* of Mr. Thomas’s paper: it bears a date, that is to say, behind the head (as in the Kshatrapa coins)

\[\text{X} \quad \text{Av} = \text{v}vāra\text{sha} \quad \text{90}. \]

The date on both the

§ It will be seen that I read the “iota” symbol prefixed to the date as \(\text{m} \) for \(\text{vāsha} \). I do this on the authority of an unpublished late Kshatrapa coin (also given me by Dr. Bühler); on it is clearly \(\text{m} \) (vāsha) 300. See also the prathama of 300 of Āvaradatta’s coins.
known coins of Toramāṇa (to the style of which this coin closely approximates) is "82"; in neither case is there any figure to represent the century.

The inference which I think may be first drawn from the fact is that, supposing both kings to use the same era, Bakra Gupta (I imagine Bakra to be a local barbarism for Vakra) was eight years later in date to Toramāṇa, and secondly that both were included in the series of later Gupta kings.

As to the era of the date, Mr. Thomas has suggested that it may be applied (1) to the Gupta family era; (2) to the era adopted by the Kshatrapa kings, as for a time used by the Guptas; and (3) to the Seleucidan era (so I understand), omitting the cipher for hundreds. I venture to suggest a fourth, viz. the "Loka Kāl," as to which General Cunningham and Dr. Bühlcr have recently written, and in applying which the century is never mentioned. Accepting the Gupta era, the date cannot be less than 190 of that era, for Chandra Gupta II. is of the year 90, and this coin is of far later date and execution. If the Gupta era be taken as the equivalent of the Saka era, this would place Bakra Gupta in 205 A.D.

If it be taken as representing the (2)90th year of the Kshatrapa dynasty, and that be the equivalent of the Vikramādiya era, then the date would be 233 A.D.

If the Seleucidan era be adopted, the date would be (the fifth century of the Seleucid era being taken) 278 A.D.

Again, if the Loka Kāl be taken, and supposing the century to be that beginning in 214 A.D. (it could scarcely be earlier with reference to the date of Chandra Gupta II.), then the date of Bakra Gupta would fall as low as 314 A.D., and Toramāṇa would be brought down to 306 A.D.

I proceed to consider which of these dates seems the most probable.

As to the first, if the Kshatrapa era is to be taken as equivalent to that of Vikramādiya, and the Gupta era as that of the Saka, or if ever they respectively approximated, then Bakra Gupta would be brought in before Buddha Gupta, whose dates of 154 and 163 of the Gupta era are equal to 234 and 244 A.D. on the theory that they are Saka dates. The style of Bakra Gupta coins hardly warrants this supposition, though it is not impossible.

The other three dates appear preferable; the Seleucidan era, if applied to Toramāṇa's coin also would place that king in 270 A.D.,—about twenty-six years later than Buddha Gupta; the Gupta era would place Buddha Gupta, Toramāṇa, and Bakra Gupta in closer contact still; while the Loka Kāl would doubtless bring down the last named two kings 58 and 66 years respectively later than Buddha Gupta.

On the whole I am inclined to believe that the Gupta era is that to be preferred. It is clear from the two Erā inscriptions that the kings Buddha Gupta and Toramāṇa both were reigning during the life of one and the same man, Dhanyava Vīshṇu, and that the latter was a man of some position and wealth under the earlier king. It is, of course, far from impossible that Dhanyā Vishṇu may have been young when he caused one monument to be erected, and very old when the other was executed. If he lived even to, say, eighty years of age, even sixty years may well have elapsed between the execution of the two monuments, i.e. the later years of Buddha Gupta and the earlier of Toramāṇa. Still the shorter interval is certainly the more probable one, and I am therefore inclined to think, with Mr. Thomas, that Toramāṇa should be placed in 260-61 A.D., and Bakra Gupta I would accordingly place in 262-69,—adopting, that is, the Gupta family era as that of both coins, and assuming that to be identical with the Saka era.

† Mr. Thomas thinks that the year of the century is obliterated. I confess that on the British Museum coin, which I have closely examined, I see no trace of any century date; this point is of little importance, however, as will be subsequently apparent.

‡ This is a disputed point: Ahkhrad (if we can trust at all his text) states that the Gupta era began in Saka 241 (or A.D. 219); and this is supported by inscriptions quoted by Col. Tod. If this can be depended on, Bakra Gupta may have ruled in 100 + 219 = 309 A.D., and he or his predecessor may have been the Chinese Khi-to or "Gupta" king whose ambassador the Chinese envoy to China in 528-29. Conf. Jour. Asiatique, IVme série, tom. X., pp. 59, 100; 2nd Arch. Rep., ut sup. pp. 28, 30, 133. — Ed.

# This assumption is opposed to Prof. Bhāudārkara's opinion in Trans. Orient. Congress, 1874, who regards the Saka era as that from which the Kshatrapa date.d. — Ed.
A NEW GRANT OF GOVINDA III., RÄTHOR.

BY G. BÜHLER.

In June last Major J. W. Watson, then Acting Political Agent, Raôkâñâla, informed me that, while acting in 1873-4 as Political Agent of Pahlenpur, he had been shown by the Kârbhârî of Râðhanpur two copperplates the writing of which resembled very closely that of the Morbi plate published by Professor Blâñjârkârî in the Indian Antiquary. I at once addressed Colonel Shortt, the present Political Agent, Pahlenpur, on the subject, and solicited his good offices with the Râdhanpur Darbar for a loan of the plates seen by Major Watson. Colonel Shortt very kindly acquainted the Navâb with my request, and procured for me four plates, after a troublesome hunt for the half-forgotten grants. On examining them I found that two of them contain three-fourths of a land-grant issued by Govinda III., Râthor; while the other two belong to Blâmâyâ I., Châlukya, of Anhilvâd-Pâthân. The latter will be published in my paper on the land-grants of the Anhilvâd Châlukyas. The former are so important that they deserve a separate article.

The two plates measure each 12 inches by 10, and have one hole in the middle of the left-hand side, in which the seal-ring was fixed. The latter has been lost, as well as the third sheet. For this grant, like other ancient Râthor dáśānas, was written on three plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on the inner sides only, while the centre one bears letters on both sides. The loss is of small importance, as the last plate contained only the well-known verses from the Sânstiti on the subject of gifts of land. The letters of our grant are ancient Devanâgarî, exactly resembling those of the Saṃagadhd plate published in the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. vol. II. p. 371. The preservation of the plates is, on the whole, good. Only in the centre of Pl. I., and in the first line of Pl. II.a, some letters have become indistinct,—apparently by the friction of the sheets against each other. The execution is also good. A few letters have been left out accidentally, and a moderate number of other mistakes occur. Noticeable peculiarities are the employment of the Anusvâra in stead of final ñ, and of the vowel ri instead of the syllable ra, both of which are incorrect, but of frequent occurrence in MSS. also.

As regards its substance, the dáśana is for the greater part identical with the Vân Dindori grant, which was discovered by L. Reid, Esq., and published by Mr. Watthen in the Jour. R. As. Soc. vol. V. pp. 350 et seq. Both have been issued by the same prince and in the same Saka year. As might be expected from these circumstances, their historical portions agree very closely. But it is very fortunate that the new grant contains a few more verses than the earlier one, some of which are of great importance for the history of Western India.

Govinda III. was one of the most powerful princes of that great Râshtrakûta, Râthor, or Raṭṭa family who arose to power in the Dekhan about the middle of the eighth century, and for the space of two centuries obscured and almost took the place of its older rival, the Châlukya race of Kâlyanya. During the time of its prosperity it extended its rule not only over the Dekhan proper, but over the Koṅkaṇa, a portion of Gujârât, and Central India up to the Vindhyas. Its influence, no doubt, made itself felt much further north. Its power sank again towards the close of the tenth century, when the Châlukyas, under Tailapa of Kâlyanya and his successors, regained their ancient position. But even after that period we find Râshtrakûta states at Devagiri, at Belgam, &c. in the Dekhan, in Central India, and even as far north as Kânâûj, some of which played a considerable part during the last period of Hindu rule, and branches of which flourish even in the present day.

We possess a considerable number of grants issued by, or referring to, this particular Râshtrakûta family, which, according to their dates, may be arranged in the following order:—

1. The Sâmângadhd plates of Saka 675.†
2. The Van Dindori plates of Saka 730.‡
3. The Râdhanpur plates dated Saka 730.§
4. The Baroda plates dated Saka 734.‖
5. The Kâvî plates dated Saka 749.¶

† i.e. those now under review. ‖ Jour. R. As. Soc. Beng. vol. VIII. p. 292. ¶ Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 144.

* Compare the description of the Kâvî grant, Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 144.
6. The Sāngli plates dated Śaka 855.
7. The Satotgi inscription dated Śaka 867.
8. The Kardā plates dated Śaka 894.
9. The Khārepātana plates dated Śaka 930.

But, in spite of these considerable materials, the history of this family has not been made out satisfactorily,—partly because the first discovered grants have been badly read, and partly because the last discovered ones give fuller information than those accessible to H. H. Wilson, Lassen, Bāl Gangādhar, and S. P. Paṇḍit. Other circumstances, too, have contributed to obscure the real state of things. The first point is the evil habit of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (which, indeed, may be observed in the case of many other Indian dynasties) of taking a large number of binādas, or honorific titles; and of their poets, who composed the historical portions of the grants, of using these names indiscriminately, or even of substituting synonyms for them.

The second cause of confusion is the still more reprehensible practice of some writers of the śāsanas of leaving out in the sahādvālī any princes whom they considered unworthy of notice. Well-authenticated instances of this kind are afforded by the V a l a h i grants, most of which omit the four sons of B h a tā r k a; by the grants of the Chālukyas of Anhilvad, several of which pass in silence by the name of V a l l a h a s e n a, who reigned for a few months only; and by the śāsanas of the ancient Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa.

Instead of simply giving an analysis of the Rādhanpur plates, I shall now attempt to reconstruct a portion of the pedigree and of the history of the Dekhan Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the above nine grants. I do not pretend to trace all Rāṣṭrakūṭas back to their origin, nor even to give the history of all the kings named in the nine grants. The historical documents which are accessible at present are in my opinion insufficient to decide whether the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were an Aryan Kshatriya, i.e. Rājput race, which immigrated into the Dekhan from the north like the Chālukyas, or a Dravidian family which was received into the Aryan community after the conquest of the Dekhan. It is, further, as yet impossible to determine the period when a Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire was first founded in the Dekhan. Only this much is clear, that Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings ruled over parts of the Dekhan in the fourth and fifth centuries; because the first Chālukya, Jayasimha, destroyed one Indra, the son of Krishna, who belonged to this family. Nor is it feasible to determine the relation of the latest Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasties, especially those of Kānōj, from whom the present Rāthors of J o d h p u r and I d a r are descended, to the family of the grantors of the above śāsanas. The list also of the kings from G o v i n d a I. to K a k k a l a, enumerated in the nine grants, offers a difficulty regarding the succession to the tenth prince, A kālavār s h a, which has already exercised the ingenuity of H. H. Wilson, Bāl Gangādhar Śāstri, and S. P. Paṇḍit. All I shall attempt is, therefore, to give an account of the first ten kings of the nine grants,—a contribution to the history of the Dekhan and the adjacent western coast during the time from 610 to 850 a.d.

The first three princes,—G o v i n d a I., K a r k a I., and I n d r a I.—who are noticed in grants Nos. 1, 4, and 5 only, are described in general terms. The poets, as in duty bound, extol their bravery, their justice and piety, but without stating how they distinguished themselves. Hence it may be inferred that not much was to be said about them, and especially that during their reigns the war with the Chālukya s had not yet broken out. In favour of this view the fact may be adduced that the queen of the third, I n d r a I., was the daughter of a Chālukya father and a Somanvaya (i.e. Yādava or Rāṣṭrakūṭa) mother (grant No. 1, v. 9). For, with the state of things which existed during the succeeding reigns, matrimonial alliances between the two houses would hardly have been possible. Counting backwards three generations from Śaka 675, the date of grant No. 1, and allowing twenty-five years for each generation, the year 660 a.d. may be roughly assigned to Govinda I. as the initial date of his reign, 685 a.d. to Karka I., and 710 a.d. to Indra I.

The fourth prince, D a n t i d u r g a, the son...
of Indra I. and of his Chālukya queen, was one of the great rulers of the family, and for this reason he has been considered its founder in three of the grants, Nos. 6, 8, and 9.

His own grant apparently attributes two great deeds to him,—the subjugation of a prince called Vālīabha (No. 1, v. 17), whereby he obtained the title of Rājādhirājakumarsena-svava, 'Supreme lord of kings of kings,' or 'king of kings and supreme lord,' and an easy victory over the army of Karna, "which was expert in defeating the lords of Kānchī and Kerala, the Chūla, the Pāḍyā, Śrīharsha, and Vṛjara" (No. 1, v. 18). Possibly the two verses contain a han dis ñgāna, and both refer to the same event, i.e. Vālīabha was the Karna, a king who was defeated. But it is perfectly certain that the Karna army is intended for the Chālukya army, since the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa are frequently called "the lords of Karna," and since it is their constant boast in their older inscriptions that they conquered Śrīharsha.† Grant No. 5 repeats the two verses of No. 1. Nos. 6 and 8 describe the king merely in general terms, and No. 9 contains nothing but the name. He probably did nothing more of importance, and died soon after the date of his grant. A remark which No. 4 makes about his successor, Kṛiṣhṇa I., proves that he did not reach old age, and probably died a violent death. All the grants which mention both Dantidurga and Kṛiṣhṇa I. state that the latter was the paternal uncle of the former, i.e. a brother of Indra I. Grant No. 8, v. 3, says that Dantidurga died childless. But No. 4, v. 8, affirms that Kṛiṣhṇa I. "destroyed his relatives, who had fallen into evil ways, and became king for the good of his race," though it does not mention Dantidurga's name, and in fact ignores him and his father altogether. Considering how anxious the court poets must have been, and in some cases can be proved to have been,† to disguise, or to place in the best light, the internal dissensions and revolutions in the families of their patrons, I have no hesitation in accepting as correct this version of the manner in which Dantidurga lost his life and Kṛiṣhṇa succeeded to the throne. It seems to me evident that, as it has happened so frequently in the Rajput families of India, the younger branch of the family ousted the elder one.

From the last line of the grant No. 1 we learn that Dantidurga was also called Vālīabha. The name may be translated 'he whose protection elephants are,' or 'he who is like an elephant that resembles a fort or a suit of armour. The same plate mentions two birudas or gajānamas of this prince,—Prithivikullabha and Khadgādālokha (?) The former, 'husband of the earth,' is a general title common to many kings. The reading of the latter is doubtful; the facsimile has a nonsensical form Khadgādālokha, which Bīl Gangādīrah has changed into Khadgādālkha.

The fifth king, Kṛiṣhṇa I., whose relation to his predecessor and accession to the throne have already been discussed, was likewise a ruler of great distinction. Two grants, Nos. 2 and 3, place him, for this reason, at the head of their enumeration, and most have something particular to relate regarding him. From grants Nos. 2, 3 (v. 3), and 4 (v. 5) it appears that he continued the work of Dantidurga, and further humbled the Chālukyas. No. 4, v. 10, also states that "he changed to a deer the great bow (mahāvārīha), which was taken with an itching for the battle, and inspired by valour flashed his bow-tusk." § As the bow is the cognizance of the Chālukyas, it is probable that this verse also refers to the defeat of a Chālukya prince, not of a person called Mahāvārīha. The same grant, vv. 11-13, connects him with the hill of Elāpurā, where he seems to have built a fort and a splendid temple of Śiva.|| Nos. 2 and 3 mention that he bore the biruda Vālīabha. His accession to the throne may be placed about 755 A.D., and, as he was the paternal uncle of his predecessor, he cannot have ruled very long. If we allow him ten years, until 765, that will be quite as much as is probable.

After him ruled successively his two sons,

† I must add that I do not feel as certain as most of my colleagues (see, e.g., A. Burnell, Elem. of So.-Ind. Palæogr., p. 16) appear to do that the Śrīharsha conquered by the Chālukyas is Hīwen-Thang's and Bāma's friend, Harṣavardhana of Thānner. The question requires reconsideration, as the dates will not fit, and correct this version of the manner in which Dantidurga lost his life and Kṛiṣhṇa succeeded to the throne. It seems to me evident that, as it has happened so frequently in the Rajput families of India, the younger branch of the family ousted the elder one.

From the last line of the grant No. 1 we learn that Dantidurga was also called Vālīabha. The name may be translated 'he whose protection elephants are,' or 'he who is like an elephant that resembles a fort or a suit of armour. The same plate mentions two birudas or gajānamas of this prince,—Prithivikullabha and Khadgādālokha (?) The former, 'husband of the earth,' is a general title common to many kings. The reading of the latter is doubtful; the facsimile has a nonsensical form Khadgādālokha, which Bīl Gangādīrah has changed into Khadgādālkha.

The fifth king, Kṛiṣhṇa I., whose relation to his predecessor and accession to the throne have already been discussed, was likewise a ruler of great distinction. Two grants, Nos. 2 and 3, place him, for this reason, at the head of their enumeration, and most have something particular to relate regarding him. From grants Nos. 2, 3 (v. 3), and 4 (v. 5) it appears that he continued the work of Dantidurga, and further humbled the Chālukyas. No. 4, v. 10, also states that "he changed to a deer the great bow (mahāvārīha), which was taken with an itching for the battle, and inspired by valour flashed his bow-tusk." § As the bow is the cognizance of the Chālukyas, it is probable that this verse also refers to the defeat of a Chālukya prince, not of a person called Mahāvārīha. The same grant, vv. 11-13, connects him with the hill of Elāpurā, where he seems to have built a fort and a splendid temple of Śiva.|| Nos. 2 and 3 mention that he bore the biruda Vālīabha. His accession to the throne may be placed about 755 A.D., and, as he was the paternal uncle of his predecessor, he cannot have ruled very long. If we allow him ten years, until 765, that will be quite as much as is probable.

After him ruled successively his two sons,

* See, e.g., Vikramāditya-charitra, p. 28, note.

† I must add that I do not feel as certain as most of my colleagues (see, e.g., A. Burnell, Elem. of So.-Ind. Palæogr., p. 16) appear to do that the Śrīharsha conquered by the Chālukyas is Hīwen-Thang's and Bāma's friend, Harṣavardhana of Thānner. The question requires reconsideration, as the dates will not fit, and correct this version of the manner in which Dantidurga lost his life and Kṛiṣhṇa succeeded to the throne. It seems to me evident that, as it has happened so frequently in the Rajput families of India, the younger branch of the family ousted the elder one.

† I must add that I do not feel as certain as most of my colleagues (see, e.g., A. Burnell, Elem. of So.-Ind. Palæogr., p. 16) appear to do that the Śrīharsha conquered by the Chālukyas is Hīwen-Thang's and Bāma's friend, Harṣavardhana of Thānner. The question requires reconsideration, as the dates will not fit, and correct this version of the manner in which Dantidurga lost his life and Kṛiṣhṇa succeeded to the throne. It seems to me evident that, as it has happened so frequently in the Rajput families of India, the younger branch of the family ousted the elder one.

† Compare my remarks on the subject,—Vikramāditya-charitra, p. 37, note.

§ This translation differs from that given by Pāṇḍit Sārādaprasādha, who, as usual, had only a very dim idea of the meaning of his text.

|| V. 11 has been badly deciphered or is corrupt.
Govinda II and Dhruva. The only particular information which we receive about the former is that he also bore the surname Valla-

bha. Three grants, Nos. 2, 3, and 4, do not mention his name at all; hence it may be inferred that he did not reign long, and was not particularly distinguished.

If my view of the interpretation of v. 5 of Nos. 2 and 3 is correct, Govinda II. was dethroned by this younger brother, who appears to have been a much greater ruler and warrior.

This king, the seventh from Govinda I., is called Dhruva, ‘the constant,’ in grants Nos. 4 and 5; while he appears under the appellation Nirupama, ‘the incomparable,’ in Nos. 6, 8, and 9. In No. 2 he is called Nirupama and Pauru, while No. 3 reads clearly Dhruva instead of Pauru. The preservation of this form is the first important service which the grant (No. 6) renders to the history of the Rashtrakutas.

Both Nos. 2 (v. 6) and 3 (v. 6) state that he conquered and imprisoned a king called Gangā, and that (v. 7) he dispossessed a ruler named Vata or of Vata, who had conquered the kingdom of Gangā, and that he drove him into the desert of Marvad. From the mention of Gangā it is clear that Vata’s paternal realm must have been situated in Central India. Our grant No. 3 (v. 7) states that he also conquered the Pālava king in the south.

The same two grants show also that Dhruva-Nirupama had another būrada, Kali vallabha, ‘the beloved of the Kali age’ (Nos. 2, v. 8, 3, v. 9), and a third, Dhāravarsha, as his son and successor, is said to “meditate on the feet of the supreme lord,” i.e., “the illustrious Dhāravarsha.” The phrase pūddhavādyam, “meditating on the feet of,” is no doubt ambiguous, and the subject of the meditation is in other cases sometimes a spiritual guest, and sometimes a lord paramount. But the epithets given to Dhāravarsha show that he was not a priest, and he cannot have been a lord paramount, because these Rāthors acknowledged none. It is, therefore, not doubtful that Govinda’s father is meant. Another name, Samuddra, which the translation of No. 6 gives to Dhruva, is nothing but the result of a mistake. As the reign of Govinda II. was probably of short duration, Dhruva-Nirupama’s accession to the gīta may be placed about 770 A.D.

The next king, Dhruva-Nirupama’s son, is called Govinda III. in Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5, Jagattungā in Nos. 6, 8, and 9, and Jagaduddrana in No. 9. As the latter two names are merely bīradas, Jagattunga meaning ‘the world-exalted,’ and Jagaduddran ‘the Siva, i.e. Supreme lord of the world,’ I do not hesitate to assume that they belong to Govinda III. in order to express the high position which he occupied. But I must admit that any one who is hypercritically inclined may contend that Jagattunga was a third son of Dhruva-Nirupama, who succeeded his brother Govinda III. Govinda III. seems to have been the most eminent prince of the dynasty.

Immediately after his succession to the throne he had to fight a confederacy of twelve kings, who assailed the supremacy of the Rashtrakutas (No. 2, v. 11, No. 3, v. 13, No. 5, v. 27). Grant No. 5 names Stamba as their chief. The result of the contest was that “Govinda made their laurel pale, as the Sutkara fire extinguishes the twelve suns that shine at the end of a kalpa.” After he had subdued these enemies, he released king Gangā, whom his successors, Govinda (II.) and Dhruva, Nos. 6, 8, and 9 call them Govinda (II.) and Nirupama. An argument tends to show that Dhruva is a corruption of Dhruvavaha that is in Nos. 2 and 3 he is twice called emphatically Dhruva-rasa and Dhruva-prasāda, “the constant.” Possible the ruler of the Vatsa country may be meant. His capital was Kashabhō, the modern Bhamo. § It ought also to be noted that most of the kings of this dynasty seem to have had one būrada ending in va-rha. Thus, besides the Amoghabhārata and Akkībha-

rava of Nos. 6, 8, and 9, we find a Govinda III. called Prabha- vārshā, Karka of Bharoch, Sva- na- vārshā, Govinda of Bharoch Prabhítavarsha, and Akkībha-

rava of Nos. 6, 8, and 9, and a third, Dhāravarsha, as his son and successor is said to “meditate on the feet of the supreme lord,” i.e., “the illustrious Dhāravarsha.” The phrase pūddhavādyam, “meditating on the feet of,” is no doubt ambiguous, and the subject of the meditation is in other cases sometimes a spiritual guest, and sometimes a lord paramount. But the epithets given to Dhāravarsha show that he was not a priest, and he cannot have been a lord paramount, because these Rāthors acknowledged none. It is, therefore, not doubtful that Govinda’s father is meant. Another name, Samuddra, which the translation of No. 6 gives to Dhruva, is nothing but the result of a mistake. As the reign of Govinda II. was probably of short duration, Dhruva-Nirupama’s accession to the gīta may be placed about 770 A.D.

The next king, Dhruva-Nirupama’s son, is called Govinda III. in Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5, Jagattungā in Nos. 6, 8, and 9, and Jagaduddrana in No. 9. As the latter two names are merely bīradas, Jagattunga meaning ‘the world-exalted,’ and Jagaduddran ‘the Siva, i.e. Supreme lord of the world,’ I do not hesitate to assume that they belong to Govinda III. in order to express the high position which he occupied. But I must admit that any one who is hypercritically inclined may contend that Jagattunga was a third son of Dhruva-Nirupama, who succeeded his brother Govinda III. Govinda III. seems to have been the most eminent prince of the dynasty. Immediately after his succession to the throne he had to fight a confederacy of twelve kings, who assailed the supremacy of the Rashtrakutas (No. 2, v. 11, No. 3, v. 13, No. 5, v. 27). Grant No. 5 names Stamba as their chief. The result of the contest was that “Govinda made their laurel pale, as the Sutkara fire extinguishes the twelve suns that shine at the end of a kalpa.” After he had subdued these enemies, he released king Gangā, whom his successors, Govinda (II.) and Dhruva, Nos. 6, 8, and 9 call them Govinda (II.) and Nirupama. An argument tends to show that Dhruva is a corruption of Dhruvavaha that is in Nos. 2 and 3 he is twice called emphatically Dhruva-rasa and Dhruva-prasāda, “the constant.” Possible the ruler of the Vatsa country may be meant. His capital was Kashabhō, the modern Bhamo. § It ought also to be noted that most of the kings of this dynasty seem to have had one būrada ending in va-rha. Thus, besides the Amoghabhārata and Akkībha-
father had imprisoned, "from the prolonged pain of his fetters." But Ganga again opposed his benefactor, and had again to be reduced to obedience (No. 2, v. 12, No. 3, v. 14) and to be imprisoned.

Our grant (No. 3) describes his next exploits as follows (vv. 15-18):—He undertook an expedition against the Gurjara king, who fled at his approach, "as the clouds disappear on the approach of the autumnal season." Next he received the submission of the ' politic' ruler of Malava, who, by the study of the Nītīśāstra had learnt to form a just estimate of his own strength. Then, on his reaching the slopes of the Vindhya hills, a king called Māraśāvra hastened to offer him presents. Finally at his approach, as the clouds disappear on his approach, the Gurjaras, which is of the last importance for the history of Gujarat, has been left out. This one piece of information forms the connecting link between several other scraps of information regarding the history of Gujarat. Firstly, we know from the grants of Jayabhāja dated Vikrama 486, and of Daṇḍa II., dated Saṅka 380, 384, 400, and 417, that during the fifth century A.D. Central Gujarat was governed by a dynasty of Gurjara kings, who had their capital at Nāndipura, a fort once situated close to the Jindeschvar gate. From Hiwen Thsang we learn that further north a Gurjara kingdom existed in the seventh century, the capital of which was Pilmolō, the modern Bhimaśālā, in Southern Marvāc, just across the Pahlanpur frontier. The grants of the Gurjara Rākhors, Nos. 4 and 5, finally inform us that Govinda III. conquered "the realm of the ruler of Lāṭa (the region between the Mahā and the Teptā, and between the sea and the Sahyādri), and made it over to his brother Indra, some time before the year 912. If we now read in the Rādhanpur grant (No. 8) that the same Govinda III. conquered or drove into flight the Gurjara, while on the same expedition he afterwards received the submission of the king of Malava, and a visit from king Maṛaśāvra on the slopes of the Vindhyas, we are, I think, justified in arranging these facts in the following manner:—

Govinda III. advanced from the highlands of the Dekhan by the pass of Bāndora or by that of Dharapur into the districts which are now called Southern Gujarat, and which were formerly considered the northernmost part of the Kōṅkāṇa. Next he crossed the Teptā and invaded the Lāṭa, and took this country from the Gurjāras, driving them northwards. After disposing of them, he turned his attention to Malava. This country he may have reached, in case he did not pursue the Gurjāras as far as Bhīmārā, by the Dohad-Dāhār or Harol-Rādām routes. If he did march upon and occupy the Gurjara capital, he had to take the Idar-Dungarpur or the Komalmer pass through the Aravalī. He must next have marched right across Malava in order to reach the Vindhyas. Probably he crossed their western portion as he returned to his Dekhan home. It is purely owing to the Rādhanpur plate that we are able to give this sketch of Govinda's great expedition to the west, and that we can at last connect two hitherto detached pieces of the history of Gujarat, the Gurjara and the Rākhor periods.

After Govinda had passed the rainy season at Sribhavana, he marched to the banks of the Tungabhādrā (No. 2, v. 15, No. 3, v. 18) and again subdued the Pallavas, whom his father had conquered already, and "whose wealth was resting in his hands also." He, apparently, had to undertake an expedition against a foe who, though formerly humbled and made tributary, had again begun to lift his head. Finally he ordered the lord of Vengi (No. 2, v. 16, No. 3, v. 19) into his presence, and made him assist in building or fortifying a city. Vengi is the ancient name of the eastern coast between the mouths of the Godavari and Krishna. The tract which Govinda III. either temporarily or permanently brought under his sway extends therefore from the western to the eastern coast, and from the Marvāc desert and the Vindhyas in the north to beyond the Tungabhādrā in the south. His dominions that Bhics of Dāhā called Srimālī—Bhillamālī because its people allowed the poet Magha to die in want. Several cases now met with in Gujarāc and Māṇipura call themselves, from the first form, Srimālī.
were certainly very considerable, and he fully
deserves his titles, Jagattunga or Jagad-
drudra. Govinda bore, besides those two
biridas, three others,—Prithivallabha,
‘the husband of the earth’ (Nos. 2, 3, 4, and
5); Srivallabha, ‘the husband of For-
tune’ (No. 3); and Prabhutavarsa, ‘the
showerer of prodigious (wealth)’ (Nos. 2 and
3). Both his grants are dated from Mayurak-
hanqdi (No. 3), or Mayurakhinji (No.
2),—no doubt the modern Morkhedi, a
hill-fort north of Van, in the Nasik district.
It does not seem likely to me that this place was his
capital, though it may have been an occasional
place of residence. For Indian princes do not
usually govern their dominions from lonely
forts.

Govinda’s grants are both dated Saka 730,
or 698-9 a.d., and it is probable that he did not
reign much longer. For, firstly, the number
of his wars which the grants mention shows that
he must have reigned a good many years before
they were issued. Secondly, the manner in
which the grant of his nephew Karku (No. 4)
speaks of him indicates that he was dead at
the time of its issue, i.e. Saka 734, or a.d.
813-14.

We shall probably not go far wrong if we
place the end of his reign in 810 a.d. His ac-
cession to the throne may be put about 785 a.d.

Not much is known regarding Govinda III’s
successor, his son Amoghavarsha (No. 6,
v. 9, No. 8, v. 3, No. 9, v. 3). We do not even
know his real name. For Amoghavarsha, ‘he
who showers not in vain,’ is nothing but a birida.
But the one fact which No 8 mentions, viz. that his capital was at Manyakhetan, the modern Malkhed, in the Nasik’s territory, is of
great importance. For it permits the identifi-
cation of the Dekhani Rathors with the Bal-
haras of the Muhammadan geographers of the
tenth century. This identification has already
been proposed by Dr. Bhad Dayji, who cor-
rectly perceived that Tod’s wild guess about
the Balakari, or Valabhja, and Reinann’s
identification with Malavarja, could not stand.
The arguments in favour of Dr. Bhad Dayji’s
view are as follows:—Both Ibn Khordahbct

* This, not Manyakhatta, is the correct form of the
name; see S. P. Pandit, Ind. Ant. vol. i. p. 206, and the
footnotes of grant No. 6.
† Elliott, The History of India by its own Historians,
vol. i. p. 18.

and Masudi,† allege that Ballara meant ‘king
of kings,’ and was a title which all kings of the
dynasty bore. The corresponding Sanskrit
word can only have been Bhalladraka, which
means ‘lord,’ or ‘supreme ruler.’ Now, as
grants Nos. 2, 3, 6, 7, and 8 show, all the kings
of the Rathor dynasty affected the title pras,
pr-bhalladraka, ‘supreme lord.’ Secondly, the
capital of the Ballbara is stated to have been
Mankir. This word resembles Manyakhetana,
the name of the capital of Amogha Varsha and
of his successors,§ very closely, and it is abso-
lutely identical with the Prakrit form Mank-
ched or Mankher, which must have preceded
the modern form Malkhed. The identity of
the two towns is further proved by the state-
m est that Mankir was the great centre of
India, and situated 80 farsungs, or 610 miles,
from the sea. A glance at the map will
show that Malkhed lies almost exactly in the
middle, between the western and eastern seas.
Its distance from the western coast is, as the
crow flies, about 350 miles. But if we assume
that Masudi thought not of the straight line
from the western sea, but of the distance from
one of the northern ports to which the Muham-
dmadans chiefly traded, say Khambay or Bhurco,
his estimate of the distance is correct. There
is another point in his notes on the town
which may be used to support this identifi-
cation. He says that the language spoken at
Mankir is ‘the Kiriya, called so after the
country Kira.’ The word kira, it is true, is
not easily explained. For in Sanskrit kira
means ‘a parrot,’ and its plural is a name of the
Kasimirans. But with a (for the Arabic(al-
apphabet) very slight change of the diacritical
points we may read Kana, i.e. Kana ja =
Kana, for Kira, i.e. for sara; and this emendation
exactly fits Malkhed, which lies just on the
border of the Kanarese-speaking
country.|| A third argument for the identity of
the Rathors with the Balharas of Mankir is
the circumstance that while the Muhammadan
writers of the ninth and tenth centuries state
that the great prince of India, the Ballarasa,
resides at Mankir, Al Idrisi in the twelfth
century asserts that Nahrwalla was his seat.

‡ Elliott, ibid. 10-24.
§ Manyakhetana is also named as the seat of the king in
grants Nos. 6, 7, and 8.
We know from the inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇa and from grant No. 9 that the star of the Rāthors of Mālκhed set in the last quarter of the tenth century, and that Taīlapa (973-1008 A.D.) humbled them to the dust, and reestablished the supremacy of the Chalukyas in the Dekhan. At the same time the Chalukyas of Anhilvāḍ (Naṅrwalla) rose to importance in the latter half of the eleventh and in the twelfth century, under Jayaśirīḥa Siddhārījī and his still greater successor Kumārapāla; and these princes, too, assumed the title parama-bhattaraka.

But to return to Amoghavarsha. It is not clear from the inscriptions if he built Manyakheta. I rather think that Manyakheta is the unnamed town which the king of Vengi fortified for Govinda III. But it seems probable that Amoghavarsha was the first Rāthor who made the place his capital. The statements of the Muhammadans about the Bālharas of the eighth century allow us to infer that during his reign the power and extent of the Rāthor empire remained as great as under his father. The end of his reign may be placed about 835 A.D.

Amoghavarsha's successor is named Akalavarsa. There can be no doubt that the real name of this prince also is unknown—A kāla¬vārsh a, 'he who showers (gifts) out of season (as well as in season),' being merely an honorific title or biruda. The inscriptions give no details regarding his reign. Who really succeeded this prince is somewhat doubtful. The statements of grants Nos. 6, 8, and 9 are apparently not quite in harmony. I think, however, that if we obtained a good facsimile of the Kardā plate the difficulty would be solved. As this is not within my reach, and, as I learn that a new grant of one of the later Rāthors has recently been discovered and will be shortly published by Professor Bhātādkar, I pass over the remaining princes of the dynasty. I will merely remark that Kakkala, who issued grant No. 8, is the last prince of the Manyakheta dynasty. Grant No. 9, v. 9, states distinctly that he was the Rāthor whom Taīlapa conquered. No. 8, Kakkala's own grant, is dated in 978 A.D., the very year of Tailapa's accession to the throne. Kakkala's fall must have come soon after.

Transcript.

Plate I.

(1) न स गोव्यादेशसा धाम यन्त्रिकमलसः क्रत: [1] हरभ यस्य कानेन्द्रलक्या कमलुकत: [1111]
नृषेश्वरहुद्वरस्प्रतराजः

(2) मयःकौस्तुशयधामकंडेः [1] सत्यालोतो विपुलचक्रिनिजिवि च जिलविकोणचरत: [8]

(3) वि कृष्णराजः: [1112] पदरवसकम्बराधिलहमहानुमुक्तविहितवातु दुलवादाष्टेश्वरैरवनकिविचं भा

(4) राजप्रिया [1] यथारूक्ताक्षुष्णनून्धिबुधावताप्रयो बारिष्टेश्वरमन्दरस्तलोम्भितमिचारादकः
छानावल: [1111]

(5) तस्याभूतनय: प्रतापविराजस्यान्तिदिस्मलः चंड्राषोः: सदृशोपचण्डकः: प्रव्याक्षेतरातः:
छानावल: [1111] चारोः

(6) वर्जयानो विपिंचनावतानाब्रुजश्रीरि हरिवण्डः योऽदीमानि दिशाविकासु�

(7) जातियामलाया लक्ष्मया समेतोपि सं यथोरितेः भ्रमणल्पि दिपाकरेऽ न कावी त [1]
कम्पंखितविद्यानांसां

(8) तत्वतृतो यस्यन्यदानापिकां दानं वील मुललित: स्वमधु घटस्तिद्वातन्निधान: [1111]
बनेर्यं आदु विनितः

¶ The same statement is made in the Chalukya-Miraj grant, v. 37, where the name is given as Karkara. I suspect that its Sanskrit form was Karkarakā.
Plate II A.

1. कथप्: क्रत्यसस्तुदृश दोननं यथोदयता मुकारारविभुविभासवता। प्रत्यथिन्यथिनयः।

2. विमूःकपपद्यात्मकोपवसुद्धा प्रपात्यमकोपवसुद्धा। चतुर्विंद्रतपस्यमेव।

3. विनृवधात्रति रिता लया कौटिका किमाजय मया हृतबि पितरं दुर्य दोधेय पौधात्।

4. विनृवधात्रति वस्वातित्वमत्तमात्मकोपवसुद्धा। चतुर्विंद्रतपस्यमेव नानारम्यचित्यः।

5. विनृवधात्रति वस्वातित्वमत्तमात्मकोपवसुद्धा। चतुर्विंद्रतपस्यमेव नानारम्यचित्यः।

एकत्रित कथाकित्वे यथाप्रति वस्वातित्वमत्तमात्मकोपवसुद्धा। चतुर्विंद्रतपस्यमेव नानारम्यचित्यः।

† L. 10, aksharas 4-10, as well as the last, are very indistinct on the plate. L. 12, read प्रयांतववायुः। L. 15, read चन्द्रवन। L. 16, read पुघिविश्व। L. 17, read शिवस्व। L. 18. The restoration has been made according to the Van Dindorf grant.
GRANT OF GOYINDA III, RATHOR.

Plate II B.

1. The sign used for 20 at the end of the Prafasb of the grant is ढ. It slightly differs from the form of the syllable used otherwise in the grant. The latter is written ढ. It is the only instance of the syllabic notation of numerals hitherto observed on Rathor grants. Read ढ.

1. The restoration of अ is made according to the Van Dijck plate. L. 14, read श्रवणान। L. 15, read ध्वन्नान। L. 16, read निकर्ण। L. 17, read आदिकर। L. 18, Dele Viśarga after ष्ट्य, or write ष्ट्य। L. 19, read यद्विग्रहेऽ। The insertion of य in the word यद्विग्रहेऽ is required by the metre and by the sense.

1. L. 8, read विश्वासवास्वनामान। L. 11, read विश्वासवास्वन। L. 13, The restoration of न is made according to the Van Dijck plate. L. 14, read श्रवणान। L. 15, read ध्वन्नान। L. 16, read निकर्ण। L. 17, read आदिकर। L. 18, Dele Viśarga after ष्ट्य, or write ष्ट्य। L. 19, read यद्विग्रहेऽ। The insertion of य in the word यद्विग्रहेऽ is required by the metre and by the sense.

1. L. 20, read विश्वासवास्वनामान। L. 11, read विश्वासवास्वन। L. 13, The restoration of न is made according to the Van Dijck plate. L. 14, read श्रवणान। L. 15, read ध्वन्नान। L. 16, read निकर्ण। L. 17, read आदिकर। L. 18, Dele Viśarga after ष्ट्य, or write ष्ट्य। L. 19, read यद्विग्रहेऽ। The insertion of य in the word यद्विग्रहेऽ is required by the metre and by the sense.
Translation.

1. Oh! May he protect you, the loins on whose navel has been made the dwelling-place of Brahma and Han, whose forehead is adorned by the lovely moon-sickle.

2. There was a truthful king on earth called Krishnaraj a, whose throat is hidden by the twining arms of Fortune and by the far-reaching rays of the royal insignia, which glittered on his broad chest, just as Krishna's throat is hidden by the twining arms of Lakshmi and the far-reaching rays of the Kansthi-bha, who, though he conquered a host of foes with his large army, lived a pure (akrishna) life.

3. He (who was also called) V allabha, and who was surrounded by a large crowd of exceedingly wise (Pandit, vibhulka), in sport and swiftly tore Fortune (lakshmi) from the ocean, which derives lustre from all the great mountains that, afraid of the loss of their wings, sought its protection (japakshachehhedixbh^driy), and which contains many pure resplendent gems (makara-vimukthakhidjabhjuktaranitr^iti), just as Mount Manurtha, surrounded by a large crowd of immortals (vibhulka), tore the goddess of Fortune (lakshmi) from the ocean, which derives lustre from all the great mountains that, afraid of the loss of their wings, sought its protection (japakshachehhedixbh^driy), and which contains various pure resplendent jewels (makara-vimukthakhidjabhjuktaranitr^iti).

4. To him was born a son, (called) Dhora, whose only wealth was fortitude; who, though in conquering the universe by the expansion of his fierceness he resembled the god with the fierce rays, still gladdened the earth by the lightness of his taxes (mhandahihiraia), [while the sun torments it by the fierceness of its rays (cutndakarata)], who destroyed the beauty of the luscious faces of the wives of his enemies, whose fame the nymphs that guard the quarters envied. Mr. Vasumati, a native of the Poona district, has kindly furnished me with a copy of this verse, which is difficult to conquer for others (durlanghydakarata), and which contains many pure resplendent gems (makara-vimukthakhidjabhjuktaranitr^iti), just as Mount Manurtha, surrounded by a large crowd of immortals (vibhulka), tore the goddess of Fortune (lakshmi) from the ocean, which derives lustre from all the great mountains that, afraid of the loss of their wings, sought its protection (japakshachehhedixbh^driy), and which contains various pure resplendent jewels (makara-vimukthakhidjabhjuktaranitr^iti).

Mr. Wathen's Pandit has not seen all the poetical finesses which it contains, The double meaning of faimmm has escaped him entirely. Mr. Wathen's Pandit has misunderstood this verse also, which likewise stands third on the Van Dindor plates.—-Gems, i.e. illustrious princes.
of the universe wove into pearl strings and ever wore.||

5. Though he was endowed with a splendour acquired by a rebellion against his elder brother (jyeshtholRlanghaRana), still (that splendour) was pure and, established in a faultless realm (nirmala mandala), he was never disfigured by any blot (doshkara), [and he thus resembled and surpassed the moon that is endowed with a pure splendour after passing the constellation Jyeshtha, and is surrounded by a spotless halo (nirmala mandala), but always disfigured by a blot (doshkara)]. Seeing his liberality, which surpassed the liberality (dana) of all other men, the guardian elephants of the quarters that are covered with streams of ichor (dana) issuing from beneath their ears, have placed themselves, deeply ashamed, as it were, at the extremities of the four regions of the universe.†

6. Seeing that he (Dhora) had conquered impetuous Ganga, who, forsooth, had not been vanquished by others, who excelled through venerable regal qualities, who had conquered the world and possessed a pride not common to others, he was never disfigured by a halo. Wathen's readings of the Van Dindori plates, v. 7, are evidently caused by mistakes of the translators. Mr. Wathen's translation is at utter failure, which partly is owing to the misreading of the first words, and partly to his not having seen that Ganga is the name of the king who is mentioned below,—v. 13 Van Dindori, and v. 14 Rákhanpur. I do not think that any allusion to the "flood of the Ganges" is intended. The reading of our plate, gatyogan, is decidedly against the supposition that a pun is intended.

† Metre śrādālavikṛśita. Vāha, which I have translated by 'cavalry,' may possibly mean 'army.' The dictionaries give neither meaning. But the sense of the passage cannot be doubtful. Gāndha, which I have rendered by 'bravery,' is not mentioned in this sense in the dictionaries: but its synonym gṛha is explained by varanīya.

† Metre śrādālavikṛśita. The verse is identical with Van Dindori 5, though Mr. W. S. Wathen's and my renderings differ very considerably. There are only two points in his version which require to be noticed. Firstly, it is possible to translate with him jyeshtholRlanghaRana, 'acquired by overcoming the goddess jyeshtha or Mṛdhara, which is represented as the elder sister of Fortune. But I reject this translation, because the contrast to amalayd, 'nevertheless' pure,' requires that the fortune of the king should owe its origin to a blamable act. The emphatic statement that Dhora was 'never disfigured by any blemish' also favours this explanation. In the second half-verse jmādābhāratamānubhite, 'covered by streams of ichor issuing from beneath their ears, can also be referred to the king, and be translated by 'endowed with a liberality inferior to that of king Karva.' But I am unable to stuff this into the translation. Mr. W. S. Wathen's rendering has had a dim idea of both these renderings. The natural phenomenon which suggested the first series of puns is that after the month or season of Jeth, in the rainy season, the moon is constantly surrounded by a halo. Wathen's varīs lectiones are misreadings.

8. Swiftly driving Vaṭarājā, who was intoxicated with the wealth of the kingdom of Gauḍa that he had easily acquired, on an evil road into the heart of Māru (land), he took from him not only the two royal parasols of Gauḍa, resplendent like the rays of the autumnal moon, but also, at the same moment, his fame, that had reached the extremities of the universe.†

9. Wonderful it is how Niṟupama came to be (called) Kalivallabha ('the beloved of the Kaliguna'), since by his pure life he drove Kali, who had gained a firm footing, swiftly far away, and entirely restored on earth the splendour of the (golden) Kṛita age.§

10. From that constant Niṟupama sprang a son, who is honoured by good men, called Gavindarājā, who may be likened to the moon produced from the ocean, since he was pure in mind, just as the moon is pure in splendour: since his feet were touched by the heads of the greatest princes, just as the rays of the moon touch the proud head of the supreme lord (Siva); and since he was the favourite of Fortune (padmānandakarā), just as the moon gladdens the night-lotuses; who also resembles the sun that comes from the lofty mountain of the east, since he is endowed with valour (prādaya), just as the sun is possessed of exceeding heat (prādaya); and since he is always prosperous (aītyodaya), just as the sun rises daily (aītyodaya).|
11. When that prince, the abode of all good qualities, was born, the family of the Rāṣṭrakūtas became unconquerable to its foes, just as the Yādava race after the birth of the foe of Madhu. He clearly made his foes and his dependants resemble each other, since in consequence of his slaying (ātāvā) the former were made acquainted with the extremities of the regions (drishtāvālakhaṇyaḥ), were annihilated (udāhātāh), and were made to leave their head and their ornaments (mukti-dhāraṇāvahābhaśkātalāḥ), and (the latter) by means of his liberality (ātāvā) were made to see the limits of their desires (drishtāvālakhaṇyaḥ), were made proud (muktahārav i) and were made to leave their (bodhi), were adorned with pearl necklaces (mukti-dhāraṇāvahābhaśkātalāḥ).

12. When his father, seeing his superhuman form fitted like that of Kṛṣṇa to protect the world from ruin, offered him the sole supremacy for fame, (Govinda,) resembling the world-destroyer heaven, and nothing was left of him but his means of superior valour, twelve famous kings of his relations, whose fortune was increasing, and who (was born under) an auspicious constellation, approaching with arrows placed on the bow (and) directed against him, he fled in fear to some (unknown hiding-place), so that even in his dreams he had no hope of giving battle; just as the clouds (disappear) at the approach of the autumnal season, which increases the splendour of the Brāhmajīva flowers, which is favourable to the growth of lotuses, and during which the stars shine with particular brilliancy.

16. The politic lord of Mālava, seeing from afar that the only safety for his prosperity lay in submission at (Govinda)'s feet, bowed to him with joined hands. What wise man of small power would engage in a desperate conflict with a powerful (antagonist)? For the result of (a study of the rules of) polity is that one learns to estimate accurately one's own and the enemy's strength.

17. Prince Mānasvarva, learning through his spies that (Govinda) had pitched his camp on the slopes of the Vindhyā hills, and considering him as already within his country, quickly went, impelled by fear, to satisfy his desires with excellent heirlooms (such as he had) not before obtained, and (to worship) his feet by prostrations.

nevertheless, in his great pride, opposed him, he conquered him by a shower (of arrows), in less time than was required to observe a dawn on his lofty brow, and swiftly set down him again.†

15. When the Gūjara (king) saw that (Govinda), the protector of the lives and wealth of his relations, whose fortune was increasing, and who (was born under) an auspicious constellation, approaching with arrows placed on the bow (and) directed against him, he fled in fear to some (unknown hiding-place), so that even in his dreams he had no hope of giving battle; just as the clouds (disappear) at the approach of the autumnal season, which increases the splendour of the Brāhmajīva flowers, which is favourable to the growth of lotuses, and during which the stars shine with particular brilliancy.§
18. Having passed the rainy season, during which the sky is covered by dense clouds, at Śrībhāvanā, he marched thence with his army to the banks of Tūngaḥaḍrā. Tarrying there, he whose locks are submissive again drew towards himself, by showers (of arrows) even—oh, wonder!—the entire wealth of the Pālaivas, though he already held it in his hand.*

19. In obedience to one brief half-sentence which (Govinda) sent by the mouth of his messenger, the lord of Vēnūgi came thither and worked (for him) like a servant without cessation, desiring his own welfare. If the external circumvallation raised by him for his master has not stuck to the summit of the heavens, then the star-crowds above-head wear it as their pearl-garland.†

20. Out of fear many hostile kings, their heads (bowing, and) adorned by their hands joined in supplication, bent on doing service to him, came to his two feet for protection. Those feet were not so much ornamented by priceless jewels, the gifts of various (princes), as by his word “Fear not,” which was famed for its trustworthiness.‡

21. He,§ perceiving this life to be unstable like the wind or the lightning, and worthless, has effected this gift to a Brahman, which is most meritorious because it consists of a grant of land.

And he, the supreme lord, the supreme ruler of the kings of kings, the husband of the earth, the illustrious prince Śrīvallabha, (called also) Prabhūtavarsaḥ, who meditates on the feet of the supreme lord, the supreme ruler of the kings of kings, the illustrious Dhāravardhādeva, being in good health, (thus) admonishes all rulers of provinces, rulers of zillas, heads of villages, officials, officers, and persons in authority, aldermen, and all others, whatsoever their connexion (with his government) may be:

“Be it known to you that, residing at Śrī Māyārakahandī, have given to-day—after having bathed, and confirming the gift by a libation of water—on the new moon of the month Śrīvaṣa, when an eclipse of the sun took place, in the year (of the Brāhmapati cycle) called Sarvajīt,|| after seven hundred and thirty years from the time of the Śaka king had passed, for the increase of my own and my parents’ spiritual merit and fame both in this world and in the next, the village of Ratajñaṇa, situated in the Rāsiyana bhūki,¶—the boundaries of which are to the east the river Śīhā,*, to the south Vavulālā, to the west Miriyathana, and to the north the village of Vāḍaḥa,—together with . . . . , together with . . . . together with the (right of) fine and (deciding cases arising out of) the ten flaws, together with its natural and adventitious produce, together with the right of forced labour, and together with its taxes in grain and gold, formerly granted gifts to gods and Brahmans being excluded, which is not to be entered by irregular or regular soldiers, nor to be meddled with by royal officers, to Parameśvarabhaṭṭa the son of Chandrīyamama-Gahiyaśīhasa and the grandson of Nāgasiyabhaṭṭa, who dwells at Tīgambi, is one of the Trīdās of that place, studies the Taiviviyaaveda, and belongs to the Bhāravājā gotra,† as well as to the chief Brahmans and forty Mahājānas, viz. Anantavaiṣṇabhaṭṭa, Vīhūduveḥagha (?), Indramatharag absti, Sarvaiḥabhaṭṭa, Chandaribhaṭṭa, Krisnānagaiḥabhaṭṭa, Mādhava-vairayauhuvitapudeva, Nōyabhaṭṭa (?), Rāyebhaṭṭa, and others—the same village being to be enjoyed by his sons, grandsons, and their lineal descendants as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers, and the hills endure,—according to the reasoning from the familiar instance of the ground and the clefts therein,—for defraying the cost of Bailey, Charu, and Vaiṣvedev offerings, of an Agnikotra, and the five great sacrifices, &c.

* Metro Śāradā. Compare Vaiśi Diodoro, v. 14. The plain meaning of the second half of the verse is that Govinda again subjected and plundered the Pālaivas, whom his father had already subdued; compare above, v. 7.
† Metro Śāradā. Vāhākāti, which I translate by ‘external,’ is not to be traced elsewhere. It seems to be a compound of vāhā and kāti. The accusative vāhākāti is ungrammatical. The poet seems to have employed it in order to avoid a hiatus. The meaning of the whole verse is that the king of Vēnūgi built for Govinda the walls of a town or fort, which were exceedingly high.
‡ Metro Śāradā. § Metro Āryā.
¶ The year Sarvajīt corresponds to Śaka 731.
† Probably the modern Bašt, in the Ahmadnagar collectorate, which is still the chief town of a taluk.|| Apparently the Śīhā, which joins the Bhāma river.
¶ This passage is somewhat doubtful. The word Rotajñaṇyāvāna is repeated in the text, and the names of the Brahmans and Mahājānas now enumerated stand in the genitive, not in the dative as the names of Parameśvarabhaṭṭa. The village was, therefore, not given to a skedē by them, but they were probably merely allowed to live there. I am not certain that I have correctly divided the string of Telingana names.
PEDIGREE OF THE RATHORS OF MALKHED, OR BALHARAS, FROM ABOUT 660 TO 850 A.D.

I. Govinda I. [A.D. 660.] (Grants 1, 4, 5.)

II. Karka I. [A.D. 685.] (Grants 1, 4, 5.)

III. Indra I. [710 A.D.] (Grants 1, 5.)

IV. a. Dantidurga [A.D. 725-755]. (Grants 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9.)
   b. Dantivarman. (Grant 1.)
   c. Prithivivallabha. (Grant 1.)
   d. Khadhagavalka (?). (Grant 1.)
   Śaka 675.

V. a. Krishna I. [A.D. 755.] (Grants 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9.)
   b. Vallabha.

VI. a. Govinda II. [A.D. 765.] (Grants 1, 6, 8.)
   b. Vallabha. (Grant 5.)

VII. a. Dhrura [A.D. 770]. (Grants 4, 5.)
   b. Dhora [Paura]. (Grants 2, 3.)
   c. Niruparna. (Grants 2, 3, 6, 8, 9.)
   d. Dhāravarsa. (Grants 2, 3.)
   e. Kallivallabha. (Grants 2, 3.)

VIII. a. Govinda [785-810 A.D.], Śaka 730. (Grants 2, 3, 4, 5.)
   b. Prithivivallabha. (Grants 2, 3, 4, 5.)
   c. Śrivallabha. (Grant 3.)
   d. Prabhūtavarsa. (Grants 2, 3.)
   e. Jagattunga. (Grants 6, 8.)
   f. Jagadradra. (Grant 9.)

IX. Amoghavarsha [A.D. 810]. (Grants 6, 8, 9.)

X. Akṣāvarsha [A.D. 835]. (Grants 6, 8, 9.)

&c. &c. down to Kakkala or Karkara, overthrown by Tailapa of Kalyana between 973 and 990.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.

(Continued from p. 32.)

No. XXVII.

I continue with the Chālukyaś of Vatapinagari, or Eadami, and afterwards of Kalyana, of whom I have already given a notice at Vol. V., pp. 67 et seqq.

The present inscription is a copper-plate grant from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection, obtained by him from General Fraser, and a transcription of it is given at p. 19 of Vol. I. of his MS. collection now with me. The original belonged to the Jain Guru, Mahendraśāntayya, of the Bāgam Bāzār at Haidarābād in the Dekkan; it consists of three plates, about 7½" long by 3½" broad. The characters are those of the Cave-alphabet, not yet fully developed into the Old Canarese alphabet, and the language is Sanskrit. The impression does not show whether there is any emblem on the ring connecting the plates.

It records a grant by the Great King Satyārāya, or Pulikēśi II. of my previous notice, in the Śaka year 535.*

This inscription introduces the first uncertainty in the history of the Chālukyaś. For, whereas we find in No. XIII. that Pulikēśi II. was reigning in Śaka 507, we now have the Śaka year 535 spoken of as the third year of his reign. I can only suggest the following explanation of this discrepancy. It is well known that the Western and Eastern Chālukya dynasties were separated in the persons of respectively Pulikēśi II. and his younger

* According to the original, "five hundred and thirty-four years of the Śaka king having elapsed."
COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHÂLUKYA DYNASTY.
DATED ŚAKA 535.  
Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, p 72.
COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHÁLUKYA DYNASTY.
DATED ŚAKA 535.
brother \textit{Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana}. The exact date of the latter has not yet been determined, no inscription of his own time being known of; but, calculating backwards by means of inscriptions which give the duration of the reigns of him and his successors of the Eastern dynasty, Dr. Burnell places it at about A.D. 630, or \textit{Saka} 552. It may well be that the two dynasties were separated in \textit{Saka} 533, and that \textit{Pulikēśi II.} was then installed afresh on the throne of the Western branch of the family, at the same time when his younger brother, after being already united with him in the government as \textit{Yuvardja}, according to the usual custom, was installed as the separate sovereign of the Eastern branch. The expression made use of in line 11 of the present inscription,—"in the third year of my own installation in the sovereignty,"—seems to point to some such ceremony having been gone through, and thus to support this suggestion. And,—the duration of the reign of \textit{Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana} being always recorded as eighteen years,—if we take \textit{Saka} 533 as the starting-point, the computation agrees closely enough with the date otherwise arrived at by Dr. Burnell.

The separation of the two dynasties in the persons of \textit{Pulikēśi II.} and his younger brother is a historical fact, whatever the exact date of the occurrence may be. Accordingly, in future notices I shall speak of the successors of \textit{Pulikēśi III.} as 'the Western Chālukyas,' and of \textit{Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana} and his successors as 'the Eastern Chālukyas.'

\textit{Transcription.}

\textit{First plate.}

\begin{verbatim}
[2] ततोकामातुभि: सन्तमातुजिमिकथितानं कारसिंखानुसारं परिवर्त्यमानं—
[3] सक्रियाणांपर्ययां भगवायामानव्यस्तादसमाधितनदराणां—
[4] घूर्णेयनेयसृकेवति: श्रीकां कलिमकाणां कुलमलकारं (अन्यं)
[5] अष्टेश्वरस्मृतिपदाविभीत्तागताय सहायतां—
[6] पौलिकेश्रिवाहमन्दाराजय: प्रीति: पराकालनवनवायाः(सन)दिपपर्थेः
[7] पतिमन्दिलगतिः विद्युदिकीसितांतंकस्य कोलितमवहमन्दहाः
[8] राजस्य तन्यो नयविविदियुगविभूषणं(भू) बाह्रयं: श्रीस्वमाः

Second plate; first side.

[9] अप्रयतिवीवलमन्दाराजः समरासतसप्तसप्तपरपूपपिपरा—
[10] नयोपवचप्रमेकारामानवाय: सर्वनामाराजाभिषेकसंकरं तृती—
[11] वा वातीपिनगर्मधिविभित्तानं नवद्विमानराजाभिषेकसंकरं तृती—
[12] वा शकुणिनुतिसंकरसंकरे वरुणशिराभिषेक्षयु मुखस्वतिलिङ्ग भाव—
[13] पदामावासयां सूर्यहारणनिमित्तं माताविवेवाराणं सुधाः—
[14] वातयं वासिष्योगोत्रय: तैतिरियां तंगाराधिकारी लोक—
[15] चुबुव्याध्यायोवर्खें (13)कुलनामाराय: वेष्ठश्रमेरंर्यां रौहू—
[16] राज्युर्यां: कदयमामदक्षिणं माकरपिष्को पमाम:

Second plate; second side.

[17] सन्धिः: सोपविनाधिः सुतुः सोपरिकार: पुष्महायवनिन्तः—

† I do not know of any mention of this person in the grants of the Western dynasty; but his elder brother is always mentioned, usually under the name of \textit{Satyārṣaya}. Vallabhāndra, in such of the grants of the Eastern dynasty as trace the genealogy back to Kṛttivārāṇa I., the father of the two brothers. ‡ \textit{So.-Ind. Pal.}, p. 19.
Translation.

Hail! The grandson of the Great King Sātyārāya Śrī-Pālikēśivallabha, whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the glorious Chālikyaśśā, who are of the kindred of Mānavāya which is praised over the whole world, and who are the descendants of Hāriti, and who have been nourished by seven mothers who are the seven mothers of mankind||, and who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity by the favour and protection of Kārttikeya, and who have had all kings made subject to them by the mere sight of the sign of the Boar which they acquired through the favour of the holy Kāravaya,—who is the abode of the power of statesmanship and humility and other good qualities, and who has acquired the second name of ‘Supreme Lord’ by victory over hostile kings who applied themselves to the contest of a hundred battles,—issues his commands to all people:—

"Be it known to you that, five hundred and thirty-four of the years of the Saka king having elapsed, in the third year of my own installation in the sovereignty, on the day of the new-moon of (the month) Bhadra*, in order that my parents may acquire my own religious merit, the village of Mākappi, with its treasures and deposits and major taxes J, to the north of (the village of) Rāskuruki and to the south of the village of Kadappa, has been given by me, while governing (at) the city of Vātāpinagari, with libations of water, for the purpose of celebrating the five great sacrifices§, to Jivēshhaśāramā, whose family-nine, and sometimes sixteen in number. They are figured several times in the sculptures at Elora."

---

* Crest, signet, or seal.

† The computation of this eclipse would be interesting.

§ This form of the name is not of very common occurrence. The other forms are Chalikya, probably the oldest and original form,—Chālikya,—and Chulikya. Tradition,—as evidenced in a stone-tribute inscription at the temple of Lōkāvaramā, at Tanjore in the Madras district—E.I. M.S. L. 612,—states that the Chālikyas spang from the spray of a waterpot (chukka, chulikin, chukka) when Hāriti, who were five tufts of hair on his head, was pouring out a libation to the gods.

The seven divine mothers, or personified energies of the principal deities; viz., Bṛhadā or Bhūmah, Viṣṇuḥard, Māhēśvarī, Kamārī, Vairājī, Indrād, and Chāmaṇā. They are also reckoned as sometimes eight, sometimes seven. They are often called the seven divine mothers, or personified energies of the principal deities; viz., Bṛhadā or Bhūmah, Viṣṇuḥard, Māhēśvarī, Kamārī, Vairājī, Indrād, and Chāmaṇā. They are also reckoned as sometimes eight, sometimes seven. They are often called the seven divine mothers, or personified energies of the principal deities; viz., Bṛhadā or Bhūmah, Viṣṇuḥard, Māhēśvarī, Kamārī, Vairājī, Indrād, and Chāmaṇā.
name is Umbarakhoda, of the kindred of Vasishta and of the school of the Taitquirya, an inhabitant of the city of Tagara, who is acquainted with the four Vedas. This my gift should be recognized and increased by other kings who may come after me. He shall incur the guilt of the five great sins and shall dwell for many thousands of ages in hell, who, through ignorance or because he esteems himself incapable of decay or immortal, may confiscate it; he, who preserves it, shall dwell for the same duration of time in heaven!"

And it has been said by the holy Vyasa, the arranger of the Vedas:—Land has been given, whether by thyself or by another; preservation (of a grant) is better than making a grant! He, who bostows land, enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; he, who revokes land, enjoys happiness in hell; who, through ignorance or because he esteems himself incapable of decay or immortal, may confiscate it; he, who preserves it, shall dwell for many thousands of ages in hell! They, who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black serpents, dwelling in dried-up hollows and shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!

This is a Western Chalukya copper-plate grant from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection, and a transcription of it is given in his MS. collection, which gives Amara as the son of Pulikesi II. and Adityavarma as the son of Amara, and makes Vikramaditya I. the son of Adityavarma and, thus, the grand-son of Pulikesi II. With reference to this discrepancy in the genealogical account, I have to remark,—on the one hand;—1, that, down to the mention of Vikramaditya II., the genealogy only professes to be derived from some unspecified copper-plate grant of earlier date; and 2, that the inscriptions of Vina-yaditya I., the son of Vikramaditya I., which I shall give in another paper, agree with the present in making Vikramaditya I. the son of Pulikesi II., and in omitting any mention of Amara and Adityavarma. And, on the other hand; that, as the reign of Vina-yaditya I. commenced in Saka 602-3, then if only Vikramaditya I. intervened between him and Pulikesi II., there is, taking into consideration the date which is allotted to Pulikesi II. in No. XIII. of this series, a full century occupied, at first sight, only by the two reigns of Pulikesi II. and Vikramaditya I. In line 16 of this inscription, however, we have a distinct indication that Vikramaditya I. did not immediately succeed his father, whoever that father was, but was ousted, for a time. And, if we admit the possibility of this fact of an interruption of the rule of the Chalukyas being due to their having no capable leader by reason of Vikramaditya I. being only of girl), not far from the cave temples of Elora.—En.
tender years at the time of the death of Puli-késá II, and allow that the reign of Puli-késá II. continued till about S. k. a. 550, which is perfectly possible, the lapse of time is sufficiently well accounted for.

In the case of such a discrepancy as the present, between a stone-tablet and a copper-plate grant, I should be inclined, ex cathedra, to allow a preferential authority to the stone-tablet, as being a record of a more public nature and in every way less easy to fabricate. But, in the present instance, we have the concomitant testimony of other copper-plate grants in support of the one under notice. And the stone-tablet, with which it is at variance, professes only to be based upon an earlier copper-plate grant, and consequently is, at the best, of only precisely the same authority as a copper-plate grant; and it has, moreover, all the style of being a touched-up and amplified version of the original.

Accordingly, I accept Vikramádiyá I. as the son, and not the grandson, of Puli-késá II. And I would further suggest the probability of Amara and Ádityavarna being really not of the Chálaékya family at all, but two of the three confederate kings, who seized upon the sovereignty after the reign of Puli-késá II, and from whom Vikramádiyá I. wrested it again.

Transcription.

First plate.

(1) सप्तम [11] जनकव्यानां मायोक्तराहू श्रेष्ठितांष दक्षिणम(व) तत्तद्ग्राम-
(2) विजयानमुखं वृष- [11] श्रीमतो सकलभुनि संस्कृतमानाध्यायस-
(3) गोत्राणां हारितितीलः पुराणां सत्तूमकातमिं (भिष) सत्तूमकातमिं भिषाद्वितीयानां
(4) कार्यकेतपरिणामात्मसाधनाय परमपराणां भागवान-
(5) राधानुक्तमहाधार्याय निषिद्धकालार्थमावणात्व
(6) चीतकाशि परिवारां चुरुच्छायां कुटम्बल(ल) केक(क) रिमोदारसभ्यां-
(7) यज्ञानाविष्काल गाकल्य श्रीधुलकेथुबदमहाराजसप्रेमी-
(8) व- पराक्षकान्तवास्यादिपरीतमितम्बदग्रिहविश्वश
(9) दक्षिणमी (भिष) श्रीकौतिः (भिष) वर्मीपर (भिष) विषीलभमहाराजस- पीत: समर-

Second plate; first side.

(10) ससंकलकीर्तिरायेवधर्मवेदिनवराजाण्यमयम- पेपल- अयमभे-
(11) श्री(र)राधा(स)रामपुर- संभावनायलिं (घ) विवेकम [भ] भवमाराजा[भ] विराजम-पर-
(12) रामेकरसः प्रतितमां चिन्तक राजाक्षारसमारो [के] केलमें-
(13) प्रकृति (लो) नेक तमरुकेतु रिपुप्रतिकघरजयकालसनानायमन- *
(14) विषयते (क्ष) भवमविविष्कितत्वतिनिप्रति (क्ष) शंस(स) मायत्वी भूत्वत्तरणी भवमाराजमो-पाया-
(15) सद्यकमित्तुभुजाविष्कितमितमगीयुः: अनुमतिकान्तानाकमय- 
(16) हर(र) स्वयं (र) श्रीमण्डितित्रिता (तम) परितामतसकसकक (क) अ कुलाक- 
(17) भिक्षुस्थिरायेवम्बमत्समानायमयमधुः: विन्दूमनि देवसं(क) अग्र- 
(18) देवयानि धर्मप्रचारियमित्थुः समुन्नेन स्थापिनानाम(र) रण्बिरिति 
(19) रिपुनेक्ष्ट्रादिचि दिलि जिता स्वबनासमुः लक्ष्मी(र) नायकमित्यास-

* Some emendation seems necessary here. I would suggest ṣa-sodana-rāma-rādhanaja-vañi, and have adopted this in my translation.
† This syllable—sa,—is superfluous, the usual form, and, I apprehend, the only correct form, being ṣatmasā-kriya.
‡ This syllable,—sa,—is superfluous, as the locative rāja-trayda is required with teṇa. Or, if rāja-trayṣa is to be upheld, teṇi must be corrected into teṇa.
§ We must read here either svā-varisā-jīvam, or svā-varula-jīvam.
COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHÂLUKYA DYNASTY.
Second plate; second side.

[20] राजामिनारित्वं विक्रमाधिश (य) [11] अधि च मुदितनरुतित्वयातावि -
[21] हिंदुत्त बहुप्राप्तावित्विनयान नेवन विजयेशुरन प्रमुणां
[22] ग्रीवान्धान जित: कृपललस्य (ह्री) दधितियुच्यतिमणकाळ (चिच्छ) काँयो (पाठ)
[23] पाषाणारिषयोः गुटरा (राष्ट्र) ग्रीवान्धानम् वहति स्वरूपेनात् रण-
[24] रत्नक्षेत्रेदुक्तस्युस्तिन्योऽ (पाठ) श्री राजमध्यदिक्कविश्वमालं
[26] नरैवरिपारिहर (रूप) ता अपाहिष येन जयब्रह्मर्गायाटात छादानात
[27] दधितियुच्यतिमणकाळ (चिच्छ) काँयो (पाठ) विक्रमाधिशायण्यश्रीमण (पाठ)
[28] राजयो विक्रमाधिशायण्यश्रीमण (पाठ) दधिययमहाराजायण्यानमस्य 

Third plate.

[30] नादिस्वामिनाल (ने) कुञ्जा (छ) विलक्षण (छ) चाद्रायणादिकने बुद्धिपिन तपसा सकलः
[31] वेदान्तपरमार्थीशास्तिस्व (स्व) कण्याविषये कुञ्जाध्यायमपूर्वः
[32] स्पानितिस्थितकुञ्जनामाण्यं दल [1] कामगिरीप्रत्ययो शारीरिस्वरूपं
[33] यातुन (ने) हरियामतिप्रायस्य अभितिरक्षणं आदियमण्ये सामायमिने
[35] भोमोएशामणये दादामणये: दादामणये: एक
[36] भाग: लोकसामि एकाभाग: भुवन्योक्तस्य भलसामि ए-
[37] कामान्त: विदिशामणये एकाभाग: विदिशामणये: कामान्त: ए-
[39] सम्म सेवे पुरानामान

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the body, which was that of a Boar, that was manifested of Viṣṇu, which agitated the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right tusk!

The great-grandson of the Great King Śrī-Pulakēśi-rālabha, whose body was

† Some verb, such as chakorā, 'he made', or pravagyādman, has to be supplied here to complete the sentence.

* A better reading would be nayasa for nayasa, as the latter is hardly capable of use in the sense of nayasa or nitya, which is evidently intended here.

† The reading intended is probably abhivyamsa-napti.

‡ The letters are clear, but what they are intended for is not very apparent.

purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the Chalukyaś, who are of the kindred of Mānava (sc., as in No. XXVII.); —the grandson of the favourite of the world, the Great King Śrī-Kirtti varman, whose fame was established in the territories (sc., as in No. XXVII.);—the beloved son of the

§ Probably the reading intended is māhāmaṇkā-lalatā

* The reading intended is addita-takṣaka.

** This letter is omitted altogether in the original.

† From here to the end the characters are of a larger and inferior type, and this portion seems to have been added at a later date. The language also is very inaccurate, and the use in the last line of the Brāhmi or Maṇḍeśi word pamsa, 'fifty', is peculiar.
favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, Satyâ-râya, who was possessed of the second name of 'Supreme Lord' acquired by defeating Śrī-Ha-râshâvardhânâja, the warlike lord of all the country of the north;—(see) Vikramâdi-tya, who, borne by one horse of the breed called Chitrakântâja, and having with his arm, that was like the coils of the serpent who sustains the burden of the earth, conquered those who were desirous of conquering him,—though many blows fell upon his armour, acquired for himself, with his pure and sharp and cruel sword that was irradiated by the elixir which consisted of tasting the blood of the hostile kings in the front ranks of many battles, the royalty of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings, and, having effected the subordination of the whole kingdom to one (sovereign), re-established, by his own (word of) mouth, in order to increase his pious and fame, the grants which had been made to gods and Brahmans, which had been suspended, by the science of reasoning, and who celebrates the lineage of Śrī-Vallabha, who has attained the excellence of the supreme knowledge of the whole of the Vâdanta by means of his manifold penances which comprise the Kriñkhra and Atikriñkhra and Ohândrayaṇa and other ascetic exercises. And half of a village each has been given to Śântisârma, of the lineage of Kâśyapa, who celebrates the Śoma sacrifice, and Adityâsârma, of the lineage of Hârita, who has studied the science of reasoning, and who celebrates the Śoma sacrifice."

Twelve shares (were given) to Agundabhoypidîsârma, and one to Dâmâsârma, and one to Lôhasvâmi, of the Bharadvâja gotra. One share (was given) to Bhaîlassvâmi, and one to Bâdisârma, and one to Pîdisârma, of the Mânḍavya gotra. One share was given to Nîjubhôyôdîpasaîrma, and one to Gandabhôyô of the Kâśyapa gotra. In the whole village there are fifty shares.

† Of No. XIII., Transcr., i. 11, Vol. V., p. 70.
‡ See, 'speckle-throated.'
§ Transcr., 'a collection of three', denotes closely some confidence that was formed against Vikramâditya. Probably the reference is to the three kings of Chêla, Pkhîya, and Kârtâla, who, as we learn from the inscriptions of Vinâyâditya I., were conquered by Vikramâditya I. Or, the reference may be to the Triâyâ-Palîsas, 'the Palîsas, whose kingdom consists of three dominions', of Vinâyâdi-tya's inscriptions, who were conquered by Vinâyâditya at the command of his father, Vikramâditya, and whose leader, previously overcome also by Vikramâditya himself, is described as having been 'the cause of the humiliation of that family (of the Chêlîyas) which was as pure as the rays of the moon.'
¶ See note † to line 30 of the text; as it stands in the original, the sentence is incomplete, being without a verb.

quered§ that family of mighty wrestlers|| who were possessed of the title of 'Royal Wrestler.' By him, the ruler of the southern region, was Kâñcî captured, the mighty abode of enmity that was hard to be surmounted and difficult to be borne,—which was girt about by a moat that was very deep and difficult to be crossed,—and which was as it were the girdle of the sea-king Jayâtâvâra.

He, Vikramâditya-Satyârâya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, who possesses the supreme sovereignty over all the countries of the world, which have been invaded by his prowess, thus issues his commands to all people:—

"Be it known to you. The village of Chintakuntha, to the east of the village of Kandugul, in the district of Kâñña, has been given by us to Nândisvâmi, of the lineage of Kâśyapa, who has attained the excellence of the supreme knowledge of the whole of the Vâdanta by means of his manifold penances which comprise the Kriñkhra and Atikriñkhra and Ohândrayaṇa and other ascetic exercises. And half of a village each has been given to Śântisârma, of the lineage of Kâśyapa, who celebrates the Śoma sacrifice, and Adityâsârma, of the lineage of Hârita, who has studied the science of reasoning, and who celebrates the Śoma sacrifice."

* I do not know to what dynasties Śrī-Vallabhâ and Mahândrâpratâpa belong. From the context, Śrī-Vallabhâ may perhaps be a Pallava king.
† Whether the god or some king is alluded to, is not clear.
‡ Kâñcî, the capital of the Pallavas: see No. XIII., Transcr., i. 14, Vol. V., p. 70.
§ See note ‡ to line 25 of the text, which is corrupt here.
∥ What particular family is alluded to, is not clear. It was probably from this conquest that the Chalukyas came to assume, as secondary names, titles ending in malla,—Yudhamalla, Aharanamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, &c.
¶ Pûtrâjâ, lit. 'the king of ships.' Who Jayâtâvâra was, I do not know.

* See note † ‡ to 1. 94 of the text.
NOTES ON THE MUHARRAM FESTIVAL.

I have seen many accounts of the Muharram ceremonies, and it is well known that the Indian form of them is confined to this country, and even here regarded with disfavour by many of the more educated Sunnis. I do not think, however, that this form of them is confined to this country, and even here regarded with disfavour by many of the more educated Sunnis.

In the course of my own service I have been obliged to spend many weary hours in the saddle, keeping order about the tadbuts, but never noticed this feature of the festival so much as this year. The scene was Kâlâyâr, a port of the Tidgâ collectorate, inhabited by about 12,000 souls, of whom, at the outside, about 2,500 are Muhammadans. Nearly all these are of the Sunni sect, and of the race called Kônkâni Mussalmân,—descended chiefly, I believe, from Arab settlers on the coast. There were half-a-dozen pandjs and as many tadbuts, or standards.

On the ninth night of the Muharram most of the pandjs and one tadbut paraded particular streets with music and lights. This is usual; what is, I believe, less so is that each of the pandjs went to visit its neighbours, when greetings were exchanged by bows of the Punct and Judy sort, and by a dance of the attendants of both host and guest round a hole full of fire. The rest of the 'fan of the fair' was of the usual type,—shouts of 'Dési' and 'Últa,' fireworks, dances, 'Songs and quavers, roaring, hummin',

Guitars, and every other sort of strummin'.

On the tenth day, when the tadbuts were taken to be cooled (Tangâ karnâ) in a tank, the start and progress of every one of them was impeded by dozens of Hindu women rushing out with female infants, whose noses and ears it is considered auspicious to pierce for the first time liberally with music and lights. This is usual; what is, I believe, less so is that each of the pandjs went to visit its neighbours, when greetings were exchanged by bows of the Punja and Judy sort, and by a dance of the attendants of both host and guest round a hole full of fire. The rest of the 'fan of the fair' was of the usual type,—shouts of 'Dési' and 'Últa,' fireworks, dances, 'Songs and quavers, roaring, hummin',

On the tenth day, when the tadbuts were taken to be cooled (Tangâ karnâ) in a tank, the start and progress of every one of them was impeded by dozens of Hindu women rushing out with female infants, whose noses and ears it is considered auspicious to pierce for the first time liberally with music and lights.

The strongest resemblance to the mutual visits of Hindu idols borne in rahts (chariots) or pandjs, to the distribution of ashes from Gosains' fires, the wild fire-dances of the Holi, and the occasional sacrifice of life under the wheels of the rahts.

W. F. Sinclair.

THE DERIVATION OF THE WORD 'MEHWÁSI'.

The derivation of the little words 'Mehwâsi' and 'Mehwâs,' so commonly used in Gujarât, has not, as far as I know, been hitherto attempted, except by Sir John Malcolm, Central India, vol. I, p. 216, where he says:—'The chiefs on the Nerbudda are generally called Mowassee, which refers to the place they have chosen for their residence, mowase signifying, in the colloquial dialect of the country, a stronghold or fastness.'

The words occur in the Persian histories of the province, and are commonly used in the English correspondence and records regarding Gujarât. A Persian history the word is generally used in conjunction with the word Girds, thus Girds and Mehwads, or in contradistinction to Râstis or settled districts. Both Colonel Walker and Mr. Kinloch Forbes use the word Mehwads as signifying 'country inhabited by turbulent tribes,' or 'strong country' where those who exercised control over the province could with difficulty penetrate; and, in its modern meaning, a Mehwâs holding, no doubt, implies the possession of a more than ordinary amount of independence, and the absence, more or less, of the subordination which distinguishes other more ordinary tenures. But the original signification of the word, as far as I am able to ascertain, is merely a contraction for 'Mahi wâs,' or 'dweller on the Mâhî,' Mehwads would therefore be a 'dwelling on the Mahi,' and I believe both Mehwads and Mehwasi are used only in Gujarât and part of Mâlwa, in which latter province the Mahi has its source. Dr. Bühler informs me that he considers this derivation the correct one, and that there are analogous derivations. Thus he quotes mahîsha, Sanskrit for 'buffalo,' which has been contracted into mhehe = bhens, and other words. And Joshi Atamrâm Dulâbhrâm of Baroda informs me that this view is supported by the following stotra:

\[\text{शोक} \]

मही महीमङ्लम् निवादिति
प्रभुत्विग्रह निवादिति यथा
बलार्य चौरस्यनाथि चौरि
श्रीरामन्य न प्रभवति नारि. II 9 II
The river Mahi is one of the most excellent in the world. There reside only thieves; children even are thieves, the young men are also thieves, and except thieves women give birth to none other.

Under the Marathas, as is well known, tributary Gajarat was divided into two portions, viz., Mahi Kanyak and Kashiwaya, and this broad definition of the Mahi banks would include all the Mahewa holdings. The ioka quoted sufficiently shows the predatory character of the inhabitants from the earliest times.

The first instance of the use of this word that I am acquainted with, occurs in the Dvaidishadvayya (see Ind. Ant. vol. IV, p. 74), and it is there translated as 'forest.' This shows that so far back as early in the 12th century Sarvatwa was in common use for a holding in difficult country. Mr. Sinclair has drawn my attention to Professor Dowson's notes to Minhaj-us-Siraj (Elliot, vol. II.); and while I cannot agree with that distinguished scholar that so palpably Aryan a word as Mehwas may be derived from the Semitic root \( \text{\textit{meh}} \), it seems probable that the word 'Mehwas' or 'Mewas' had become so generally accepted a term for a holding in difficult country, like that on the banks of the Mahi, that it may have reached distant Dibit, and thus come to Minhaj-us-Siraj's knowledge.

John W. Watson,
Acting Political Agent, Rewa Kanyak.

EXPLORATIONS AT KORKEI AND KAYAL.

By the Rev. Dr. E. Caldwell.

I visited Korkei once many years ago, and, though my visit was a hurried one, yet from what I saw, and from the inquiries I made, I came to the conclusion that Korkei (in Tamil properly Kolkei, euphonized into Korkei), though now so insignificant, was to be identified with the Koalka, of the Greeks, which Lassen had identified with Kilakarois, a place on the Madura coast. The Greeks came to Kolkei, to purchase pearls, certainly soon after the Christian era, probably many years before, and represented it as the head-quarters of the pearl trade between Cape Kumari and the place they called Kape, properly Koiti, now Ramaоварам, which was also an emporium of the same trade. It must have been regarded as a considerable place at that time, seeing that from its name they called the Gulf of Mannar the Kolthic Gulf. It was easy to conclude also that this was the Korkei to which all native traditions pointed as the cradle of South Indian civilization,—the place where the three brothers Chera, Chola, and Panay were said to have been born and brought up, and from whence they set forth to form dynasties and kingdoms,—or, as might more readily be admitted, the place where the rule of the Panay was commenced, and from whence they afterwards migrated to Madura. The meaning of the name Korkei is 'an army, a camp.' The interest of this identification was heightened by the conclusion at which I arrived at the same time, that an insignificant place called Old Kalyal, about halfway between Korkei and the sea, was to be identified with the Cal of Marco Polo, the most important city and seaport on the eastern coast of India during the Middle Ages. (See Colonel Yule's Marco Polo.)

The sites of two famous places were thus discovered in the same neighbourhood, and a glance at the geology of the neighbourhood disclosed the reason why each had been abandoned in turn. Both places are situated on the delta of the Tamraparni,—Korkei within five, Kayal within two miles of the sea,—and each was originally on the sea-coast. As the silt accumulated in the sea near the mouth of the river, or as the land rose,—or from both causes,—Korkei was found at length to be too far inland for the convenience of a sea-born trade, and Kayal (meaning a lagoon opening into the sea) rose in its stead on the sea-shore, and attained to still greater dimensions. Kayal carried on an immense direct trade with China and Arabia, the evidences of which are found lying all over the open plain on which the city stood. In time, however, through the continuous operation of the same causes, Kayal came to be too far from the sea; and accordingly, shortly after the Portuguese arrived on the Coromandel Coast, they abandoned Kayal, and established themselves instead at Tuti coriin, which has ever since been the principal seaport of Tinnevelly, there being no river near to silt up the harbour and roads. It would seem as if Korkei, though probably never so important an emporium of trade as Kayal, must at one time have been nearly as large. This is proved by the relics of pottery, &c. scattered about the country for miles, and especially by the circumstance that places, such as Akkasalei ("the Mint"), which are now at a distance from Korkei, are ascertained, by the inscriptions I have found on the walls of the temples, to have been portions of Korkei originally.

Whilst in Korkei and the neighbourhood I employed ten or twelve coolies for four days to make excavations here and there, under the superintendence of one of my assistants; whilst it was made the duty of the choir boys—much more a pleasure to them than a duty—to examine every shovelful of the earth that was thrown up, to see whether it contained any objects of interest. The Collector

[March, 1877,]
of the District, Mr. Stuart, kindly sent me a peon, to let the people of the place see that nothing illegal or improper was going to be done, and in return I sent him a list of the articles found, though unfortunately they were of no particular interest.

The geology of the place seemed to me more interesting than its antiquities. The whole of the country in this neighbourhood is included in the delta of the Tâmrâpârni, the great river of Tinnevelly; and this place is situated in the last-formed portion of the delta, lowest and nearest the sea, so that the cultivation has not been broken on it, and if the river has been brought down by the river and deposited in the bed of the adjacent sea. Every portion of this alluvium contains sea-shells in great abundance,—not merely shore shells, but deep-sea shells, such as the chesâk and the pearl-oyster. So abundant are they that in places where the surface of the ground has been washed away by rain, and cultivation has not been carried on, the white shell-covered surface glitters almost like water in the moonlight, and in some places as you walk along the roads, especially near Mârâman-gâlam, the shells go crackling under your feet as they would by the sea-shore when the tide is out. This being the last formed portion of the delta, the alluvial stratum is very shallow. The average depth cannot be more than six feet, and at the bottoms of tanks I have found it no more than three. Underneath this I invariably found a layer of grit-stone (called by the people "salt-stone"), rarely more than a foot in thickness, composed of the larger grains of sea-sand, such as lie on the surface, mixed with comminuted shells. This had evidently been the surface of the ancient sea-bed, for underneath I invariably came upon beautiful white sea-sand, in smaller grains, containing great quantities of unbroken shells. Doubtless the grit-stone had been formed by the infiltration of the alluvium from above. I found it impossible to ascertain the depth of the sand, or what it rested on, for after digging into it for a few feet the hole always got filled with water, and the water flowed in so fast that bailing out was useless. Strange to say, some of the shells I found in this ancient sea-bed retained a portion of their original colour. One in particular,—a Onoas—looked as if it had been alive only a few years ago. What makes this so remarkable is that this portion of the delta must have been inhabited at least 2500 years ago, and it must have been many ages earlier that the deposition of the alluvium commenced.

I hoped by making excavations in Kôr Catherine the neighbourhood to find some traces of the Greeks, but in this I was doomed to be disappointed. The ancient level of the village is about eight feet below its present level, which of itself is a proof of great antiquity. When the diggers reached this depth they invariably found traces of human habitations, shreds of Indian pottery, &c., but nothing of the nature I hoped to find. On the surface we found two Singhalese copper coins (I conclude them to be Singhalese from the management of the drapery), but the inscriptions were quite obliterated. I also found two images of Buddha, sitting, in his usual attitude of contemplation. One of them was out in the fields, the other in the village. I suspected that the latter was worshipped, though it was known to belong to a different religion. The people strenuously denied this, but one morning when I happened to pass I saw a garland of flowers which had been placed by some person round its neck. The person who did so evidently thought that if ever Buddha got his head above water again, he had a chance of being remembered for good! The most interesting things that were found were three of those mysterious sepulchral urns which have hitherto puzzled everybody. The natives know nothing about them, and the common opinion amongst Europeans is that they pertain to a race which died out, but of which no relic remains except these urns. The urns are made of the ordinary pottery of the country, but there are always some little vessels found inside, some of which are beautifully shaped, with a polish or glaze which the potters of these days cannot imitate. Two of the urns I found contained no bones, but only traces of bone-dust; but one, a monster urn, 11 feet in circumference—unfortunately found broken—contained a complete set of entire human bones, including a perfect skull. The circumstances in which this urn was found were very interesting. The people to whom it belonged had dug down through the alluvial soil of the delta, and the grit-stone till they came to the white sea-sand, and in this they had deposited the urn. The grit-stone had then partially re-formed all round, and I found the cavity of the skull filled up with grit-stone. The notion invariably entertained by the natives of these days is that the people buried in these urns were a race of pygmies, but the bones found in this urn were admitted by the natives who were standing about when it was opened to be those of a full-grown man of the usual size. Strange to say, a deputation of women came to my tent one day for the purpose of seeing the bones.

I visited Old Kâyal (Marco Polo's Câel) twice, and set my excavators at work for a day in a place about two miles from the present village,
which represents only the western boundary of the ancient city. At a depth of three feet beneath the present surface they came on the chaukamnad floor of a house, but found nothing of importance. The extent of the site of Kāyal was so great that it would take a month, instead of a single day merely, to explore it properly. I found, however, the whole surface of the ground, literally for miles, covered with evidences of the perfect truth of Marco Polo’s statements respecting the trade of the place, confirmed by those of the Muhammadan historians. According to those statements, Kāyal was frequented by great numbers of vessels from the Arabian coast and from China—(junks)—in one of which latter Marco Polo himself arrived; and accordingly I picked up everywhere on the open plain broken pieces of China porcelain of all qualities, and broken pieces of Arabian pottery. I could easily, if I had chosen, have collected a cartload, but the pieces had been broken again and again by the plough and the feet of bullocks, so that, though the material in each case was obvious enough, all trace of the shape of the article had disappeared. Old Kāyal, or what remains of it, is now inhabited almost exclusively by Labbis (native Muhammadans) and Roman Catholic fishermen.

The people of these parts, as generally throughout India, have not the remotest notion of the object Europeans have in view in searching for antiquities. Whatever we may say, they think our real object is to endeavour to discover hidden treasures; and thus they consider a very risky business, for all hidden treasures are in the custody of demons, who will not allow them to be rifled with impunity. At Kōrkēi, before my explorations commenced, many of the people expressed an earnest hope that I would not make any excavations near any temple or image, because, although very likely there might be treasure underneath, the demons in charge would be so enraged that they would destroy the village outright. I assured the people that I would take care not to come near any temple or image, and I scrupulously kept my word. My old friend Mānakavāsaṅgar of Arangūmegamangalam professors to have received a dreadful fright some years ago from the demons that watch over hidden treasure, when he helped Mr. Puckle, the then Collector of Tinnevelly, to make some explorations near Kāyal. The night after the first day’s exploration a she-demon appeared to him in a dream, and asked him in terrible tones how he dared to meddle with her treasures. In the morning when he awoke, he found—dreadful to relate—that his feet were fastened round the back of his neck in such a way that he was unable to loose them without assistance! I need scarcely add that no further part in the exploration was taken by him. I wanted him to tell me the story; but he was afraid, I suppose, I should laugh at him, and so I failed; but he told it quite gravely to my assistants, and has told the story so often that he evidently believes it himself now. Even Europeans, it seems, are not quite so free from danger as they suppose. Many years ago there was a Collector of Tinnevelly, it is said, who determined to dig for the treasure which was believed to have been hidden in a certain place by a woman who intended to make use of it in some subsequent birth, and which, for the time being, of course, was under the custody of demons. He was warned that something dreadful would happen, but, being an European, he did not care. He pitched his tent near the place, and the whole of the first day was occupied by himself, his peons, and his coolies in digging. At length, as night drew on, they came to a carefully built stone receptacle; and, justly concluding that this was the place where the treasure was hidden, the Collector set a watch over it and went to sleep in his tent, with the intention of opening the stone receptacle the next morning. The next morning came, and the Collector found himself, not in his tent, but in bed in his own bungalow at Pulamkotta; the tent was found pitched at the other side of the river, and of the excavations that had been made the previous day not a trace remained.

**EXCAVATIONS AT KĀYAL.**

The Caṇel of Marco Polo having been identified by Dr. Caldwell as Kāyal, a port at the mouth of the Tāmraparṇi river, in Tinnevelly, . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

The ancient city—whose name signifies a lagoon—was one of those enormous emporiums of the East, the first mentioned of which is Ophir. At Kāyal the sea has greatly receded, for the Tāmraparṇi river, rushing down through the clays and rice-fields of Tinnevelly, has, in the course of centuries, made for itself a large delta. The Caṇel (Kāyal) of Marco Polo is thus described by him:—“Caṇel is a great and noble city, and belongs to Ashār, the eldest of the five Brother-Kings. It is at this city that all the ships touch that come from the west, as

* From the appendix to the Rev. Dr. Caldwell’s Second Journal of Evangelistic Work in Tinnevelly, 1876.
* The five Brother-Kings were descendants of the old Pandion race, and gave themselves the title of the Pandion Chronicle, the great king Vishvanatha Naikher, who was installed ruler of Madura and the adjacent countries of the south in S. 1482 (A.D. 1559), is spoken of as defeating them. The words of the Chronicle are:—“On coming to Madura he constructed seventy-two bastions to the fort, and appointed seventy-two Palliyakaras (Polypars), corresponding with the bastions. He also caused the fort of Truchinapalli to be...
from Hormos, and from Kis, and from Aden, and all Arabia, laden with horses and with other things for sale. And this brings a great concourse of people from the country round about, and so there is great business done in the city of Cael. The king possesses vast treasures, and wears upon his person great store of rich jewels. He maintains great state, and administers his kingdom with great equity, and extends great favour to merchants and foreigners, so that they are very glad to visit his city. This king has some 300 wives; for in those parts the man who has most wives is most thought of.” Marco Polo goes on to speak of the one mother of the five Brother-Kings of the South India of his day, of whom the chief was the king of Cael, and to all of whom, in their disputes, the mother, who was then alive, acted as a mediator. He also alludes to the use of the betel-leaf in Cael.

The following extracts (dated June 23, Shepherd’s-land—Jeleypukdu, Tinnevelly), from a private letter by Dr. Caldwell, written on the outskirts of Kihyn, will be read with interest:—

"I sent my coolies last evening to dig for sepulchral urns in the lowest ground in the neighbourhood. These are "jacs"—natumadutna;—in which a race of people, of whom nothing is known, used to bury.§ Before long they found one in the deepest part of a tank which is now dry. It was a monster, eleven feet in circumference. Unfortunately it had been so often soaked in water that it was found broken in three. The contents, however, were perfect,—the bones of a man with an exceedingly perfect skull. There is a small hole in one part of the skull, apparently made by a weapon. The grand interest, however, is this. This place is a portion of the Tamraparni delta, and the ancient people had dug right through the alluvium of the delta till they had come to the white sea-sand underneath, in which they had deposited the urn. The upper stratum of the sea-sand has generally turned into a grit-stone, through the infiltration of the alluvium deposited above. The grit-stone accordingly had formed round the urn, and even inside, and the cavity of the skull is filled with compact grit-stone! The teeth are very perfect and complete. Altogether, the skull would be an interesting addition to a naturalist’s studio. I have found no traces of the Greeks here, but plenty to prove that the place is of great antiquity. I have had ten coolies digging for several days, and wherever they dig they find nothing till they get to a depth of about eight feet. Then brick floors, &c., are found. The thorough excavation of a place like this would prove very expensive. The Collector sent me a peon, to be present as a sign of Government authorization. I am to send in a list of what I find to the Government.

"A certain Dr. ——, of Berlin, was in Tinnevelly in the beginning of the year. He made a considerable collection of urns, skulls, &c., which he carried off to Germany without communication with the Madras authorities. For this the Collector, it is said, was reprimanded. . . .

"I am taking the greatest possible care not to irritate the people in any way; so I make no excavations near their temples, and have not dug about the numerous images of Budhdha, even though they are not now worshipped. There is an image of Budhdha, near Káyal, which the people have turned back upwards, and the washermen use it for beating their clothes upon!

"Saturday 24th,—I have been this morning to Káyal again, and returned. This time I went in a palanquin, and did my journey comfortably. I went two miles beyond what now remains of Káyal, and still found myself only in the centre of the remains of the great city of Marco Polo’s time. I marked out several places for excavation, and left ten men to do as much work as ten men could do in a day. . . . I intend to cross the mouth of the Tamraparni, and see Pinu ei Káyal. . . .

"Yesterday my people found a couple of urns at Maramangalam. One was as large as the one found at Korkei, but empty. The meaning of that is that it only contained the bone-dust of the dead. The other was a smaller one, which my coolies were able to take out whole. It contained two beautiful little polished kalasams, or vessels, but no bones. The inside is black, and so are the kalasams . . . ." —Athenæum, 12th August 1876.
We object to this, though the rendering is
once, and
—has hand—twice. We *have just now* turned to the Vul¬
remain. In the version before us we find two different
twice, which is a near approach to what we insist

One of our chief complaints against our own,
generally excellent, English version, is the variety
of renderings given to the same word. Much of
the force of a passage is often, in this way, missed.
For example, in 1 John ii. 24 the verb μένει occurs
three times, the repetition being emphatic and
significant; but, with ingenious perversity, the
English translators dissipate the force of the pas-
sage by using three different words—abitē, continue,
remains. We have just now turned to the Vul-
gate, and find it uses μένει once, and permaneo
twice, which is a near approach to what we insist
on. In the version before us we find two different
words employed—based once, and rahind twice.
We object to this, though the rendering is
better than that of the English translation. So
in Heb. xii. 27, 28, our translation gives two
words—shaken and moved—where the Greek, with
evident purpose, has only one. The Hindustani,
we are sorry to see, follows here the bad example
of the English. Jerome was wiser.

The Commentary—on which, as new, we should
especially comment—seems executed with much
care and no small success. It is simple, and as
brief as is consistent with perspicuity. Thus, on
the verse “The Word was made flesh” (John i. 14)
it sufficiently explains the meaning, and so supple-
ments, or rather corrects, the somewhat peculiar
rendering of the text, Kādān muijaseem hād. And,
throughout, the annotations are unpretending,
sensible, and such as will recommend themselves
to the members of Protestant churches generally.

On the question of style we must express our-
selves with some hesitation. We start with a
perfect abhorrence of that

“Babylonish dialect
Which learned pedants much affect.”

We shudder when Urdu is stuffed full of Arabic
and Persian terms, and when Hindi or Bengali be-
comes half Sanskrit. Further, we hold that while
Urdu and Hindi must both advance, they should
do so not on divergent, but if possible on con-
vergent, or at all events parallel lines. Sanskrit
and Arabic are wide as the poles asunder. We
hope to have, in the future, not an Arabicized
Urdu and a Sanskritized Hindi, but two dialects
of one language not much more apart, perhaps,
than the “Johnsonese” of the great lexicographer,
and the Saxon English of Addison or Swift. Now
we ‘by no means think’ this Commentary so
faulty as many, or even most, Urdu compositions.
Still it is higher than we expected or desired. We
believe it is somewhat too much so for the native
Christians generally, even for those who speak
Urdu. To the multitudes of Hindī-speaking
natives much of it must be unintelligible. Such,
briefly, is our judgment on the style, and we feel
bound to express it, although we are fully aware
that all the munehis, and many of the missionaries,
will take a different view.

We are very glad to see this work appear in
Roman character. It is to the credit of the mis-
sions planted among the Hindī-speaking and Urdu-
speaking populations that, instead of the cumbrous
Devangārī and the rather enigmatical Persian,
they should so often employ the clear, compact,
and comparatively inexpensive Roman letters.
The array of diacritical marks looks by no means
formidable. The type is small, in order to keep
the size of the work within moderate bounds,
but the letters are perfectly distinct. The getting
up of the whole book is remarkably good, and
most creditable to all concerned.

We congratulate the venerable missionary Dr.
Cotton Mather, who is, we believe, the translator
of the notes and dissertations, and also the editor
of the work. Dr. Mather has performed his im-
portant task both diligently and successfully.
SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.

(Continued from p. 78.)

No. XXIX.

THIS and the following two inscriptions carry us one step farther in the Western Chālukya genealogy, being Sanskrit copper-plate charters of Vinayaditya Satyāśraya, the son of Vikrāmditya I. of my last notice.

The present one is from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection, and is marked as having been found at 'Togurshode' in the Kānḍul District. It consists of three plates, about 92" long by 4½" broad. It is not stated whether the seal of the ring connecting the plates bears any emblem. The characters are the customary Western Chālukya characters derived from the Cave-alphabet, and nearly fully developed into the Old Canarese alphabet. They are not so neatly formed as those of the inscriptions last published by me, and they have a decided slant from left to right. It is also to be noted that the practice as to writing the Anuvāms is not uniform; sometimes it is written above the line, as was the rule in the earliest adaptations of the Cave-alphabet, and sometimes,—in agra(s)-viśrants, l. 1; vanās, l. 18; maṇa-triṇa, l. 17; and chanāchala, l. 31,—on, or just a trifle below, the upper line of the writing.

The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 612, and records a grant by Vinayaditya, made by him in the tenth year of his reign, in celebration of some victory, while encamped on the banks of the Pampa river or lake. The locality is certainly the Hampe, Vijayanagara, or Bijnagar of modern times, referred to in Sanskrit books by the name of 'Pampākṣhētra,' on the south bank of the Tūṅgahadra, in the Ballārī district. There is a sacred pool at Hampe which is still called 'Pampāsārōvara,' and Mr. Sanderson, in his Canarese Dictionary, gives 'Hampe,' or 'Pampā,' as another name of the Tūṅgahadra itself. Mr. Garrett, also, in his Classical Dictionary, gives 'Pampā' as the name of a river that rises at Rishyamuka in the Dekkan. And 'Rishyamūka' is the name by which a small hill on the north of the ruined town of Hampe is still known.

Whether 'Pampa' is another name of the Tūṅgahadra, I cannot say. But this conjunction of names leaves no doubt as to the neighbourhood in which Vinayaditya's camp was pitched at the time of making this grant, and as to the part of the country that had just been subjugated by him.

I cannot trace on the map the villages affected by the grant, or the district,—named in line 28,—where, however, there is some doubt as to the exact reading,—in which they were situated. The grant was of certain dues, perquisites, or taxes, called Adityamchhamarumama and Mdrun-chhamarumanm. These are Dravidian terms, which I am not able to explain; but one component part of them is plainly the Sanskrit mchha, 'gleaning.'

The record of the grant was made by Rāmapuṇya vallabha, Vinayaditya's Minister for peace and war.

In the epithets applied to Vikramāditya I., a clear allusion is made to a confederacy that was formed against him by the three kings of Chōla, Pāṇḍya, and Kērala, and to some interruption of the Western Chālukya rule that was effected by the leader of the Pallavas, the lord of Kāñchi. I have had occasion to allude to this already, in my introductory remarks to No. XXVIII. of this series. It would seem that the results of the conquest of the ruler of Kāñchi by Vikramāditya I. were not very decisive or permanent. For we find Vinayaditya again campaigning against the Pallavas, as the leader of his father's army. And a short inscription at Pāṭṭadakal in the Kalādgi District, recently uncovered by me and thus brought to light for the first time, states, almost in so many words, that the great temple there, the temple of Virūpākṣadhāva as it is now called, or of Lōkēśvaradhāva as it was then called, was built by Lōkamahādevī, the queen-consort of Vikramāditya II., expressly to celebrate another victory over the king of Kāñchi by her husband, who was the great-grandson of Vikramāditya I.

† Plates xxxviii. and xxxix. of Mr. Burgess's Archaeological Report for 1874-5.

* According to the original, "six hundred and eleven years of the Śaka (era) having elapsed."
Transcription.
First plate.

[1] -स्त्रित [I]ते जयायायतक्त मिष्या[५४५५]राह कोम्बारण्यब दस्त्रायवर्ण(र)विभानत-
[2] भवन बुध: [I] श्रीमया सकल्पमन्संख्यामनामनस्मागवणां शा-
[3] रितिलुप्तानां साध्यकामाद्रूपमसम्भारिविविदितानां कार्तिककपरि:
[4] रक्षणारकस्त्रकारणपरभानां महत्ततायणसतदमा-
[5] मातिर्वालकाल्यदेकम्यायनवीक्षकस्माहीमृता चलुक्याव-
[6] नां कुलमल्लुरिर्षारसभितायमापस्नातकपिताचाकतांगसमां श्रीपुर-
[7] ककीशिनमहादिराजस्य सुङ्ग: पराज्ञात्त्वनरायाकारप्रनु-
[8] पतिमण्ड्रग्राफबिद्विकुलकार्किष्कः कार्त्तिक्स्माप्रभुविनांवमहारा-

Second plate; first side.

[9] नस्त्यामज्ञकर्तसंस्कर्तकोतेताः। क प[व] रश[व] क[व] वदन-          
[10] [१] राजाधिपत्यस्मर्षवर्णराजस्यमेव:     [सत्या] अश्वी-  
[11] [२] विन्यक्तिमहादिनास्रासस्यस्यस्यादिपः[५] बुतस सिकक-  
[12] [३] मात्रव विनास्यमहारकस्य मतिसारत्वादनसाचाकारप्रभुविनांवमहारा-
[13] तत्तनवस्यृशिविविद्यातराज्यविविशस्य विविकसरसितार्काकारप्रभुविनांवमहारा-
[14] लितिमण्ड्रस्य हिमकर्करिविमलकूपरिविवियस्यसे-  
[15] नम[३] पितरनारायणतन्तरपरिश्रृंधुकार्कुपरस्य नराक- 

Second plate; second side.

[17] [१] विलासमयान्कोतेरक्षर्त्यकर्णर्कर्षा। पमानमानोपास्य अन्यानयम-  
[18] बन[५] काम्यिितिमणिमुकुटकरिरा०सिलामिक्षिकरणकमलस्य श्री(शत)-  
[19] मुखरूङ्ग(श्री)तत्त्वादुपक्षमन्दस्तिकारस्य सुङ्ग: विदुराधी बाल(ले)दुसा०वसेव  
[20] वनानीकृतवल्मिकस्य श्रीमया वजीपलधर्म्मक्षमभं सतततविविश-  
[21] यमानान्तितत्तमना०णुः: अखंतकल्लाभुगंधित राशी-  
[22] रामानुमस्याणातिनुमस्याणा राम राजसादकार-  
[23] त इत विनादिवस्यान्यायश्रीप्रयोगवल्मिकमहादिनास्रासस्य-  
[24] अस्सरस्यृष्टिमार्गाप्रभुरत[१] विदितस्मुि एव स्माभिरकारकार्तिकस्त्रकुपरसे  
[25] शक्तिप्राप्तशिवितुः प्रवद्यक्षमानिलयास्यासारे दस्मेन वर्तमाने पमार-  
[26] [३] उदंभिगिताः विजयस्तोवल्मिकाः कार्त्तिकार्ण्यस्यां भाराजागोराधय देव- 

Third plate.

[27] वशिर्मणा पृण्याय दुम्यमयांम: पुराण श्रीमभाष्यवया भवुक्ताविविधादय वेत-  
[28] देवदासीविदेिे देव(दे)कु(क)लिशये तो... शुद्रामे आदियुधस्मनमो यु-  
[29] कुलेष्ठभ(दे)क्षाये मायुस्मध्मनमो वर्षयुस्म मायुस्मध्मनमो वर्षयुस्म
PLATE GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHALUKYA DYNASTY. DATED SAKA 612.
Translation,

Hail! Victorious is the body, which was that of a Boar, that was manifested of Vishnu,—which agitated the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its uplifted right-hand tusk!

The son of the great king Sri-Pulakesivallabha,—whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the glorious Chalukyas, who are of the kindred of Harita, which is praised over the whole world, and who are the descendants of Hariti, and who are nourished by seven mothers who are the seven mothers of mankind, and who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity by the protection of Karttikeya, and who have all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the sign of the Boar, which they acquired through the favour of the holy Narayan,—(was) the great king Kirttivarma, the favourite of the world, whose pure fame was established in Vanavasi and other territories of hostile kings that had been invaded by his prowess.

His son (was) Satyasraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who acquired, only by his impetuosity assisted by his intellect, the appropriate and accumulated regal power of his own family; who illumined the distant regions with the banner of his fame, that was acquired by the conquest of hostile kings who engaged in wars of various kinds that were brought to an end (by him); who seized the city of Kanchi after the defeat of the leader of the Pallavas, who had been the cause of the humiliation and destruction of that family which was as pure as the rays of the moon; who rent open with the thunderbolt that was his prowess the proud summits of the haughtiness of the three mountains which were the kings of Chola, Pandya, and Kerala; who had the lotuses which were his feet besprinkled with the waters which were the rays of the watering-pot which was the jewelled diadem of the lord of Kanehi, who bowed down before no other (but who performed obeisance to him); and who was the supreme lord of the whole extent of the earth included within the three oceans.

His son, Vinayaditya-Satyasraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who, having at the command of his father arrested the extremely exalted power of the Pallavas, whose kingdom consisted of three (component) dominions, as The Gene-

The Chaityakavachas, which was one of the offshoots of the Sthavaranis or 'race of the moon.'

The construction of the original, II. 10 to 24, is different, being, in outline, 'Satyaśrayah Tat-prītya-satāraya Vikrama-

madāitya sānka Vinayādityaḥ aṇvayeṣu [i.e., 'Satyādityaḥ aṇvayeṣu']" which could only be literally followed by taking the relative pronoun as the basis of the construction in the translation. In all such involved passages, it is preferable to avoid the use of the relative pronoun as much as possible, by breaking up the sentence.

§ Karttikeya, the leader of the armies of the gods.

|| The demons, the descendants of Diti.

§ Sri. Karttikeya being the son of Sri, this is another point of comparison hinted at in the epithets applied to Vinayāditya.
families, as long as the moon and the sun and whether (if the question is) another is difficult; oneself, (hut) the preservation of whether they belong to Our lineage or to other giving or preserving (is the more commendable act) as issues his commands to all people:

"Be it known to you! Six hundred and eleven years of the Śaka (era) having elapsed, in the tenth year of (Our) augmenting and victorious reign, at (Our) victorious camp which is located on the bank of the Pampa (river, or lake), on the day of the full-moon of (the month) Kārtika, there is given by Us, with the right of enjoyment, to Bhimsaarma, who is proficient in all the sacred writings and who knows the Vedas and the Vedaśgas, the son’s son of Devasarma and the son of Durgasarma, of the lineage of Bhradvaśa, the village of Vāra-yu, Marumanna; the Adityāshākharamanna at the village of Tēs, and (the) Māryāshākharamanna at the village of Gūla-vēlopa, (and) the Māryāshākharamanna at the village of Varēyū, (and) the Māryāshākharamanna at the village of Bāteyū, in the district of Pēdrkūl. This (grant, or charter) should be preserved by future kings, whether they belong to Our lineage or to other families, as long as the moon and the sun and the earth and the ocean last, just as if it were a grant bestowed by themselves, bearing in mind that the charms of life and riches &c. are as evanescent as the lightning. And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas and the Vedaśgas, the son’s son of Devasarma, the son of Durgasarma, of the lineage of Bhradvaśa:—land has been enjoyed by many kings, from Sagarā downwards; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it! It is a very easy thing to bestow a grant oneself, (but) the preservation of (the grant of) another is difficult; (if the question is) whether giving or preserving (is the more commendable act)—preservation is better than giving! He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who confiscates land that has been bestowed, whether by himself or by another! This charter has been written by Śrī Rāmapunya Vallabha, the High (Minister), who is entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war."

No. XXX.

This is another from Sir W. Elliot’s facsimile collection. It is marked as having been obtained through Captain Nowbold from the Karṇūl district. The original consists of three plates about 9” long by 4½” broad, and the seal of the ring connecting them bears the emblem of a lion. The characteis are still more carelessly formed than those of the preceding; so much so that in lines 28 to 42, where many proper names occur, the reading is in many places very doubtful. This is, in fact, the most indifferent specimen of an early copper-plate charter that I have yet seen. The slant of the letters from left to right is still more distinct than in the preceding grant.

The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 614, (according to the original, ‘six hundred and thirteen years of the Śaka [era] having elapsed’, in the thirteenth year of Vyādyātya’s reign, and, like the preceding, records a grant to celebrate some victory that he had just gained. At the time of making this grant, he was encamped at the village of Elumpanda, and the principal grant is of the village of Mānuṣamaṇa. This village was somewhere on the north bank of the Kṛishṇa or Vēryā, i.e. of the Kṛishṇa after its confluence with the Vēryā. Except thus far, I cannot identify the locality in question; and the other two names in line 28 are very doubtful. The grant was made at the request of Vyādyātya’s son, Vyādyātya, who at that time was holding the post of Yacardā, and who succeeded his father on the throne. The record of this grant, again, was made by the Peace and War Minister, Rāmapunya Vallabha.

---

*KRISHNA.*

† Supply, to complete the comparison, the second meaning intended in ‘Śrīvamśavat’, viz. ‘just as Vyātsvara was the beloved of the goddess Śrī, so, because he was an incarnation of Vishnu, the husband of Śrī or Lakshmi.’

‡ In No. 26 of Major Dinsor’s collection (see below) he is called ‘Śrīvamśaditya-Pālakṣaya.’

§ See note to L. 30 of the text; some such word as son, desc, or progeny has to be supplied here.
Transcription.

First plate.

1. नामालोचननिता
2. तदनुवाच: देवरावसानंतरं
3. माकरशाहंसरसज्ञानं
4. प्रवीणवादिका
5. प्रवीणवादिका
6. प्रवीणवादिका
7. प्रवीणवादिका
8. प्रवीणवादिका
9. प्रवीणवादिका
10. प्रवीणवादिका

Second plate; first side.

11. सांस्कृतिक शास्त्र
12. सांस्कृतिक शास्त्र
13. सांस्कृतिक शास्त्र
14. सांस्कृतिक शास्त्र
15. शास्त्र
16. शास्त्र
17. शास्त्र
18. शास्त्र
19. शास्त्र
20. शास्त्र
21. शास्त्र
22. शास्त्र
23. शास्त्र
24. शास्त्र
25. शास्त्र
26. शास्त्र
27. शास्त्र
28. शास्त्र
29. शास्त्र

Second plate; second side.

30. शास्त्र
31. शास्त्र
32. शास्त्र
33. शास्त्र
34. शास्त्र
35. शास्त्र
36. शास्त्र
37. शास्त्र
38. शास्त्र
39. शास्त्र
40. शास्त्र
41. शास्त्र
42. शास्त्र
43. शास्त्र
44. शास्त्र
45. शास्त्र
46. शास्त्र
47. शास्त्र
48. शास्त्र
49. शास्त्र
50. शास्त्र

The original has no marks of punctuation.

The proper reading, as shown by No. XXIX., .and No. 5 of Major Dixon's copper-plate grants, Pl. II. a, L 16 (see below), is 'evehia-fam-mand-', &c.
Hail! Victorious is the body, which was that of a Boar, that was manifested of Vishnu (&c., as in No. XXIX,)

The son of the great king Śrī-Pulakēśī-valabha,—whose body was purified (&c., as in No. XXIX,—(was) the great king Kṛiti-

varma, the favourite of the world, (&c., as in No. XXIX.).

His son (was) Satyaśraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, (&c., as in No. XXIX.).

His dear son (was) Vikramaśitya, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who acquired (&c., as in No. XXIX.).

His son, Vinayāditya-Satyaśraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who, having at the command of his

father (&c., as in No. XXIX.),—thus issues his commands to all people:—

“Be it known to you! Six hundred and thirteen years of the Śaka (era) having elapsed, in the eleventh year of (Our) augmenting and victorious reign, at (Our) victorious camp which is located at the village of Īrumpundale, on the day of the full-moon of the month Maśka, at the request of the Yuvardja Śrī-Vijayāditya, the village of Musuniśarā, in the division of Vēlahiṇaśu, (in), the three Ganyatas, on the north bank of the Kṛishnaśvērā, is given by us to the Brahmaṇas (herein) mentioned. Their names and gotras are declared. To Raviśarman, of the Kauśika gotra, who is familiar with two Vēdas; to Āditya, again of the Kauśika gotra, who is acquainted with the Skha-

which I can make no sense. And such letters as are clear in the latter part of this line do not give any satisfactory meaning.

‖ Exepting the g. t. ‘samaḥcitāta’ in l. 12, for ‘sama-

chāta-chitā’ in l. 13 of No. XXIX.
This is from No. 3 of the photographs of copper-plate grants at the end of Major Dixon's collection. The original consists of three plates, and is stated to be at Harihar in Maisur: I tried to obtain it to edit from, but failed to trace the owner of it. The original plates would seem to be very well preserved; but the photograph is imperfect in several places, owing to the letters not having been properly filled in with white paint or chalk when it was taken. The characters are of a much better standard than those of either of the two preceding inscriptions, and do not slant as much. The Anusodha is uniformly written above the line.

This inscription, again, records a grant made in celebration of some victory gained by Vinayaditya. It is dated in the Saka year 617, (according to the original, 'six hundred and sixteen years of the Saka [era] having elapsed'), in the fourteenth year of his reign, while he was encamped at the village of Karanjapatra near the city of Harsha-pura. These places must be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Banawasi and Harihar; and possibly Hariha should be 'Haréa', and is the old name of Harihar. The grant was of the village of Kirnapatra, or the smaller Kagamasi, in the Edavolal division and in the Vanavasi district. The grant was made at the request of Aluvvārāja, who was probably the hostile king just subjugated by Vinayaditya. I take it that āluva has to be interpreted here as a proper name; but it might also be taken as the present relative participle of the Canarese āluva, 'to rule', in which case āluva-rāja would mean 'the reigning king'; this, however, does not give any suitable sense. The record of this grant, again, was made by the Peace and War Minister, Rāmapuyavallabha.

In line 21 the Harihas are mentioned among the royal races subjugated by Vinayaditya. Lokamahādevi, the wife of Vikramaditya II, the grandson of Vinayaditya, was from this family.
Transcription.

First plate.

[1] स्वस्थ ॥ [1] जयवाणिकसि विणोपवरसि कोम्भातां सिद्धान्तवतत्दाशिन्त्वन्

[2] कन कनुः [1] जयमां सत्कल्वसन्तस्य यानवान साप्ताहिकं याप्रि(र)ीतीप्रि

[3] सत्कल्वसन्तस्य यानवान साप्ताहिकं याप्रि(र)ीतीप्रि कार्तिक्यपरिक्रमामयन्

[4] पर्याप्तः भगवानार्थसास्तमसादतिरहल्ना नेत्रादेशाय

[5] श्रीकत्यासहमहीरूतः चलुक्यान् कुलमलकः दुर्जोयोजायतवायुस्वातप

[6] विषयकालास्य श्रीपुलिकेश्वरश्रमहाराजसेन सुनः पराक्षमार्यतनवा

[7] स्माधिपुत्रस्य महसंहविद्वित्वे क्षेत्रीयाश्रमि

[8] भगवानार्थसास्तमसादतिरहल्ना नेत्रादेशाय

[9] हर्षेन्द्रनारायणपुत्रस्य परमेश्वरनामेश्वरैः

[10] अपया श्रीवंकौलभ्रमहाराजाधिकारगोपेश्वरास्तेय

[11] तस्य विकस्मनायमरवतहरायकसमास्य मातिः हितायासाहसमात्रसमास्य

Second plate; first side.

[12] मधिगतानीका सुभ सुतिनिक्तायमवर्तजय

[13] गतासिदिपुत्रस्य नृपसंहविद्वेकरिष्याश्रमि

[14] के जिनमलकः कुपरिववर्तवेदुपलविद्वित्वा नारायणान्तरपरिगुरी

[15] काल्युधसस निष्कलितशालिश्च चोक्षयण्डकरथरणी (णी) धर्मवेद मानसर्व

[16] गद्रय अनन्यसम्बन तानः काल्युधप्रिमानिकुंए कुक्किरणसिलामिक चर

[17] नागमलस्य विचुरविरवतसम्बहनमहाराजसीरस सुनः पितु

[18] राजयाः भलीप्रकाशसृष्टिन्दुरसेव सौमनिन (णी) देवभलमलतमुदत वैरायकाल

[19] वल्लभादायः (ण) समस्तविस्तारसम्प्रायाभिनाहित (त) न्योधर (र) उनः अत्यन्तकालः

[20] हताविठ (ध) हर श्रीरामासकुमुदेत द्व नृपकुमारपुरायाम इश राजास्यतवा

[21] दर्श स्थ लोकवस्त्रकेसरीस्थ यथाविस्तारायुपायदायः यसनालो....त गाथ्ये

[22] मृगलसम्बुश्यातातियाः (त) विनयायतस्यात्यश्रीगृहमयमवर्तजय

Second plate; second side.

[23] हाराजाधिकारपरमेश्वरस्यस्य तिरितायमालायपति (1) विदितसमस्य यो स्माभि: चो [इधोन] रत

[24] बुधवारात स्तन्तरतात त्वरवर्तमानविज्ञानस्यसंस्करो चुरुदाः कर (मानः)

[25] हरेषुपुरस्यकालो त्रिक्षुप्रथमविशिष्टम प्रवर्तकावाहः कार्तिक्याश्रमः

[26] मात्य श्रीमद् लिङ्गाजितज्ञापन: वाद्यसमस्य श्रीयाम्य: श्रीमयः

[27] स्वः वैशाय मारात्मकः पुजारः शान्तायमेण वेदादिवर्म:

§ Except in lines 27, 28, 29, and 34, the original has no marks of punctuation.

† This letter is omitted in the original.

* This letter is also, is omitted in the original.

† Two letters, probably part of some proper name, are quite illegible in the photograph here.

† This word is followed in the original by the letter va, with a dot like an Anusvara on each side of it. This is an old mark of punctuation, and is out of place in this passage. It occurs several times in the inscriptions at Patadakal, which I have recently examined in original, and from which I first learnt the meaning of it; as a published instance see Pl. xlv., No. 26, of Mr Burgess's Archaeological Report for 1873-4. [1] Sri Yaigamana pratima[2]yath kaśṭidam ; Trues., "Sri Yeigamana made the image."
Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the body, which was that of a Boar, that was manifested of Viṣṇu, (Ac., as in Ho. XXIX.)!

The son of the great king Śrī-Pulikēśi-vallabhā,—whose body was purified (Ac., as in Ho. XXIX.)—(was) the great king Śrī-Kṛttivarma, the favourite of the world, (Ac., as in Ho. XXIX.).

His son (was) Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, (Ac., as in No. XXIX.).

His dear son (was) Vikramādiya, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who acquired (Ac., as in No. XXIX.).

His son, Vīravarāja, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme lord, the venerable one—who, having at the command of his father (Ac., as in No. XXIX.), (was) like Bharata, on account of his being the refuge of kings, and by whom the Pallavas, the Kālamakaras, the Kērājas, the Haihayas, the Viḷas, the Mahāvas, the Chōlas, the Pānḍyas and others were brought into a similar state of servitude with the Āḷava{...}rga{...} and others, who were hereditarily (subject to him)—thus issues his commands to all people:—

"Be it known to you! Six hundred and sixteen years of the Saka era having elapsed, in the fourteenth year of (Our) augmenting and victorious reign, at (Our) victorious camp, which is located at the village of Xarā3patra in the neighbourhood of (the city of) Hareshapura, on the day of the full-moon of (the month) Karttika, at the request of the illustrious Āluvarāja, the village of Kīrānas, in the Edevolal division in the Vanavāsi district, is given by Us, with the right of enjoyment, and free from all opposing claims, to Śānasarma, who is thoroughly well versed in the Vēdas and the Vēdāṅgas, the son's son of Śrīśārmā, who performed the Soma sacrifice, of the Vātysagōtra, (and) the son of Mārasarmā. (Also there is given) an uncultivated (P) field the name is spelt 'Pulakēśivallabha.' In ll. 3 and 7 of the Ahole inscription, No. XIII, the reading is distinctly 'Puśikēśa.' In No. XXVII., l. 6, it is 'Pudikēśivallabha.'

* See note to l. 21 of the text. I Akriti; l. 30.
on the west of the village of Pergammasi.§ And the boundaries of that field (are):—On the north-east, . . . . . . . . . in the boundaries of the village of Sirigdu; coming thence, (the village of) Karvēsirigdu; thence, (the village of) Pērdātu; thence, (the village of) Ålere; thence . . . . . . . . . thence, a stone (?) . . . . . . . . . thence, to the east, (the village of) Nērite; thence, (the tank, or village, called) Kurilpaker; thence turning to the south, . . . . katta. This grant, or charter should be preserved by future kings, who are desirous of acquiring fame, whether they belong to Our lineage or to other families, &c. ! And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, from Sagara downwards; &c. ! It is a very easy thing to bestow a grant oneself, &c. ! He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.! This charter has been written by Sṛi-Ramapunya-vallabha, the High Minister who is entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war.  

Before leaving this part of my subject, I should notice two more inscriptions of Vinayaditya.—1, No. 5 of Major Dixon's copper-plate grants. The original is at Surab in Maisūr, and seems to be fairly well preserved; but the photograph is too small and indistinct for me to edit from it. Down to 'dījanavat,' Pl. II., a. 1. 17, the language is the same as in the corresponding part of No. XXIX. now published. It is dated in the Śaka year 615, (according to the original, 'six hundred and fourteen years of the Śaka [era] having elapsed'), the thirteenth year of his reign, and apparently on Saturday, the day of the sun's commencing his progress to the south. It records another grant in celebration of a victory, and is issued from the camp at the village of Chitraśēdu in the district of Tōravara or Tōramara. The grant is made at the request of the Great King Śrī-Chitrapatda, the son of Uṇḍra. The name of the village bestowed seems to be Sāthivoge, in the Ēdovolal division, and near to Vaijayantipura or Vanavasi. The record of this grant, again, is made by Rāmapuṇyavallabha, the Peace and War Minister.—2, No. 98 of Major Dixon's Collection; a stone-tablet 3' 6'' high by 1' 10'' broad at Bālagavē. The photograph is so small,—only 3½'' by 1½'',—and so blurred, that only a few detached and familiar words can be made out here and there. The language is Old Canarese. It records a grant by one of the Sēndraka family, while Vinayaditya-Rājāśrayat was the reigning paramount sovereign. It does not seem to be dated. At the top of the stone is an elephant, standing; this is the earliest stone-tablet that I am aware of with any emblems on it.

PAPERMaking IN THE HIMALAYAS.


At a time when the scarcity of rags for papermaking, combined with an increased demand for the manufactured article, has set every one seeking for substances wherewith to manufacture, I have thought that a short account of the paper-making in the Himalayas might prove of interest.

The reports on the manufacture of paper in Japan, published as a Parliamentary paper (No. 4 of 1871), have shown how the inner bark of various trees, notably the mulberry, is there used. That used in the Hills of India is from the Daphne papyracea, a shrub abundant at certain heights, and the paper produced is very tough and durable. I almost fear, however, that the material could neither be supplied in sufficient quantity, nor that it would bear the heavy cost of carriage to the coast. I will, however, gather together all I can find on the subject scattered in various works, and then conclude with my own experience in the matter, as for many years I was in the Hills and witnessed the manufacture.

Almost every one who has been residing at

§ i.e., 'the larger KagSmasi.' ¶ Patītvatū, ll. 31-3; meaning not known.

† See note to 1. 34 of the text.  Conf. 'Bākṣirayatvādā Bhavatātvo,' No. XXIX., ll. 32-3, and in the corresponding place in each of the remaining inscriptions.
Naini Tal, the well-known sanitarium in Kasmo
, and has had a garden, must well know
the Daphne plant, the bark of which, as the
plant grows ready to hand, is stripped off
and used for tying up plants, securing trellis-work
of vangal (?) or small bamboos, and for all kindred
uses. Many a sportsman, too, has been saved
from an unpleasant slide by catching at its tough
twigs, off which, however, the bark sometimes
slips in the hand, leaving a white slippery core.
Still I fear that where a large quantity would
be required, as for export, it would be very hard
to obtain.

I will now, however, without further digres-
sion, proceed firstly to detail the accounts of
others.

In Jour. B. As. Soc. vol. I. p. 8 is a paper
by B. H. Hodgson, Esq., Nipal, on the native
method of making the paper denominated in
Hindustan ‘Nipalese.’ It is extracted entire,
as it is not susceptible of abridgment:

‘For the manufacture of Nipalese paper the
following implements are necessary, but a very,
rude construction of them suffices for the end
in view':—

‘1st.—A stone mortar, of shallow and wide
cavity, or a large block of stone, slightly but
smoothly excavated. 2nd.—A mallet or pestle
of hard wood, such as oak, and in size propor-
tioned to the mortar, and to the quantity of
boiled rind of the paper plant which it is desired
to pound into pulp. 3rd.—A basket of close
wicker-work, to put the ashes in, and through
which water will only pass drop by drop. 4th.
—An earthen vessel or receiver, to receive the
juice of the ashes after they have been watered.
5th.—A metallic open-mouthed pot, to boil the
rind of the plant in. It may be of iron, or cop-
er, or brass, indifferently; an earthen one would
hardly bear the requisite degree of fire. 6th.—A
sieve, the reticulation of the bottom of which
is wide and open, so as to let all the pulp pass
through, save only the lumpy portion of it.
7th.—A frame with stout wooden sides, so that
it will float well in water, and with a bottom of
a cloth only so porous that the meshes of it will
stay all the pulp, even when diluted and diffused
in water, but will let the water pass off when
the frame is raised out of the cistern.

The operator must also have the command
of a cistern of clear water, plenty of firewood,
ashes of oak (though I fancy other ashes might
answer as well); a fireplace, however rude;
and lastlyquant. suffic. of slips of the inner
bark of the paper tree, such as is peeled off
the plant by the paper-makers, who commonly
use the peelings when fresh from the plant,—
but that is not indispensable. With these ‘ap-
pliances and means to boot,’ suppose you take
four 5ors of ashes of oak, put them into the basket
above mentioned, place the earthen receiver
or vessel beneath the basket, and then gradual-
ly pour five 5ors of clear water upon the ashes,
and let the water drip slowly through the ashes
and fall into the receiver. This juice of ashes
must be strong, of dark bark-like red colour,
and in quantity about two pounds; and if the
first filtering yield not such a produce, pass
the juice through the ashes a second time.
Next, pour this extract of ashes into the metal
pot already described, and boil the extract; and
so soon as it begins to boil, throw into it as many
slips or peelings of the inner bark of the paper
plant as you can easily grasp, each slip being
about a cubit long and an inch wide (in fact
the quantity of the slips of bark should be to
the quantity of juice of ashes such that the
former should float freely in the latter, and that
the juice shall not be absorbed or evaporated
with less than half an hour’s boiling). Boil
the slips for about half an hour, at the expira-
tion of which time the juice will be nearly
absorbed, and the slips quite soft. Then take the
softened slips and put them into the stone mor-
tar, and beat them with the oaken mallet till
they are reduced to a homogeneous or uniform
pulp, like so much dough. Take this pulp, put
it into any wide-mouthed vessel, add a little
pure water to it, and churn it with a wooden
instrument, like a chocolate mill, for ten mi-
utes, or until it loses all its stringiness and
will spread itself out when shaken about under
water. Next, take as much of this prepared
pulp as will cover your paper-frame (with a
thicker or thinner coat, according to the
strength of the paper you need), toss it into
such a sieve as I have described, and lay the
sieve upon the paper-frame and let both sieve
and frame float in the cistern; agitate them
and the pulp will spread itself over the sieve;
the grosser and knotty parts of the pulp will
remain in the sieve, but all the rest will oose
through into the frame. Then put away the
sieve, and, taking the frame in your left hand
as it floats on the water, shake the water and pulp smartly with your right hand, and the pulp will readily diffuse itself in a uniform manner over the bottom of the frame. When it is thus properly diffused, raise the frame out of the water, easing off the water in such a manner that the uniformity of the pulp spread shall continue after the frame is clear of the water, and the paper is made.

"To dry it the frame is set endwise near a large fire, and so soon as it is dry the sheet is peeled off the bottom of the frame and folded up. When (which is seldom the case) it is deemed necessary to smooth and polish the surface of the paper, the dry sheets are laid upon wooden boards and rubbed with the convex entire side of the conch-shell, or, in case of the sheets of paper being large, with the flat surface of a large rubber of hard smooth-grained wood; no sort of size is ever needed or applied to prevent the ink from running. It would probably surprise the papermakers of England to hear that the Khodar Bhutiás can make up this paper into fine smooth sheets of seven yards square.

"This paper may be purchased [in 1881] at Katmangú, in almost any quantity, at the price of seventeen annas sikká per dhávri of three hire, and the bricks of dried pulp may be had at the same place for from eight to ten annas sikká per dhávni. Though called Nipalése, the paper is not in fact made in Nipál Proper. It is manufactured exclusively in Cis-Himalayan Bhút, and by the race of Bhutiás denominated (in their own tongue) Rangfo, in contradistinction to the Trans-Himalayan Bhutiás, whose vernacular name is Sokpo. . . . . . . To return to our paper-making—most of the Cis-Himalayan Bhutiás east of the Káli river make the Nipalése paper; but the greatest part of it is manufactured in the tract above Nipál Proper, and the best market for it is afforded by the Nipalése people, and hence probably it derived its name; a great quantity is annually made and exported southwards to Nipál and Hindustán, and northwards to Sakya-Gumba, Digarchí, and other places in Transmontane Bhút. The manufactories are mere sheds, established in the midst of the immense forests of Cis-Himalayan Bhút, which afford to the paper-makers an inexhaustible supply, on the very spot, of the firewood and ashes which they consume so largely; abundance of clear water (another requisite) is likewise pro-

curable everywhere in the same region. I cannot learn by whom or when the valuable properties of the paper plant were discovered; but the Nipalése say that any one of their books now existent which is made of palmyra leaves may be safely pronounced on that account to be five hundred years old, whence we may perhaps infer that the paper manufacture was founded about that time. I conjecture that the art of papermaking was got by the Cis-Himalayan Bhutiás via Lhassa from China, a paper of the very same sort being manufactured at Lhassa, and most of the useful arts of those regions having flowed upon them, through Tibet, from China, and not from Hindustán.

"P.S." (abridged.) "Dr. Wallich has fully described (Asiatic Researches, vol. XIII. p. 387) the paper-plant. 'The raw produce or pulp (beat up into bricks) has been sent to England, and declared upon competent authority to be of unrivalled excellence for the manufacture of that sort of paper upon which proof engravings are taken off.'

I subjoin the botanical description of the paper-producing plant, with a few remarks for the reader who may not be a botanist.

As far as my own experience goes, this plant is but small, being a shrub of generally three to four feet; although, I am told, it often grows higher. The thickness of the stem is not generally greater than one's finger, and it would bear cutting down every year; although of course by this process, in such a cold climate as that in which it grows,—at 5000 to 9000 feet above the sea-level,—it should properly be left some two or three years to grow up again. Even without maceration in water the inner as well as the outer bark is easily separated from the wood. For tying purposes, both inner and outer bark are used at the same time.

The leaves are small and glabrous, being somewhat glossy; and the flower is insignificant, but with a slightly pleasant odour. The berries, which come on the tree in April to June, are showy, red, and very acid. It will grow where there is very little soil,—preferring, however, like most plants, leaf-mould caused by the decomposition of the fallen oak-leaves,—and has a stout hold by its fibrous roots in the rocks below. As I have never visited Nipál and the forests spoken of by Mr. Hodgson, I have never seen it growing in great profusion, but it is scattered
over a wide area, being found, as briefly put by Mr. Edgeworth, 'from Bhutan to Chambu.' In Major Madden's paper (Journ. R. E. As. Soc. vol. XVII. Pt. I. p. 368) on the Turaace and outer mountains of Kumaon, he speaks of both the white and purple flowering varieties of the Daphne cannabina,—"sét-barnád," a synonym of poppyacea, as being found at Naini Tal; also the Daphne sericea or "Chuwála." He adds that the Nipal paper is made from the Wikstroemia salicifolia of Jacqemont, and from the purple flowering variety of D. cannabina. There must be many other inner barks of shrubs on the hills which would make paper; but until these have been tried it is of no use to speak of them.

Moorcroft, the well-known Himalayan traveller, in Asiatic Researches, vol. XII. p. 375, speaks of the plant, but he merely imagines that the paper is made from a shrub, not unlike butcher’s-broom (!), called "Setharúla." He adds that it is strong, and used for luirdis (or bills of exchange). A glance at the flower will show that he could not have been much of a botanist. In vol. XIII. p. 385 of the Asiatic Researches is a paper by Dr. Wallich — "Description of some rare Indian plants." In this, "Daphne cannabina" (Loureiro ?) is described in nearly the same terms as those used by DeCandolle and above quoted. The English observations appear worthy of quotation, as our notices of this plant are in general very scanty.

Among the extensive and constant supplies of plants and weeds from Nipal which the Botanic Gardens (Calcutta) owe to the liberality of the Honourable Edward Gardner, Resident at Katmandú, are also specimens and plants of the paper shrub, which, I am informed by this gentleman, grows very commonly in that country, and when in flower is exquisitely fragrant. It appears that there are two varieties,—one with perfectly white, the other with reddish flowers; both are used for ornament and for the manufacture of paper, of which I am enabled to present to the Society's museum specimens of various dimensions and texture. The common kind measures generally about two feet square. The first kind measures ten feet in length and four feet in breadth, and it is manufactured chiefly in Dotl, a province to the northward of Kumaon. It approaches in softness and size to that which is made in China, and it is not improbable that some of the latter may be produced from the same material. Loureiro mentions that paper is manufactured in the neighbouring kingdom of Cochin-China from the bark of Daphne cannabina, which seems to differ only in having opposite leaves,—a circumstance which may perhaps be owing to culture. It comes extremely near to D. odora of Thunberg and D. indica of Osbeck, which (at least that described in the Flora Cochii-chinensis) Dr. Sims, with great propriety, suggests may be only a variety of the former. The question respecting the identity or difference of these three plants can be settled only by those who have the means of comparing them.

"I am indebted for an account of the manner of preparing this paper from the bark of this charming shrub, and for some parts of the description given above, to the communications of Lieut. H. R. Murray, and to the following notes extracted from the official correspondence of that gentleman with the Military Board at Calcutta:

"The sét-barnád, or paper shrub, is found on the most exposed parts of the mountains, and those the most elevated and covered with snow, throughout the province of Kumaon.

"In traversing the oak forests between Bhimál and Rángur, and again from Álmorá to Champiávat, and down towards the river, it has come under the immediate observation of the writer of these communications that the sét-barnád, or paper plant, only thrives luxuriantly where the oak grows; so that it is not likely that it will succeed in the plains. It is hardy, and attains a height of five or six feet, blossoming in January and February, and ripening its acrid red fruit about the end of April. The paper prepared of its bark is particularly calculated for cartridges, being strong, tough, not liable to crack or break,—however much bent or folded—proof against being moth-eaten, and not in the least subject to dampness from any change in the weather; besides if drenched or kept in water for any considerable time it will not rot. It is invariably used all over Kumaon, and in great request in many parts of the plains for the purpose of writing nasbd-námis, or genealogical records, deeds, &c., from its extraordinary durability. It is generally made about one yard square, and of three different qualities. The
best sort is retailed at the rate of 40 sheets for a current rupee [Is. 10d], and at wholesale 80 sheets. The second is retailed at the rate of 50 sheets for a current rupee, and 100 at wholesale. The third is of a much smaller size, is retailed at 140 sheets, and wholesale 160 to 170 for the rupee. The following is the very simple method of manufacturing this paper:—

"After scraping off the outer surface of the bark, what remains is boiled in fair water with a small quantity of the ashes of the oak,—a most necessary part of the ingredients, which have the effect of cleaning and whitening the stuff. After the boiling, it is washed, and immediately beat to a pulp with small mallets on a stone, so that when mixed up in a vat with the fairest water it has the appearance of dour and water. It is then spread on moulds or frames made of common bamboo mats."

Thus ends Wallich’s notice of this interesting plant.

From what has been here written, the general inference would appear to be that the pulp, in bricks or otherwise, could not be procured in any large quantity for the supply of paper factories; although, as in many other cases, it might be employed to usefully supplement existing and available materials.

Perhaps the Society of Arts was the medium through which, as Mr. Hodgson states, the pulp was supplied to the English manufacturers, who pronounced so favourably upon it, or it may have been through the Court of Directors. From the character of the plant, and the elevation at which it grows, I am of opinion that it might easily be grown in England, even on poor soils. Lieut. Murray says it is found on the bleakest spots; but my experience is quite to the contrary. I have always found it growing best with forest trees, even in shade, and nourished by the free leaf-mould formed of the decayed oak-leaves. At the same time I am bound to admit I have found it growing in other situations, more bleak and exposed. Major Hay, who was long in the hills, always found it with and under trees, and agrees with me that it seldom exceeds three feet in height.

(Extract from Journal in 1845.)

Near the residence of a Lama at Kardang, in Lāhūl, we saw a number of Bilotiās making paper from the bark of a tree they say they get in Kullā, called “Bajīl,” a species of Daphne. A number of people were beating it into a pulp, which others made into round balls; and, a little further on, the paper was being made in oblong and square forms of a large size, entirely for the purpose of having religious books printed on it, and not for sale. The form was made of a light wooden frame, covered with rather a coarse cloth, on which the pulp was washed. I saw a quantity of the paper drying, but not the process of putting it on the cloth.

NOTES ON THE CAVE OF PANCHALEŚVARA IN MOUJE BHAMBURDE, TĀLUKĀ HAVELI, ZILLĀ PŪṆĀ.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C.S.

This cave is mentioned by Dr. Wilson in his first Memorandum on the Ancient Remains of Western India, and by Mr. Fergusson, who gives a woodcut from a sketch by Daniell, tolerably accurate as representing the style of architecture, but failing as regards the general appearance of the place. It has also been at least twice photographed, but I am not aware that any copies are now in print. During the past monsoon I had an accurate plan taken of it, which is now with the Archaeological Surveyor, and I think the following notes may be useful.

It is in "a rocky hillock forming a gentle swell of the ground" close to the cattle bazaar of the village of Bhamburde, opposite Pūṇā, immediately north of a small hill crowned by a Muhammadān pirasthān, and east of a large quarry.

The entrance is through a tunnel about twenty feet long and five wide. This—which has suffered a good deal from time, and is now partly supported by masonry—opens into the east side of a court averaging 95 feet north and south by 90 east and west, and ten feet below the surface of the ground around. The centre of this court is occupied by the Nandi pavilion, which is remarkable and, I believe, unique.† It is hewn

---

† A square pavilion stands in front of the large Śaiva cave at Ambā or Mominibād.—Ed.
out of the rock in situ, and was originally supported by twelve pillars round the outside, and four in square in the centre. The four eastern pillars have come down during the last five years, with that part of the roof which they supported. Between the outer circle and inner square of pillars is an annular cistern about two feet deep, which was within my time kept filled with water. The Nandi and four inner pillars rest upon an insulated plinth or pedestal in the cistern. The roof of this pavilion is externally carefully smoothed and dressed into the shape of an umbrella, except at the very top; where the original rock surface remains,—not having been high enough, apparently, for the architect to finish his design. There is no trace of his having made any structural addition, either here or over the main cave. The rest of the courtyard is almost filled up by a modern well and garden.

The facade of the cave occupies the whole west side of the court, and is 96 feet long, exclusive of the thickness of two pilasters. These and eight free-standing pillars, plain and square, with bracket capitals, support the roof in front. The caves are very narrow, and dressed below; the entrance, a flight of five steps up from the court, and three down again into the cave, is between the centre pillars. The outer steps are flanked by two stone tigers couchant, hewn in situ. An aisle eight feet wide separates the front row of pillars from another precisely similar, having a great false architrave; and nine feet further in is a third row of the same character, but having only three pillars and a pilaster to the south of the central interval, as the south side of the cave here contracts eleven feet at a right angle, the north side retaining its direction. Between the third pillar from the south and fourth from the north is a small Nandi hewn in situ; and 6½ feet inside of this third row of pillars is the shrine, containing three cells hewn in a mass of rock 39 feet long in front by 27½ deep to rear, left standing from floor to ceiling. The central cell is occupied by the linga of Mahādeva Panchalesvara; to his left is Bhavānī, to his right Ganapati. A wide and dark passage leads round the back of the shrine, and it would seem that the architect meant to have supported all this part of the cave with pillars and pilasters symmetrical with those in front; but much of the work remains merely blocked out. The maximum depth of the cave (in the north-west corner) is 75 feet. The northern section is now divided from the rest by a mud wall. Between the pilasters on the true north wall I found some traces of figures,—whether blocked out for sculpture, or destroyed, it was impossible to say,—and thought I recognized the outline of the Śaiva Āsāṁṭa Mātra. Below them were a few conventional ornaments, especially that derived from the Chaitya, and found in many Hindu caves, as at Elephanta. On the faces of the great Nandi's island-pedestal are panels of a pattern which suggests a similar derivation from the Buddhist rail. There are no other sculptures, but a few unintelligible marks in the south wall, and I found no inscription whatever. There is a small cell; the front supported by two pillars, in the south-west corner of the court; and in the hill, about a mile behind, there are three or four more, which are mere square cells. Modern Hinduism has the whole set in full possession, has adorned the cave of Panchalesvara with marvellous frescoes, and even hewn new images in the cells on the hill. There is nothing to show that the great cave has not always been, as now, a Śaiva temple. As regards its chronological position we have but little evidence. The long open front and rows of pillars point to the period of the Badami caves; the Nandi pavilion hewn in the court reminds one of Elora and the solid shrine of Bhakēśvara, which is in fact the nearest Brahmanical cave (58 miles off as the crow flies), and the one which to my mind presents most points of affinity. All of these, however, are much more ornate than the cave of Panchalesvara, which, for its originality and vigour of design, deserves to be a good deal better known than it is, though lying at the very doors of one of the largest European stations in India.

THREE KÖNGÜ INSCRIPTIONS.*
BY THE REV. F. KITTEL, MERKARA.

The following Old Kanarese inscriptions in the letters of the period (resembling those of pronunciation of Kanarese, Ködäga, and other peoples, the name of the country is Köögua (not Köögə with the long
the Kadamba inscriptions) are from three stone-tablets in the woods of Kiggatnadu, the south-eastern taluk of Kodagu (Coorg). They are in places neighbouring the Lakshmanatirtha river, which enters the Kaveri beyond the frontiers of the province. No. I., which is in the lands of Perga or Pegga, i.e. 'big village'), No. II. in those of Bili or Ba-liūr (i.e. 'bright village'), and No. III. in those of Kottur (i.e. 'well-arranged village') in the Lakunda jungle. Neither Lakunda (i.e., probably, 'high tank') nor Kottur are mentioned in the grant, but Kallada (or 'stone district') is a name which seems to be now forgotten.

The great river in Nos. I. and II. perhaps is the Lakshmanatirtha, which is still so called, with this difference only, that Kārī (i.e., probably, 'red bank') is meant. The Kārī temple, for which grant No. I. was intended, was never built. At Biliūr, not far from Jalur, not far from the stone-tablet that originally stood on the

Sanskrit drains of the country, now-a-days often identified with the Koyambattūr (Chumbattūr) district, is called a Kēgā. Thus also Kēgānu (Coorg) is the country, and Kōgānu a native of Coorg. Kōgānu, Kōgāna, and Kōgān are Sanskritised forms. Though Kēgānu and Kōgānu more than probably have the same root (Kād), there seems to be no historical proof for the identity of the names. Among the Kōgānas of our time there is a well-known family called the Kōgān house,—a secondary evidence as to the influence of the Kēgānu over at least a portion of Coorg. It does not appear to be so old as these inscriptions; the Bādaga on the Nilagiri hills still use these sounds in their language.

† See Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 387.

1 People of Perga told me that this No. I. had been inspected by Mr. L. Bice; see Ind. Ant. vol. II. p. 155. Cf. Dr. Burnell's So.-Ind. Pfaces. p. 27, n. 1.

§ Cf. Lēkkigandī (or Lakshman), Ind. Ant. vol. II. pp. 390-393.

|| Pērmānanda (or Pērmān気, the dabling of the consonant after the Pērich being optional. If this is preceded by a short vowel; cf. Sābdamanidarpāna, Mungalore edition, p. 340) is Pērmānanda (or Pērmāna), a term honorifically used instead of the great one himself. In Kannarese poetry, e.g. "I tell your foot or feet is frequently used for "I tell you." Assi, the foot, or eṣhā, the foot (twice in the present inscriptions), are often personified in Kannada, Tamil, and Malayāla, and who was the last king of the dynasty (i.e. Potran); in a compound is followed by a vowel, its is becomes e (i.e. long); see Sābdamanidarpāna, pp. 213, 214). If no linguistic license has taken place as to the form of Pērmāna, the first part of the title is simply taken from the Malayaśa Pērmāna or Pērmān.

The proper name Kāchamalla figures also in Līngayta legends, e.g., in the story of king Bhairava of Sāmara, by Ṣāyunda, wherein (chapter I. v. 385) two Līngaytas of that name are introduced. In Tēlugu "Kāchamalla" is the next successor of the donor of the Nāgamāla grant (of 777 A.D.), a Bāsikkamaṇda (i.e., the younger brother of his predecessor; and as the fourth ruler after him, and the second after Satyavākyarāya (Rīja) Malānāla II. is mentioned, in whose reign, A.D. 804, a temple was built upon some land in the midst of the Kārī, and who was the last king of the dynasty (i.e. Potran). The year 894 is only seven years in advance of the date in Ho. II.;—from which it might be concluded that here (Satyavākyarāya) Kōgīni or Kōngu-varma dharma māhārājā dhīrājā, which, like Pērmānanda, is also in each grant, is nothing but a name of the dynasty, at the head of which, as is known, stands Kōgīni varma dharma māhārājā dhīrājā, who was the last king of the dynasty (i.e. Potran).

The inscription No. II. bears the date of S. S. 809 (A.D. 887), so that its donor lived one hundred and ten years after Prīthvī Kōgīni.

Dr. Burnell's So.-Ind. Pfaces. p. 27, n. 1.

The general title of the donor or donors, Pērmānanda (i.e. 'potentato') occurs in each of the grants. Apparently his real name, or the name of one of them, Kāchamalla, is given in No. I.,—from which it might be concluded that here (Satyavākyarāya) Kōgīni or Kōngu-varma dharma māhārājā dhīrājā, which, like Pērmānanda, is also in each grant, is nothing but a name of the dynasty, at the head of which, as is known, stands Kōgīni varma dharma māhārājā dhīrājā, who was the last king of the dynasty (i.e. Potran). The Satyavākyarāya in the beginning of the title perhaps means the same as, in grant No. II., the Satyavākyarāya added to Jinālaya or the Jinai doctrine.

The inscription No. II. of the present plates, 894 is only seven years in advance of the date in Ho. II.;—from which it might be concluded that here (Satyavākyarāya) Kōgīni or Kōngu-varma dharma māhārājā dhīrājā, which, like Pērmānanda, is also in each grant, is nothing but a name of the dynasty, at the head of which, as is known, stands Kōgīni varma dharma māhārājā dhīrājā, who was the last king of the dynasty (i.e. Potran).

Dr. Burnell's So.-Ind. Pfaces. p. 27, n. 1.

The general title of the donor or donors, Pērmānanda (i.e. 'potentato') occurs in each of the grants. Apparently his real name, or the name of one of them, Kāchamalla, is given in No. I.,—from which it might be concluded that here (Satyavākyarāya) Kōgīni or Kōngu-varma dharma māhārājā dhīrājā, which, like Pērmānanda, is also in each grant, is nothing but a name of the dynasty, at the head of which, as is known, stands Kōgīni varma dharma māhārājā dhīrājā, who was the last king of the dynasty (i.e. Potran).

The inscription No. II. bears the date of S. S. 809 (A.D. 887), so that its donor lived one hundred and ten years after Prīthvī Kōgīni.

Dr. Burnell's So.-Ind. Pfaces. p. 27, n. 1.

The general title of the donor or donors, Pērmānanda (i.e. 'potentato') occurs in each of the grants. Apparently his real name, or the name of one of them, Kāchamalla, is given in No. I.,—from which it might be concluded that here (Satyavākyarāya) Kōgīni or Kōngu-varma dharma māhārājā dhīrājā, which, like Pērmānanda, is also in each grant, is nothing but a name of the dynasty, at the head of which, as is known, stands Kōgīni varma dharma māhārājā dhīrājā, who was the last king of the dynasty (i.e. Potran).
ganî Mahâdhirâja, the donor of the Nâgamañgala copper-plate grant. The donor of No. I. is called the sovereign of Sripura, which is mentioned also in the Nâgamañgala grant at least once, but perhaps thrice (if Śrīcara means the same). According to the Merkara and Nâgamañgala plates, the sixth Kûngga king,—Kûn- ganî Mahâdhirâja, was “the beloved son of the sister of Krishnavarma Mahâdhirâja, who was the sun in the sky of the fortunate Kâdamba race.” This statement connects the rulers of Banavasâ with those of Sripura; and from a grant of A.D. 1075-6, published by Mr. Fleet,‡ we learn that even at that time the connection had not only not been severed, but on the contrary had somehow become closer; for in that grant the very titles of the Kûnggas in the present grants are used by the Kâdambas. It states: “While the fortunate Gaṅga Śrīpetarsā, the supreme king of great kings (mahârajâdhirâja), the supreme lord, the excellent lord of the city of Kollâpurâ (Kollâpurasvarasvâra), the lord of Nandagiri (Nandagirinâtha),” &c. And further in a grant of A.D. 1055-6, published by the same, the Châlukya king Pûrmanâdi Vikramâdiyâdeva has the same titles attached to his name. Kollâlapura of Coorg No. I. is written exactly as in the Kâdamba grant; the Kollâlapura of Nos. II. and III. (Kollâlapura by syncope) is the Kollâlapura of the Châlukya grant.¶ On the common epithet of Pûrmanaâi some remarks are already made in a note.

After such identity it is only natural to find that “the 96,000 royal representatives of the countries” (kâsamantakâlendra vishayapragyanâvata) of the Nâgamañgala grant, or, as they are briefly styled in Coorg Nos. I. and II., “the 96,000 people,” are also adduced in the said Châlukya grant. The Mâlepâs (Malapas, Malavas), however, who at the time of Pûrmanâdi I. (A.D. 950-51), the subordinate of the Châlukya king Vikramâdiyâ, were the enemies of the Châlukyas, and in later times (towards the end of the 12th century) of the Kâdamba chieftains of Govâ, and probably also of king Vîrâballâja of the Hâysalas (A.D. 1193)*, in the Kagganâdu grants appear as the friends of the Kûnggas.

The emblem of No. III. is simply an elephant, which combined with others appears also at the top of the tablets I. and II.:—

**On No. 1.**

![Image 1](https://example.com/image1)

**On No. 2.**

![Image 2](https://example.com/image2)

---

‡ Cf. Peddore, “the great river,” in the present inscriptions.
¶ Ind. Ant. vol. IV. p. 203.
* The last form of the name occurs also in another inscription, according to note 2, p. 203, ibid.; it often changes place with n, as does ḷ with ḷ.
* See the reprint of Mr. Fleet’s paper, p. 16.
Translation.

Hail! When the Isvara year which was the eightieth one in connection with it? the hundreds of the years that had passed since the time of the Sakaking (S. 780?) was current;—
Hail! Satyavakya Kogurvarna, the supreme king of virtuous sovereigns; the excellent lord of Kolapura; the protector of Nandagiri; the fortunate Bhamalilla,

1 Swasti Sakaniyipaktilasamavatana Satangi,

2 Vaidhurjiva Kolapurusvaravarmanandhirakisamastma "Rachamallila Vennamanadigal vadavasannarayapalagopalkshila

Na-nirasunam talpadavasangal svastisamastanasatrasangalapthumaligal tadvarshasyantarapcUlguumsuklapakshada dadharanandi smaat "Pramanadigal.

3 Rajadhiraja Kolapurusvaravarna.

4 Smyat raktsargshasuktsapalagrahanabhikarakara' scui.

5 Translation.

Thus the reading may have been the letter mta.

6 According to the Cyclic Tables, to Hr. C. P. Brown’s

7 It appears just before it (in the original below it), and further that the decimal parts (sen) in the adjective form proksha has been in the original. Such a requires a following, that is, the sign of the genitive plural,—with a vowel and bindu (the eightieth one in connection with?) the sign of the genitive plural,—with a vowel and bindu. Hence the long vowel sound. It is not left of the following consonant. The reading may have been satiiledkshatmattra or satiiledkshatmattra.

8 regarding to Mining Myal, # Regarding the final binding

9 Gobhaidarmanandiyavarna Sakalipata Janataviryyayatigal Perggadunima po.

10 Bhrdharanastu Jiniyasayaka Sakunipla Uti klasanvaravatugalant unugubuchantya varshu-ka pravattisattiriva svasti satyavakyapragy vaigevarmvalvarunam; ma-najaharajiraja-Kovilapurusvaravarna Nandhirikraha Jhavina-

11 Pertamanadigal rajyagoshthahchaksugdy padbiken.

The dots denote that in the original a few letters are completely uninterpreted. The letter f proves that f has disappeared just before it (in the original below it), and further that the decimal parts (sen) in the adjective form proksha has been in the original. Such a requires a following, that is, the sign of the genitive plural,—with a vowel and bindu denoting the value of the first part of the deciml number. What is left of the following consonant bears a very resemblance to the lower portion of the letter bee. Thus the reading may have been nasikshatmattra or nasikshatmattra. According to Mr. C. P. Brown’s Cipher Tables, S.S. 779 was an Isvara year, thus 809, 80, 8. If S. S. 779 could be made to correspond to S. S. 780 (80 = 11000), this year would not be far from the date of S. S. 809 in the second the Permmanadigal; when the Nandivara (day) of the bright lunar fortnight of the month Phalguna in that year was the chair-day;—hail! when he who is terrible by being adorned with a strong right fore-arm in which rests the sword that is formidable when (he) seizes the precious pearls that burst forth out of the globes of the propound-globe-bearers, (viz.) the troops of the elephants of all enemies, (and) who is pleased with him who carries the ball-platter of gold (?), was ruling over the rich shores of the great river of Kumbhassas;—prosperity to Jina’s order!—the fortunate Annatavirya Ayya, who was the beloved disciple of the Bhavasokha Sripupa Vardita that was the beloved disciple of Sripupa Siddhantadulova, who was an inhabitant of Sripa Bhalgata, obtained (these, the village, etc.), so that the village of Vergyas as well as the new rent became (his) acquisition not to be moulded with. Regarding these (there are) two witnesses: the nine-six thousand people, the five (tributary) chiefs, the seven ascetics of the great river, and those who guard this (arc) the four Malapas, the five hundred people, and the five spokesman. Any one who destroys the grant of the sovereign of Sripura becomes guilty of destroying Bhrapita, a thousand Brahmans, a thousand brown cows, (and) of the (other) five great crimes; to any one who guards this (across) great virtue. Chananda Ayya’s writing. Grant of the title of the village of Pergga.

II.

Bhrdharanastu Jiniyasayaka Sakunipla Uti klasanvaravatugalant unugubuchantya varshu-ka pravattisattiriva svasti satyavakyapragy vaigevarmvalvarunam; ma-najaharajiraja-Kovilapurusvaravarna Nandhirikraha Jhavina-

12 Perggadunim basadiya sanaun.

13 Svanipataabhishekangeyda padamadri.

14 Kalasuihvatsam gillmiiurombattaya var-

15 "Hail! When he who is terrible by being adorned with a strong right fore-arm in which rests the sword that is formidable when (he) seizes the precious pearls that burst forth out of the globes of the propound-globe-bearers, (viz.) the troops of the elephants of all enemies, (and) who is pleased with him who carries the ball-platter of gold (?), was ruling over the rich shores of the great river of Kumbhassas;—prosperity to Jina’s order!—the fortunate Annatavirya Ayya, who was the beloved disciple of the Bhavasokha Sripupa Vardita that was the beloved disciple of Sripupa Siddhantadulova, who was an inhabitant of Sripa Bhalgata, obtained (these, the village, etc.), so that the village of Vergyas as well as the new rent became (his) acquisition not to be moulded with. Regarding these (there are) two witnesses: the nine-six thousand people, the five (tributary) chiefs, the seven ascetics of the great river, and those who guard this (arc) the four Malapas, the five hundred people, and the five spokesman. Any one who destroys the grant of the sovereign of Sripura becomes guilty of destroying Bhrapita, a thousand Brahmans, a thousand brown cows, (and) of the (other) five great crimes; to any one who guards this (across) great virtue. Chananda Ayya’s writing. Grant of the title of the village of Pergga.

15 Him the fortunate; A—

16 Anuam chinwria (puf gold’) may be hence of food.

17 Sidhantadeva, who was an inhabitant of Sri Bhalgata, obtained (these, the village, etc.), so that the village of Vergyas as well as the new rent became (his) acquisition not to be moulded with. Regarding these (there are) two witnesses: the nine-six thousand people, the five (tributary) chiefs, the seven ascetics of the great river, and those who guard this (arc) the four Malapas, the five hundred people, and the five spokesman. Any one who destroys the grant of the sovereign of Sripura becomes guilty of destroying Bhrapita, a thousand Brahmans, a thousand brown cows, (and) of the (other) five great crimes; to any one who guards this (across) great virtue. Chananda Ayya’s writing. Grant of the title of the village of Pergga.

18 Letters in denote that their value is doubtful:
KÖNGÛ INSCRIPTION. No. II.
or large trenches, originally were intended for ladahgas, landmarks. (expressed by a bindu in the original) before ed, the bindu, cognizable appears below its place. liandi, the B ha t ar a of the established truth. ana afterwards, though not clearly, inserted below its place in the line. maydd &c, houses/ is a slip of the chisel. * Or * overseers, i.e. Brāhmapas.

When the religions and literature of India had succumbed to the determined scrutiny of the first

five hundred people, and the five spokesmen (are) the guardians of it. Any one who destroys this becomes a person that is guilty of destroying Bāraṇasi, a thousand pācetas, a thousand brown cows, (and) of the (other) five great crimes. The teacher Sejā's writing, Bōjī ār pays eighty gold (coins) of full weight, as well as eight hundred (measures of) paddy.

Translation.

Prosperity to Jina's order! When the eight hundred and ninth year of the time past since the Śaka king (Ś. 8.9) was current;—hail! Satya vā kya Kōṅgu vi ν a r ma, the supreme king of the virtuous sovereigns; the excellent lord of Kōvaḷaḷapura; the protector of Nanda ā girī;—in the eighteenth year when (after) the kingdom-inauguration of the fortunate Pērm manādi was being performed, on the lucky fifth day of the month Phālguṇa, Pērm manādi, who is free from obligations to all the (other) feet, gave even the twelve hamlets* (that formed) Bījī īr on the shores of the great river, for the Jina temple of the Word of Truth of the Pōṇī trench†, to Sarva nandideva who was a disciple of Siva nandi, the Bhaṭāra of the established truth. The ninety-six thousand people, the five and the eight farmers (are) the witnesses regarding this. The thousand Malēpas,† the

great prosperity of European scholars, the equally attractive field of architectural art was not long wanting in enthusiastic explorers, and the blank left by the neglect and ignorance of the two preceding centuries of European settlement and conquest was rapidly filled up. It was then discovered that, how-

† The plural—Pērm manādi.
ever strong might be the claims of India to an old and high civilization, there were no material evidences of it which could claim a place beside the similar memorials of Egypt, Assyria, and Greece.

This achievement was accomplished by the labours of Buchanan, Wilson, Sykes, MacKenzie, and Prinsep,—not to mention other names nearly as great; but it was reserved for a later writer, Mr. James Fergusson, to leave the limited field of more or less provincial inquiry, and to bring together, in one comprehensive body, the complete results of all that had been effected by the several preceding investigators.

When one considers the influence the religions of the Indian races have on all their actions and aspirations, and the aid to a proper comprehension of such influence which is afforded by an intelligible acquaintance with the architectural remains of the country, the Government and the public alike are under a deep debt of obligation to one who has done, and is doing, so much in this important sphere of knowledge. And the feeling of obligation must be accompanied by a large admiration for the learning and energy of a writer who has effected single-handed, without Government assistance, not only the first popular introduction of the subject to the European and Asiatic public, but who, after a lapse of upwards of thirty years, still maintains his position as the sole and most able instructor of the world in this section of antiquities. The effect which the writings of Mr. Fergusson have had on the knowledge and taste of the present generation is admittedly great; numbers must owe to his architectural works their first awakening from the ignorance or indifference about the country and its peoples which distinguishes but too many of the European residents of this country.

The learned societies of Europe and the East have long acknowledged all this by every means in their power; but the general public has few opportunities of doing so, and we have therefore thought fit to preface this brief notice of the work under review with some tribute of admiration and respect for one who has done so much to aid in the intelligent government of India, and to render attractive the country in which so many thousands of his countrymen have to find their homes.

It is impossible to deal here in any adequate way with the subject-matter of a work of this description. The space of the Quarterly Review would scarcely allow that to be done. It will only be practicable to refer briefly to the more marked features of the book, and to point out its unique and indispensable character for the purposes alike of the resident and of the European traveller.

Mr. Fergusson's History of Architecture first appeared in 1855, as part of his well-known Hand-Book. A new edition, very liberally enlarged, appeared in 1862, also as part of a similar general History of Architecture in all Countries. The present is therefore a third revision; but it has borne such an entire remodelling, and has been so considerably added to, that it is practically and professionally a new and distinct work. The bulk of it, or more than 600 pages out of 750, is taken up by the Indian styles, to which the following remarks will almost exclusively refer; but the sections devoted to Burmah, Siam, Cambodia, Java, and China are quite as complete as existing materials permit, and important as the best extant authority for the architectural history of the countries to which they refer.

The great features of the work are that it does not confine itself to the mere technicalities of architectural science, and that it expresses small sympathy with those who look at the knowledge of the exterior phases of structural art merely as so many means of aesthetic enjoyment, and as ends in themselves. On the contrary, whilst fully satisfying the reader who may take up the work with no higher objects than those we have indicated, it aims at the broader and deeper task of illustrating and explaining, in the full spirit of modern architectural inquiry, the entire body of Indian history and progress. To effect this is a Titan operation, demanding a very familiar comprehension of the varied results of the philological, ethnological, and mythological research of the last century, as well as a personal acquaintance with much of the area of a great country still insufficiently supplied with communications; but, vast as the task involved may be, it has been gone through with never-failing freshness, and with results which speak plainly for themselves.

To proceed to particulars: the illustrations—which, with a few exceptions, are of the extreme beauty and accuracy of the earlier editions—have been increased in number from 200 to 400, and there are two good maps in which the principal non-Musulman architectural localities are plainly laid down in colours. If we mistake not, these maps are the first of their kind, and will be found of the utmost value. The body of the text is preceded by an Introduction in which the origin, movements, and statistics of the pagan races are clearly and laboriously disentangled from the reeling difficulties in which they have, so far as the general reader is concerned, so long lingered; and at the end of the book about 50 pages are devoted to the disputed points of Indian chronology, which necessarily affect so closely the whole
framework of the author’s conclusions. The rest is divided into seven Books, the two first and the last of which (those, namely, relating to the Buddhist, Jaina, and Indo-Saracen styles) apply more or less generally to the whole country, and derive their titles from the respective creeds which have now, or had formerly, similar universal lodgment; while the remaining four books (those, namely, devoted to the Himalayan, Dravidian, Chalukyan, and Northern or Indo-Aryan styles) are limited by the geographical or ethnical boundaries which the titles themselves define.

As the oldest existing works are those of the Buddhist period, the author commences with them, and this section will be found to be a marked advance on the previous editions, both in text and illustrations. It is still impossible to announce the discovery of any remains anterior to the time of Asoka, or the second half of the third century before Christ, but the work which has been done in filling up the gaps behind that starting-point in the architectural history of India is great and important. First and foremost it is shown that the store of information we have derived from the beautiful and peculiar tope railings has been unexpectedly and lavishly increased by General Cunningham’s discoveries at Barhut, in the state of Rewa. The rail found at this spot is said to date 200 B.C., and offers to furnish us with as full information of the worship and life of that remote age as do the richly sculptured similar works, of a later period, at Sanchi, Amravati, and elsewhere. Next, there are fresh illustrations and particulars of the gloomy and impressive Chaitya caves at Bhaja, Bedsa, Nasik, and other places on the western side of India—excavations which are admitted to throw back the date, perhaps to the first or second century before Christ. If research proceeds at this pace, and is followed up by intermediate supporting facts, we shall shortly be better acquainted than we are at present with the exact relations of Buddhism and Jainsim, and we shall stand face to face with a style which can boast of a remote antiquity and a present active progression and development. The history of the Jaina styles, if it is ever completed, may place us in possession of one of the most remarkable chapters in the architectural history of the world.

The foregoing are merely the more prominent which we believe the author was the first to direct attention they deserve, not only on account of their beauty in arrangement and ornament, but also for their present significance as the architectural expressions of a peculiar and wealthy sect whose building tendencies have not been exhausted by the passage of two thousand years. In the earlier editions of his book Mr. Fergusson was unable to point to any Jaina work earlier than the eleventh century, but he now shows that discoveries at Mathurā may be reasonably expected to throw back the date, perhaps to the first or second century before Christ. If research proceeds at this pace, and is followed up by intermediate supporting facts, we shall shortly be better acquainted than we are at present with the exact relations of Buddhism and Jainism, and we shall stand face to face with a style which can boast of a remote antiquity and a present active progression and development. The history of the Jaina styles, if it is ever completed, may place us in possession of one of the most remarkable chapters in the architectural history of the world.

The clusters of temples reared by this sect at Pāliitāna, Gīrnār, Ābu, and Parasānāth are amongst the most striking groups India anywhere affords, and the beauty of individual examples ranges from that of the smallest shrines to that of the massive and lofty towers which still crown the summit of the fortress of Chittor, in Rājpūtanā. All will be found effectively illustrated and treated by Mr. Fergusson, as well as accompanied by an exposition of the history and belief of their founders. There is one effective feature in the Jaina temples—shared in to some extent by those of the Chalukyan style—which reminds us strongly of the Ptolemaic structures of Egypt. We refer to the half-length screens placed in front of or between the pillars of the porticoes. Those who some years ago tried so hard to find resemblances between the Egyptian and Indian styles can hardly have failed to notice this, but we do not remember their having done so.

Book III. ranges over the entire extent of the Himalayas, not omitting the utterances of some hope that the architectural treasures of Tibet will not much longer remain sealed to the subjects of the—in that direction—powerless Empress of India. With respect to Kāśmir there is small novelty, but the Nepālēse and Kāṅgrā divisions for the first time take their proper place, and are copiously illustrated.

Of the Book devoted to the Dravidian style, it is only needful to point to the last chapter, relating to the civil examples, as the remainder of this part of the work deals with ground already well trodden,
though it will by no means be exhausted until a successor to Colonel Mackenzie appear.

The Châlukyan style has received only quite a recent recognition, and a great deal yet remains to be revealed regarding it; but we think it is destined to take a very high place in popular favour.

The specimens of it range upwards from the Krishna to the Mahândrâ and Taptâ. None of the Krishân examples are of much antiquity, but all, without exception, are of considerable originality and very great beauty of detail, and a greater contrast could not be imagined than that between these tasteful and lavishly decorated structures and some of the more or less clumsy and repulsive—though otherwise interesting and important—buildings of Orissa, whose boundary they touch on the north-east.

We must confess we have personally a strong admiration for the Châlukyan style, and the Bombay presidency is to be congratulated on possessing so fair a share of its examples, if suitability to European taste is to be any criterion in our judgment of Indian architecture.

The next Book, containing the history of what the author calls the Northern or Indo-Aryan style, is much longer than the foregoing, as it embraces the immense area between the Indus and Brahmaputra west and east, and the Hima-

layas and Vindhyas north and south,—not without extending here and there into the ground appropriated principally by other orders. The author explains why he has adopted this title for the style that prevailed among the Hindus in Northern and Central India from the seventh century to the present day; but, although we cannot presume to offer a better name for it, we think the alternative term Indo-Aryan is much wanting in distinctiveness, as it embraces alike the structural Hindu works of the North-West Provinces, Orissa, and Central India, as well as those of those of Dharwâd, and the Brahmântical rock-cut temples of that district and of the western presidency generally.

This important section contains much that we cannot pretend to have yet done much more than skimmed, and we would only point to its multitude of illustrations, and its merits as containing, amongst other novelties, the results of Râjendra-

lâla Mitra's researches in the north-east, and of those of the Bombay Archaeological Survey in the south-west; while in this instance, as in others, the chapter on the civil architecture is now and attractive.

It only remains to refer to the book devoted to the Muhammadan orders. Although the examples of the works of the Pârshâns and Mughuls are so wide-spread and striking, they have been less fortunate in illustration than the provincial styles of Bijâpur and Ahmadâbâd, and Mr. Fergusson's account of them—in the continued absence of adequate illustrations in the Bengal Archaeological Reports—must long remain our only means of enlightenment. It omits illustrations of none of the more important groups—those, namely, of Ghazni, Dîlî, Jaunpur, Bengal, Guja-

rât, Mâlîwâ, Kûlbarga, and Bijâpur; and, under two or three of these heads there are material additions, both in text and drawings—mostly the entire work of the author himself, as it is not necessary to remind the readers of this journal that Mr. Fergusson's labours are nowhere confined to mere compilation or criticism of the work of others: he is always equally at home in the Buddhist, Jaina, Hindu, and Saracenic styles, and has his own materials and long-digested conclusion in all cases. Chief among the new features of this Book is a complete set of drawings—elevation, plan, and section—of the great Tomb of Akbar at Sikandra, near Agra—a work which has hitherto never been properly dealt with.

With respect to our knowledge of the main features and principal examples of the Muhammadan styles little now remains to be performed, but a great deal yet remains to be done in detail. The province of the Panjâb, for instance, which contains one of the old capitals—Lâhor, surrounded by Mughul monuments of the greatest historical interest and beauty,—is entirely unknown to the architectural public, and apparently will long remain so, although even some of its minor cities, such as Multân and Sirhind, contain buildings second to none in interest in their proper grade. The coloured tile-work decorations of Lâhor and Multân have yet to be illustrated, and it may be predicted that they will delight those who admire that vivid and beautiful, though perishable, class of ornament.

When commencing our remarks it was stated that they would be limited to the Indian section; but we cannot close without some reference to the author's chapter on the architecture of the island of Java. This will prove of absorbing interest to those who are unacquainted with the previous editions of the work, or with the Dutch and other books from which the information is drawn. We are so accustomed to consider the Indian races as non-maritime and unenterprising beyond the sea, that, although many years have elapsed since the discovery of the Indian origin of the Javan works, the new facts and illustrations now furnished by Mr. Fergusson cannot fail to be widely acceptable, and to heighten the interest which has always been felt in this romantic chapter in the history of Eastern architecture. Not the least valuable and curious feature of the remains of Java
is that of the disclosure of traces of tree and serpent worship,—two forms of early religious veneration which are apparently destined to afford a wide ground of controversy for some years to come,—a ground which Mr. Ferguson has hitherto made peculiarly his own. Many of the new illustrations in this volume, although inserted for other purposes, would serve as additions to those of the author's great special work on this subject,—of Tree and Serpent Worship.

W. S.

**MISCELLANEA.**

**DONATION OF ORIENTAL MSS. TO THE EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY.**

Mr. John B. Baillie, of Leys, has presented to the University a fine collection of Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit manuscripts, formed by his grandfather, Lieutenant-Colonel John Baillie, who wished them made heirlooms of his estate of Leys. His representatives, however, being desirous that they should be placed in some public institution, have handed them over to the University of Edinburgh under certain conditions, one of which is that they are to be kept separate as the "Leys Collection." Among them is a complete copy of the Mahabharata in the form of a roll 228 feet long, 5½ inches wide, profusely illustrated in colours and gold, representing scenes from the poem. The writing (Devanāgarī character) is very minute, there being twelve lines in every inch. This MS. is perhaps one of the most beautiful of the kind that has reached this country. Another fine MS. is a copy of the Shāh Nāmeh of Firdausi, also richly illustrated with illuminations of Oriental scenes. The rest of the collection consists of historical works, firmāns beautifully illuminated, &c., and numbers in all about 125 volumes.

—Scotsman.

**TRANSLATION OF A JAPANESE SONG.**

The woods are green in summer time.
And bright with blossoms gay;
The murmur of the happy leaves
Sounds all the golden day.

But here a tree, by lightning struck
Is black, and bent, and bare;
It lifts its arms like phantom fell,
And dims the sunny air.

A bird, that built its dainty nest
'Mong branches blossomed-o'er,
Still sings upon the withered bough
As blithely as before.

O fond and faithful as the bird
That haunts the leafless tree,
Though darkest clouds of sorrow came
My sweet love stayed with me!

Dr. **GOLDSTÜCKER'S THEORY ABOUT PÂNINI'S TECHNICAL TERMS.**

By Prof. Rāmkrishna G. Bhānḍārkae, M.A.

The following article on Goldstücker's Pāṇini was published in two issues of Native Opinion, 21st and 28th August 1864. Appearing in a mere newspaper, it probably did not then attract the notice of scholars generally, and is now inaccessible. I am encouraged to reprint it in the Indian Antiquary by the suggestion of Prof. F. Kielhorn in a note to his article on the Mahabhdshya (ante, vol. V. p. 281). I have given it as it was, save misprints, and a remark of a personal nature omitted from the last paragraph.

Dr. Burnell, in his recent work, The Aināra School of Sanskrit Grammarians, has adopted Prof. Goldstücker's theory about Pāṇini's technical terms, which, as was shown by me twelve years ago, is based on a misapprehension of the sense of certain passages in the Mahabhdshya and Kåyata, and like him is led to awkward conclusions. He gives some technical terms used by the older grammarians, which, he says, Pāṇini does not define in accordance with the theory. Of these, however, bhuvachana, dvivachana, and bahuvachana are defined in I. 4. 103. Upasarga, nipāta, ḍhātu, and pratyaya Pāṇini defines likewise, but, as observed by me in the following paper, he defines them by enumeration, or by unfolding the denotation of the term instead of the connotation, and in the case of dhātu in the latter way also. All Indian grammarians so understand him, and Patanjali himself does so. Dhātu is defined in I. 3. 1. This sātra is interpreted in several ways. First, that bhā and others are dhātus, i.e. the name dhātus is given to bhā and others. The effect of this, we are told in the Mahabhdshya,* is that these get the name from the fact of their being put in that list. Secondly, bhā and others which are of the nature of ēd, i.e. which show action, are roots; and thirdly, ćand others which are of the nature of bhā, i.e. signify being, are roots. What is to be gathered from the last two is that words which show action or being

* पाटेन भाषाविज्ञानीयतादर्पण भविष्य। p. 293a.
are roots. This is a connotative definition. After finishing his explanation in this way, Patanjali says, "Well, then, if we have got a connotative definition now, the enumeration should not be made," which means that the purpose of a connotative definition and enumeration is the same, viz., the explanation of a term. In the same manner the word nipaṭa is explained in I. 4. 56. This is an adhihāra, wherefore the term is to be repeated in each of the śūtras that follow, up to I. 4. 97; and the sense is that all the particles contained in these śūtras are nipaṭas. Upāsarga is defined, i.e. explained by enumeration, in I. 4. 59. As to pratyaśya it is defined in III. 1. 1. This also is an adhihāra, and by this adhihāra we are told a name is given to certain things which are set forth in the following śūtras, to which the adhihāra extends.† Bhavishyat and Vartamāna are no saṃjñās, or technical terms, of Pāṇini,—they are no more so than the words bhāta, adhyatama, and paroksha, which are also used. The same remark applies to anta, pradhāna, and pratyatma. Anuvāda, like vīsarga, is merely the name of a sound, and is not a saṃjña, the object of which in Pāṇini’s grammar is abbreviation, or to be able to state much in a short compass.

Then follow terms which, according to the theory, Pāṇini should not define, but as a matter of fact he does. Dr. Burnell gives reasons why he does, the chief of which is that Pāṇini’s new anuvāndhas and the pratyaḥdāra śūtras rendered the definition of these terms necessary. Prof. Goldstücker’s theory is that Pāṇini does not define those terms which admit of an etymology and which are “known and settled otherwise.” Now these terms have an etymology, were settled by the previous grammarians, were known before Pāṇini, Pāṇini uses them in the same sense, and there is no difference whatever; why, then, should he define them if the theory be true? What difference does his new system of anuvāndhas and the pratyaḥdāra śūtras make? He would be justified in defining them only if he used them in a different sense. But this is not the case. And if his new anuvāndhas make any difference, why should he not define the names of cases, prathamadh, dwitiyaḥ, &c., where also he has got new anuvāndhas. There are also some terms with the definition of which his innovations have nothing to do, but still he defines them notwithstanding they were used by writers who are believed to have preceded him. Pāṇini defines sanhitā as paraḥ samikaranaḥ (I. 4. 109), and these are exactly the words in which Yāska explains the term.§ Yāska uses the terms abhyāsa and abhyāsta also, and in Pāṇini’s definition of them there are no anuvāndhas or pratyaḥdāras. The first of these observations will also stand against the reason advanced by Dr. Burnell for defining anuvāndha. Pāṇini’s definition of dhanurdaḥ he considers to be no definition. I do not see why. It is as good a definition as that of gyāna or gyādhiḥ. The sense of the śūtra (II. 3. 48) is, “the first case as used in addressing is called dhanurdaḥ.” In the definition of upadikā Dr. Burnell thinks that the reason given in the Mahābhāṣya for the use of aloha is to avoid making it apply to the indicator letters. I do not find this reason in that work. The quotation given in the footnote to support the statement means quite another thing. Its purport is this:—A question is raised whether the “aloḥa is to be taken as an adjective to antya.” The answer is, “Yes, it deserves to be so taken.” What follows is a vārtikā setting forth an objection against this construction. The objection is, “If aloha is to be taken as an adjective to antya, there should be a prohibition against [the application of the term to] a collection of letters,” i.e. in this construction, the sense of the śūtra is “what precedes the last letter (lit. the end in the shape of a letter) upadikā,” in which case the term would apply to the two letters ṛṣ of the root ṛṣa. A long discussion follows, with which we have nothing to do at present. I need say nothing more.

PĀṆINI, HIS PLACE IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE; an Investigation of some Literary and Chronological Questions which may be settled by a Study of his Works. By Theodor Goldstücker: London, Trübner & Co.

Dr. Goldstücker is undoubtedly one of the most learned, laborious, and accurate European Sanskrit scholars we have known, and the wide and, in many cases, precise knowledge he has shown of Indian grammatical literature is particularly striking to a Hindu, especially when we call to mind that he has not had the advantage of oral instruction, which is available only in India. Of course a minute knowledge of the complicated and subtle speculations of Indian grammarians can only be acquired after a hard study of at least five years, and from a Pandit-teacher. But much of what they have written is barren and useless, and no European Sanskritist, or Indian scholar of the new stamp, would consider it worth his while to study it. The doctor’s critical acumen, the skill with which he has brought together stray facts to illustrate and...

† यदि तारी रुपम् संग्रहवधेन्द्र नेतामाः पाठः कल्पः।
‡ प्रस्तावः अधिकारियिय तत्त्वशंब्धा किश्चिवै।
prove his points, and the success with which he has combated the opinions of several scholars, command our admiration, though we are rather inclined to think he has handled some of his German friends somewhat roughly. His book is, however, not without its weak points, and there are three or four places where it appears to us to be particularly so. It is not our intention at present to write an elaborate review of it, but we will notice one point which bears materially on his theory about Pāṇini, the Indian grammatical legislator.

At page 166, Dr. Goldstücker lays down the four following propositions:—

1. That his (Pāṇini’s) Grammar does not treat of those sanjñās or conventional names which are known and settled otherwise.

2. That this term sanjñā must be understood in our rule to concern only such conventional names as have an etymology.

3. That it applies also to grammatical terms which admit of an etymology, but not to those which are merely grammatical symbols.

4. That such terms as ti, ghu, and bha were known and settled before Pāṇini’s Grammar, but that nevertheless they are defined by Pāṇini, because they are not etymological terms.

These four statements contain, according to Dr. Goldstücker, the principles which guided Pāṇini in the composition of his work, and are deduced as conclusions from one of his sūtras, Patanjali’s Bhāṣya on it, and Kātyāyaṇa’s gloss on the latter. Leaving these points for fuller examination at the end, let us in the first place consider if these principles are worthy of being made the basis of a stupendous grammatical superstructure, and bear an air of truthfulness about them, or if there is any external evidence to support them.

According to the first two statements, Pāṇini does not propose to teach sanjñās, and such sanjñās only as have an etymology. Does he, then, propose to teach sanjñās which are without etymology? The “only” would show that he does propose this. What, then, is meant by sanjñās without etymology? Are such sanjñās as Panchālī, Varāṇā, Angā, which are given by the commentators as instances of this sūtra and the previous one to which it refers, and which, therefore, are the sanjñās Pāṇini, according to them, does not propose to teach,—are these sanjñās, we ask, without etymology? If they are, according to Dr. Goldstücker, Pāṇini should teach them. If they are not, no instance can be given of a word existing in the language which is a sanjñā without etymology. If we bear in mind that two schools of etymology existed in India, viz. vyutpatti pāksa, according to which all words have an etymology, and avyutpatti pāksa, according to which some have, and some have not, and that Pāṇini belonged to the latter, as is asserted and believed by all śāstris, such words as panchālī and angā are sanjñās without etymology. And if this be joined with Dr. Goldstücker’s statement it will follow that Pāṇini should teach them. But as a fact he does not, if we believe the commentators. Now with regard to the vyutpatti pāksa, we see that the rule in question contradicts its doctrine, for according to that pāksa all words, sanjñās included, have etymology, while the rule makes a distinction between words with and words without etymology. If we suppose, then, that Pāṇini belonged to this pāksa, and at the same time that he observed the rule given by Dr. Goldstücker, we must either suppose him to have possessed an extremely illogical mind, or not to have proposed such a rule for his guidance. Upon either view of etymology, therefore, we maintain that the rule laid down in statements Nos. 1 and 2 could not have been followed by Pāṇini. We perfectly agree with statement No. 1 if it be separated from No. 2, and not interpreted according to the sense of the word sanjñā given in the latter.

In the next two statements, this rule is applied to grammatical sanjñās. Such as are settled are not to be defined, but an exception is to be made in favour of such as have no etymology, e.g. ti, ghu, bha, &c. We see no reason why Pāṇini should select for definition, out of settled sanjñās, such as have no etymology. For, both those with and those without etymology are settled, i.e. have a fixed meaning. The mere circumstance of some sanjñās having etymology, which may be considered as the reason why they are not to be defined, is immaterial, as the presence of etymology in the one case is nearly the same thing as its absence in the other. The etymology of a technical term is not sufficient to explain its sense, and in some cases it affords no clue to it whatever. How can the etymology of the terms bahuvrthi, parāyaya, &c. enable one to understand their grammatical signification? In so far, then, as words with etymology are used in philosophical treatises in a sense different from the etymological, or from that they have in common language, they are in the same predicament as unmeaning words, such as ti, ghu, &c. We see, therefore, no reason why Pāṇini should have selected the latter for definition, and not the former.

Having laid down this theory about Pāṇini’s technical terms, Dr. Goldstücker proceeds to test its accuracy with reference to several sanjñās which he knows were settled before Pāṇini’s time, such as pratyaya, prathamad, kṛtyād, tatpuruṣa,
Muhidvali (p. 71 Asiatic Society's edition) nanas

Kinds. For instance, in Yiavanatha Pancha-krity writers do not confine themselves to the former, latter a definition, no less than the former. Sans-resorted to. Even European logicians call this an easier process, and may in several cases be Unfolding the extension or denotation is often mother ways than by unfolding the connotation. Is to point out or distinguish certain things from the rest, and this may be done (dejmitum) of a term. But the principal object of a definition which unfolds the connotation or, comprehension, Hr. Goldstucker's sense. He seems to under¬stand by the term such a definition as definition of an Anuahrdhrana, &c. were invented before Panini. Dr. Goldstucker says he has not; but he has defined them by enumerating the several kinds or individuals contained under them. To Hindu writers such a definition is as good as the other, especially when the latter is difficult to give. We think Panini in defining terms by enumeration was not guided by any such rule as the learned doctor lays down, but he simply consulted his own convenience. When he found it difficult to give a connotative definition, he gave a denotative one. How difficult would it have been to give a connotative definition of bhavvyrthi, for instance, containing as it does such compounds as drdhvrat, sutra, dcjyadukht, so different from such a one as kalamadhyap.

We now proceed to examine the principal evidence upon which Dr. Goldstucker's theory is based. As we said before, he quotes a s&tra of Panini, the bh&shya on it, and Kalyatata's gloss on the latter, and deduces his theory from these. When we read this portion of the book for the first time, we were surprised to find that the doctor had not understood one of the passages correctly. The s&tra referred to is tadifitam sadhdhamaagbhavau. Dr. Goldstucker's translation:—"Such matter will not be taught by me, for it falls under the category of conventional terms which are settled (and therefore do not require any rule of mine;" literally, "for it has the authority of a san&nd or conventional term")."

This translation is generally correct. We would, however, translate it more closely, thus:—"About that no rule ought to be made, or, that should not be taught, for [the knowledge derived from] the meaning of conventional terms in common usage is an authority in itself." The word संज्ञा is explained by Patanjali as संज्ञा, which again Kalyata interprets by संवयत्र, अवगम, i.e. knowledge obtained (from usage). In a note on that portion of the Siddhanta Kavumali (Cowell's edition), where this s&tra is explained, we find the following:—संज्ञा—लोकभाषायिनीतिः मनोवलन, "san&nd—that is, usages—are here an authority or evidence."

The bh&shya on this s&tra is as follows:—किं या
Dr. Goldstücker's translation:—"When Pānini speaks of conventional terms which he will not teach, because they are settled, does he mean, by this expression, such technical terms as śi, ghu, bha, and the like? No; for sānjña is here the same as sāndjanna, understanding (i.e. a name which has a real meaning, that may be traced etymologically)."

We do not see whence he gets the first portion up to "settled." If by implication, we do not think it necessary to understand anything. There is nothing even in the śāstra which has the sense of the words "which he will not teach, because they are settled." For, what Pānini says he will not teach is that something which he has alluded to in the last śāstra but one, and which we shall explain hereafter. We do not deny that this sense may be inferred from what Pānini actually says. We have, however, a particular objection to the expression "are settled" if it is to be made applicable to the terms śi, ghu, bha, &c., and understood to mean "settled before Pānini's time." There is nothing in the original corresponding to the words enclosed in brackets in the above extract, nor is the sense deducible from any word occurring in the Sanskrit passage. There is, no doubt, the word sānjnānam, but we do not know upon what authority Dr. Goldstücker renders it by "a name which has a real meaning that may be traced etymologically." Kāyṛa explains it by अन्तःग, संस्त्वस्य, as noticed above, which means 'knowing, comprehending,' as is evident from his use of the word अन्तःग (differing from अन्तःग only in the form and not in the sense of the termination) in the sentence which follows. It is this:—

When one pronounces the words अन्तःग, दारा, वर्गः, the अन्तःग (knowledge or comprehension) of a particular number and gender which is produced is authority, so is it in the case of पञ्चक्षरः. As when one pronounces the words अन्तःग, दारा, वर्गः, वर्णः, the अन्तःग (knowledge or comprehension) of a particular number and gender which is produced is authority, so is it in the case of पञ्चक्षरः, वर्गः. Our translation of the passage in question is as follows:—"Is it on account of the authority of (or evidence afforded by) such artificial sānjña as śi, ghu, bha, &c. that that (the thing mentioned in a previous śāstra alluded to before) should not be taught." "No," says he (Gonardiya—Pānaji). "Sānjña is knowing, comprehending." Upon the whole, Dr. Goldstücker's translation of these two passages is not very objectionable, but they do not afford any basis for his theory, except for that portion of it which is comprehended in the first statement. But the quotation from Kāyṛa is altogether misunderstood. It runs thus:—

And Dr. Goldstücker's translation of this is as follows:—

"The question of Pānaji is suggested by the rule of analogy. His answer is in the negative because the context itself has greater weight than (mere) analogy. Now, though such terms as śi, ghu, bha, and the like, are settled terms, this circumstance would not have been a sufficient reason in an etymological work (like that of Pānini) for leaving them untaught, for they have no etymology. 'Understanding' (as Pānaji paraphrases sānjña), means mentally entering into, understanding the component parts of a word [or it means the words which admit of this mental process]."

In the first sentence of this, the word analogy is not, we think, a correct translation of अन्तःग, though it will do. "Proximity" is the word that is equivalent to it, and it ought to have been used here, for a reason which we shall presently explain. But it is the third sentence that is the most objectionable of all. We have no hesitation in saying that the translation here is totally wrong, and it is upon this misapprehension of the sense of the original that the doctor's peculiar theory is based. We hope our readers will excuse us for the assurance with which we speak; for we feel that no native scholar acquainted with grammatical phraseology would ever think of translating or interpreting the passage thus. As Dr. Goldstücker translates it, he appears to connect the nouns पञ्चक्षरः and अन्तःगः with the genitive दिगः, and renders the former by "being settled." But अन्तःगः ought really to be taken with the genitive रुक्तवर्णालः, and then the translation would be "for leaving रुक्तवर्णालः untaught," instead of "for leaving them (i.e. śi, ghu, bha, &c.) untaught," as the Doctor translates it. रुक्तवर्णालः is rendered "an etymological work," which, if one remembers what the śāstra is about, he will at once see is altogether wrong. The word can by no stretch of sense mean that. रुक्त means here 'a rule,' as it frequently and primarily does, and not 'a work.' Various instances may be quoted in support of this, the last pāda of the verse about Uṇḍari, वर्णक्षमस्वस्वस्वस्य, being one. पञ्चक्षरः is rendered as "having no etymology," for which, however, there is not the slightest authority. रुक्त never means etymology; it means connection. Besides, from the context it is clear that the sentence cannot have the sense Dr. Goldstücker attaches to it. For, the whole subject..."
here discussed by these several writers is this:—

The last but one śūdra of Pāṇini is तुर्य युक्तादस्य निःविकाराः, which is thus explained in the Siddhānta Kaumudi:—तुर्य शति * पूजवितिविक्रिययानि सति। पञ्चालाताः निविद्यां अजनपाः: कवचाः। अध्येतः ।&c., meaning that when an elision called तुर्य takes place, the gender and number (of the noun) are like those of the base; कवचाः: &c. are instances. This requires some explanation. In virtue of the śūdra तय निःविद्याः 4, 2, 69, the termination शति should be added to the noun कवचाः: for instance, when we have to form a derivative signifying 'the place of residence or the country of the Panchālas,' a race of Kṣatriyas (hence the above example from the Kaumudi is worded पञ्चालाताः निविद्यां अजनपाः). Now, this termination is elided in virtue of the śūdra अजनपाः 4, 2, 81. If the termination were not dropped, the word expressing 'the country of the Panchālas' would be तुर्याचारः. Then the question is, when it is dropped, what should be the gender and number of the noun signifying the country? Should it be masculine and singular, as the word अपंचार देश is? If so, the derived word would be तुर्याचारः. But "No," says Pāṇini (in the śūdra तुर्य युक्तादस्य &c.): "the gender and number should be like those of the original base," which is कवचाः: and, consequently, masculine and plural. Hence the noun signifying the residence or country of the Panchālas is पञ्चाचार। "Now," says Pāṇini (in the śūdra तद्विद्या युक्तादस्य निःविद्याः), "what is the use of teaching by a rule the number and gender of these?" though he himself, in conformity with the practice of former writers, has done so. "They are to be learnt from usage, which has its authority, just as the gender and number of अपेक्षे and द्विः are, and the authority of a grammarian is not required. For तुर्याचार: अध्येत: &c. in the plural are, actually the names of certain countries, and, as such, ought to be used in the plural, in deference to the existing usage, and there is no necessity of a grammarian's teaching it." Upon this Patanjali raises the question, "Pāṇini speaks of the authority (of usage in matters) of names. Are they such names as तिः ग्नह, ब्हा, &c., which have an authority" (as used by Pāṇini, not necessarily by any other writer)? "No," says he. Kaiyāṭa explains why Patanjali put to himself such a question. "He was led," he says, "to it by the proximity of these artificial grammatical सन्ज्ञाः, or that he wanted to determine which were the sanjñās meant by Pāṇini; because if he did not do so, a reader might, on reading the śūdra in question, be led to think first of them (the grammatical names) rather than of any other, on account of their proximity to or connection with the science he is studying. In order, therefore, to avoid all such confusion, he proposes the question, and answers it by saying 'No.'" Why not? "(Because)," says Kaiyāṭa, "(सन्ज्ञामिदं समां भक्त्वां) the authority of the grammatical sanjñās, तिः ग्नह, ब्हा, &c. (न हेतुपरमाः is) no reason (as the authority of sanjñās in common language such as Panchalād, अंगर, &c. is) why युक्तादस्य अजनपाः (a śūdra or rule expounding that when a termination is elided by the use of the term तुर्य, the gender and number are like those of the base) (अपेक्षे देशोः) should not be taught." And is it so? "(सच्चिदान्त) Because there is no connection" (i.e. no connection between such sanjñās as तिः ग्नह, ब्हा, जूड़ा:). This is the whole sense of the three quotations. युक्तादस्य, i.e. like the base, is the word used by Pāṇini in the last but one śūdra (तुर्य युक्तादस्य); &c.; and Kaiyāṭa first adds the word मात्र to it, when the whole means "the being like the base," and then the word अपेक्षे a rule, and thus the expression युक्तादस्य अपेक्षे signifies literally "the rule about the being like the base," and not an etymological word, as Dr. Goldstücker understands.

It will thus be apparent that Dr. Goldstücker's theory is based upon a misapprehension of a passage in Kaiyāṭa; and, now that we have explained its true sense, and have also shown that the theory is not supported by any external evidence, it must, we think, be given up. The first of the doctor's four propositions if separated from the second we agree with, as we have already intimated. Dr. Goldstücker's opinion, that the sanjñās तिः ग्नह, and ब्हा were known before Pāṇini's time, may be true, for aught we know, but it does not at all follow from anything in the passages commented on. He was, no doubt, led to it by the expression तद्विद्या युक्तादस्य निःविद्याः, which he renders by "such terms as तिः, ग्नह, ब्हा, are settled terms." We would translate it as the authority of such sanjñās or terms as तिः, ग्नह, ब्हा, &c., and this authority they derive from their having been used and defined by Pāṇini. The whole grammatical literature based on his work does not admit the authority of any other person except him, his continuator and critic Kātyāyaṇa, and his ब्हदेयक्षारः. And even if we take Dr. Goldstücker's translation, the expression "are settled terms" does not necessarily mean "settled" before Pāṇini's time, or by any other person than Pāṇini himself.

* तुर्य is explained as नृति, because in a word the sense of the base is intimately joined to that of the सन्तुष्ट or ter-
THE FRAGMENTS OF THE \textit{INDIKA} OF MEGASTHENES.

COLLECTED BY DR. E. A. SCHWANBECK: BONN, 1846.

TRANSLATED BY J. W. MCCRINDLE, M.A., GOVERNMENT COLLEGE, PATNA.

\begin{quote}
Dr. Goldstücker has also misunderstood the sense of the \textit{sutra} \textbf{स्त्रोत} which is thus explained in the \textit{Kauvuma}t\textit{ॉ}:
\begin{quote}
स्त्रोत: \textbf{स्त्रोत} \textbf{रे} \textbf{श्} \textbf{श्} \textbf{स्}
\end{quote}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
We must here close our remarks; our space does not admit of a more lengthened notice, at least for the present. We hope our observations will be calmly and patiently attended to by European Sanskritists... In several cases, though not in all native students of Sanskrit have a greater right to be listened to than Europeans. We are also desirous that these few remarks should not give pain to Dr. Goldstücker, who, especially by his articles on our religious difficulties published in the Westminster Review, has shown himself to be our decided friend, who sympathizes with our fallen condition, and is ready to help us by his friendly advice in our race towards a brighter future.
\end{quote}
disputed point how far Seleukos had carried his arms into India when he attempted its conquest:—

"Justinus (xv. 4) says of Seleukos Nikator, He carried on many wars in the East after the division of the Macedonian kingdom between himself and the other successors of Alexander, first seizing Babylonia, and then reducing Baktria, his power being increased by the first success. Thereafter he passed into India, which had, since Alexander's death, killed its governors, thinking thereby to shake off from its neck the yoke of slavery. Sandrokottos had made it free; but when victory was gained he changed the name of freedom to that of bondage, for he himself oppressed with servitude the very people which he had rescued from foreign dominion. Sandrokottos, having thus gained the crown, held India at the time when Seleukos was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleukos came to an agreement with him, and, after settling affairs in the East, engaged in the war against Antigonos (302 B.C.)."

"Besides Justinus, Appianus (Syr. c. 53) makes mention of the war which Seleukos had with Sandrokottos or Chandragupta king of the Prasiai, or, as they are called in the Indian language, Prachyas*:—He (Seleukos) crossed the Indus and waged war on Sandrokottos, king of the Indians who dwell about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him. So also Strabo (xv. p. 724):—'Seleukos Nikator gave to Sandrokottos' (or a large part of Arianê). Conf. p. 659:—The Indians afterwards held a large part of Arianê, (which they had received from the Macedonians), 'entering into marriage relations with him, and receiving in return five hundred elephants' (of which Sandarakottos had nine thousand)—Plinius, vi. 22-5; and Plutarch, Alex. 62:—'For not long after, Androkoctos, being king, presented himself to Sandrokottos with five hundred elephants, and with six hundred thousand men attacked and subdued all India.' Phylarchos (Fragm. 28) in Athenaeus, p. 18 D., refers to some other wonderful enough presents as being sent to Seleukos by Sandrokottos.

"Diodorus (lib. xx.), in setting forth the affairs of Seleukos, has not said a single word about the Indian war. But it would be strange that that expedition should be mentioned so incidentally by other historians, if it were true, as many recent writers have contended, that Seleukos in this war reached the middle of India as far as the Ganges and the town Pali mbo thor,—nay, even advanced as far as the mouths of the Ganges, and therefore left Alexander far behind him. This baseless theory has been well refuted by Lassen (Do Penteky, Ind. 61), by A. G. Schlegel (Borlinser Calender, 1829, p. 31; yet see Benfey, Erasch. u. Griber. Encycl. v. Indien, p. 67), and quite recently by Schwanbeck, in a work of great learning and value entitled Megasthenes Indica (Bonn, 1846). In the first place, Schwanbeck (p. 13) mentions the passage of Justinus (i. ii. 10) where it is said that no one had entered India but Semiramis and Alexander; whence it would appear that the expedition of Seleukos was considered so insignificant by Trogus as not even to be on a par with the Indian war of Alexander.† Then he says that Arrianus, if he had known of that remote expedition of Seleukos, would doubtless have spoken differently in his Indica (c. 5. 4), where he says that Megasthenes did not travel over much of India, 'but yet more than those who invaded it along with Alexander the son of Philip.' Now in this passage the author could have compared Megasthenes much more suitably and easily with Seleukos.‡ I pass over other proofs of less moment, nor indeed is it expedient to set forth in detail here all the reasons from which it is improbable of itself that the arms of Seleukos ever reached the region of the Ganges. Let us now examine the passage 'Indos, of the Indians around it,' as Schwanbeck himself has written it (p. 18).

† The following passage of the Indian comedy Mythra, which seems to favour the Indian expedition:—'Meanwhile Kusumapura (i.e. Pataliputra, Palimbothra) the city of Chandragupta and the king of the mountain regions, was invested on every side by the Kiratas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Persionas, Bakrtians, and the rest.' But 'that drama,' (Schwanbeck, p. 18), 'to follow the authority of Wilson, was written in the tenth century after Christ,—certainly ten centuries after Seleukos. When even the Indian historians have no authority in history, what proof can dramas give written after many centuries? Yavanas, which was also in later times the Indian name for the Greeks, was very anciently the name given to a certain nation which the Indians say dwelt on the north-western boundaries of India; and the name nation (Manu, x. 4) is also numbered with the Kambojas, the Sakas, the Paradas, the Pallavas, and the Kiratas as being corrupted among the Kshatriyas. (Conf. Lassen, Zeitschrif für d. Kunde des Morgenländes, III. p. 245.) These Yavanas are to be understood in this passage also, where they are mentioned along with those tribes with which they are usually classed.
in Plinius which causes many to adopt contrary opinions. Plinius (Hist. Nat. vi. 21), after finding from Diogenes Laertius and Pseudo-Aristotle the distances of the places from Portus Caspicus to the Hyphasis, the end of Alexander’s march, thus proceeds:—‘The other journeys made for Seleucus Nikator are as follows:—One hundred and sixty-eight miles to the Hesidrus, and to the river Jomanes as many (some copies add five miles); from thence to the Ganges one hundred and twelve miles. One hundred and nineteen miles to the Bhodophas (others give three hundred and twenty-five miles for this distance). To the town Kaliapaxa one hundred and sixty-seven. Five hundred (others give two hundred and sixty-five miles), and from thence to the confluence of the Jomanes and Ganges six hundred and twenty-five miles (several add thirteen miles), and to the town Palimbothra four hundred and twenty-five. To the mouth of the Ganges six hundred and thirty-eight’ (or seven hundred and thirty-eight, to follow Schwanbeck’s correction)—that is, six thousand stadia, as Megasthenes put it.

“The ambiguous expression reluctat Seleucus Nikator peragrata sunt, translated above as ‘the other journeys made for Seleucus Nikator,’ according to Schwanbeck’s opinion, contain a dative of advantage, and therefore can bear no other meaning. The reference is to the journeys of Megasthenes, Démachos, and Patroklés, whom Seleucus had sent to explore the more remote regions of Asia. Nor is the statement of Plinius in a passage before this more distinct. (‘India,’) he says, ‘was thrown open not only by the arms of Alexander the Great, and the kings who were his successors, of whom Seleucus and Antiochus even travelled to the Hyrcanian and Caspian seas, Patrocles being commander of their fleet, but all the Greek writers who stayed behind with the Indian kings (for instance, Megasthenes and Dionysius, sent by Philadelphus for that purpose) have given accounts of the military force of each nation.’ Schwanbeck thinks that the words circumventis atiam . . . Seleuco et Antiocho et Patrocle are properly meant to convey nothing but additional confirmation, and also an explanation how India was opened up by the arms of the kings who succeeded Alexander.’

“The following statements,” continues Müller, “contain all that is related about Megasthenes:

‘Megasthenes, the historian, who lived with Seleucus Nikator’—Clem. Alex. p. 152 Syll. (Fragm. 42); ‘Megasthenes, who lived with Sibyrtios’ (ibid. XVIII. iii. 8), had gained the satrapy of Arachosia in the third year of the 114th Olympiad (b.c. 329), and was firmly established in his satrapy by Antipater (Arrianus, De Successis. Alex. § 86, ed. Diels). He joined the expedition of 316 (Diod. xiv. 14. 6), but being called to account by him he sought safety in flight (ibid. xix. 22. 4). After the defeat of Eumenes, Antigonus delivered to him the most troublesome of the Argasapides (ibid. G. xivii. 3). He must have afterwards joined Seleucus.
transcriber, but I prefer Schwanbeck’s opinion, who thinks it should be written καὶ Πάτρου ἐτὶ τοῦτο μεῖον, ‘and who was even greater than Póros.’ If this correction is admitted, everything fits well.

“The time when he discharged his embassy or embassies, and how long he stayed in India, cannot be determined, but he was probably sent after the treaty had been struck and friendship had sprung up between the two kings. If, therefore, we make the reign of Sandrokottos extend to the year 288, Megasthenes would have set out for Palambothra between 302 and 288. Clinton (F. H. vol. III. p. 482) thinks he came to the Indian king a little before B.C. 302.”

While the date of the visit of Megasthenes to India is thus uncertain, there is less doubt as to what were the parts of the country which he saw; and on this point Schwanbeck thus writes (p. 21):

“Both from what he himself says, and because he has enumerated more accurately than any of the companions of Alexander, or any other Greek, the rivers of Kabul and the Panjab, it is clear that he had passed through these countries. Then, again, we know that he reached Pataliputra by travelling along the royal road. But he does not appear to have seen more of India than those parts of it, and he acknowledges himself that he knew the lower part of the country traversed by the Ganges only by hearsay and report. It is commonly supposed that he also spent some time in the Indian camp, and therefore in some part of it, but where cannot now be known. This opinion, however, is based on a corrupt reading which the editions of Strabo exhibit. For in all the MSS. of Strabo (p. 709) is found the reading:—Γενώμων δ’ οὖν εἰς τὸ Σανδροκόττου στρατοπέδῳ ἦσθιν ὁ Μεγασθένης, τεταρακοσία μιράδων πλῆθος ἠγάμενος, μηδείσαν ἡμέραν ἄθνων δύον ἀνθρώπων κλέματα πλείων ἤ διακοσίων δραχμῶν δέκα. ‘Megasthenes says that those who were in the camp of Sandrokottos saw,’ &c. From this translation that given by Guarrini and Gregorio alone is different. They render thus:—‘Megasthenes refert, quum in Sandrococci castra venisset . . . vidississe,’ ‘Megasthenes relates that when he had come into the camp of Sandrokottos, he saw,’ &c. From this it appears that the translator had found written γενώμων. But since that translation is hardly equal in authority even to a single MS., and since the word γενώμων can be changed more readily into the word γενομένως than γενομένοις into γενομένως, there is no reason at all why we should depart from the reading of all the MSS., which Casaubon disturbed by a baseless conjecture, contending that γενομένοις should be substituted,—inauthentic as it is evident from Strabo.

† Regarding the manner in which Strabo, Arrianus, and Arrianus (V. vi. 2) that Megasthenes had been sent to Sandrokottos,—which is an argument utterly futile. Nevertheless from the time of Casaubon the wrong reading γενομένοις which he promulgated has held its ground.”

That Megasthenes paid more than one visit to India Schwanbeck is not at all inclined to believe. On this point he says (p. 23)—

“That Megasthenes frequently visited India recent writers, all with one consent, following Robertson, are wont to maintain; nevertheless this opinion is far from being certain. For what Arrianus has said in his Épop. Alex. V. vi. 2,—Πολλάκις δὲ λέγει (Μέγασθηνης) δήμοσιαν παρὰ Σανδρόκοττον τῶν ἱδιῶν βασιλέας, does not solve the question, for he might have meant by the words that Megasthenes during his embassy had frequent interviews with Chandragupta. Nor, if we look to the context, does any other explanation seem admissible; and in fact no other writer besides has mentioned his making frequent visits, although occasion for making such mention was by no means wanting, and in the Indíkka itself of Megasthenes not the slightest indication of his having made numerous visits is to be found. But perhaps some may say that to this view is opposed the accurate knowledge which he possessed on all Indian matters; but this may equally well be accounted for by believing that he made a protracted stay at Pataliputra as by supposing that he frequently visited India. Robertson’s conjecture appears, therefore, uncertain, not to say hardly credible.”

Regarding the veracity of Megasthenes, and his value as a writer, Schwanbeck writes (p. 59) to this effect:

“The ancient writers, whenever they judge of those who have written on Indian matters, are without doubt wont to reckon Megasthenes among those writers who are given to lying and least worthy of credit, and to rank him almost on a par with Kádisias. Arrianus alone has judged better of him, and delivers his opinion of him in these words:—‘Regarding the Indians I shall set down in a special work all that is most credible for narration in the accounts penned by those who accompanied Alexander on his expedition, and by Nearchus, who navigated the great sea which washes the shores of India, and also by Megasthenes and Eratostenes, who are both approved men (δοκίμων ἄνδρες).’ Ἅγγειος. Alex. V. v.

“The foremost among those who disparage him is Eratostenes, and in open agreement with him are Strabo and Pliny. Others, among whom is Diodorus, by omitting certain particulars related by Megasthenes, sufficiently show that they discredit that part of his narrative.”
“Strabo (p. 70) says, ‘Generally speaking, the men who have hitherto written on the affairs of India were a set of liars,—Deimachos holds the first place in the list, Megasthenes comes next; while Onesikritos and Nearchos, with others of the same class, manage to stagger out a few words (of truth).’ Of this we became the more convinced whilst writing the history of Alexander. No faith whatever can be placed in Deimachos and Megasthenes. They coined the fables concerning men with ears large enough to sleep in, men without any mouths, without noses, with only one eye, with spiderlegs, and with fingers bent backward. They renewed Homer’s fables concerning the battles of the cranes and pygmies, and asserted the latter to be three spans high. They told of ants digging for gold, and Pans with wedge-shaped heads, of serpents swallowing down oxen and stags, horses and all,—meantime, as Eratosthenes has observed, accusing each other of falsehood. Both of these men were sent as ambassadors to Panticothra,—Megasthenes to Sardokottos, Deimachos to Amirotechades his son,—and such are the notes of their residence-abroad, which, I know not why, they thought fit to leave.

“When he adds, ‘Patiokles certainly does not resemble them, nor do any other of the authorities consulted by Eratosthenes contain such absurdities,’ we may well wonder, seeing that, of all the writers on India, Eratosthenes has chiefly followed Megasthenes. Plinius (Hist. Nat. VI. xxii. 3) says: ‘India was opened up to our knowledge . . . even by other Greek writers, who, having resided with Indian kings,—as for instance Megasthenes and Dionysius,—made known the strength of the races which peopled the country. It is not, however, worth while to study their accounts with care, so conflicting are they, and incredible.’

Schwanbeck remarks:—‘Strabo—and, not unlike to Strabo—Arrianus, who, however, gave a much less carefully considered account of India, abridged the descriptions of Megasthenes, yet in such a way that they wrote at once in an agreeable style and with strict regard to accuracy. But when Strabo designed not merely to instruct but also to delight his readers, he omitted whatever would be out of place in an entertaining narrative or picturesque description, and avoided above all things what would look like a dry list of names. Now though this may not be a fault, still it is not to be denied that those particulars which he has omitted would have very greatly helped our knowledge of Ancient India. Nay, Strabo, in his eagerness to be interesting, has gone so far that the topography of India is almost entirely a blank in his pages.

‘Diodorus, however, in applying this principle of composition has exceeded all bounds. For as he did not aim at writing learnedly for the instruction of others, but in a light, amusing style, so as to be read with delight by the multitude, he selected for extract such parts as best suited this purpose. He has therefore omitted not only the most accurate narrations of fact, but the facts which his readers might consider as incredible, and has been best pleased to describe instead that part of Indian life which to the Greeks would appear singular and diverting. . . . Nevertheless his epitome is not without its value; for although we do not learn much that is new from its contents, still it has the advantage over all the others of being the most coherent, while at the same time it enables us to attribute with certainty an occasional passage to Megasthenes, which, without its help we could but conjecture proceeded from his pen.

‘Since Strabo, Arrianus, and Diodorus have directed their attention to relate nearly the same things, it has resulted that the greatest part of the Indika has been completely lost, and that of many passages, singularly enough, three epitomes are extant, to which occasionally a fourth is added by Plinius.

‘At a great distance from these writers, and especially from Diodorus, stands Plinius: whence it happens that he both differs most from that writer, and also best supplements his epitome. Where the narrative of Strabo and Arrianus is at present pleasing and instructive, and Diodorus charms us with a lively sketch, Pliny gives instead, in the baldest language, an ill-digested enumeration of names. With his usual wonderful diligence he has written this part, but more frequently still he writes with too little care and judgment,—a fact of which we have already seen numerous instances. In a careless way, as is usual, he commands authors, so that if you compared his accounts of Taprobane and the kingdom of the Prasi you would think that he had lived at different periods. He frequently commends Megasthenes, but more frequently seems to transcribe him without acknowledgment.’—pp. 56-58."

“These same writers, however, seeing they have copied into their own pages a great part of his Indika, cannot by any means have so entirely distrusted his veracity as one might easily infer they did from these judgments. And what of this, that Eratosthenes himself, who did not quote him sparingly, says in Strabo (p. 659) that, ‘he sets down the breadth of India from the register of the Stathmi, which were received as authentic,’—a passage which can have reference to Megasthenes alone. The fact is they find fault with only two parts of the narrative of Megasthenes,—the one in which he writes of the fabulous races of India, and the other where he gives an account of Herakles and the Indian Dionysius; although it so happens that on other matters also they regarded the account given by others as true, rather than that of Megasthenes.

‘The Aryan Indians were from the remotest period surrounded on all sides by indigenous tribes in a state of barbarism, from whom they differed both in mind and disposition. They were most acutely sensible of this difference, and gave it a very pointed expression. For as barbarians, even by the sanction of the gods themselves, are excluded from the Indian commonwealth, so they seem to have been currently regarded by the Indians as of a nature and disposition lower than their own, and bestial rather than human. A difference existing between minds is not easily perceived, but the Indians were quick to discern how unlike the barbarous tribes were to themselves in bodily figure; and the divergence they exaggerated, making bad worse, and so framed to themselves a mental picture of these tribes beyond measure hideous. When reports in circulation regarding them had given fixity to this conception, the poets seized on it as a basis for further exaggeration, and embellished it with fables. Other races, and these even..."
Indian, since they had originated in an intermixture of tribes, or since they did not sufficiently follow Indian manners, and especially the system of caste, so roused the common hatred of the Indians that they were reckoned in the same category with the barbarians, and represented as equally hideous of aspect. Accordingly in the epic poems we see all Brahmanical India surrounded by races not at all real, but so imaginary that sometimes it cannot be discovered how the fable originated.

"Forms still more wonderful you will find by bestowing a look at the gods of the Indians and their retinues, among whom particularly the attendants of Kuvera and Kārtikeya are described in such a manner (conf. Mahābhāra, ix. 2558 et seq.), that hardly anything which it is possible for the human imagination to invent seems omitted. These, however, the Indians now sufficiently distinguish from the fabulous races, since they neither believe that they live within the borders of India, nor have any intercourse with the human race. These, therefore, the Greeks could not confound with the races of India.

"These races, however, might be more readily confounded with other creatures of the Indian imagination, who held a sort of intermediate place between demons and men, and whose number was legion. For the Rākṣasas and other Pīṣāchas are said to have the same characteristics as the fabulous races, and the only difference between them is that, while a single (evil) attribute only is ascribed to each race, many or all of these are assigned to the Rākṣasas and the Pīṣāchas. Altogether so slight is the distinction between the two that any strict lines of demarcation can hardly be drawn between them. For the Rākṣasas, though described as very terrible beings, are nevertheless believed to be human, and both to live on the earth and take part in Indian battles, so that an ordinary Indian could hardly define how the nature of a Rākṣasa differs from that of a man. There is scarcely any one thing found to characterize the Rākṣasas which is not attributed to some race or other. Therefore, although the Greeks might have heard of these by report,—which cannot be proved for certain,—they could scarcely, by reason of that, have erred in describing the manners of the races according to the Indian conception.

"That reports about these tribes should have reached Greece, is not to be wondered at. For fables invented with some glow of poetic fervour have a remarkable facility in gaining a wide currency, which is all the greater in proportion to the boldness displayed in their invention. Those fables also in which the Indians have represented the lower animals as talking to each other have been diffused through almost every country in the world, in a way we cannot understand. Other fables found their way to the Greeks before even the name of India was known to them. In this class some fables even in Homer must be reckoned,—a matter which, before the Vedas were better known, admitted only of probable conjecture, but could not be established by unquestionable proofs. We perceive, moreover, that the further the epic poems of the Greeks depart from their original simplicity the more, for that very reason, do those fables creep into them; while a very liberal use of them is made by the poets of a later age. It would be a great mistake to suppose that those fables only in which India is mentioned proceeded from India; for a fable in becoming current carries along with it the name of the locality in which the scene of it is laid. An example will make this clear. The Indians supposed that towards the north, beyond the Himalaya, dwelt the Uttarākuri, a people who enjoyed a long and happy life, to whom disease and care were unknown, and who revelled in every delight in a land all paradise. This fable made its way to the West, carrying with it the name of the locality to which it related, and so it came to pass that from the time of Hesiod the Greeks supposed that towards the north lived the Hyperbo reans, whose very name was fashioned after some likeness to the Indian name. The reason why the Indians placed the seat of this happy people towards the north is manifest; but there was not the slightest reason which can be discovered why the Greeks should have done so. Nay, the locality assigned to the Hyperbo reans is not only out of harmony, but in direct conflict, with that conception of the world which the Greeks entertained.

"The first knowledge of the mythical geography of the Indians dates from this period, when the Greeks were the unconscious recipients of Indian fables. Fresh knowledge was imparted by Skylax, who first gave a description of India; and all writers from the time of Skylax, with not a single exception, mention those fabulous races, but in such a way that they are wont to speak of them as Ethiopians; by doing which they have incurred obloquy and the suspicion of dishonesty, especially Ktēsias. This writer, however, is not at all untruthful when he says, in the conclusion of his Indika (39), that 'he omits many of these stories, and others still more marvellous, that he may not appear, to such as have not seen these, to be telling what is incredible;' for he could have described many other fabulous races, as for example men with the heads of tigers (vṛghramuchda), others with the necks of snakes.
and some particular fragments that have survived the wreck of time." (p. 75.)

"Nor were the companions of Alexander able to disregard these fables,—in fact, scarcely any of them doubted their truth. For, generally speaking, they were communicated to them by the Brāhmans, whose learning and wisdom they held in the utmost veneration. Why, then, should we be surprised that Megasthenes also, following examples so high and numerous, should have handled those fables? His account of them is to be found in Strabo 711; Pliny, Hist. Nat. vii. 2. 14-22; Solinus 52." (Sch. p. 64.)

Schwanbeck then examines the fables related by Megasthenes, and having shown that they were of Indian origin, thus proceeds (p. 74):—

"The relative veracity of Megasthenes, then, cannot be questioned, for he related truthfully both what he actually saw, and what was told him by others. If we therefore seek to know what relation is to be placed on particular narrative, this other point must be considered, how far his informants were worthy of credit. But here no ground for suspicion exists; for on those matters which did not come under his own observation he had his information from those Brāhmans who were the rulers of the state, to whom he again and again appeals as his authorities. Accordingly he was able not only to describe how the kingdom of the Prāśī was governed, but also to give an estimate of the power of other nations and the strength of their armies. Hence we cannot wonder that Indian ideas are to be found in the books of Megasthenes mixed up with accounts of what he personally observed and with Greek ideas.

"Therefore to him, as to the companions of Alexander, it cannot be objected that he told too much. That he did not tell too little to give an adequate account of Indian affairs to Greek readers we know. For he has described the country, its soil, climate, animals, and plants, its government and religion, the manners of its people and their arts,—in short, the whole of Indian life from the king to the remotest tribe; and he has scanned every object with a mind sound and unprejudiced, without overlooking even trifling and minute circumstances. If we see any part omitted, a little only said about the religion and gods of the Indians, and nothing at all about their literature, we should reflect that we are not reading his veritable book, but only an epitome and some particular fragments that have survived the wreck of time." (p. 75.)

"Of the slight mistakes into which he fell, some are of that kind into which even the most careful observer may be betrayed, as for instance his incorrectly stating that the Vīpāśa pours its waters into the Irāvati. Others had their origin in his misapprehension of the meaning of Indian words; to which head must be referred his assertion that among the Indians laws were not written, but everything decided by memory. Besides he alleges that on those Brāhmans who had thrice erred in making up the calendar silence for the rest of their lives was enjoined as a punishment. This passage, which has not yet been cleared up, I would explain by supposing that he had heard the Indian word mārin, a name which is applied both to a taciturn person and to any ascetic. Finally, some errors had their source in this, that he looked at Indian matters from a Greek's point of view, from which it resulted that he did not correctly enumerate the castes, and gave a mistaken account of the Indian gods and other matters.

"Notwithstanding, the work of Megasthenes—in so far as it is a part of Greek literature and of Greek and Roman learning—is, as it were, the culmination of the knowledge which the ancients ever acquired of India: for although the geographical science of the Greeks attained afterwards a perfect form, nevertheless the knowledge of India derived from the books of Megasthenes has only approached perfect accuracy the more closely those who have written after him on India have followed his Indīka. And it is not only on account of his own merit that Megasthenes is a writer of great importance, but also on this other ground, that while other writers have borrowed a great part of what they relate from him, he exercised a powerful influence on the whole sphere of Latin and Greek scientific knowledge.

"Besides this authority which the Indīka of Megasthenes holds in Greek literature, his remains have another value, since they hold not the last place among the sources whence we derive our knowledge of Indian antiquity. For as there now exists a knowledge of our own of ancient India, still on some points he increases the knowledge which we have acquired from other sources, even though his narrative not seldom requires to be supplemented and corrected. Notwithstanding, it must be conceded that the new information we have learned from him is neither extremely great in amount nor weight. What is of greater importance than all that is new in what he has told us, is—that he has recalled a picture of the condition of India at a definite period,—a service of all the greater value, because Indian literature, always self-consistent, is wont to leave us in the greatest doubt.
It is yet an unsettled question whether the Indika was written in the Attic or the Ionic dialect.*

FRAGMENT I,
OR AN EPITOME OF MEGASTHENÉS.

(Diod. II. 35-42.)

(53.) 1 India, which is in shape quadrilateral, has its eastern as well as its western side bounded by the great sea, but on the northern side it is divided by Mount Hemódos from that part of Skythia which is inhabited by those Skythians who are called the Sakaí, while the fourth or western side is bounded by the river called the Indus, which is perhaps the largest of all rivers in the world after the Nile. 2 The extent of the whole country from east to west is said to be 28,000 stadia, and from north to south 32,000. 3 Being thus of such vast extent, it seems well-nigh to embrace the whole of the northern tropic zone of the earth, and in fact at the extreme point of India the gnomon of the sundial may frequently be observed to cast no shadow, while the constellation of the Bear is by night invisible, and in the remotest parts even Arcturus disappears from view. Consistently with this, it is also stated that shadows there fall to the south.

4 India has many huge mountains which abound in fruit-trees of every kind, and many vast plains of great fertility—more or less beautiful, but all alike intersected by a multitude of rivers. 5 The greater part of the soil, moreover, is under irrigation, and consequently bears two crops in the course of the year. It teems at the same time with animals of all sorts,—beasts of the field and fowls of the air,—of all different degrees of strength and size. 6 It is prolific, besides, in elephants, which are of monstrous bulk; as its soil supplies food in unsparing profusion, making these animals far to exceed in strength those that are bred in Libya. It results also that, since they are caught in great numbers by the Indians and trained for war, they are of great moment in turning the scale of victory.

(38.) 7 The inhabitants, in like manner, having abundant means of subsistence, exceed in consequence the ordinary stature, and are distinguished by their proud bearing. They are also found to be well skilled in the arts, as might be expected of men who indulge a pure air and drink the very finest water. 8 And while the soil bears on its surface all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also under ground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war.

9 In addition to cereals, there grows throughout India much millet, which is kept well watered by the profusion of river-streams, and much pulse of different sorts, and rice also, and what is called bosporum, as well as many other plants useful for food, of which most grow spontaneously. 10 The soil yields, moreover, not a few other edible products fit for the subsistence of animals, about which it would be tedious to write. It is accordingly affirmed that famine has never visited India, and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food. 11 For, since there is a double rainfall in the course of each year,—one in the winter season, when the sowing of wheat takes place as in other countries, and the second at the time of the summer solstice, which is the proper season for sowing rice and bosporum, as also sesamum and millet—the inhabitants of India almost always gather in two harvests annually; and even should one of the sowings prove more or less abortive they are always sure of the other crop. 12 The fruits, moreover, of spontaneous growth, and the esculent roots which grow in marshy places and are of varied sweetness, afford abundant sustenance for man. 13 The fact is, almost all the plains in the country have a moisture which is alike genial, whether...
it is derived from the rivers, or from the rains of the summer season, which are wont to fall every year at a stated period with surprising regularity; while the great heat which prevails ripens the roots which grow in the marshes, and especially those of the tall reeds.

14 But, further, there are usages observed by the Indians which contribute to prevent the occurrence of famine among them; for whereas among other nations it is usual, in the contests of war, to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees.

(37.) 15 India, again, possesses many rivers both large and navigable, which, having their sources in the mountains which stretch along the northern frontier, traverse the level country, and not a few of these, after uniting with each other, fall into the river called the Ganges.

16 Now this river, which at its source is 30 stadia broad, flows from north to south, and empties its waters into the ocean forming the eastern boundary of the Gangaridai, a nation which possesses a vast force of the largest-sized elephants. 17 Owing to this, their country has never been conquered by any foreign king: for all other nations dread the overwhelming number and strength of these animals. 18 [Thus Alexander the Macedonian, after conquering all Asia, did not make war upon the Gangaridai, as he did on all others; for when he had arrived with all his troops at the river Ganges, and had subdued all the other Indians, he abandoned as hopeless an invasion of the Gangaridai when he learned that they possessed four thousand elephants well trained and equipped for war.] 19 Another river, about the same size as the Ganges, called the Indus, has its sources, like its rival, in the north, and falling into the ocean forms on its way the boundary of India; in its passage through the vast stretch of level country it receives not a few tributary streams which are navigable, the most notable of them being the Hupani, the Hadsapés, and the Akesines. Besides these rivers there are a great many others of every description, which permeate the country, and supply water for the nurture of garden vegetables and crops of all sorts. 20 Now to account for the rivers being so numerous, and the supply of water so superabundant, the native philosophers and proficient in natural science advance the following reasons:—They say that the countries which surround India—those of the Skythians and Baktrians, and also of the Aryans—are more elevated than India, so that their waters, agreeably to natural law, flow down together from all sides to the plains beneath, where they gradually saturate the soil with moisture, and generate a multitude of rivers.

21 A peculiarity is found to exist in one of the rivers of India,—that called the Silla, which flows from a fountain bearing the same name. It differs from all other rivers in this respect,—that nothing cast into it will float, but everything, strange to say, sinks down to the bottom.

(38.) 22 It is said that India, being of enormous size when taken as a whole, is peopled by races both numerous and diverse, of which not even one was originally of foreign descent, but all were evidently indigenous; 23 and moreover that India neither received a colony from abroad, nor sent out a colony to any other nation. 24 The legends further inform us that in primitive times the inhabitants subsisted on such fruits as the earth yielded spontaneously, and were clothed with the skins of the beasts found in the country, as was the case with the Greeks; and that, in like manner as with them, the arts and other appliances which improve human life were gradually invented. Necessity herself teaching them to an animal at once docile and furnished not only with hands ready to second all his efforts, but also with reason and a keen intelligence.

25 The men of greatest learning among the

1† Conf. Lassen, Pentapot. 10.
2CONF. Fragm. xxi. in Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 88, c. vi. 2-3.
3Conf. Fragm. xxi. in Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 87, c. iv. 2-18.
4Conf. Fragm. xlvii.
5et seqq. Conf. Fragm. lvii.
6,7 Conf. Fragm. 1. in Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 89, c. vii.—"He tells us further," &c. to c. viii.—"On the principle of merit."
Indians tell certain legends, of which it may be proper to give a brief summary.‡ They relate that in the most primitive times; when the people of the country were still living in villages, Dionysus made his appearance coming from the regions lying to the west, and at the head of a considerable army. He overran the whole of India, as there was no great city capable of resisting his arms. The heat, however, having become excessive, and the soldiers of Dionysos being afflicted with a pestilence, the leader, who was remarkable for his sagacity, carried his troops away from the plains up to the hills. There the army, recruited by the cool breezes and the waters that flowed fresh from the fountains, recovered from sickness. The place among the mountains where Dionysos restored his troops to health was called Méros; from which circumstance, no doubt, the Greeks have transmitted to posterity the legend concerning the god, that Dionysos was bred in his father's thigh.§ Having after this turned his attention to the artificial propagation of useful plants, he communicated the secret to the Indians, and taught them the way to make wine, as well as other arts conducive to human well-being. He was, besides, the founder of large cities, which he formed by removing the villages to convenient sites, while he also showed the people how to worship the deity, and introduced laws and courts of justice. Having thus achieved altogether many great and noble works, he was regarded as a deity and gained immortal honours. It is related also of him that he led about with his army a great host of women, and employed, in marshalling his troops for battle, drums and cymbals, as the trumpet had not in his days been invented; and that after reigning over the whole of India for two and fifty years he died of old age, while his sons, succeeding to the government, transmitted the sceptre in unbroken succession to their posterity. At last, after many generations had come and gone, the sovereignity, it is said, was dissolved, and democratic governments were set up in the cities.

(30.) Such, then, are the traditions regarding Dionysos and his descendants current among the Indians who inhabit the hill-country.

They further assert that Loraklos also was born among them. They assign to him, like the Greeks, the club and the lion's skin. He far surpassed other men in personal strength and prowess, and cleared sea and land of evil beasts. Marrying many wives he beget many sons, but one daughter only. The sons having reached man's estate, he divided all India into equal portions for his children, whom he made kings in different parts of his dominions. He provided similarly for his only daughter, whom he reared up and made a queen. He was the founder, also, of no small number of cities, the most renowned and greatest of which he called Páliotra. He built therein many sumptuous

† FRAGM. I. B.
Diod. III. 63.

Concerning Dionysos.

Now some, as I have already said, supposing that there were three individuals of this name, who lived in different ages, assign to each appropriate achievements. They say, then, that the most ancient of them was Indos, and that as the country, with its genial temperature, produced spontaneously the vine-tree in great abundance, he was the first who crushed grapes and discovered the use of the properties of wine. In like manner he ascertained what culture was requisite for figs and other fruit trees, and transmitted this knowledge to after-times; and, in a word, it was he who found out how these fruits should be gathered in, whence also he was called Lenaios. This same Dionysos, however, they call also Katapogdn, since it is a custom among the Indians to nourish their beards with great care to the very end of their life. Dionysos then, at the head of an army, marched to every part of the world, and taught mankind the planting of the vine, and how to crush grapes in the winepress, whence he was called Lenaios. Having in like manner imparted to all a knowledge of his other inventions, he obtained after his departure from among men immortal honour from those who had benefited by his labours. It is further said that the place is pointed out in India even to this day where the god had been, and that cities are called by his name in the vernacular dialects, and that many other important evidences still exist of his having been born in India, about which it would be tedious to write.

§ µúpos.

22 Conf. Fragm. lii.

23-25 Conf. Fragm. i. in Ind. Ant. vol. V. pp. 89-99, c.

vi., from "But that Hercules," &c. to "of his daughter."
palaces, and settled within its walls a numerous
population. The city he fortified with trenches
of notable dimensions, which were filled with
water introduced from the river. 87 Herakles,
accordingly, after his removal from among men,
obtained immortal honour; and his descendants,
having reigned for many generations and sig-
nalized themselves by great achievements, nei-
ther made any expedition beyond the confines
of India, nor sent out any colony abroad. 88 At
least, however, after many years had gone, most
of the cities adopted the democratic form of
government, though some retained the kingly
till the invasion of the country by Alexan-
der. 89 Of several remarkable customs existing
among the Indians, there is one prescribed by
their ancient philosophers which one may regard
as truly admirable: for the law ordains that
no one among them shall, under any cir-
cumstances, be a slave, but that, enjoying free-
dom, they shall respect the equal right to it
which all possess: for those, they thought, who
have learned neither to domineer over nor to
be a slave, but, enjoying freedom, they shall respect the equal right to it which all possess: for those, they thought, who have learned neither to domineer over nor to cringe to others will attain the life best adapted i
time of need. The philosopher who errs in his predictions incurs no other penalty than obloquy, and he then observes silence for the rest of his life.

The second caste consists of the Hindus, who appear to be far more numerous than the others. Being, moreover, exempted from fighting and other public services, they devote the whole of their time to tillage; nor would an enemy coming upon a husbandman at work on his land do him any harm, for men of this class, being regarded as public benefactors, are protected from all injury. The land, thus remaining unravaged, and producing heavy crops, supplies the inhabitants with all that is requisite to make life very enjoyable. 42 The husbandmen themselves, with their wives and children, live in the country, and entirely avoid going into town. 43 They pay a land-tribute to the king, because all India is the property of the crown, and no private person is permitted to own land. Besides the land-tribute, they pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce of the soil.

44 The third caste consists of the shepherds and hunters, and in general of all herdsmen who neither settle in towns nor in villages, but live in tents. By hunting and trapping they clear the country of noxious birds and wild beasts. As they apply themselves eagerly and assiduously to this pursuit, they free India from the pests with which it abounds,—all sorts of wild beasts, and birds which devour the seeds sown by the husbandmen.

(41.) 45 The fourth caste consists of the artisans. Of these some are armurers, while others make the implements which husbandmen and others find useful in their different callings. This class is not only exempted from paying taxes, but even receives maintenance from the royal exchequer.

46 The fifth caste is the military. It is well

---

organized and equipped for war, holds the second place in point of numbers, and gives itself up to idleness and amusement in the times of peace. The entire force—men-at-arms, war-horses, war-elephants, and all—are maintained at the king’s expense.

50 The sixth caste consists of the Overseers. It is their province to inquire into and superintend all that goes on in India, and make report to the king, or, where there is not a king, to the magistrates.

51 The seventh caste consists of the Councillors and Assessors,—of those who deliberate on public affairs. It is the smallest class, looking to number, but the most respected, on account of the high character and wisdom of its members; 52 for from their ranks the advisers of the king are taken, and the treasurers of the state, and the arbiters who settle disputes. The generals of the army also, and the chief magistrates, usually belong to this class.

53 Such, then, are about the parts into which the body politic in India is divided. No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exercise any calling or art except his own: for instance, a soldier cannot become a husbandman, or an artisan a philosopher.

42 India possesses a vast number of huge elephants, which far surpass those found elsewhere both in strength and size. This animal does not cover the female in a peculiar way, as some those found elsewhere or an artisan a philosopher.'

...
Mount of Mother Dindamênâ, falls into the sea near the Æolian city of Smyrna. There is also the Lydian plain of the Kâûstros, named after that Lydian river; and another, that of the Kâikos, in Mysia; and one also in Karia,—that of the Maiandros, which extends even to Miletos, which is an Ionian city. [As for Egypt, both the historians Herodotos and Hekataios (or at any rate the author of the work on Egypt if he was other than Hekataios) alike agree in declaring it to be the gift of the Nile, so that that country was perhaps even called after the river; for in early times Aiguptos was the name of the river which now-a-days both the Egyptians and other nations call the Nile, as the words of Homer clearly prove, when he says that Menelaos stationed his ships at the mouth of the river Aiguptos. If, then, there is but a single river in each plain, and these rivers, though by no means large, are capable of forming, as they flow to the sea, much new land, by carrying down silt from the uplands, where their sources are, it would be unreasonable to reject the belief in the case of India that a great part of it is a level plain, and that this plain is formed from the silt deposited by the rivers, seeing that the Hermos, and the Kaustrôs, and the Kaikos, and the Maiandros, and all the many rivers of Asia which fall into the Mediterranean, even if united, would not be fit to be compared in volume of water with an ordinary Indian-river, and much less with the greatest of them all, the Ganges, with which neither the Egyptian Nile, nor the Danube which flows through Europe, can for a moment be compared.

Nay, the whole of these if combined all into one are not equal even to the Indus, which is already a large river where it rises from its fountains, and which after receiving as tributaries fifteen rivers all greater than those of Asia, and bearing off from its rival the honour of giving name to the country, falls at last into the sea.*

Frag. III.

Att. Indica, II. 1. 7.

Of the Boundaries of India.†

(For this fragment see Indian Antiquary, vol. V. p. 83, chap. II.)

Frag. IV.

Strabo, XV. i. 11, p. 689.

Of the Boundaries and Extent of India.‡

India is bounded on the north by the extremities of Taurus, and from Ariana to the Eastern Sea by the mountains which are variously called by the natives of these regions Para¬misos, and Hemâdos, and Himãos,§ and other names, but by the Macedonians Kaukasos.|| The boundary on the west is the river Indus, but the southern and eastern sides, which are both much greater than the others, run out into the Atlantic Ocean.¶ The shape of the country is thus rhomboidal, since each of the greater sides exceeds its opposite side by 3000 stadia, which is the length of the promontory common to the south and the east coast, which projects equally in these two directions. [The length of the western side, measured from the Kaukasis mountains to the southern

* Strabo, XV. 1. 32, p. 700.—[All the rivers mentioned (the last of which is the Hugos, or Hugus) unite on the Indus.] They say that fifteen considerable rivers, in all, flow into it.
† Conf. Epit. 1, and for notes on the same see Vol. V. p. 330.—Ed.
‡ Conf. Epit. 1, 2, Pliny (Hist. Nat. VI. 21. 2) states that India extends from north to south 28,150 thousand paces. This number, though it is not exactly equal to 29,300 stadia, but to 22,000, nevertheless approaches the number given by Megasthenes nearer than any other. From the numbers which both Arrian (Ind. iii. 8) and Strabo (pp. 68-69, 690) give, Diodorus differs remarkably, for he says the breadth of India extends to 25,000, and the length to 35,000 stadia. It would be rash to deny that Megasthenes may also have indicated the larger numbers of Diocorus, for Arrian (Ind. iii. 7-8) adds to the number the words "where the shortest," and "where narrowest," and Strabo (p. 689) has added to the expression of the breadth the words "at the shortest," and, referring to Megasthenes and Démachos, says distinctly that a person who states that in some places the distance from the southern sea to Conocaus is over 26,000 stadia: Démachos, however, allows that the distance in some places exceeds 30,000 stadia! by which he quite excludes Megasthenes from this opinion. Arrian (p. 72, where he mentions the 30,000 stadia of Démachos, he does not say a word of Megasthenes. But it must be certain that 16,000 stadia is the only measure Megasthenes gave of the breadth of India. For not only Strabo (p. 680) and Arrian (Ind. iii. 7) have not quoted a larger number from Megasthenes, but Hipparchus also (Strabo, p. 69),—where he shows that Ptolemy is unworthy of confidence, because he has given smaller dimensions for India than Megasthenes—only mentions the measure of 16,000 stadia; whereas, for what Hipparchus wanted, the greatest number was the most suitable for his proof—I think the numbers were augmented because Megasthenes regarded as Indian, "Kabul and that part of Ariana which Chandragupta had taken from Seleukos; and on the north the frontier nations Uttarokuras, which he mentions elsewhere. What Megasthenes said about the breadth of India remained fixed throughout the whole geography of the Greeks, so that not even Ptolemy, who says India extends 16,000 stadia, differs much from it. But his measure of length has either been rejected by all, for fear of opposing the ancient opinion that the torrid zone could not be inhabited, or (like Hipparchus) erroneously carried it much too far to the north.—Schwanbeck, pp. 29, 30, 54.
§ Schneider suggests Iapar in Arrian.
¶ The world was anciently regarded as an island surrounded by the Atlantic Sea.
sea along the course of the river Indus to its mouths, is said to be 13,000 stadia, so that the eastern side opposite, with the addition of the 3000 stadia of the promontory, will be somewhere about 16,000 stadia. This is the breadth of India where it is both smallest and greatest.] The length from west to east as far as Pali-bóthra can be stated with greater certainty, for according to them the distance from the Southern Sea to Xaukasos is over 20,000 stadia.—[Démachos, however, allows that the distance in some places exceeds 30,000 stadia. Of these notice has been taken in an earlier part of the work.]

**Fragm. VII.**

Strabo, II. i. 4,—pp. 68-69.

Of the Size of India.

Hipparchos controverts this view, urging the futility of the proofs on which it rests. Patroklos, he says, is unworthy of trust, opposed as he is by two competent authorities, Démachos and Megasthenès, who state that in some places the distance from the southern sea is 20,000 stadia, and in others 30,000. Such, he says, is the account they give, and it agrees with the ancient charts of the country.

**Fragm. VIII.**


Of the Size of India.

With Megasthenès the breadth of India is its extent from east to west, though this is called by others its length. His account is that the breadth at shortest is 16,000 stadia, and its length—by which he means its extent from north to south—is at the narrowest 22,800 stadia.

**Fragm. IX.**

Strabo, II. i. 19,—p. 76.

Of the setting of the Bear, and shadows falling in contrary directions.†

Again, he [Eratosthenès] wished to show the ignorance of Démachos, and his want of a practical knowledge of such subjects, evidenced as it was by his thinking that India lay between the autumnal equinox and the winter tropic, and by his contradicting the assertion of Megasthenès that in the southern parts of India the constellation of the Bear disappeared from view, and shadows fell in opposite directions, phenomena which he assures us are never seen in India, thereby exhibiting the sheerest ignorance. He does not agree in this opinion, but and also by the Chinese pilgrims (P'o-šou-ki, 87-88), and by Megasthenès himself, in Strabo (p. 706, Fragm. xxiv. 3), from which it seems certain that ten stadia are equal to some Indian measure which cannot be a smaller one than the ērōsia.—Schw. p. 27, n. 33.

† Conf. Epit. 3.

acusses Déimos of ignorance for asserting that the Bears do nowhere in India disappear from sight, nor shadows fall in opposite directions, as Megasthenes supposed.

Fragm. X.

Pliny, Hist. Nat. VI. 22. 3.

Of the Setting of the Bear.

Next [to the Praisii] in the interior are the Monedes and the Suari, to whom belongs Mount Maleus, on which shadows fall towards the north in winter, and in summer to the south, for six months alternately. The Bears, Baeton says, in that part of the country are only once visible in the course of the year, and not for more than fifteen days. Megasthenes says that this takes place in many parts of India.

Conf. Solin, 59. 13:

Beyond Palaibothra is Mount Maleus, on which shadows fall in winter towards the north, and in summer towards the south, for six months alternately. The North Pole is visible in that part of the country once in the course of the year, and not for longer than fifteen days, as Baeton informs us, who allows that this occurs in many parts of India.

Fragm. XI.

Strabo, XV. 1. 26.—p. 693.

Of the Fertility of India.

Megasthenes indicates the fertility of India by the fact of the soil producing two crops every year both of fruits and grain. [Eratosthenes writes to the same effect, for he speaks of a winter and a summer sowing, which both have rain: for a year, he says, is never found to be without rain at both those seasons, whence ensues a great abundance, since the soil is always productive. Much fruit is produced by trees; and the roots of plants, particularly of tall reeds, are sweet both by nature and by cocction, since the moisture by which they are nourished is heated by the rays of the sun, whether it has fallen from the clouds or been drawn from the rivers.

§ "The Mandali would seem to be the same people as the Monedes of Pliny, who with the Suari, occupied the inland country to the south of the Palaibothri. As this is the exact position of the country of the Mundas and Suars, I think it quite certain that they must be the same race as the Monedes and Suari of Pliny. In another passage Pliny mentions the Mandai and Malli as occupying the country between the Calings and the Ganges. Amongst the Malli there was a mountain named Mallus, which would seem to be the same as the famous Mount Maleus of the Monedes and Suari. I think it highly probable that both names may be intended for the celebrated Mount Mandar, to the south of Bhagulpur, which is failed to have been used by the gods and demons at the charming of the ocean. The Mandai I would identify with the inhabitants of the Mahlmaudi river, which is the Mandak of Ptolemy.

Eratosthenes uses here a peculiar expression: for what is called by others the ripening of fruits and the juices of plants is called among the Indians cocction, which is as effective in producing a good flavour as the cocction by fire itself. To the heat of the water the same writer ascribes the wonderful flexibility of the branches of trees, from which wheels are made, as also the fact of there being trees on which wool grows.]

Conf. Eratosth. op. Strabo. XV. i. 13,—p. 690:

From the vapours arising from such vast rivers, and from the Etessian winds, as Eratosthenes states, India is watered by the summer rains, and the plains are overflowed. During these rains, accordingly, flax is sown and millet, also sesamum, rice, and bosmorum, and in the winter time wheat, barley, pulse, and other esculent fruits unknown to us.

Fragm. XII.

Strabo, XV. i. 37,—p. 703.

Of some Wild Beasts of India.

According to Megasthenes the largest tigers are found among the Praisii, being nearly twice the size of the lion, and so strong that a tame tiger led by four men having seized a mule by the hinder leg overpowered it and dragged it to him. The monkeys are larger than the largest dogs; they are white except in the face, which is black, though the contrary is observed elsewhere. Their tails are more than two cubits in length. They are very tame, and not of a malicious disposition: so that they neither attack man nor steal. Stones are dug up which are of the colour of frankincense, and sweeter than figs or honey. In some parts of the country there are serpents two cubits long which have membranous wings like bats. They fly about by night, when they let fall drops of urine or sweat, which blister the skin of persons not on their guard, with putrid sores. There are also winged scorpions of an extraordinary size. Ebony grows there. There are also dogs of

The Malli or Malei would therefore be the same people as Ptolemy's Mandae, who occupied the right bank of the Ganges to the south of Palaibothra, or they may be the people of the Rajmahal hills who are called Maler... The Suari of Pliny are the Sabarss of Ptolemy, and both may be identified with the aboriginal Savars or Suars, a wild race of woodcutters who live in the jungles without any fixed habitation."—Cunningham's Anc. Geog. of India, pp. 505-9.

| Conf. Epit. 5, 9.
| λίνον, perhaps the λίνον τὸ ἄρωδ δειδρίων of Arrian.
| θρογματι-Strabo XV. i. 18.
great strength and courage, which will not let
go their hold till water is poured into their
nostrils: they bite so eagerly that the eyes
of some become distorted, and the eyes of others
fall out. Both a lion and a bull were held fast
by a dog. The bull was seized by the muzzle,
and died before the dog could be taken off.

FRAME XIII.
Of Indian Apes.

In the country of the Præsii, who are an
Indian people, Megasthenès says there are apes
not inferior in size to the largest dogs. They
have tails five cubits long, hair grows on their
forehead, and they have luxuriant beards hang¬
ing down their breast. Their face is entirely
white, and all the rest of the body black. They
are tame and attached to man, and not malicious
by nature like the apes of other countries.

FRAME XIV.
Of Winged Scorpions and Serpents.

Megasthenès says there are winged scorpions
in India of enormous size, which sting Europeans
and natives alike. There are also serpents
which are likewise winged. These do not go
abroad during the day, but by night, when they
let fall urine, which if it lights upon any one's
skin at once raises putrid sores thereon. Such
is the statement of Megasthenès.

FRAME XV.
Strabo, XV. i. 56,—pp. 710-711.
Of the Beasts of India, and the Reed.

He (Megasthenès) says there are monkeys,
rollers of rocks, which climb precipices whence
they roll down stones upon their pursuers.
Most animals, he says, which are tame with
us are wild in India, and he speaks of horses which
are one-horned and have heads like those of
deer; and also of reeds some of which grow
straight up to the height of thirty orguías, while
others grow along the ground to the length of
fifty. They vary in thickness from three to six
cubits in diameter.

FRAME XV. B.
Of some Beasts of India.

(20.) In certain districts of India (I speak of
those which are most inland) they say there are ins¬
accessible mountains infested by wild beasts, and
which are also the haunts of animals like those of
our own country except that they are wild; for
even sheep, they say, run wild there, as well as
dogs and goats and oxen, which roam about at
their own pleasure, being independent and free
from the dominion of the herdsman. That their
number is beyond calculation is stated not only
by writers on India, but also by the learned men
of the country, among whom the Brachmans
deserve to be reckoned, whose testimony is to the
same effect. It is also said that there exists in
India a one-horned animal, called by the natives
the Kartasán. It is of the size of a full-grown
horse, and has a crest, and yellow hair soft as
wool. It is furnished with very good legs and is
very fleet. Its legs are jointless and formed like
those of the elephant, and it has a tail like a
swine's. A horn sprouts out from between its
eyebrows, and this is not straight, but curved
like the horns of the elephant, and it has a tail like a
swine's. A horn sprouts out from between its
eyebrows, and this is not straight, but curved
into the most natural wreaths, and is of a black
colour. It is said to be extremely sharp, this
horn. The animal, as I learn, has a voice beyond
all example loud-ringing and dissonant. It allows

La tage, an Indian city, where they eat rice which has
been laid down for them by the king's orders. In fact,
every day a ready-prepared meal is set out for their use.
It is said that when they have satisfied their appetite they
retire in an orderly manner to their haunts in the woods,
without injuring a single thing that comes in their way.

§ The Prachya (i.e. Easterns') are called by Strabo, Arrian,
and Flavius Paphlagon, Præchus; by Plutarch (Alex. 62) Paphlagon,
a name often used by Ælian also; by Nikolaus Damase.
ap. Stobi. Florst. 37, 38) Paphlagon; by Diodorus (xv. 98)
Bechra; by Curtius (IX. 2, 3) Preravasti; by Justin (xlii. 5, 6)
Pracides. Megasthenes attempted to approximate more
closely to the Sanskrit Prachya, for here he uses Paphlagon.
And it appears that Paphlagon should be substituted for
Paphlagon in Stephan. Byzant., since it comes between the

|| The orguia was four cubits, or equal to 6 feet 1 inch.
Frangm. XVI.


Of the Boa-Constrictor.

According to Megasthenes, serpents in India grow to such a size that they swallow stags and bulls whole.

Solinus, 52. 33.

So huge are the serpents that they swallow stags whole, and other animals of equal size.

Frangm. XVII.


Of the Electric Eel.

I learn from Megasthenes that there is in the Indian Sea a small kind of fish which is never seen when alive, as it always swims in deep water, and only floats on the surface after it is dead. Should any one touch it he becomes faint and swoons,—nay, even dies at last.

other animals to approach it, and is good-natured towards them, though they say that with its congeners it is rather quarrelsome. The males are reported to have a natural propensity not only to fight among themselves, by butting with their horns, but to display a like animosity against the female, and to be so obstinate in their quarrels that they will not desist till a worsted rival is killed outright. But, again, not only is every member of the body of this animal endowed with great strength, but such is the potency of its horn that nothing can withstand it. It loves to feed in secluded pastures, and wanders about its horn that nothing can withstand it. It loves

Frangm. XVIII.


Of Taprobane.

Megasthenes says that Taprobane is separated from the mainland by a river; that the inhabitants are called Palaiogonoi,* and that their country is more productive of gold and large pearls than India.

Solin. 53. 3.

Taprobane is separated from India by a river flowing between: for one part of it abounds with wild beasts and elephants much larger than India breeds, and man claims the other part.

Frangm. XIX.

Antigon. Caryst. 647.

Of Marine Trees.

Megasthenes, the author of the Indika, mentions that trees grow in the Indian Sea.

which skirt that frontier of India which is most inland meets, they say, with ravines which are clothed with very dense jungle, in a district called by the Indians Korouda.† These ravines are said to be the haunts of a peculiar kind of animal shaped like a satyr, covered all over with shaggy hair, and having a tail like a horse's, depending from its rump. If these creatures are left un molested, they keep within the coppices living on the wild fruits; but should they hear the hunter's halloo and the baying of the hounds they dart up the precipices with incredible speed, for they are habituated to climbing the mountains. They defend themselves by rolling down stones on their assailants, which often kill those they hit. The most difficult to catch are those which roll the stones. Some are said to have been brought, though with difficulty and after long intervals, to the Prasii, but these were either suffering from diseases or were females heavy with young, the former being too weak to escape, and the latter being impeded by the burden of the womb.—Conf. Plin. Hist. Nat. VII. 2. 17.

thus (Dissert. de insula Taprob. p. 9) :—"We must suppose that Megasthenes was acquainted with the Indian myth that the first inhabitants of the island were said to have been Rakshasas or giants, the sons of the progenitors of the world, whom he might not inaptly call Palaiogonoi." Against this it may be remarked that, by this unusual term and so uncommon, Megasthenes meant to name the nation, not describe it; and next that Megasthenes is not in the habit of translating names, but of rendering them according to sound with some degree of paronomasia; lastly, that, shortly after, we find the name of Taprobane and of its capital Palaioumoiöon, quite like to Palaiogonoi. Accordingly as Lassen explains Palaioumoiöon, the name of the capital, by the Sanskrit Pāli-jūná (i.e. 'head of the sacred doctrine').—Schwanbeck, p. 33, n. 35.

† V. L. Kłosowa.
Of the Indus and the Ganges.†

See translation of this in Ind. Ant. vol. V. pp. 86-87.

Of the River Silas.§

For translation see Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 88.

Of the Number of Indian Rivers.

For translation see Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 87.

The largest rivers are the Ganges and the Indus,—the Ganges, as some maintain, rising from uncertain sources, and, like the Nile, overflowing its banks; while others think that it rises in the Skythian mountains. In India there is also the Hupanias, a very noble river, which formed the limit of Alexander’s march, as the altars set up on its banks testify.† The least breadth of the Ganges is eight miles, and the greatest twenty. Its depth where least is fully one hundred feet.

Some say that the least breadth is thirty stadia, but others only three; while Megasthenes says that the mean breadth is a hundred stadia, and its least depth twenty fathoms.†


§ Strab. 708, Diod. II. 37, and afterwards an anonymous writer whom Ruhnken (ad Callimach. fragm. p. 446) has praised, and whose account may be read in Boisson. Anecd. Græc. I. 419. The name is written Silas in Diodorus, in Strabo Σιλας, but best Δικαιος, in the epitome of Strabo and in the Anecd. Græc. Bähr, 369, has collected the passages from Ktesias. Lassen has also illustrated this fable (Zeitschrift. I. 63) from Indian literature:—"The Indus think that the river Silas is in the north, that it terrifies everything plunged in it, whence everything sinks and nothing swims." (Conf. Mahābhārata. I. 1358.) Sila means 'a stone.'—Schw. p. 87, n. 32.

† V. L. Fumas.

A great and widely diffused tribe settled mainly between the Mahāṅgura and the Gāhderat. Their capital was Partuālis (called by Ptolemy Kaligra), on the Mahāṅgura, higher up than the site of Katak. The name is preserved in Korinā, a great port at the mouth of the Gāhderat.

* V. L. Cancamp, Vasam.

† "The Brāhmatī (which we shall here regard as the true Ganges) first comes to light near Gaṅgutri, in the territory of Garhwal, in lat. 30° 54', long. 79° 7' E., issuing from under a very low arch, at the base of a great snow-bed, estimated to be 300 feet thick, which lies between the lofty mountains termed St. Patrick, St. George, and the Pyramid, the two higher having elevations above the sea, respectively, of 22,798 and 22,654 feet, and the other, on the opposite side, having an elevation of 21,379 feet. From the brow of this curious wall of snow, and immediately above the outlet of the stream, large and hoary icicles depend. They are formed by the freezing of the melted snow-water at the top of the bed; for in the middle of the day the sun is powerful, and the water produced by its action falls over this place in cascades, but is frozen at night. . . . . At Sūkhā the river may be said to break through the 'Himalaya Proper,' and the elevation of the waterway is here 6,658 feet. At DeVprāg it is joined on the left side by the Alaknanda. . . . . From DeVprāg the united stream is now called the Ganges. . . . Its descent by the Dēhā Dūn is rather rapid to Hardikwār. . . . sometimes called Gaṅgādwarā, or the gate of the Ganges, being situated on its eastern or right bank at the southern base of the Sivalik range, here intersected by a ravine or gorge by which the river, finally leaving the mountainous region, commences its course over the plains of Hindustān. The breadth of the river in the rainy season is represented to be a full mile."—Thornton.

† The same as the Huphasis or Satlaj.
According to Megasthenes the mean breadth (of the Ganges) is 100 stadia, and its least depth 20 fathoms. At the meeting of this river and another is situated Palibothra, a city eighty stadia in length and fifteen in breadth. It is of the shape of a parallelogram, and is girded with a wooden wall, pierced with loopholes for the discharge of arrows. It has a ditch in front for defence and for receiving the sewage of the city. The people in whose country this city is situated is the most distinguished in all India, and is called the Prasii. The king, in addition to his family name, must adopt the surname of Palibothros, as Sandrakottos, for instance, did, to whom Megasthenes was sent on an embassy. [This custom also prevails among the Parthians, for all are called Arakai, though each has his own peculiar name, as Orodès, Phraathis, or some other.]

Then follow these words:—

All the country beyond the Hupanis is allowed to be very fertile, but little is accurately known regarding it. Partly from ignorance and the remoteness of its situation, everything about it is exaggerated or represented as marvellous: for instance, there are the stories of the gold-digging ants, of animals and men of peculiar shapes, and possessing wonderful faculties; as the Sires, who, they say, are so long-lived that they attain an age beyond that of two hundred years. They mention also an aristocratical form of government consisting of five thousand councillors, each of whom furnishes the state with an elephant.

According to Megasthenes the largest tigers are found in the country of the Prasii, &c. (Cf. Fragm. XII.)

Fragm. XXVI.
Strab. XV. i. 33-35,—p. 702.
Of the city Pataliputra.§

Then follow these words:—

All the country beyond the Hupanis is allowed to be very fertile, but little is accurately known regarding it. Partly from ignorance and the remoteness of its situation, everything about it is exaggerated or represented as marvellous: for instance, there are the stories of the gold-digging ants, of animals and men of peculiar shapes, and possessing wonderful faculties; as the Sires, who, they say, are so long-lived that they attain an age beyond that of two hundred years. They mention also an aristocratical form of government consisting of five thousand councillors, each of whom furnishes the state with an elephant.

According to Megasthenes the largest tigers are found in the country of the Prasii, &c. (Cf. Fragm. XII.)

Fragm. XXVI.
Arr. Ind. 10.
Of Pataliputra and the Manners of the Indians.

It is further said that the Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life, and the songs in which their praises are celebrated, sufficient to preserve their memory after death. But of their cities it is said that the number is so great that it cannot be stated with precision, but that such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood instead of brick, being meant to last only for a

§ Conf. Epit. 36.

|| This was not the name of any particular nation, but was vaguely used to designate the inhabitants of the region producing silk, of which Sfr is the name in Chinese and in Japanese. The general opinion places this region

(Śiros) in Eastern Mongolia and the north-east of China, but it has also been sought for in Eastern Turkestan, in the Himalaya towards the sources of the Ganges, in Assam, and even in Pegu. The name is first met with in Kistian.
sacrifices. Their beverage is a liquor composed from rice instead of barley, and their food is principally a rice-pottage.* The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges or deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and confide in each other. Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded. These things indicate that they possess good, sober sense; but other things they do which one cannot approve: for instance, that they eat always alone, and that they have no fixed hours when meals are to be taken by all in common, but each one eats when he feels inclined. The contrary custom would be better for the ends of social and civil life.

Their favourite mode of exercising the body is by friction, applied in various ways, but especially by passing smooth ebony rollers over the skin. Their tombs are plain, and the mounds raised over the dead lowly. In contrast to the general simplicity of their style, they love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold, and ornamented with precious stones, and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin. Attendants walking behind hold up umbrellas over them: for they have a high regard for beauty, and avail themselves of every device to improve their looks. Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem. Hence they accord no special privileges to the old unless they possess superior wisdom. They marry many wives, whom they buy from their parents, giving in exchange a yoke of oxen. Some they marry hoping to find in them willing helpmates; and others for pleasure and to fill their houses with children. The wives prostitute themselves unless they are compelled to be chaste. No one wears a crown at a sacrifice or libation, and they do not stab the victim, but strangle it, so that nothing mutilated, but only what is entire, may be presented to the deity.

A person convicted of bearing false witness suffers mutilation of his extremities. He who maims any one not only suffers in return the loss of the same limb, but his hand also is cut off. If he causes an artisan to lose his hand or his eye, he is put to death. The same writer says that none of the Indians employ slaves; [but Onesikritos says that this was peculiar to that part of the country over which Musikanos ruled.†]

The care of the king's person is entrusted to women, who also are bought from their parents.‡ The guards and the rest of the soldiery attend outside the gates. A woman who kills the king when drunk becomes the wife of his successor. The sons succeed the father. The king may not sleep during the daytime, and by night he is obliged to change his couch from time to time, with a view to defeat plots against his life.§

The king leaves his palace not only in time of war, but also for the purpose of judging causes. He then remains in court for the whole day, without allowing the business to be interrupted, even though the hour arrives when he must needs attend to his person,—that is, when he is to be rubbed with cylinders of wood. He continues hearing cases while the friction, which is performed by four attendants, is still proceeding. Another purpose for which he leaves his palace is to offer sacrifice; a third is to go to the chase, for which he departs in Bacchanalian fashion. Crowds of women surround him, and outside of this circle spearmen are ranged. The road is marked off with ropes, and it is death, for man and woman alike, to pass within the ropes. Men with drums and gongs lead the procession. The king hunts in the enclosures and shoots arrows from a platform. At his side stand two or three armed women. If he hunts in the open grounds he shoots from the back of an elephant. Of the women, some are in chariots, some on horses, and some even on elephants, and they are equipped with weapons of every kind, as if they were going on a campaign.||

[These customs are very strange when compared with our own, but the following are still more so;] for Megasthenes states that the

---

* Curry and rice, no doubt.
† His kingdom lay in Sindhu, along the banks of the Indus, and his capital was probably near Bakkar.
‡ This was not unknown in native courts of later times. Conf. Idri's account of the Balbara king.
§ "The present king of Ava, who evidently belongs to the Indo-Chinese type, although he claims a Kshatriya origin, leads a life of seclusion very similar to that of Sandrokottos. He changes his bedroom every night, as a safeguard against sudden treachery." (Wheeler's Hist. of India, vol. III. p. 182, note.)
|| In the drama of Shakuntala, Raja Dushyanta is represented as attended in the chase by Yavana women, with bows in their hands, and wearing garlands of wild flowers.
tribes inhabiting the Kaukasos have intercourse with women in public, and eat the bodies of their relatives, and that there are monkeys which roll down stones, &c. (Fragm. XV. follows, and then Fragm. XXIX.)

Fragm. XXIX.*
Strab. XV. i. 57.—p. 711.
Of fabulous tribes.

But deviating into fables he says there are men five spans and even three spans in height, some of whom want the nose, having only two orifices above the mouth through which they breathe. Against the men of three spans, war, as Homer has sung, is waged by the cranes, and also by partridges, which are as large as geese.† These people collect and destroy the eggs of the cranes, for it is in their country the cranes lay their eggs, and thus the eggs and the young cranes are not to be found anywhere else. Frequently a crane escapes having the brassen point of a weapon in its body, from wounds received in that country. Equally absurd is the account given of the Enotokoiitai of the wild men, and of other monsters. The wild men could not be brought to Sandrakottos, for they refused to take food and died. Their heels are in front, and the instep and toes are turned backwards. Some were brought to the court who had no mouths and were tame. They dwell near the sources of the Ganges, and subsist on the savour of roasted flesh and the perfumes of fruits and flowers, having instead of mouths

Fragm. XXVII. B.
Ælian. V. L. iv. 1.

The Indians neither put out money at usury, nor know how to borrow. It is contrary to established usage for an Indian either to do or suffer a wrong, and therefore they neither make contracts nor require securities. Conf. Suid. V. iv. 18.

Fragm. XXVII. C.
Nicol. Damasc. 44; Stob. Servm. 42.

Among the Indians one who is unable to recover a loan or a deposit has no remedy at law. All the creditor can do is to blame himself for trusting a rogue.

† Herodotus (bk. iii. 38, 99, 101) has noted the existence of both practices among certain Indian tribes.

* Cf. Strab. II. i. 9.—p. 70—Démachos and Megasthenes are especially unworthy of credit. It is they who tell those stories about the men who sleep in their ears, the men with three mouths, the man without nostrils, the man with one eye, the man with long legs, and the men with their toes turned backward. They renewed Homer’s fable about the battle between the Cranes and the Pygmies, asserting that the latter were three spans in height. They told of the ants that dig for gold, of Pans with wedge-shaped heads, and of serpents swallowing down oxen and stags, horns and all—the one author meanwhile accusing the other of falsehood, as Eratosthenes has remarked.

† Ktias in his Indika mentions Pygmies as belonging to India. The Indians themselves considered them as belonging to the race of the Kiratæ, a barbarous people who inhabited woods and mountains and lived by hunting, and who were so diminutive that their name became a synonym for dwarf. They were thought to fight with vultures and eagles. As they were of Mongolian origin, the Indians represented them with the distinctive features of that race, but with their repulsiveness exaggerated. Hence Megasthenes spoke of the Amukteres, men without noses, who had merely breathing-holes above the mouth. The Kiratæ are no doubt identical with the Scythæ (V. L. Syrictes) of the British army, had seen a people who slept on one ear, and covered themselves with the other. (Domestic Manners and Customs of the Hindus, Banaras, 1860.) The story may be referred to the Himilayas. Fitch, who travelled in India about 1856, says that a people in Bhutan had ears a span long.

§ These wild men are mentioned both by Ktias and Bauko. They were called Antipodes on account of the peculiar structure of their foot and were reckoned among the Æthiopian races, though they are often referred to in the Indian epics under the name Paschamangulai, of which the δρακόντεις of Megasthenes is an exact translation. Vide Schwab. 68.
orichas through which they breathe. They are described with things of evil smell, and hence it is with difficulty they keep their hold on life, especially in a camp. Referring to the other monstrosities, the philosophers told him of the O k u p e d e s, a people who in running could leave the horse behind, 2 of the E n o i k o i t ī a, who had ears reaching down to their feet, so that they could sleep in them, and were so strong that they could pull up trees and break a bowstring.

3 Of others the M o n o n m a t o i, who have the ears of a dog, their one eye set in the middle of their forehead, the hair standing erect, and their breasts shaggy; 4 of the A m u k t ī r e s, also a people without nostrils, who devour everything, eat raw meat, and are short-lived, and die before old age supravunes. 5 The upper part of the mouth protrudes far over the lower lip. 6 With regard to the H y p e r b o r e a n s, who live a thousand years, they give the same account as Simonide, Pindaros, and other mythological writers. 7 The story told by Timagenes, that showers fall of drops of copper, which are swept together, is a fable. 8 Megasthenes states—what is more open to belief, since the same is the case in Iberia—that the rivers carry down gold dust, and that a part of this is paid by way of tribute to the king.

1 "Ceylon" is a transliteration into Greek with a slight change, of the Sanskrit C i k p a d a s, "having one foot," the name of the Kirat tribe noted for swiftness of foot, the quality indicated by the Greek term. The Monepedes were mentioned by Kautilya, who confounded them with the Simapodes, the men who covered themselves with the shadow of their foot.

4 What Megasthenes here mentions as the characteristics of a single tribe are attributed by the Indians to several. The one-eyed men they are wont to call D i k a t h i s or E k a t h i s h e n o i the men with hair-standing erect,cribed in Indian C y c l e d e n i are mentioned under the name of L a d b a d k o h , i.e. having one eye in the forehead: vide Schwanb. 69.

8 "That the A s t o n s are mentioned in the Indian books we cannot show as well as in the case of the A m u k t ī r e s, where Megasthenes describes as Παντυνθεος, Παντοθεος, Πανωρυχης. Nevertheless the very words of the description are a proof that he followed the narratives of the Indians, for the words Παντυνθεος, &c. by which he has described the A m u k t ī r e s, are very rarely used in Indian words." Schwanb. 69.

10 Pindar, who locates the Hyperboreans somewhere about the mouths of the Ister, thus sings of them:—

But who with venturous course through wave or wave;
To Hyperborean haunts and wild untrailed
For found his wandering way?

There Perses pressed apace,
And unct the flocks entered their strange abode,
Whose herdsmen of scarce a year
To soothe the radiant god
Appearance belied his trust,
These barbarous abouts, Apollo's heart delight:
Laughing the rampant brute he saw.

Insult the solemn rite.

16 The same author (p. 412) says, "Among the peoples of Scythia, Polymny reckons the Utartrakhurras, a name in which Polynys is written Atartraro, and which Ammianus Marcellinus, who copies Polynys, disports into Opurrrusno. There is no difficulty in recognizing under this name the Utartrakhurras of Sanskrit books."

"The same author (p. 412) says, "Among the peoples of Scythia, Polymny reckons the Utartrakhurras, a name in which Polynys is written Atartraro, and which Ammianus Marcellinus, who copies Polynys, disports into Opurrrusno. There is no difficulty in recognizing under this name the Utartrakhurras of Sanskrit books."

Schwanbeck (p. 70) quotes Lassen, who writes somewhat (to the same effect):—"Utartrakhurras is a part of Scythia, and as the first accounts of India were the West from the Scythos, perhaps a part of the description of the people in the account of the people and happy life of the Scythos is to be explained from the Indian stories of the Utartrakhurras. The story of the long life of the Utartrakhurras may be similarly explained, especially when Megasthenes reckons the life attained by the Hyperboreans at 1000 or 10,000 years. We conclude from this that Megasthenes also wrote of the Utartrakhurras, and that he not improperly rendered their name by that of the Hyperboreans."
THE FRAGMENTS OF THE INDICA OF MEGASTHENES.

FRAGM. XXX.


Of fabulous races.

According to Megasthenes, on a mountain called Nulo § there live men whose feet are turned backward, and who have eight toes on each foot; while on many of the mountains there lives a race of men having heads like those of dogs, who are clothed with the skins of wild beasts, whose speech is barking, and who, being armed with claws, live by hunting and fowling;[8] Ktesias asserts on his own authority that the number of these men was upwards of 120,000, and that there is a race in India whose females bear offspring but once in the course of their life, and that their children become at once grey-haired.

Megasthenes speaks of a race of men among the Nomadic Indians who instead of nostrils have merely orifices, whose legs are contorted like snakes, and who are called Scyritae. He speaks also of a race living on the very confines of India on the east, near the source of the Ganges, the Astoimi, who have no mouth; who cover their body, which is all over hairy, with the soft down found upon the leaves of trees; and who live merely by breathing, and the perfume inhaled by the nostrils. They eat nothing, and they drink nothing. They require merely a variety of odours of roots and of flowers and of wild apples. The apples they carry with them when they go on a distant journey, that they may always have something to smell. Too strong an odour would readily kill them.

Beyond the Astoimi, in the remotest part of the mountains, the Tri spithani and the Pygmies are said to have their abode. They are each three spans in height—that is, not more than seven-and-twenty inches. Their climate is salubrious and they enjoy a perpetual spring.

Fragm. XXXI.

Plutarch, de facie in orbe lune. (Opp. ed. Reiske, tom. ix. p. 701.)

Of the race of men without mouths.†

For how could one find growing there that Indian root which Megasthenes says a race of men who neither eat nor drink, and in fact have not even mouths, set on fire and burn like incense, in order to sustain their existence with its odorous fumes, unless it received moisture from the moon?

Those who live near the source of the Ganges, requiring nothing in the shape of food, subsist on the odour of wild apples, and when they go on a long journey they carry these with them for safety of their life, which they can support by inhaling their perfume. Should they inhale very foul air, death is inevitable.


§ V. L. Nulo.

‖ Called by Ktesias Kurocephaloi, and in Sanskrit Sura- manchaks or Sama-manchaks.

¶ Possibly we should read Pandai, unless perhaps under shelter of a barrier of mountains which rise on the north. They are the same whom Homer mentions as being harassed by the attacks of the cranes. The story about them is—that mounted on the backs of rams and goats, and equipped with arrows, they march down in spring-time all in a body to the sea, and destroy the eggs and the young of these birds. It takes them always three months to finish this yearly campaign, and were it not undertaken they could not defend themselves against the vast flocks of subsequent years. Their huts are made of clay and feathers and egg-shells. [Aristotle says that they live in caves, but otherwise he gives the same account of them as others.]. . .

[8] From Ktesias we learn that there is a people belonging to this race, which is called P and o r e and settled in the valleys, who live two hundred years, having in youth hoary hair, which, in old age turns black. On the other hand, others do not live beyond the age of forty, nearly related to the Macrobii, whose women bear offspring but once. Agatharchides says the same of them, adding that they subsist on locusts, and are swift of foot. *Citrachus and Megasthenes call them Manars, and reckon the number of their villages at three hundred. The females bear children at the age of seven, and are old women at forty.*
Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions.

By J. F. Fleet, B. C. S.

(Continued from p. 94.)

I propose henceforth to transcribe the original texts of my inscriptions into Roman characters. The system of transliteration to be followed is this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Canarese</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>अ</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आ</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>इ</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ई</td>
<td>Ë</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उ</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ऊ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ऋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>औ</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>au</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Visarga.

\(\chi\), JihvŚmātiya, or old Visarga before ्

\(\chi\), Upadhmāniya, or old Visarga before ्

\(\chi\), Anuvára.

\(\chi\), Anundśikā.

A single hyphen will be used to separate bases in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line.

A double hyphen will be used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the rules of Saṁākhī. Where this double hyphen is used, it will be understood that a final consonant and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it will be understood of the orthography of the original,—1, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the Vīrdma attached to it;—and 2, that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form.

On the subject of the Vīrdma, I have to remark that it is expressed in two ways in the Old Canarese alphabet, as it stood when fully developed from the Cave-alphabet:—1, less commonly, by a slight modification of one of the forms of the
vowel e or \( \delta \) as written above a preceding consonant. Compare, for instance, in the facsimile plate of No. I. of this series*, the form of the vowel \( \delta \) in kānd kāḍē, 1,20, and in sarvōvānāda, and \( \text{पदर्थिविन्द्र} \) and \( \text{पदर्थिविन्द्र} \), l. 21, with the sign for the \( \text{पदर्थिविन्द्र} \) attached to the final \( \nu \) twice in \( \text{कीतन} \) and \( \text{पदर्थिविन्द्र} \), l. 21; and compare, in the facsimile plate of No. II.†, the form of e in salabatam-i, l. 12, with the sign for the \( \text{पदर्थिविन्द्र} \) attached to the final \( \iota \) in Gayego, l. 55. The modern Canarese sign for the \( \text{पदर्थिविन्द्र} \) is directly derived from this modification of the vowel \( e \) or \( \delta \).—And \( \iota \), more commonly, by either of the two later signs used for the vowel \( u \) as written with a preceding consonant.† Usually the form of \( u \) made use of in this way is that which is written entirely on the line, as in the modern characters; as instances, see the \( \text{पदर्थिविन्द्र} \) attached to the final \( \iota \) in nele-śiśīndol, l. 25, and to the final \( \iota \) in padūval and baṅgōgal, l. 40, of No. IX.§, and to the final \( \iota \) of śrīmat in l. 6 of No. XXXIII. below. It is but rarely that the second and older form of \( u \)—which is sometimes entirely subscript, and sometimes partly so, commencing below the line and running up to the top of it,—is used for the \( \text{पदर्थिविन्द्र} \). Instances of it will be found in l. 9 and 12 of the following inscription, No. XXXII. And as used to represent the vowel, it will be found in the facsimile plate of No. I., in hula-kalakār and Chālukya-dhārāmakār, l. 4, and Vishnu-nikāya and Muni-gaṇa-nikāya(la)kanam, l. 27, and in the facsimile plate of No. II., in Śantālīge-sīdarāmanuśa Mandagri-śādīramanuśa Padōmar-śādīramanuśa duḥkānigraha, l. 22.4. As a peculiarity in the use of the vowel-sign \( u \) for the \( \text{पदर्थिविन्द्र} \), I may mention that I do not find it used with a final \( m \). Having regard to the number of forms in which \( u \) occurs as a termination in modern Canarese, while in the older dialect the same forms were shorter by one syllable and ended in a consonant, this use of the vowel \( u \) to represent the \( \text{पदर्थिविन्द्र} \) must have played an important part in the development of the language. In Old Canarese, the scansion of metrical passages shows that, with very few exceptions, it was only an orthographical sign. In prose passages, where no such test can be applied, I have hitherto treated it as an orthographical sign, or as a vowel, according to the age and general style of the particular inscription. But, in some few cases, the metrical test shows that, even when used as an orthographical sign, it was liable to be vocalized, if required to make up the metre;—e.g. in l. 6-7 of No. II. of my Devagiri-Vālāja inscriptions, Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., No. xxxiii., vol. XII., p. 11, we are obliged, for the sake of the metre, to pronounce, as written, Śrī-Śāṅkhyasa-Kaśyapa-Jayamadgani-Śaṅkhyasa-Kaśyapa, &c., and in l. 16 of the same, Ādi-gaṇasvāmi-śānāsa-sakal-śrīgaṇa, &c., and in l. 27 of No. IV. of the same set Sanu-mārgaṁ bīnīgī-va, 1. 27. In order to have constantly in view the importance of this vowel-sign \( u \) as used for the \( \text{पदर्थिविन्द्र} \), I shall represent it in my transcriptions by the italicized \( u \), and, vice versā, by the ordinary ' \( u \)' in italicized quotations. In metrical passages, it may then be vocalized or not according to the exigencies of the metre; while, in prose passages, it will be treated as an orthographical sign, or as a vowel, according to the opinion formed by the reader of the linguistic stage of the inscription.

One sign remains to be noticed, the Avagraha, which indicates the elision of an initial \( a \). It is of very rare occurrence in inscriptions, and the only instance that I can call to mind is the Gadag inscription published by me at Vol. II., p. 299. Wherever it occurs, it will be most convenient to represent it by its own Devanāgarī sign, \( 3 \), as in that transcription.

No. XXXII.

This is an inscription in the Old Canarese characters and language from Kāṭṭa-gēri in the Bādā ma Tālukā of the Kāḷāḍgi District. It is on the front or north face of one of a row of stones forming the entrance to the steps at the north end of the small tank under the wall of the fort. The emblems at the top of the stone, which is fixed upright in the ground, are:—In the centre, a cow and calf; above them, the sun, with a liṅga above it; and on the left of the centre, a carved sword, with the moon above it. They are only roughly cut, in outline. On the right of the centre there are no emblems. The inscription covers 1'6½'' high by 1'4'' broad. The average size of the letters is 3''. The characters are well-formed types of the period to which they belong, and call for no remark, except that the subscript form of the vowel \( u \) is used to represent the \( \text{पदर्थिविन्द्र} \) in lines 3 and 12.

The inscription is dated in the twenty-first year of the Western Chālukya Vikrama-

---

‡ The third and oldest sign, a crook attached to the consonant and turned downwards, occurs in some of the oldest Old Canarese inscriptions, but it is strictly a character of the Cave-alphabet class. I have never found it used to represent the \( \text{पदर्थिविन्द्र} \).
§ Vol. V., p. 18.
* The orthography of the name is very doubtful; but, as far as I could ascertain, this is the correct form. \( \text{Kṣer} \), 'street', and \( \text{kere} \) or \( \text{keri} \) (old form, \( \text{kēdi} \)), 'tank', are common terminations in the names of Canarese villages, and, owing to carelessness in writing, are very liable to be confused one with the other.
&i ty a-Tribhu van a mal 1 a, i.e. in the Saka year 1018 (A.D. 1090-7), the Dhatu sahvasara. It records how a certain guild or corporation, called "The Five-hundred"5°, set apart the proceeds of an impost that belonged to them, for the purpose of maintaining a tank.

The system of tanks at Kaṭṭagorī was formerly a large one. First, there is the small tank, on the west of the fort and close under the walls, which has recently been reconstructed as a Famine Relief Work. Secondly, there is a larger tank, on a slightly higher level,—which, if repaired, would, when full, include the preceding in itself,—formed by an embankment running to the south from just below the south-east corner of the fort. And thirdly, about a quarter of a mile away to the south-east of the preceding, and on a lower level, there are the remains of a large embankment, now breached and quite useless, which, when in repair, evidently formed a tank of very considerable area. This must be the "larger big tank" referred to in the inscription.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Śrímaich-Chāľukya-Vikrama-varsha-
[2] tra sa(ṣu)dhā 5 Dhatu-saṃvatsarada Chai-
[3] yu-nuvvarum tava(ma)ge mađeja saẖkamai
[5] bariṁ bittara Krama+di=nd=nt=s=dan=eyde
[6] kāva purushaṁ=a-yuṁ jaya-ārǐy-
[7] m=akke yidāṁ kāyade kāyva pápiye Ku-
[8] ruksētraṁ alolu Bānarasiyol=er-kkō-
[9] ti maññi$mavram kavīloyaṁ Vēd-ādya(dhya)raṁ ko-
[10] ndud=ōṁ(cin)d=aiyasham(ṣaṁ) sarggun=īd=emdu saṛi-
[11] dapud=t āl=ākhharaṁ dhāṭriyolu ||
[12] Śūka || Sva-dattāṁ(tīṁ) para-dattāṁ(tīṁ) vā || yō han-
[13] rēti(ṭa) vasundhāra(rai) || sa(sha)shtir-vṛvrōnaṁ=saḥa-
[14] śrā(śrā)ṁ viśṭāyāṁ jayatē krimi(mi)h [||]

Translation.

Hail! On Sunday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Chaitra of the Dhatu sahvasara, which was the twenty-first of the years of the glorious Chālukya Vikrama, the honourable Five-hundred made over the impost, that was payable to them, to the larger big tank, for as long as the moon and sun and stars might last.

This writing on stone proclaims in the world,—"May there be long life and victory and wealth to the man who well preserves this (grant) in continuation; (but) to the wicked man, who fails to preserve it, (may there attach) the disgrace of slaying two crores§ of saints, or of tawny-haired cows, or of (Brahmans) well

* Corporate bodies are frequently mentioned in inscriptions, but there is seldom anything to explain the allusion. The present is probably the "Five-hundred of Ayāhole" of other inscriptions; and the earliest mention I have of this corporation in an Old Canarese inscription, in characters of about the commencement of the eighth century A.D., on the front wall of an old Hindu temple, now called "the temple of Lēd Khāṅ," at Aihole itself.

† The Frāsā, or alliteration of the second consonant of every line in each stanza of Canarese poetry, is violated here.

‡ Sc., suašī-varaḥo.

§ The original has distinctly or-khōṭi. But perhaps it should be corrected into or-kāṭi; "one crore"; or or is one of the substitutes for oudu in composition, whereas I cannot find an instance in which er is substituted for oudu.

|| The forms "Vāṇāma", "Vāṇāki", and "Bānarāki", as here,—further multiplied by ु and े being interchanged, and by a being sometimes written for a,—all occur in inscriptions. The present form, "Bānarāki", is the nearest to the European corrupted form "Benares".

There is another inscription requiring notice at Kaṭṭagorī,—on part of a stone-tablet near the shrine of the god Hanumanta in the fort. It is in the Old Canarese characters and language, and a transcription of it is given in the Elliot MS. Collection, vol. I., p. 659. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a linça and officiating priest; on its right, a cow and a calf, with the sun directly above them and towards the edge of the stone;
and on its left, a figure of Basava, with the moon above it. The fragment contains 19 lines, more or less imperfect, of about 25 letters. The rest of the stone is lost, and the fragment that exists has recently broken in two, since the time when Sir W. Elliot’s copyist visited it. After the usual introductory verse in praise of the god Śambhu, the inscription begins by referring itself to the time of the Chālukya king (Vikramaditya-) Trībhuvaṇamallaḍēva, when he was ruling at the capital of Kalyāṇa. It then mentions his subordinate, the Mahāpradhāna or Prime Minister Nārāṇāyya, the Dānḍāṇyaka, who was governing the district of Bāgadgāva.* Among the titles given to Nārāṇāyya, i.e. Nārāyan, are the supreme chief of Great Chieftains, who has attained the five mahāśabd-dast, ‘he who does not speak again when he has spoken (once)’, ‘the choice elephant of Ānāṣ’, and ‘the head of (the family of) Bhānasu.’

It then proceeds, in line 15, to introduce and describe the grantee; but the part of the stone containing his name, and the date, and the details of the grant, is lost.

No. XXXIII.

This is another Western Chālukya inscription, in the Old Canarese characters and language, on a stone-tablet standing in front of a partially ruined temple near the centre of the embankment of the tank at Bādāmi. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a figure of Jīnendrā, seated on a pedestal with a trough to receive and carry off the water poured over the image in the performance of abhisēka or ‘ablution;’ on its right, a cow and calf, with the sun above them; and on its left, towards the top of the stone, the moon. The tablet measures about 5’ 8½’ high by 10’ 1½’ broad, and the inscription covers about 3’ 5¾’ of the total height. The average size of the letters is ¼’. The characters are neatly formed types of the period to which they belong, and call for no remark, except that the use of the old ṣ is an affectation of archaisms in an inscription of this date. The tablet is of sandstone, and the surface is very much abraded. Not many letters are absolutely illegible; but in many instances only very faint, though distinctly perceptible, traces of letters remain, and the whole of the writing has become very shallow. This prevented my taking a paper cast of this inscription, and, from the same cause, the photograph of this inscription given at PL. 15 of Mr. Hope’s Collection represents it very imperfectly; when the stone was photographed, only such letters as were quite clear were filled in with chalk, and many of them were filled in and developed wrongly. The temple in front of which the tablet stands is evidently originally a Jain building, and must be the temple of the god YOGēsvara referred to in the inscription, to which the grant was made. It has been subsequently adapted, and is now used, as a temple of Ellamma.† It is of no size or architectural pretensions.

The inscription records how, in the second year of the reign of Jagadekamalla, the Siddhārthi savaitara, two of his subordinate Dānḍāṇyakas, Mahēdeva and Pāladēva, to whose request of a certain noble named Rāmadeva, allotted to the temple a yearly grant of ten gadyānas out of the proceeds of the tax or impost called Siddhāya. There are two Jagadekamallas in the Chālukya genealogy,—Jayasimha II., whose date, by Sir W. Elliot, is Śaka 940? to 962?,—and the eldest son and successor of Somēśvaradēva III., whose title only, and not his proper name, is given in the inscriptions, and whose date, by the same authority, is Śaka 1060 to 1072. There being thus an interval of exactly one hundred and twenty years, or two cycles, between the commencement of the reign of each Jagadekamalla, the name of the savaitara and the year of the reign still leave the date of

† Tāṭ-pāda-padm-lokottati.
‡ See vol. V., p. 175. The Bāgadgā or Bāgādīga Sevenity district is mentioned, as far as my present knowledge goes, only in the Sindavāsia inscriptions of the Kaliṣḍi District and its immediate neighbourhood. Bāgadgā must be the modern Bāgāwā, famous as the birthplace of Basava,—the chief town of the Tāluk of the same name in the Kaliṣḍi District.
§ Somadhūs-paṭiche-mahāśrava-mahādeva-mahiṃśottāna-got. For other inscriptions that I have collected, this seems to be a Sindavāsia title. Bāna, en paścama, is given by Sunderson as a Taḍākana corruption of the Sanskrit mahīṃśottāna, and as meaning ‘cooking;’ also hāmsa, ‘a cow.’

† This is the Canarese name of Bencūr, the wife of Jamadagni, and the mother of Parasurama. Her principal shrine is the well-known temple on the hills at Ujargal, near Sandhati, in the Pargad Tāluk of the Belgaum District.
the inscription doubtful. But I find from the Elliot MS. Collection that the title 'glorious and venerable universal emperor' is never assumed by Jayasimha II, and, on the other hand, it is almost always included among the titles of the successor of Sana-varadāya III. Accordingly, this inscription is of the time of the said Jagadeka-mallia, and the title of it is Saka Pali (A.D. 1139-40), which was the Siddhartha inscription.

While on this subject I may mention that I am somewhat inclined to think that Jagadeka-mallia is the title, not of a son of Sana-varadāya III, but of a brother of his—probably a younger brother—named Jayakarna. Jayakarna is not mentioned by Sir W. Elliot, but his name occurs in one of my Rāja inscriptions, in which he is stated to be a son of Vīramādiya, and also in a fragment of a Western Chalukya inscription recently discovered at Karaḍi in the Hāngu Tīkoda of the Kālagi District. The Karaḍi fragment was found in a Jain Basti which has been converted into a Śiva temple of the god Rāmaśingha. It is a very old building, with a roof of sloping slabs, now almost buried under the centre of the village, the level of which has been gradually rising on account of the accumulation of dust, rain, etc. The upper part of the tablet is lost. The fragment has 25 lines, of which several at the top are imperfect where the stone was broken, of about 27 letters each. The characters and language are Old Kannada. The inscription is very much abraded. The date is lost, with the missing upper portion of the stone. At the inscription refers itself to the time of some Mahādeva or great Chieftain who was the minister of (the Chalukya king Jayakarna). A ruler, and records grants made by the Chavunda, or village-legate, Chavanda, and others, to the temple of the god Kēśa. In this inscription, Jayakarna's name is misspelt 'Jayakarna.'
Reverence to Śrī-Vāsudēva, who is full of enjoyment, who is the very incarnation of the practice of religious abstraction of the thoughts, who is the lord Hara, who is true, who is eternal, and who is the supreme spirit!

Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious and valorous universal emperor Jagadēkamāladeva,—the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the glory of the family of Śatyāśraya, the ornament of the Chāḷukya-s, was continuing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

He, who subsisted, (as if he were a bee), on the lotuses which were his food, was the honourable Śrī-Kālidāsa, the Commander of the forces,—who was the favourite of the goddess of fortune; who was spotless; who was a very bee at the lotuses which are the feet of the goddess of fortune; who was almost like Krishna; who was a very bee at the lotuses which are the feet of Mahādeva; who is eternal, and who is the supreme spirit!

He, who subsisted, (as if he were a bee), on the lotuses which were his food, was the honourable Śrī-Kālidāsa, the Commander of the forces,—who was the favourite of the goddess of fortune; who was spotless; who was a very bee at the lotuses which are the feet of the goddess of fortune; who was almost like Krishna; who was a very bee at the lotuses which are the feet of Mahādeva; who is eternal, and who is the supreme spirit!

This writing on stone proclaims in the bright fortnight of (the month) Karttika of the Siddhārthi saṅkṣetara, which was the second of the years of the Chāḷakya Jagadēkamāla,—the Dāṇḍānyāka Mahādeva, who has been thus described, and the Dāṇḍānyāka Pālādeva, at the request of the noble Peggada, the head man, allotted to (the temple of) the god Yogēvara, which Paramānandaśēva, the delight of the hearts of those who practise religious abstraction of the thoughts, had caused to be built, ten gajānaked of gold out of the (impost called) Skāldiyaf of Bāḍāvi, for as long as the moon and sun might last, saying that they were to be paid year by year.

This writing on stone proclaims in the bright fortnight of (the month) Karttika of the Siddhārthi saṅkṣetara, which was the second of the years of the Chāḷakya Jagadēkamāla,—the Dāṇḍānyāka Mahādeva, who has been thus described, and the Dāṇḍānyāka Pālādeva, at the request of the noble Peggada, the head man, allotted to (the temple of) the god Yogēvara, which Paramānandaśēva, the delight of the hearts of those who practise religious abstraction of the thoughts, had caused to be built, ten gajānaked of gold out of the (impost called) Skāldiyaf of Bāḍāvi, for as long as the moon and sun might last, saying that they were to be paid year by year. This writing on stone proclaims in the bright fortnight of (the month) Karttika of the Siddhārthi saṅkṣetara, which was the second of the years of the Chāḷakya Jagadēkamāla,—the Dāṇḍānyāka Mahādeva, who has been thus described, and the Dāṇḍānyāka Pālādeva, at the request of the noble Peggada, the head man, allotted to (the temple of) the god Yogēvara, which Paramānandaśēva, the delight of the hearts of those who practise religious abstraction of the thoughts, had caused to be built, ten gajānaked of gold out of the (impost called) Skāldiyaf of Bāḍāvi, for as long as the moon and sun might last, saying that they were to be paid year by year. This writing on stone proclaims in the bright fortnight of (the month) Karttika of the Siddhārthi saṅkṣetara, which was the second of the years of the Chāḷakya Jagadēkamāla,—the Dāṇḍānyāka Mahādeva, who has been thus described, and the Dāṇḍānyāka Pālādeva, at the request of the noble Peggada, the head man, allotted to (the temple of) the god Yogēvara, which Paramānandaśēva, the delight of the hearts of those who practise religious abstraction of the thoughts, had caused to be built, ten gajānaked of gold out of the (impost called) Skāldiyaf of Bāḍāvi, for as long as the moon and sun might last, saying that they were to be paid year by year. This writing on stone proclaims in the bright fortnight of (the month) Karttika of the Siddhārthi saṅkṣetara, which was the second of the years of the Chāḷakya Jagadēkamāla,—the Dāṇḍānyāka Mahādeva, who has been thus described, and the Dāṇḍānyāka Pālādeva, at the request of the noble Peggada, the head man, allotted to (the temple of) the god Yogēvara, which Paramānandaśēva, the delight of the hearts of those who practise religious abstraction of the thoughts, had caused to be built, ten gajānaked of gold out of the (impost called) Skāldiyaf of Bāḍāvi, for as long as the moon and sun might last, saying that they were to be paid year by year. This writing on stone proclaims in the bright fortnight of (the month) Karttika of the Siddhārthi saṅkṣetara, which was the second of the years of the Chāḷakya Jagadēkamāla,—the Dāṇḍānyāka Mahādeva, who has been thus described, and the Dāṇḍānyāka Pālādeva, at the request of the noble Peggada, the head man, allotted to (the temple of) the god Yogēvara, which Paramānandaśēva, the delight of the hearts of those who practise religious abstraction of the thoughts, had caused to be built, ten gajānaked of gold out of the (impost called) Skāldiyaf of Bāḍāvi, for as long as the moon and sun might last, saying that they were to be paid year by year. This writing on stone proclaims in the bright fortnight of (the month) Karttika of the Siddhārthi saṅkṣetara, which was the second of the years of the Chāḷakya Jagadēkamāla,—the Dāṇḍānyāka Mahādeva, who has been thus described, and the Dāṇḍānyāka Pālādeva, at the request of the noble Peggada, the head man, allotted to (the temple of) the god Yogēvara, which Paramānandaśēva, the delight of the hearts of those who practise religious abstraction of the thoughts, had caused to be built, ten gajānaked of gold out of the (impost called) Skāldiyaf of Bāḍāvi, for as long as the moon and sun might last, saying that they were to be paid year by year.
versed in the Védas, at Kurukshētra or Vārasāvi."

Among the numerous other inscriptions at Bādāmi, there is only one more of the later kings of the Western Chālukya dynasty. It is on a fragment of a black stone tablet, leaning against the east wall in the yard of Shārif Khān’s house, just below the embankment of the tank, at the south-east corner of the town. It is in the Old Canarese characters and language, in well-formed letters of from the tenth to the twelfth century. There are remains, more or less imperfect, of 27 lines, of about 39 letters each; the rest of the stone is lost. It begins with the Vaishnava invocation Jāyaty=viśhiktaiṇa Viṣṇū, &c., and is undoubtedly a Chālukya inscription; but, after this, hardly a connected passage is now legible anywhere, and I could not trace the name of the king, the date, &c. The emblems at the top of the stone are somewhat unusual:—In the centre three standing gods,—Brahma, Viṣṇu, and Śiva; on their right, a seated Gaṇapati; and on their left, a cow and calf.

SUBSTANCE OF TWO ŚĀNASAS IN SIR WALTER ELLIOT’S COLLECTION OF SOUTH-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY THE REV. R. CALDWELL, D.D., LL.D., TINNEVELLY.

The originals are on copper plates, preserved in the Temple at Tiruppūvanaṇam, in the zamindāri of Sivagangai, district of Madura.

The language is generally Tamil; but the introductory portion of No. 1 is Sanskrit, in old Grantha characters.

No. 1.*

"Śvasti Śrī! The first thing that made its appearance was Water. Upon the water Hari slept, reclining on Śasā. From Hari’s navel, Brahmā, the Creator of the world, spontaneously appeared. From him Atri was born. From Atri’s eyes the Moon appeared. The Moon’s son was Budha. From him arose Purūravas, and from Purūravas the Pāṇḍya lords. Rāja Gambhiradeva, in order to settle the boundaries of the district called by his name [see below], after ascertaining from Sundareswara [Śiva of Madura] the proper juncture of time for doing so, in his 25th year, in the month of Mārgaḷi [December—January], in the dark fortnight, on Saturday, in the yoga called Svāti, ordered an elephant to be let loose [whatever path the elephant took to be regarded as the divinely appointed boundary]."

The above in Sanskrit verse; what follows is in Tamil:—

"In the 13th year, 4864th day, of the lord of the earth, Śrī Kōchhadei [royal ascetic—Edjarshī?] Varma, emperor of the three worlds, Śrī Kulasēkhara Dēva, (who sits on on a royal throne surrounded by, &c. praised by, &c., possessed of such and such good qualities, promoter of such and such pious actions,) he [that is, apparently, Rāja Gambhiradeva] seated on the altar-couch, in the sacred sleeping-chamber of the temple at Māḍaṅgam, East Madura, in the flourishing Chola country, out of the 1200 shares into which the village [or district] called Rāja Gambhirā chatur-vedi mangalam, in the district of Rāja Gambhirā-vala-Nādu, were divided, including ten villages, each of which is fully described, grants 1080 of those shares to 1080 Bhattas, and 120 shares to the temple, for the subsistence of the temple Brāhmaṇs; and for the confirmation of the same, at the request of Śrī Sāstri Bhatṭarakaraka, issues this śāsana, duly attested by many witnesses."

Reference is made in several places in this śāsana to the measurement of land by: “the measuring-rod of Vira Pāṇḍiya.” This Vira Pāṇḍya must have preceded Kulasēkhara Dēva, and probably there was a considerable interval of time between the two. A Vira Pāṇḍi, doubtless a later prince of that name, succeeded to the throne of Madura in a.d. 1437. This is the only Vira Pāṇḍi whose date is known as yet with certainty. The “Vira Pāṇḍu” mentioned in the Singhalese annals (Maha-vansa) was not a predecessor of Kulasēkhara, but a rival and successor. His date was probably about a.d. 1175 (see my Dravīḍian Comparative Grammar, p. 568). The Kulasēkhara of this inscription is not styled Pāṇḍya Dēva, but simply

* On five plates measuring 16½ by 5½ inches, engraved on both sides, but without ring or seal.—Ed.
TIRUPPUVAṆAM ŚÅŚANA. No. I.

HALF THE ORIGINAL SIZE.
TIRUPPUṆAM ṢĀSANA. NO. II.

Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, p. 143.

HALF THE ORIGINAL SIZE.
Dēva; and it is worth of notice that the Singhalese annals represent the Kulaśēkhara who was driven away by the Singhalese army, and in whose stead Vira Paṇḍi was placed on the throne, as a person who did not belong to the Paṇḍya race. He was, apparently, a Chōla prince, and it may be remarked that, in accordance with this, Mādura, though the Paṇḍya capital, is described in this inscription as belonging to the Chōla country. If the Kulaśēkhara of this inscription were the same person, his date would be about a.d. 1170.

The Rāja Gambhirā Dēva of this inscription is not represented as a Paṇḍya. He was evidently a feudatory of Kulaśēkhara Dēva, and as the district called by his name is included within the ancient limits of the Rāmānad zamindārī, Śivagangei not then being independent, he may have been the Sētpatī, or guardian of Rāma’s bridge, of that time,—that is, the Rāmānad zamindār, who has always been regarded as a sort of royal personage in his own domains.

---

ON ANCIENT NĀGARĪ NUMERALS.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

In his note on the ancient Nāgari numerals† Dr. Bühler expresses his conviction that “the old idea of Prinsep, according to which the figures were to be representatives of the initial letters of the cardinal numerals, has to be given up.” I feel confident that few scholars of the present day will be disposed to controvert the opinion of my learned friend. It is evident at first sight that the figures for one, two, three are nothing else but modifications of one, two, three strokes, and have nothing whatever to do with the initial letters of eka, ṛṭi, tvi.

The figure of the fourth numeral reveals its own origin by its oldest form. Paṇḍit Bhagvānīlā Indraji, in his most interesting paper on the ancient Nāgāri writing, makes no mention of the fact that the figure of 4 occurs in one of the Aśoka inscriptions; yet the fact is so important, for many reasons, that I think it worth while to draw attention to it.

Thanks to General Cunningham, we know a part of the Khali inscription.‡ There we read, ll. 4 seq.:

A(n)tiyoge nāma Yona(Ujapa)lam chāha tena A(n)-tiyona (r. Antiyogona) chatāi 4 Uṣṭana Tualangoe nāma Aṃśekine (r. Aṃśikone) nāma Mādak nāma Alkayasadāle nāma.

The figure for four in this inscription is a simple cross. The device of indicating the number four by a cross is so natural, and ingenious at the same time, that any comment may be held to be superfluous. Nor will it be necessary to show that all the later forms of 4 in Nāgāri are the direct offshoots of the ancient sign, such as we find it in the Aśoka edict.

The figure for five is, as may be inferred from the Valabhi writing, and still more clearly from the ancient Kavi sign, nothing else but four with the addition of one stroke or curved line. The form of 4 in Kavi is ४, that of 5 is ५.

Bühler thinks that the figures were invented by Brāhmaṇas, not by Buddhists. I agree with him in the main, but cannot forbear remarking that the words in which he has couched his opinion are liable to misapprehension. How do we know that the Hindus invented their ankās after the rise of Buddhism? Why should the figures have been unknown before the rise of Buddhism, which, after all, is an Indian invention itself, and no exotic plant?

Leiden, March 11.

H. KERN.

---

The second inscription is merely an appendix to the first, preserved, like it, in the temple at Tiruppuṇḍam. It grants to the same Bhaṭṭas three other villages in the same district in addition to the ten already granted.

Commencement.—“Śvaṭī Śrī! Kōṅnmei-Koṇḍān, emperor of the three worlds, to the sacred assembly of Rāja Gambhirā chatur-vēdi mangelām, in the district of Rāja Gambhirā-vāla-Nādu,” &c.

Kōṅnmei-Koṇḍān seems rather a title than a name. I have found it used as a title in many inscriptions, prefixed to the king’s name. Here no name follows, but it may be concluded that Rāja Gambhirā Dēva was the person intended. The term means “possessor of royal dignity,” from the old Tamil kō, king, nōmmei, power, dignity, and koṇḍān, he who takes or possesses.

---

† On a single plate, of the same size as those of No. L, engraved on both sides.—Ed.
‡ Ind. Ant. vol. VI. p. 45.
Vākpati Rāja, the grandfather of the celebrated Bhōja Rāja of Dhārā, translated by my friend Mr. N. J. Kirtane:

“This Vākpati inscription may assist in settling the date of Bhavabhūti if the assertion of Kalhana in the Rājatarangini be true:—

“कविवाचनस्यत्रांशं स दयानंतप्र्वविदित:।
जिति (सिद्ध) यथायमेव तथापरंस्तविद्विदत:।”

Allow me to correct an obvious error. This Vākpati Rāja king of Dhārā has nothing to do with Vākpatirāja the poet of Kanjō and the protégé of Yaśovarman, who lived at least four centuries before the time of Vākpati Rāja the king. Like many other statements of Kalhana made in the Rājatarangini, that most useful work, the lines quoted are indeed valuable. They show that Vākpati the poet and Bhavabhūti were contemporaries, and were both patronised by king Yaśovarman. This is corroborated by a certain passage (already published by Prof. Bhandarkar) in a Pāṭalicī poem of Vākpati’s, entitled the Gauḍārājana, or ‘the killing of the Gauḍā king,’ lately discovered by Dr. Bühler, and now undergoing preparation for the press by me.

Shankar P. Pandit.

Mudebdhā, 23rd March 1877.

Nurhags and Dukhmās.

Sir,—In Mr. James Fergusson’s invaluable work on Rude Stone Monuments he describes as follows (pp. 427 et seq.) a class of remains found in the island of Sardinia, and nowhere else, called Nurhags:—

“A Nurhag is easily recognized and easily described. It is always a round tower, with sides sloping at an angle of about ten degrees to the horizon, its dimensions varying from twenty to sixty feet in diameter, and its height being generally equal to the width of the base. Sometimes they are one, frequently two, and even three stories in height, the centre being always occupied by circular chambers, constructed by projecting stones forming a dome with the section of a pointed arch. The chamber generally occupies one-third of the diameter, the thickness of the walls forming the remaining two-thirds. There is invariably a ramp or staircase leading to the platform at the top of the tower.”

Mr. Fergusson then proceeds to give numerous illustrations and details, among which, as bearing upon my argument, I shall only notice the fact that there are remains of at least three thousand of these buildings in the island.

Next he proceeds to discuss, with less than his usual decision (the external evidence being nil), the purpose for which these buildings were erected. “Generally,” he says, “it is assumed that they were fire-temples, from their name,—nur in the Semitic languages signifying ‘fire’,—but more from their construction,” which he admits to favour this view, but adds, “Why so numerous? We can count upon our fingers all the fire-temples that exist, or ever were known to exist, in fire-worshipping Persia; and if a dozen satisfied her spiritual wants, what necessity was there for three thousand, or probably twice that number, in the small and sparsely inhabited island of Sar-dinia.” (p. 432.) Finally he appears rather to favour the view that they were tombs, and is certain that if so, “they were those of a people who, like the Parsis of the present day, exposed their dead to be devoured by the birds of the air,” and “that such towers would answer in every respect perfectly to the Towers of Silence of the modern Persians; and the little side-chambers in the towers would suit perfectly as receptacles of the denuded bones when the time arrived for collecting them.”

The necessity of sparing your space has obliged me to give only the heads of Mr. Fergusson’s argument, and that in a maimed and disjointed fashion. What I have now to point out is that there is no inconsistency between the Fire-temple and Tower of Silence theories. The Nurhags may have been both at once.

A modern Tower of Silence is always a round tower with sides nearly perpendicular to the horizon, its dimensions varying from thirty to sixty feet in diameter, and its height being generally equal (including the parapet) to about three-fifths of the base. (These dimensions are rough estimates, and open to correction.) They are always one story in height, the centre occupied by a circular chamber, and the top by a parapeted platform. There is invariably a stone external staircase leading to the platform. And there is invariably, close by, a small solid Fire-temple. The following rough dimensions are those of one attached to a tower near Kalyāna in the Thānil collectorate:—On a foundation of trap-rock there is a plinth of coursed rubble one foot high and 13 feet 6 inches square, and on this another two feet high and 13 feet square. Three stone steps ascend the double plinth to the Fire-temple, which is of brick and mortar, nine feet square outside and seven inside, set back to within eighteen inches of the rear (or western) edge of the plinth. The walls are 5 feet 6 inches high, and surmounted by a roof apparently of about half that height, and the same thickness, forming (if the term be admissible) a curvilinear pyramid. In the west side is a niche for the sacred lamp; in the
The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi.
By Carr Stephen, late Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Ludhiana Mission Press, 1876.

Dehli has long claimed a monograph which shall do justice to its historical preëminence, commercial importance, and architectural magnificence. The materials for such a work exist in abundance, and the present time too would have been one peculiarly fitting for such a publication. It has, however, been left to a private individual to do for the city, with some degree of completeness, what was obviously so long required to be done.

The materials for the reconstruction of Hindu Delhi, both in monuments, coins, and manuscripts, are exceedingly scanty. Unless the Archaeological Survey or some wealthy antiquarian undertakes excavations at the supposed site of Indraprastha, and at the more modern city of which the massive walls still encircle the Kutb Minâr, we must be content to remain profoundly ignorant of the events of the 2700 years of conjectured existence which preceded the capture of the city by the Muhammadan contemporaries of our king Eichard I. All that is known of our king Eichard I. All that is known of

BOOK NOTICES.

The Englishman Newberry must have passed through Dehli about 1585-86 when he parted company with Fitch, at Agra, to proceed to Persia via Lahor. Eighteen years afterwards (1603), and five after the establishment of the English East India Company, John Mildenall passed the opposite way, from Lahor to Agra. Salbank, who was in the neighbourhood in 1609, mentions the place, but does not seem to have been there. In 1611 Finch visited Dehli, and has left a lengthy account of it, which has been useful to living antiquaries. Tom Coryat came shortly afterwards, and is apparently responsible for some of the absurdities which appeared in the contemporaneous descriptions of Sir Thomas Roe, Terry, Sir Thomas Herbert, and others. John Albert de Mandelo, a gentleman in the service of the Duke of Holstein, travelled from Agra to Lahor in 1638, but does not refer to Dehli, though he describes Agra at some length. As Dehli was then the capital of Shâh Jehân, Mandelo cannot have avoided it. This deficiency, however, if it really exists, is supplied by Tavernier, who was in India at various times between 1638 and 1669, and has left, from personal observation, a long account of Dehli, which he calls 'Gehanabad.' His contemporary Bernier, as physician to the emperor Aurangzib, was likewise some time in the city, and has left the vivid and minutely detailed description

But the city was also frequently visited, and occasionally described, by Europeans during the last three hundred years. It may have been visited even earlier by them, as Rubruquis, who wrote in the thirteenth century, mentions that Europeans were then in the service of the great Tâtâr Khâns of Central Asia, as they were in the following century,—the notorious Sir John de Mandeville having been thus employed during part of his chequered career. It is quite justifiable to conjecture that some of these adventurers found their way to northern India and Dehli, as they afterwards did to the western coast in the galleys of the Turks (see Webbe's Travels in Arber's Reprints).

Of later times there is no lack of record. The Kutb Minâr marks with unfading freshness and dignity the exultant feeling of the first Muslim conquerors; and all around are the mosques, palaces, and tombs of every succeeding generation. Nor is the record confined, even in the remotest times, to these large and solid works. In the ditch of Kila Rai Pithora still exists the grave of the man who led the assault in 1191, and who was killed at the head of the storming party.

The notices of the city in Muhammadan authors are necessarily very numerous, and are sufficiently exact to be of great use to European investigators; they are now familiar to the English reader through the labours of Elliot and Dowson.

doned, and new ones built, every thirty or forty years, a population practising this method of sepulture would not take many centuries to erect three thousand of them. I hope some writer better acquainted than myself with fire-worship in Iran and India will correct any errors which I may have fallen into, and supplement my deficiencies, but that in any case I may prove to have advanced one step towards the solution of this curious problem.

...and is apparently responsible for some of the absurdities which appeared in the contemporaneous descriptions of Sir Thomas Roe, Terry, Sir Thomas Herbert, and others. John Albert de Mandelo, a gentleman in the service of the Duke of Holstein, travelled from Agra to Lahor in 1638, but does not refer to Dehli, though he describes Agra at some length. As Dehli was then the capital of Shâh Jehân, Mandelo cannot have avoided it. This deficiency, however, if it really exists, is supplied by Tavernier, who was in India at various times between 1638 and 1669, and has left, from personal observation, a long account of Dehli, which he calls 'Gehanabad.' His contemporary Bernier, as physician to the emperor Aurangzib, was likewise some time in the city, and has left the vivid and minutely detailed description

But the city was also frequently visited, and occasionally described, by Europeans during the last three hundred years. It may have been visited even earlier by them, as Rubruquis, who wrote in the thirteenth century, mentions that Europeans were then in the service of the great Tâtâr Khâns of Central Asia, as they were in the following century,—the notorious Sir John de Mandeville having been thus employed during part of his chequered career. It is quite justifiable to conjecture that some of these adventurers found their way to northern India and Dehli, as they afterwards did to the western coast in the galleys of the Turks (see Webbe's Travels in Arber's Reprints).

Of later times there is no lack of record. The Kutb Minâr marks with unfading freshness and dignity the exultant feeling of the first Muslim conquerors; and all around are the mosques, palaces, and tombs of every succeeding generation. Nor is the record confined, even in the remotest times, to these large and solid works. In the ditch of Kila Rai Pithora still exists the grave of the man who led the assault in 1191, and who was killed at the head of the storming party.

The notices of the city in Muhammadan authors are necessarily very numerous, and are sufficiently exact to be of great use to European investigators; they are now familiar to the English reader through the labours of Elliot and Dowson.

doned, and new ones built, every thirty or forty years, a population practising this method of sepulture would not take many centuries to erect three thousand of them. I hope some writer better acquainted than myself with fire-worship in Iran and India will correct any errors which I may have fallen into, and supplement my deficiencies, but that in any case I may prove to have advanced one step towards the solution of this curious problem.
De Lévi's description of the city appeared. In 1717 the Emperor Farukhsir received at Delhi a deputation from the East India Company, and the descriptions left by Tiefenthaler, Franklin, and others, towards the end of the eighteenth century, close the accounts we have of the city while its Moghul rulers possessed any remnant of authority. The present century has necessarily been prolific in general descriptions of the old and modern cities; but, excepting those of Heber (1824), Jacquemont (1831-32), Sleeman (1844), Mrs. Colin Mackenzie (1847), Bayard Taylor (1853), and Norman Macleod (1868), most of them are already forgotten, and none of them are of much service to the archaeologist. Antiquaries, however, were not backward in so important a field. In 1801 Colebrooke attacked the inscriptions on the Delhi pillars, and thereupon, in the Asiatic Society's Journal and elsewhere, the archaeology of the city continued to receive due treatment by such investigators as Prinsep, Thomas, Cunningham, Campbell, Tremlett, and Sayyad Ahmad. In 1847 the local interest in the subject had become so general that the Delhi Archaeological Society was formed, and this body published a journal which, so long as it lasted, was a mine of special information. The year 1855 produced the results of Mr. J. Fergusson's examination of the Muhammadan monuments. This was principally directed to architectural objects, but was important as the first attractive introduction of the subject to the home public. In 1862-63 General Cunningham, then Archaeological Surveyor to Government, sent over the ground, and issued a report which, besides containing much that was new, collected the results of all the previous piecemeal inquiries. This publication was wanting in illustrations and plans, and did not treat any but the more important questions in detail, but it has been the basis and guide of later investigators. It was supplemented in 1874 by Mr. Baglar, of the Archaeological Survey; but as he principally confined himself to the further elucidation of a few fundamental points, such as the sites of the successive cities and the origin of the Kutb Minar and Masjid, there still remained a great deal to be done, both in exploration of the Hindu remains, and in the detailed examination of those of the Muhammadans.

At this stage the work was taken up by Mr. Carr Stephen, who has confined his labours closely to the historical and architectural branches of the antiquities of Delhi. His work is destitute of proper maps and plans (the only maps being two indifferent copies of the old sketches of General Cunningham, and the only plan a bad copy of one by Mr. Fergusson of the palace of Sháh Jehán); there are no illustrations besides the photographs; there is no bibliography; and the index is very imperfect; but what the author has undertaken he has done thoroughly well. We have tested his measurements and descriptions, and found them invariably correct. His authorities are generally quoted, and his dates well supported; and, most creditable of all, he has firmly avoided the tall writing to which Delhi, of all other cities in India, invites the unwary. Mr. Carr Stephen, too, has refrained from the incongruous parallels which are so much the fashion, and which led not long ago to the neglected and mutilated Shalamar garden at Lahore being styled the “Versailles of the Panjab!” Imagine a Versailles without a palace, without a picture gallery, without fountains, and without parterres! Delhi has been without much unfitness described as the Rome of Asia, but parallels should cease there. It is but bare justice to say of Mr. Carr Stephen’s book that the traveller, unless he be provided with General Cunningham’s Reports, cannot properly appreciate the city without it. The book, so far as it goes, is a decided acquisition, and the appreciative reader will regret that it does not contain six hundred pages, instead of less than half that number.

It is refreshing, in the first place, to find a Government officer resident at Delhi taking the trouble to perform the tiresome work which has been done in this case, as neither the European community nor occasional visitors impress one as caring much for this architectural paradise. Most persons deem two days sufficient for “doing” the forty-five square miles of ruins. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the Panjab Government can only afford an annual budget allotment of two or three thousand rupees for the repair of the monuments of the old capital, while as many lâkhs are being lavishly spent on Gothic structures of very questionable correctness and taste at Lahore. It must not be understood from this remark, however, that we are ungrateful for what Government has done. On the contrary, it has laid the public under much obligation by fitting up or building very comfortable banâghs at the Kutb, Tughlakâbâd, and Humâyun’s tomb; free access is allowed to the Lâl Kiâl; and fees are nowhere demanded: Government probably spends quite as much money on the preservation of old Delhi as the public demands.

The specialties of Mr. Carr Stephen’s work are the numerous and new translations of Muhammadan inscriptions; some judicious criticisms of former attempts to fix the sites of the Pathân cities,
descriptions of little known and, in some instances, unidentified buildings, such as the tombs of the Sayyad and Lodi kings; a rather full account of the royal and other cemeteries at the village of Mahrauli; and the production of a readable description of the principal Moghul public buildings of the modern city. Generally speaking, the author has, while collecting and condensing all that has been written by others, supplied the deficiencies in detail left by General Cunningham and his assistants. In this way the work done in the shape of dry but useful specifications and measurements is immense, and a marked feature of the book,—quite two hundred distinct sites and monuments being thus placed beyond the hazard of the entire effacement which sooner or later accompanies the advantages of British rule.

With respect to Lalkot (the first of the forts of old Delhi), Mr. Carr Stephen differs from General Cunningham, as others have done, and apparently with justice. Our author disbelieves altogether in its existence as a fortress. It is questionable, however, whether his agreement with General Cunningham in regard to the southern boundary of Dehli Shershahi (the last Paṭḥān capital) can be accepted as final until he disposes of the insurmountable stumbling-block of the so-called Lāl Darwāzā, nearly opposite Dinpanah. This gateway (which should not be confounded with the other Lāl Darwāzā of Dehli Shershahi, which is more properly called the Kābuli Darwāzā, and stands opposite Fīrus Shāh’s Kotila) is situated more than a mile within General Cunningham’s southern boundary, and it impresses one on inspection either as a grand-port of the southern wall, or the remains of some inner rampart. Although the southern boundary wall of Sher Shāh’s capital may be fixed below Hamāyun’s tomb, on the authority of Finch and others, no traces of it have been found there; and, until something tangible is discovered, one is warranted in considering the Lāl Darwāzā near Dinpanah as marking the real southern boundary of the walled city, and the streets and the buildings so plainly marked outside it as extramural suburbs. The author agrees with General Cunningham with respect to the site of Sīrī (the city of ‘Alau’d-dīn Khilji, the conqueror of the Dakhān and the second king of the third Paṭḥān dynasty), and disposes for ever of the attempts made to fix it near the Kūṭb.

In the cases of most of these city sites Mr. Carr Stephen has omitted to perform one useful task,—that, namely, of describing the ground as it now lies under cultivation or mounds of ruins. He has preferred the more attractive duty of treating of the appearance and remains of the solid public buildings scattered over their areas. This reminds us of the extreme want there is of a large scale archaeological map of old Dehli. That of Lieutenant Burgess, plotted from a survey in 1849-50, is the only one existing that we are aware of. It is good so far as it goes, but the boundaries of some of the cities are unreliable, and it not only omits to mark important standing buildings, but is also on too small a scale to allow of the location of streets and of minor ruins being delineated.

We have already referred to some of the deficiencies of the book. To these must be added the want of any mention of the canals; the gardens (including the famous Shalamar); the palaces of nobles in the modern city; and of such buildings as the Jaina temple and Badli-kā-Sarai. Generally, too, the modern city is not described in sufficient detail. All the important Moghul buildings are specified, but there is little or no account of the streets as they now lie compared with those of former times, and there is nothing about the baths, wells, sarais, sewers, and other domestic works, which, taking Lāhor as an instance, are so curious in Muhammadan cities.

The canals were well worthy of a page or two. The walled gardens have of late years so rapidly decreased in number that, unless they are described and measured at once, all trace of them will be lost. When last in Dehli, in 1873, we had difficulty in finding Shalamar at all, and when we got there we found the famous Imperial Garden had almost disappeared. All that remained was an angle of the enclosure wall, surmounted by a common plaster-domed pavilion, and two paltry baraddris, one of which a local agriculturist dignified by the name of Shīleh Māhāl. The remains of some of the minor gardens are much more splendid, several having imposing gateways of fine material. Not far from Shalamar is Badli-kā-Sarai, rendered famous by the engagement of June 1857. It is a small rectangular enclosure, with massive high battlemented walls of brick. It reeked with smoke and filth.

Had space allowed, we should have liked to enter into some discussion of the very numerous points in the archaeology of Dehli yet remaining unsettled. Every page of such a work as that under notice reminds one of how much remains to be done, but any attempt of the kind would be impossible here.

* To this list of deficiencies we add a few blemishes which have escaped detection in the proofs. The Haus’ Alai can scarcely have had a “stone and masonry wall” (p. 58). The foundations, not the walls, of the Kālān-Majid must be “six feet deep” (p. 149). The “stamp” of Fīrus Shāh’s cupola, which is referred to (p. 63) as being on the fifth story of the Kūṭb Minār, must mean the finial or kabea. If octagonal pavilions “manned” the walls of the garden of Jehān-e-Raham (p. 256), they are to be envied. At p. 192 there is “a cylinder with 16 sides.”
Mr. Fergusson is well able to defend himself when he requires it, but we cannot refrain from noticing with dissent Mr. Carr Stephen's remark that Mr. Fergusson has committed himself to statements, about the doings of British officials at Delhi, which cannot be accepted. We consider Mr. Fergusson has been astonishingly moderate in his denouncement of European Vandalism. The ignorant destroyer has done his worst there, to the eternal disgrace of the British reputation for taste. Without going further afield, the first thing one sees on entering Delhi by railway is a mutilation of the walls of the Fort,—the walls which prompted the warm admiration of Heber,—in order that one or two honey-combed guns may have a clear sweep across the bridge. In respect to these barbarities the mouths of state officials are shut, and it becomes indispensable that independent writers like Mr. Fergusson should speak the truth, while there is an enlightened government, both here and at home, able and willing to put down these acts of ruthless destruction.


The two works noted above deal with the same region, but are of very different pretensions and character. Dr. Bellew is an almost official writer, who has already related the adventures of two important Missions, has distinguished himself in the philology of Khuršān and Mekran, and been highly honoured by the Government he serves. It would be natural to expect from his powers, experience, and opportunities a work which should be a vade-mecum to future travellers and inquirers. The hope would be grievously disappointed by the volume before us. It contains no map (a sine quid non of a good book of travels), though the author might surely have made use of the researches of his comrades, Captains Trotter and Biddulph and Colonel Gordon. It has no illustrations, though the Mission included draughtsmen and photographers; and it has no index. The book may, for the purpose of review, be divided into two parts,—the itinerary of the Mission, and the author's ethnological opinions and historical researches. The former may be briefly dismissed, as the most part of it furnishes but little information not already before the public, and Dr. Bellew himself appears to think that the interchange of the regulation civilities between Raja, Resident, and Envoy at Šrinagar are quite as worthy of note as any other event of their travels. The other portion, however, requires some notice.

It is, in the first place, very hard upon the 19th century that its now declining days should be insulted with a recollection of the wildest dreams of Tod and Wilford; with nonsense about the "pure Caucasian, the representative of the original Saka, Sui, or Sache who were pushed up from the plains by kindred tribes of the Yuchi, Gete, Jatta, or Goth"! who, according to our author, "in the west transplanted to the soil of their adoption, as in Gothland, Jutland, England, Saxony, &c. [Saxony from Saka!] the names of their colonizing tribes; and in the south," to cut a long story short,christened Banaras Kasi, after Kashghar, Herat after Yarkand, and Kutak in Orissa after an elder sister in Turkostan! At least so Dr. Bellow ventures to conclude "from the similarity of the names, and the historical record of the emigration," a document about which he is provoking enough to give us no further information. His researches, however, into the history of the country in times rather more within the ken of modern man are apparently reliable, and would be useful if they were comfortably sorted out into an appendix. But they are, throughout the work, intermixed with the itinerary, as never were vicuñas in a pie; so that the bewildered reader emerges from the follies and fights of the children of Chinghiz Khân into the festive hall of the Mahaffraja of Kashmir, or the crowded camp of the Mission, whence, at the sight of some wayside monument, the doctor drags him off again into the civil troubles of the "Khitay" and "Mughul." It would perhaps be too much to ask for systematic orthography in such a work,—at any rate it would be fruitless, and it is something that Dr. Bellew no longer calls the race of the Prophet "Saggids."

In wading through this confused medley of travel, history, and speculation we have been much assisted by Mr. Drew's work. It is, and pretends to be, no more than a useful manual of the dominions of the house of Jami; but it has been very carefully and systematically compiled, has a good map and index, and a number of illustrations, some of which are beautiful, especially the pretty centre-piece on the cover (reappearing in black and white on p. xii.), and all clear. Some of the modest outlines of mountain scenery could, one would think, almost be used as maps; and the whole work is of a sort most valuable to the traveller and student.
Three New Edicts of Asoka.

By G. Bühlér.

The subjoined three edicts form part of the splendid discoveries which General Cunningham has been making in Northern and Central India during the last years, and will shortly be published in facsimiles in the first volume of his Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. General Cunningham sent me last autumn plate XIV. of his work which contains them. With the help of a photograph also furnished by him I soon succeeded in deciphering the very simple Sahasram edict. But the more important Rupnath inscription I was unable to make out completely until I received two rubbings, which General Cunningham was good enough to take at my request. On my communicating my final results he very generously gave me permission to publish the text with my translations, and thus enabled me to make these most important inscriptions at once generally accessible.

The great historical value of the new edicts lies herein:

1stly—That they absolutely fix the length of time which elapsed between Buddha’s nirvāṇa and Asoka;

2ndly—That they prove the accuracy of the chronology of the southern Buddhists, as far as India is concerned;

3rdly—That their data, together with the information of the Greek historians, prove Buddha’s nirvāṇa to have taken place between the years 483-82 and 472-71 B.C.; and

4thly—That they indicate the direction in which future efforts to find the exact date of Buddha’s nirvāṇa ought to be made.

These assertions may appear bold and over-confident, as the inscriptions neither give the name of the king who caused them to be incised, nor show any of the common epithets of Buddha. But nevertheless I feel confident that a careful consideration of the contents of the edicts will cause their correctness to be admitted.

In the Sahasram inscription a person who calls himself ‘the Beloved of the gods’ states that he was for a long time an upāsaka, or worshipper, without exerting himself much for his faith; that afterwards, in consequence of strenuous exertion during a year and more, he made the inhabitants of Jambudvipa, i.e. India, abjure the gods in whom they believed formerly. He then quotes a passage in favour of ‘exertion’ from a ‘sermon,’ and adds that this sermon was delivered by the Vivūtha, ‘the Departed,’ two hundred and fifty-six (years) before, and that its substance has been incised on rocks and stone pillars. In the Rupnath edict ‘the Beloved of the gods’ enlarges the first two statements by adding that the time of his being an upāsaka included more than thirty-two years and a half; and that during the period of exertion, lasting upwards of a year, he was a member of the saṅgha, or of the community of ascetics. This last point is also preserved in the fragment of the Bālāt inscription. In the date the Rupnath edict shows, besides, an important addition. It says, ‘256 (years) from the departure of the Sata, the Teacher.’

Now it is quite clear that the individual who calls himself ‘the Beloved of the gods’ must be a king. For, the fact that this epithet occurs before the names of the three kings Piya dasi-Asoka, Daśaratha, and Tisya, and that in the Jaugada separate edicts it is used by itself to denote the first ruler, proves that it was an ancient royal title corresponding nearly to the modern ‘by the grace of God,’ and the Roman Augustus, and was used in the third century before Christ. Secondly, the boast that the writer caused a change of religion throughout India,—the result not of his greatness, but of his zeal,—and that he caused the matter of the sermon to be incised on rocks and pillars, can only proceed from a great ruler, who held the whole or a great part of India in subjection. Both the title of the writer, and the alphabet which the edicts show, make it very probable that this king belongs to the third century before Christ, and to the Maurya dynasty. For it has hitherto not been proved that the title was used by later kings, or that the so-called Asoka or Lāt characters were adopted by any one but the Mauryas, their subjects and contemporaries.

The next point to be determined is the faith to which the writer belonged. The statements that he destroyed the belief in the gods until then considered to be true, and that he was first an upāsaka or sādhu, and later a member of the saṅgha, show that he must have been either a Baudhá or a Jaina. Both these sects...
apply the former two terms to their lay brethren, and the latter to the brotherhood of their ascetics. If thus the choice lies between the Jainas and Buddhhas, it cannot be doubtful that the latter are meant. For though the Jainas existed in the third century before Christ, and even occur in Piyadasi-Asoka's inscriptions under their ancient name Nigamtha, i.e. Nigrantha, no proof has hitherto been found for their own assertion that they were patronized by one of the Maurya kings; on the contrary, there is every reason for adhering to the generally received opinion that both Asoka and his grandson Daivartha, and the other later Maurya princes, were Buddhists or patrons of Buddhism.

If the 'Beloved of the gods' was a Buddhist, it follows that the sermon which he quotes must be a Buddhist sermon, and the Vivutha of the Sahasram edict, or V y u t h a of the Rūpānātha edict, must be the Buddha himself. The word is not one of the common names of Śākyamuni, but its etymological import is such as to make it a fitting epithet for him. I take Vivutha for a representative of Sanskrit vivețita, and of Pali vivutta or vivatto. As not one of these or of the formerly published inscriptions of Piyadasi shows double letters, but always substitutes single ones,† vivutha is in reality equivalent to vivutha, and this form differs from the Pali vivutta only by the aspiration of the second t. This difference, however, does not matter much. For, firstly, there are only by the aspirate differs from the Pali vivritta, always substitutes single ones, t

Vivutha, the son of Kun<i>ta and grandson of Asoka, covered the earth with Jaiva chaityas. See, e.g., Hemachandra, Pari<i>śishtopapava, Sargas X.-XI.

† Compare, e.g., 'diyadhiyam' with Pali diyadha, tata with Pali tatta, sata with Pali sattha, etc.

§ Compare also the irregular aspirates in Pali words, like kuttha, phalita, etc., enumerated by E. Kuhn, Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik, p. 46.

literally 'two hundred (years) exceeded by fifty-six have elapsed.' The sense of this passage, which is further confirmed by the phrase of the Khandagiri inscription (line 5) tatho vivuthe vasa, 'then after a year had elapsed,' makes it impossible to take vivutha for anything else than vi-vritthi or rather vi-vrita (nom. dual nental). As these two examples, as well as the etymology, show, vivutha, if applied to a person, means originally 'the Departed,' or 'he who has passed away.'‡ Such a name fits Śākyamuni very well, as he is considered to be the first who passed away beyond the circle of births. The Rūpānātha form vivatha arose, in my opinion, from the substitution of a for ev, and the consequent change of the i of the prefix vi to y in accordance with the laws of Sanskrit phonetics. Its lingual th has been caused by the lost ri, which in Pali too, as the form vat<o> shows, has the same effect.†

From the identification of the Vīnatha, the preacher of the sermon, with Śākyamuni, it follows further that the era in which the inscriptions are dated is that of the Nirvāṇa. For, the t, i.e. iti, which stands at the end of the sentence duve saponātāditiu vīnatha ti, shows that it is governed by the preceding sentence, vīnā sāvamāna vīnatho. Anybody who is acquainted with the use of the Sanskrit iti will see the truth of this remark, and will translate evam paro vīnathena doṣa sāyodhitiadoopada-kete vīrīte iti, by "this sermon was preached by the Departed two hundred and fifty-six years ago." The date of the Rūpānātha inscription confirms the above explanation. It says, 256 sata-vi-vadā ta (i.e. ti), lit. "256 from the departure of the Suta, thus." Here the word sata requires special notice. It may stand for Sanskrit sata, 100, or, as the inscription does not note double consonants for sapta, 'seven,' āthā, 'able,' āṣṭa, 'cursed;' or, as the inscription frequently leaves out the anusvāra,† for sata, i.e. rat, present part. of as, 'good,' āhāna, 'quiescent,' śrāvaṇa, 'tired;' or, finally, because the inscriptions do not always aspire t followed by r or preceded by s,§ for sasta, 'praised,' sāstra, 'a weapon,' śāstra, 

† Compare Kuhn, loc. cit. p. 50.
‡ Jour. As. Soc. Beng. vol. VI. p. 1090.
* Another possibility to explain vivutha as a corruption of vivṛtta, and to take this as a synonym of vivṛtta, Pali satho, I reject on account of the two cases where it is construed with the word core, 'a year.'

† Compare also E. Kuhn, loc. cit. p. 49, and the form keu for kṛtaḥ.
‡ Compare, e.g., pakata = gāravatā, ad = attā, etc.
§ Compare tata, Sagh. I. 8 = tatra and Pali atta = atta : Kuhn, loc. cit. p. 58.
'institutes of science,' and śāstrī, a teacher.' I select from these numerous possibilities the last explanation, because in Pali sutthu == Sanskrit śāstrī is a common designation of Śākyamuni. The translation of the date is therefore, "256 (years) since the departure of the Teacher (have elapsed)." The final ta, which I believe to represent ti, indicates here probably that the inscription is finished.

The result which has now been gained is that the inscriptions proceeded from a Maurya king, or from a contemporary of the Mauryas, who was a Buddhist lay-brother during thirty-two years and a half, and a member of the saṅgha for upwards of a year, i.e. who was a Buddhist for more than thirty-three and a half, and that in the thirty-fourth year of his adherence to the Buddhist faith 256 years after the Nirvāṇa had elapsed, or in other words the 257th year after the Nirvāṇa corresponded to the second half of the 34th year after his conversion. Now we know of no Indian princes who made any great efforts for Buddhism in India.

Asoka and his grandson. But the latter cannot be the author of the inscriptions, as he reigned only seven years. There remains, therefore, nobody but Asoka, whose reign lasted more than thirty-seven years. This inference is fully confirmed by the Mahāvamsa, which provided a certain line of interpretation is adopted, gives the years of Asoka's reign after his conversion as upwards of 34, and places his death in 257 Buddhist years.

The chronological dates regarding Asoka which occur in the Ceylonese chronicle are as follows:

1. Interval between Bindusāra's death and Asoka's abhisheka. . . . . . . (upwards of) 4 years.
2. Interval between Asoka's abhisheka and his conversion to Buddhism. . . . . . . (upwards of) 3 years.
3. Conversion of Tishya, the Upādāya. . . . . . . . . . . . . in the 4th year of Asoka's reign.
4. Ordination of Mahendra and Sānghamitra. . . . . . . in the 6th year.
5. Death of the Sthaviras Tishya and Sumanas. . . . . . . in the 8th year.
6. The third Buddhist convocation. . . . . . . in the 17th year.
7. Planting of the Bodhi-tree in Ceylon. . . . . . . . . . . in the 18th year.
8. Death of queen Asandhimitrā. . . . . . . . . . . . . 12th year after the last event.
9. Asoka's marriage with her attendant. . . . . . . . . . . 4th year after the last event.
10. Destruction of the Bodhi-tree. . . . . . . 3rd year after the last event.
11. Death of Asoka. . . . . . . . 4th year after the last event.
12. Total of Asoka's reign . . . . 37 years.

There are two points connected with these dates which require consideration, viz. if the years of Asoka mentioned under Nos. 3-7 are to be counted from the death of Bindusāra or from Asoka's abhisheka, and, secondly, how the dates under 8-11 can be reconciled with the statement No. 12, that Asoka ruled 37 years. As regards the first question, the common custom of the Hindus to reckon the years of their kings from the date of their abhisheka, and not from their actual accession to the throne, is a strong argument for taking all the years mentioned under Nos. 3-7, as well as the total under No. 12, to refer to the period after Asoka's abhisheka. This argument is further strengthened by the consideration that if the 4th year, in which Asoka's brother Tishya entered the saṅgha, and the 6th year, in which his (Asoka's) son Mahendra and his daughter Sānghamitrā were ordained, had to be counted from Bindusāra's death, both these events would fall before Asoka's conversion to Buddhism. For his conversion cannot have taken place earlier than the 8th year after Bindusāra's death. Now Indian princes were, and are, no doubt, great latitudinarians in religious matters, and it would not be extraordinary to find that the brother of a Brahmanical king had turned Buddhist with his sanction. But it seems extremely improbable that a Brahman should persuade, or even give permission to, a son and a daughter to become ascetics of another sect than his own. For this reason also I can come to no other conclusion.

Turnour translates chatuṣṭhi vaśeṣhi (V. 20) wrongly by 'in the fourth year,'
but that the dates of Tishya’s and of Mahendra’s and Sanghamitra’s ordinations fall in the 4th and 6th years after Asoka’s abhisheka, i.e. in the 1st and 3rd years after his conversion. If that is conceded in the case of these two events, it follows that all the other dates have to be taken in the same manner. The second question—as to how the dates given under 8-11 are to be reconciled with the statement under 12, that Asoka reigned 37 years—has attracted the attention of Professor Lassen, who is of opinion that the Mahavamsa contradicts itself. He maintains that as the death of Asandhimitra fell in the 12th year after the 18th year of Asoka’s accession, the marriage of Asoka in the 4th year after that event, the destruction of the Bodhi-tree in the 3rd year after the marriage, and the death of Asoka in the 3rd year after the destruction of the Bodhi-tree, the total of Asoka’s years ought to be 41, instead of 37. The Mahavamsa certainly does express itself very loosely, but still its statements may be reconciled with each other. For it does not assert that the last four events took place at intervals of 12, 4, 3, and 4 years, but at intervals of

11 years + x months or days.
3 years + x
2 years + x
3 years + x
Nor does it say that the Bodhi-tree was sent to Ceylon 18 years after Asoka’s abhisheka, but in the 18th year, i.e. after 17 years and x months or days had elapsed. If we now assume that the number of the months or days in excess of the full years elapsed on the occurrence of each of the last five events does amount to more than one entire year and to less than two entire years, and if we concede that, as Tumour and others have already conjectured, the total of Asoka’s reign, 37 years, refers only to the number of completed years, and leaves out odd months and days, then the two statements will agree perfectly. In order to make my meaning plainer, I will, merely for argument’s sake, put the following figures for the unknown number of months or days, and the agreement of the two statements will appear at once:—

(7) The Bodhi-tree planted in Ceylon in the 18th year after abhisheka... 17 7

(8) Asandhimitra died in the 12th year after that... 11 7
(9) Asoka married her attendant in the 4th year after that... 3 3
(10) The Bodhi-tree was destroyed in the 3rd year after that... 2 4
(11) Asoka died in the 4th year after that... 3 1

The total of Asoka’s reign was then... 37 10

and that is just what the Mahavamsa says, provided its total 37 is taken to refer to completed years only.

The figures assigned for the months are, as I have stated, entirely fictitious, and, as far as the statements of the Mahavamsa are concerned, the surplus over 37 years may be just as well ten days as ten months. But it seems obvious to me that the above interpretation of the passage is more accurate, and more in accordance with the literal meaning of the text than that proposed by the Tika, which declares it necessary to avoid counting the last year of each period twice.

If we now turn to consider the adjustment of Buddha’s years and of Asoka’s, we shall again find an element of uncertainty in the statement of the Mahavamsa. But it will also appear that, under certain suppositions which the text by no means disallows, the statements of the Mahavamsa and of those of the new inscriptions completely agree. The Mahavamsa says, V. 21, that 218 years after the Nirvana had passed when Asoka’s abhisheka took place. This obviously means, according to our manner of expressing ourselves, that the abhisheka was performed in 219 A.D. The text leaves it doubtful if the 218th year had only just closed, or if a number of months had elapsed since its completion. On this point, regarding which, I repeat it, no certainty can be gained from the Mahavamsa, as well as on the other point, which according to the preceding discussion is equally uncertain. The amount of the excess over the total of 37 years, depends the determination of the year of the Nirvana in which Asoka died. If at the time of the abhisheka 218 years of the Nirvana plus a few months, say two or three only, had elapsed, and if the excess of months over the total...
of 37 years of Asoka's reign amounts likewise to a few months, say two or three only, then the death of Asoka will fall in the year 256 of the Nirvana. For 218 years and 3 months + 37 years and 2 months makes 255 years and 4 months. Under this supposition Asoka died in the first half of the year 256 of the Nirvana.

But if many months, say 10 or 11, of the 219th year of the Nirvana had passed at the time of the abhisheka, and if many months, say ten or eleven, have to be added to the total of the years of Asoka's reign, then his death falls in the year 257 after the Nirvana. For 218 years and 11 months + 37 years and 11 months makes 256 years and 10 months. It is also apparent that in order to bring about an agreement between the inscriptions and the Mahavamsa this second interpretation has to be adopted. For only in case Asoka died towards the end of 257 A.B. will it be possible to allow that he may have caused an inscription to be incised when 256 years after the departure of the Teacher had passed.

Now only one more point, the probable date of Asoka's conversion, remains to be considered in order to complete the agreement between the inscriptions and the Mahavamsa. The equation of the former is 33 years 6 months and 2 days =256 A.B. + 2 months or days. The Mahavamsa says, V. 34, "The father (of Asoka), being of the Brahmanical faith, used to feed (daily) sixty thousand Brahmins. He himself did so for three years." Now this may mean either that the interval between Asoka's abhisheka and his conversion was filled by three years exactly, or that some months and days have to be added. The equation in the new inscriptions makes it necessary to add at least eight months, because the middle of the thirty-fourth after the conversion could not fall under any other supposition in the 257th year after the Nirvana. But if this addition is made the dates of the inscription and of the Mahavamsa agree perfectly. For then we obtain—

Asoka's abhisheka 218 years after the Nirvana and say 11 months, i.e. at the end of 219 A.B.  
Asoka's conversion 3 years after the abhisheka and say 8 months, i.e. in the middle of 223 A.B.  
Date of the inscriptions 33 years and 6 months and odd days after conversion, i.e. in the beginning of 257 A.B.  

Death of Asoka 37 years and say 10 months after abhisheka, i.e. in the end of 257 A.B.

The agreement which has thus been shown to exist between the inscriptions and the Mahavamsa is, in spite of the uncertainty introduced by the neglect of the odd months in the latter work, sufficiently close to prove that the Mahavamsa's statements regarding the history of India and of the beginnings of Buddhism are more than fanciful inventions of the monastic mind. They must be regarded as genuine historical dates, derived from contemporary evidence.

The necessary consequence of this discovery is that all attempts to adjust the Ceylonese chronology to that of the Greeks by means of a reduction or of a lengthening of the distance between the Nirvana and Asoka have to be given up. Henceforth it must be accepted as a fact that the abhisheka of Asoka took place in 219 A.B., and that he was alive in the beginning of 257 A.B. If the identification of Asoka's grandfather Chandragupta with the Sandrocytos of the Greeks, and Asoka's own relations to Antiochus, the Antiyoka or Antiyoga of the rock inscriptions, prove that the Ceylonese date of the Nirvana 549 B.C. has been placed 60 to 70 years too early, the fault must lie either in the period after Asoka, or in the adjustment of the dates of the Indian history and of the Ceylonese kings. It is possible that either some kings have been erroneously inserted after Devadiparnī Tishya, the contemporary of Asoka, or that the reigns of Tishya, as well as of his predecessor and successors, have been intentionally expanded. The latter alternative seems to me most likely, because, as Mr. Turnour and other Orientalists have shown, the dates of Pāṇḍukāhaya of Muntāśiva and of his four sons, are extremely suspicious. It seems impossible that these kings, who represent three generations, should have reigned 200 years. This suspicion becomes stronger through other circumstances, especially through the fact that Viṣaya's landing is made to fall on the day of the Nirvana. I am not prepared to risk any definite statements as to the manner in which the reigns of the Ceylonese kings ought to be reduced, or on the exact amount of the reduction, as I think it very likely that Dr. P. Goldschmidt's collection of Ceylonese inscriptions will completely clear.
up the question. For all practical purposes the date for the Nirvāṇa, 477-78 A.D., fixed by Professor M. Müller, by General Cunningham, and others, is perfectly sufficient. The new inscriptions show that it cannot be very far wrong. The two outside termini for the beginning of Chandragupta’s reign are 321 B.C. on the one side, and 810 B.C. on the other. For this reason, and because the Ceylonese date for the beginning of the Mauryas, 168 B.C., must now be considered to be genuine, the Nirvāṇa must fall between 483-82 B.C. and 472-71 B.C. If, therefore, the date 477-78 for the Nirvāṇa should eventually be proved to be wrong, the fault cannot be more than five or six years one way or the other.

Certainly regarding the date of the Nirvāṇa, as already stated, will probably be obtained from the Ceylonese inscriptions. But there is a chance that the same goal may be reached by a different road. If a perfectly trustworthy account of the interval between Asoka’s death and the beginning of the Vikrama or of the Śaka eras could be obtained either from Indian inscriptions or from books, then the question would also be solved. I must add that an account of this kind exists, though I should be sorry to call it trustworthy on the evidence hitherto adduced. The Svetambara Jainas place the Nirvāṇa in 470 B.C., before the era of Śaka, and the beginning of the Mauryas in 216 after Mahāvīra, or in 311 B.C. This date agrees well enough with the statements of the Greeks, and I should be prepared to adopt it if the manner in which the Svetāmbaras arrived at it agreed with the Buddhist chronology, and the age of the gāthā in which it occurs were better authenticated. But the Jaina account of the dynasties in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. differs from those of the Bauddhas and of the Brahmins. The gāthā says that Mahāvīra died on the night in which king Pālaka of Ujjain was installed on the throne; that Pālaka ruled 60 years; that, next, the Nandas held India for 155 years, and that the latter were succeeded by the Mauryas. Thus the Śīṣāṅgas are left out altogether—a point which makes the dates suspicious. Under these circumstances I give the Jaina account merely as a curiosity, and in order to warn against its being used, without further inquiry, as a means to find the exact date of Chandragupta’s accession and of the Nirvāṇa.

The additions to the history of the last years of Asoka which the new inscriptions furnish are of great interest. We now hear for the first time that Asoka’s zeal for the Buddhist faith produced towards the end of his reign something very like bigotry. His boast that he caused the people of Jambudvīpa to adhere their ancient gods, which probably must be taken to mean only that he did his best to bring about such a result, stands in strange contrast to his earlier toleration. The change finds its explanation partly in the increasing age of the monarch, and the domestic difficulties which, both according to Buddhist and Jaina accounts, he had with the queen whom he married after Asandhimitra’s death, and partly by his turning ascetic. This fact is likewise now and of great interest, as Asoka, in spite of his asceticism, apparently continued to govern the country. It indicates that the Buddhists allowed, just like the Jainas in exceptional cases, an intermediate stage between the Śrāvakas or lay brethren and the Bhikkhu monks. The Gujarāt chroniclers assert that the Chaukula king Kumārapāla, to whom they even give the title saṅghadhipati, ‘lord of the Saṅgha,’ took at various periods of his reign vows of continence, of temperance, of abstinence from animal food, and of apratigraha, i.e. to renounce the confiscation of the hearseless property of Vāpīśa. I am not aware that other instances of royal Bauddha ascetics occur who continued to administer the affairs of their kingdoms.

There is yet another question for which the new inscriptions are of the utmost importance,—the history of the ancient Nāgarī numerals. Hitherto the oldest inscriptions showing them were the Mathurā inscriptions of Kanishka, the Śālavāhana inscriptions on the Nānāghāt, and the inscriptions of the Andhrabhrītyas. It is satisfactory to find now that these numeral signs are contemporaneous with the numerous Gujāratiśaṃs, show. The Svetāmbaras mean the era of Vikramāditya, of 56-7 B.C. when they say 470 before Vikrama. The Digambaras place Mahāvīra’s nirvāṇa in 605 before Vikrama, and refer to the so-called Śaka era.

—\[154\]THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY. [JUNE, 1877.\]
THREE NEW EDICTS OF ASOKA.

155

oldest known form of the Indian alphabet. But the form of the sign for 200 is still more important, as it furnishes the clearest proof for the correctness of Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajit's discovery of the syllabic origin of the Nāgarī numerals. The sign for 200 employed in the Sahasrām edict is य, and, if the right-hand side-stroke denoting the second hundred is left out of consideration, closely resembles the sign for 100 in the Nānāghāṭi inscriptions and the fifth Gupta sign. But in the Rāpūrāṭa edict the common sign for the syllable su appears in its stead, showing, however, an unusual elongation of the left-hand vertical stroke. It is obvious that the elongation of the vertical stroke serves here the same purpose as the side-stroke in the Sahasrām figure, i.e., to denote that 200, not 100, must be read. But the fact that the common sign for the syllable su is employed, instead of the differentiated form used in the Sahasrām edict, proves that the engraver knew it to be a syllabī, and pronounced it as such.

I take this opportunity to give an attempt at an explanation of the very curious fact that in the syllabic notation of numerals 200 is expressed by the syllable su or su plus one stroke, and 300 by su or su plus two strokes, which latter are attached, according to the fancy of the writer, either at the right-hand side both high up and low down, or even placed at the top. This manner of notation is not easily explicable on the supposition that the side-strokes represent akṣas of figures. For in that case we ought to find two side-strokes for 200, and three for 300. I propose, therefore, to take them as marks intended to show that in the case of 200 the syllable su had to be pronounced long, at, and in the case of 300 pluṭa, i.e. aṭ-u. This explanation holds good for the Andhārbhāṣya and Vākāṭaka signs for 1,000, 2,000, and 3,000 also, which may be read āhu, dīd, and dīd-u, respectively. It is confirmed by the fact that in the case of 400 the sign for the syllable expressing 4, bhka or ki according to Bhagvanlal, is attached to su. The Hindu grammarians allow syllables of three ndtrāś only, and it was therefore impossible to employ an additional stroke in order to denote 400.

The sign in the two edicts for 50 also deserves attention. Rāpūrāṭa shows the form used in the Kshatrapa and Valabhi inscriptions, while Sahasrām gives that of the Eastern plates and of the MSS.

Inscription on a Rock at Sahasrām.

From General Cunningham's faceimile, revised according to photograph.

Transcript and Restoration of the Sahasrām Edict.*

DEVĀNĪ ŚAYA ḪEVAṆA ĀḤA SĀṬILEKĀṆI AḌHĪṬI-

† In the case of 300 the Jainas also place the second stroke above the syllable, and write य.‡ Materials used: Plate XIV. of General Cunningham's Corp. Insgr. Ind. vol. I and a photograph supplied by General Cunningham.

yāṇi savachhalāni, aṁ upāsake sumi, na cha bāḍhaṁ palaṅkame.—1—
Savimchhale sādhike |, aṁ ṭaṣumi bāḍhaṁ palaṅkame [e]. [ḥakā]

L. 1. The facsimile and photograph show that seven or eight syllables have been lost. The restoration of the first six is absolutely certain on account of the identical readings of B. and B. [aḍhīṭi]yāṇi is less certain. I take it for a representative of aḍhīṭi, caused by the change of s to h and its subsequent loss, just as in Panjābī ḫ, thirty, and ḫakā, thirty-one.
Etena cha aśītalena jambudvipasi āhuṁsaṁ, devāḥ[saṁ, ta—2—
kaanamena vipūle saug[eq] | [sa]kiye aṭā[cha yita[v]eq]. | Se eteṣa athaṁ iyān savāñe : | khudaka cha uḍācha pa—4—
lakamāntu, aṅtā pi chaṁ jāmaṁtu : chila-
thaṁi cha pula-kamo kotu. | iyān cha aṭā
vadha-saṁti, | vipulān pi cha vadha-saṁti,—5—
diyādhiyān avadaliyaiyena diyaśaṁhariyam vadha-
saṁti | iyān cha savane vivuthena ; duve saṁhu-
nā-ilīti—6—
satā vividad tī (sū phra) 256. Ima cha athānān
pāvateṣu likhāpaya thūya ; [yuta] vā a—7—
pi hote silāhamāṇḍa tala pi likhāpaya il-
y—8—

Translation.

The Beloved of the gods speaketh thus : (It is)
[more than thirty-two] years [and a half] that I
am a worshipper (of Buddha), and I have not ex-
ported myself strenuously. (It is) a year and more
[that I have exerted myself strenuously].

During this interval those gods that were (held to be)
true gods in Jambudvīpa have been made (to be
regarded as) untruth and false. For through strenu-
ous exertion comes this reward, and it ought not
to be said to be an effect of (ugly) greatness.

For even a small man who exerts himself can gain
for himself great rewards in heaven. Just for
this purpose a sermon has been preached: "Both
small ones and great ones should exert them-
selves, and in the end they should also obtain
(true) knowledge. And this spiritual good will
increase; it will even increase exceedingly; it
will increase one (size) and a half; at least one

(size) and a half." And this sermon (is) by the
Departed. Two hundred (years) exceeded by fifty-
six, 256, have passed since; and I have caused
this matter to be incised on the hills; or where
those stone pillars are, there too I have caused
it to be incised.

Transcript of the Rājānatth Edict.*

Devināṁ piyo hevaṁ āḥa : sādhukekkāni
adhitaṁ vaiṣaṇā, ya suṁ pākā sa[va]ki, no
cha bāṭhi pākate. Sāṭike cha chila-vacāhake:

ya suṁ haka saṁgauna-puṇpa—1—
bāṭhi cha pākate. Yiī mahāya kālā jambudvīpasī
amāsā devā-hu[m] tu daṁ nāsa kātā. Pākamasi
li osa phule, no cha esā mahatātā-puṇpo. Pākamasi
li ke-2—
pa ranamānuṁ-saṁ kuśya pūṣpe pūsto sva
aroḷaṁva. Elīya athaṁ cha savane kate ;
khudaka cha uḍālcha pākamānta tāt, aṭā pi cha
jāmaṁtu. Iyān pakāvūr—3—
kiī? chila-vadha-saṁti, | iyā lī atro vadha
vadha-saṁti, vipula cha vadha-saṁti, apala-dhiyaiyena
dyaśaṁhariyam vadha-saṁti. Iyā cha aṭā tuva-
pasīte likhāpota vidhata hadha cha ; aṭā—
silāthubha silāhamāṇḍha likhāpota vyaṣṭa.

Elīna cha vayaṉauṁ-va yakuṭakatu paka uho-
sava-vivaṁ taviyati. Vyuḥauṁ savaṁ kate.
(sū phra) 256 sa—5—
(a-vivā sā tu—6—

Translation.

The Beloved of the gods speaketh thus : (It is)
[more than thirty-two] years and a half
that I am a hearer (of the law), and I did not ex-
verted myself strenuously. But it is a year and more
that I have entered the community (of ascetics),
and that I have exerted myself strenuously.

Those gods who during this time
were considered to be true (gods) in Jambudvīpa,
after which they die and are born again in other stages of
existence according to their karma.

Materials used : two rubblings forwarded by General Cunningham.

L. 1. Read avam̄bhe. Six or seven letters have
been lost. L. and D. have two sentences, corre-
ponding to this lacuna, containing sixteen letters. S. can have
had one sentence only. The sense requires the sentence given
above. Read .previewing, according to B. Read devā-hu[m]-
sā, as R. has devā-hu[m]; and a verb is required.
The vertical stroke in the facsimile is the left-hand part of the
[.] This

satisfaction, I owe to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indriji. Read

above.

L. 5. Read chā jāmaṁtu. Elīna cha vayaṉauṁ-va
yakuṭakatu paka uhoī-
sava-vivaṁ taviyati. Vyuḥauṁ savaṁ kate.
(sū phra) 256 sa—5—
(a-vivā sā tu—6—

Translation.

The Beloved of the gods speaketh thus : (It is)
[more than thirty-two] years and a half
that I am a hearer (of the law), and I did not ex-
verted myself strenuously. But it is a year and more
that I have entered the community (of ascetics),
and that I have exerted myself strenuously.

Those gods who during this time
were considered to be true (gods) in Jambudvīpa,
after which they die and are born again in other stages of
existence according to their karma.

Materials used : two rubblings forwarded by General Cunningham.

L. 1. Read avam̄bhe. Six or seven letters have
been lost. L. and D. have two sentences, corre-
ponding to this lacuna, containing sixteen letters. S. can have
had one sentence only. The sense requires the sentence given
above. Read .previewing, according to B. Read devā-hu[m]-
sā, as R. has devā-hu[m]; and a verb is required.
The vertical stroke in the facsimile is the left-hand part of the
[.] This

satisfaction, I owe to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indriji. Read

above.

L. 5. Read chā jāmaṁtu. Elīna cha vayaṉauṁ-va
yakuṭakatu paka uhoī-
sava-vivaṁ taviyati. Vyuḥauṁ savaṁ kate.
(sū phra) 256 sa—5—
(a-vivā sā tu—6—

Translation.

The Beloved of the gods speaketh thus : (It is)
[more than thirty-two] years and a half
that I am a hearer (of the law), and I did not ex-
verted myself strenuously. But it is a year and more
that I have entered the community (of ascetics),
and that I have exerted myself strenuously.

Those gods who during this time
were considered to be true (gods) in Jambudvīpa,
after which they die and are born again in other stages of
existence according to their karma.

Materials used : two rubblings forwarded by General Cunningham.

L. 1. Read avam̄bhe. Six or seven letters have
been lost. L. and D. have two sentences, corre-
ponding to this lacuna, containing sixteen letters. S. can have
had one sentence only. The sense requires the sentence given
above. Read .previewing, according to B. Read devā-hu[m]-
sā, as R. has devā-hu[m]; and a verb is required.
The vertical stroke in the facsimile is the left-hand part of the
[.] This

satisfaction, I owe to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indriji. Read

above.

L. 5. Read chā jāmaṁtu. Elīna cha vayaṉauṁ-va
yakuṭakatu paka uhoī-
sava-vivaṁ taviyati. Vyuḥauṁ savaṁ kate.
(sū phra) 256 sa—5—
(a-vivā sā tu—6—

Translation.

The Beloved of the gods speaketh thus : (It is)
[more than thirty-two] years and a half
that I am a hearer (of the law), and I did not ex-
verted myself strenuously. But it is a year and more
that I have entered the community (of ascetics),
and that I have exerted myself strenuously.

Those gods who during this time
were considered to be true (gods) in Jambudvīpa,
after which they die and are born again in other stages of
existence according to their karma.

Materials used : two rubblings forwarded by General Cunningham.
have now been abjured. For through exertion (comes) this reward, and it cannot be obtained by greatness. For a small (man) who exerts himself somewhat can gain for himself great heavenly bliss. And for this purpose this sermon has been preached: “Both great ones and small ones should exert themselves, and should in the end gain (true) knowledge, and this manner of acting should be, what? Of long duration. For this spiritual good will grow the growth, and will grow exceedingly, at the least it will grow one (size) and a half.” And this matter has been caused to be written on the hills; (where) a stone pillar is, (there) it has been written on a stone pillar. And as often as (man brings) to this writing ripe thought, (so often) will he rejoice, (learning to) subdue his senses.

Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. Since the departure of the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preached by the Teacher. has been preach...
I y a, R. 4 = iyāṁ.  
I y a vi, S. 3, 5, 6; R. 3 = Sansk. ayam and idam: compare Kālāśi XII. 13, iyam mulo; Delhi III. 17, iyāṁ kavyāṁ, &c.  
Upāsa kā, B. 1, 2 = Sansk. upōṣakaḥ, Pali uposathā.  
E tiyā, S. 4 = Sansk. etamāt: compare Girnār III. 3, &c.  
E ti vi, B. 5 = Sansk. etona.  
E ti y a, R. 3 = ēdāya.  
E ti u a, S. 2 = Sansk. etona.  
E s d, R. 2, probably a mistake for esa or ese.  
E s e, B. 5 = Sansk. ese, Pali eso, Māgadhī eso.  
K a ṭ d, S. 3, R. 2 = Sansk. kṛtāḥ, Pali kāṭāḥ: compare Dhauli V. 3, &c.  
K a ṭ e, R. 3, 5 = Sansk. kriyām (nauter): compare Dhauli V. 1, &c.  
K a ṭ u, in ādvyata-kātā, R. 5 = Sansk. kṛtiṣṭḥa and Pali khetā.  
K a p i, R. 2, 3 = Sanāk., Pali, khipapi,—possibly a mistake for kipī.  
Kāḷāy a, R. 2 = kāḷādyā with sense of kāḷāy.  
Ki ṭ i, R. 4 = Sansk. kīṇitī, Pali kīṇī; rock edicts usually kīṇī, but Kāḷāśi N. face XIII. 12 kītī.  
K h u d a kā, S. 4, R. 3, B. 6 = Sansk. kshudra-kāthā, Pali kṣudradakkha.  
K h u d a k o u a, S. 3, āṇu, R. 2 = Sansk. kshudrāsrama.  
Ch a, S. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7; R. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; B. 3, 6 = Sansk. and Pali cha.  
Ch a vi, S. 5, mistake for cha.  
Ch ḍ d, B. 6, mistake for cha.  
Ch a ḍ aḥ ti ṭ i ke, R. 4 = Sansk. chitraśṭhitikāḥ, Pali chitraśthitikā.  
O h a ḍ a ti ṭ i ke, S. 5 ; see the preceding: compare Dhauli V. 8, VI. 6.  
O h a ḍ a ti ṭ i ke (ke), B. 7 ; see the preceding.  
O h a va c h h a re, R. 1 = Sansk. saṅvata-sāvatāḥ, possibly a mistake for sava'āḥ; but compare kādhāhati = kāsatisa = Sansk. karishyati, in the pillar edicts.  
J a ṁ a ni te, B. 7; probably a mistake for jñānatīt.  
J a ṁ b u ḍ i p a s i, R. 2, B. 4 = Sansk. jambudvēpa, Pali jambudvēpa.  
J a ṃ b u ḍ i p a s i, S. 3; see the preceding.  
J a ṃ a ni te, S. 5, B. 4 = Sansk., Pali, jāmati.  
Ta, S. 2, mistake or vicarious form for te, which see.  
Ta, R. 6, for ti = Sansk. īti.  
T a t a, S. 8 = Sansk. tatra, Pali tattāka: compare Delhi sep. ed. 3, &c.  
To ṇ a y a t i, R. 5; probably a mistake for tāpyati = Sansk. tarpayati, Pali tarpatī.  
T i, S. 7, R. 3, B. 6, 7 = Sansk. iti, Pali ti.  
To, R. 2 = Sansk., Pali, te (nom. pl. m. of ta),  
T h a ty i, S. 8, probably for athdyin = Sansk. asthiyin (1st pr. sing. aor. act. of asthit).  
Thā y a, S. 8, a variant of the preceding.  
D a ṇ i, R. 2 = Sansk. ḍhātan, Pali dāṭi.  
D a ṇ a n i vi, S. 6, R. 4, B. 8 = Sansk. devyādham, Pali aṣṭavādham: compare aṣṭijyāthā, Kāḷāśi XIV. 35.  
D a ṇ a n i vi, S. 6; a vicarious form for the preceding.  
D a ṇ u v = Sansk. dvau, Pali dānu.  
D a ṇ u v a, S. 3, B. 4, probably mistake for devat.  
D a ṇ u d, S. 3, R. 2 = Sansk. devatā.  
D a ṇ u d a n i vi, B. 1 = Sansk. devānām, Pali devānā.  
D a ṇ u d a n i vi, S. 1, R. 1, a mistake or variant for the preceding.  
N a a, S. 1 = Sansk., Pali, na.  
N o, S. 1, 3, R. 1, 2, B. 3, 5 = Sansk., Pali, no: compare Dhauli V. 3, &c.  
P a k a, R. 5 = Sansk. pakāhā, Pali pakko.  
P a k a te, R. 1, 2 = Sansk. prakṛmāntaḥ, Pali pakkanto, but with the meaning of parakṛmanta.  
P a k a m a ni te, R. 3 = Sansk. prakṛmadantu, Pali pakkomantu.  
P a k a m a s i, R. 2 = Sansk. prakrama.  
P a k a r o, R. 3 = Sansk. prakārāḥ, Pali pakāro, but possibly a mistake for pakāme.  
P a p a y a o or paṇṇayate, B. 3 = Sansk. prapāyaḥ.  
P a p a y i te, R. 1 (in sanātha-pa) = Sansk. prapāyaḥ.  
P a r u m a ṇ i ni end, R. 3, mistake for pākama-mānāḥ = Sansk. prakramamāna.  
P a l a k a ni te, S. 1, 2 = Sansk. pārākṛmāntaḥ, Pali parakṣamāntaḥ.  
P a l a k a m a ni te, B. 6, a variant of the following.  
P a l a k a m a ni te, S. 5 = Sansk. prakārānta, Pali parakramaṁantā: compare also Dhauli VI. 6, &c.  
P a l a k a m a ni te, S. 3, 4 = Sansk. prakramaṁanta: for the termination -māna compare saṅgopāpaṇāyamāna, Dhauli sep. ed. I. 15.  
P a l a k a m a s i, S. 3, B. 4 = Sansk. prakrama.  
P a l a k a m e, S. 5 = Sansk. prakramānta: compare Dhauli VI. 7.  
P a l a r u m a ni end, B. 4, 5, a mistake for parakramamīnā.  
P a v a te s u, R. 4, a varia lectio for the following.  
P a v a te s u, S. 7 = Sansk. poravateṣu, Pali pabbatesu.  
P t k a, R. 1, a mistake for hād.  
[June, 1877.  
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.}
Pādātava, R. 2 (in mahatatāpī) = Sansk. pādātāpyam, but formed from a new root, pāda: compare Pāli pāppotana, and pādāvatana, Delhi VI. 3.

Pādātava, S. 3 = Sansk. prāvadātpyam: for the lengthening of the first syllable compare Pāli pādāvanam.

P. 5, S. 5, R. 3, B. 6 = Sansk. api, Pāli pi.

Pādātava, R. 3, a mistake for pādāta.

piye, S. 1, R. 1 = Sansk. piyā, Pāli piyā.


Pāhala occurs Khālīś I. 6.

Bādhaṃa, S. 1, B. 2, 3 = Sansk. bōdhām: compare rock edicts VII., end.

Bādhha, R. 1, B. 2, 3 (?), a vicarious form for the preceding. For aum = s = i; compare also Delhi V. 8, sākati.

Māmaka, B. 3 = Sansk. mayā: compare Dhāuli VI. 1, Delhi sep. ed. 3.

Māsā, R. 2 = miṣā = Sansk. miṣātāt.


Mīsā, S. 3 = Sansk. mīkām. For the meaning of mīkāmanātyary see Pet. Dict. s. v. mīsā.

Mūṇā, S. 3 = Sansk. māṃśāvyah: compare Dhāuli II. 3, &c.

Yā, R. 1, B. 2 = Sansk. yat, Pāli yañih, Pāli āyayatiyā, Pāli āyayatiyā.

Yāpata, R. 5 = Sansk. āyātākṣiṭākṣiṭā.

Yā, R. 2 = Sansk., Pāli ye (nom. pl. m. of yeā). Linēpata, R. 5, a mistake for lokāṭaṃ.

Līkāpaya, -ya, S. 7, 8 = Sansk. lokāṭivā; -iya = ya; compare Pali lokeṭipeti, and for the construction of ądhaḥ with the absolutive, Childers' Dict. s. v. tiṣṭiḥ, tiṣṭati.

Līkāpata, R. 4 = Sansk. lokāṭivā: compare Dhāuli II. 3, lopaśanta and lopaśaṭama = Sansk. yonipāti.

Vādāhi, R. 4 = vīrdāhīm (acc. sing.), Pāli rādāhiṃ.

Vācakaya, B. 5, -kīya, S. 3 (in mahatatāpī) = Sansk. vikāreṇa enlarged by the affix tyā (P).

Vācakaya, R. 5, 6, R. 4, B. 7, 8 = Pāli rādāhīsati: compare pillar edicts, e.g. Delhi I. 6, &c.

Vādāhī, R. 4, a vicarious form for the preceding.

Vāyajana, R. 5 = Sansk., Pāli, vājana, vajana: see Childers' Dict. s. v. See also rock edicts III., end. As to ṛ compared by a, see Kuhn, loc. cit. p. 24, and compare Khālīś XIII. 38, vajana, vajana = vajana.

Vāyata, R. 5, probably a mistake for ṛthdyi ta = asthāyī (aṣṭāyī) ṛthi.

Vādāna, S. 1 = Sansk. vārāhīni.

Vādāna, S. 2 = Sansk. vārāhīni = Sansk. vārāhīni, compare above, namk.

Vās, S. 7 = Sansk., Pāli, vās.

Vālata, R. 4, possibly a mistake for pālata, but = Sansk. paravata: compare pillar edict pālataḥ = pārātrikām.

Vipula, R. 4 = Sansk., Pāli, vipulam.

Vipula, S. 5, B. 8 = Sansk., Pāli, vipulam.

Vipula, S. 4, B. 6 = Sansk. vipulab: compare also vipulde, and rock edicts VII.

Vivase, R. 5 (in satakṣi) = Pāli vivose.

Vivase, R. 6 (in satakṣi) = Sansk. vivase.

Vivuṭha, S. 7 = Sansk. vīrīttana, Pāli pari, part of rati, is sometimes vutto: compare also Khanda-giri inscr. 1. 5, Jour. Beng. Dr. B. As. Soc. vol. VI. p. 1069, tathā vino vivuthe.

Vivuṭhe, S. 7 = Sansk. vīrīttana.

Vyuthend, R. 5, a vicarious form for the preceding, caused by the substitution of u for va.

Śīvungha, B. 6 = Sansk. svabhoga. Similar substitutions of ś for s occur particularly often in the latter half of the Khālīś edicts, e.g. XI. 129, and so, XI. 30 maṇiṣaṃsthudāna = maṇiṣaṃsthudāna. XII. 34, sīyā = sīyā = svat, &c.

Saṃvāhād, S. 1 = Sansk. saṃvātendraḥ: compare also çhivasvahare and sañviśvahale.

Saṅkīyē, -kīye, S. 4, R. 3, B. 6 = Sansk. saṅkīyaḥ, Pāli saṅkīyāḥ.

Pāli saṅgīyāḥ.

Saṅgīyā, R. 1, -ghe, B. 3 = Sansk. saṅghākā, Pāli, saṅgho.

Saṅgīyā, R. 5, 6 = Sansk. śāstrīvṛtadānti, Pāli satthunivṛtadānti.

Saṅgīyā, S. 7 = Sansk. śāṭiṇi.

Saṅgīyā, S. 7 = Sansk. śāṭiṇi.

Saṅgīyā, S. 7, B. 7 = Sansk. śatya, Pāli sattva, Pāli sattvam, Pāli sattvamadānti.

Saṅgīyā, S. 7 = Sansk. śatya, Pāli sattva, Pāli sattvam, Pāli sattvamadānti.

Saṅgīyā, S. 7, B. 7 = Sansk. śatya, Pāli sattva, Pāli sattvam, Pāli sattvamadānti.

Saṅgīyā, S. 7, B. 7 = Sansk. śatya, Pāli sattva, Pāli sattvam, Pāli sattvamadānti.

Saṅgīyā, S. 7, B. 7 = Sansk. śatya, Pāli sattva, Pāli sattvam, Pāli sattvamadānti.

Saṅgīyā, S. 7, B. 7 = Sansk. śatya, Pāli sattva, Pāli sattvam, Pāli sattvamadānti.

Saṅgīyā, S. 7, B. 7 = Sansk. śatya, Pāli sattva, Pāli sattvam, Pāli sattvamadānti.

Saṅgīyā, S. 7, B. 7 = Sansk. śatya, Pāli sattva, Pāli sattvam, Pāli sattvamadānti.

Saṅgīyā, S. 7, B. 7 = Sansk. śatya, Pāli sattva, Pāli sattvam, Pāli sattvamadānti.
La langue et la litterature hindoustani en 1876.

Revue annuelle. Par M. Garcin de Tassy, membre de l'Institut, professeur à l'école spéciale des langues orientales vivantes, président de la société asiatique, &c.

So far as we are aware, there is no publication either in India or in Europe, from which the state of Hindustani literature may be so distinctly ascertained, year by year, as from the Revue of M. Garcin de Tassy, where not only the books, but all the newspapers and societies which spring into existence are registered in detail. The number of reprints, translations, and original works this year is as large as usual, if not larger; this holds good also of their contents,—religion, history, science, with fiction both in prose and poetry, the latter prevailing. Both natives and Europeans appear to have signalized themselves more than previously by their publications.

The Hindi Rawdya of Tulsidas prepared by F. S. Growse—not a translation, nor even an imitation, of that of Valmiki, although dealing with the same subject—will no doubt be appreciated. Dr. Bühler has brought from Kaśmir Chand's Prthighá Rhamita, which is important from a historical as well as a philological point of view, and ought to be published. As to the Adigranatha of the Sikhs, which Dr. E. Trump is engaged in translating, 800 pages of its preceded by an introduction, have been printed. Mr. J. Beames has introduced to the notice of Europeans a new Hindustani gazetteer, giving a few pages of text and translations in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Part I., No. 3, 1875); but the whole work, in praise of Jagas Singh, who revolted against the Moghul emperor Shah Jahan, occupies a small 4to volume of 105 pages. The Tajur Vida in Sanskrit, with a commentary in Hindi, was published by Girirajdas, Raja of Beas, and printed in that town. It is curious to note that at present several Hindi works formerly edited in Persian characters are being printed in Devanagari; of these are the translation of the "Thousand and One Nights," the Bakamli, and the Tatalakahadi.

Among larger works, such as the Mandakhab al-towrédích, translated from Persian into Urdu, pp. 546; the Ma'dan-al-hikmat, "Mines of wisdom," a treatise on medicine in Urdu and English, pp. 408 8vo; and among other books, treatises on astrology and talismans—the Saṅgrahā Siromani, 536 pp., and the Indalajal, 304 pp.—would imply that superstitious practices are not expected to die out soon. And besides treatises on hygiene and physical geography produced after European models, some Hindi and some Urdu versions of Bain's Mental Science, Fowler's Logic, Taylor's Ancient History, and Huxley's Physiology, are also announced. Lastly, the progress of Dr. S. W. Fallon's large Urdu Dictionary, several fascicles of which have appeared, together with an improved edition of the first of them, is also encouraging; the learned author is uninterruptedly engaged in his colossal labour, and will in course of time, no doubt, bring it to a prosperous end.

Periodical literature appears also to be on the increase, especially as printed matter can be brought out very cheaply by lithography, and editors are not saugnus in their aspirations for subscribers; thus, for instance, the Panjâbi says, concerning the journal published by the Anjuman of Kasîr, in the Labor zillâ—"The monthly journal published by the Anjuman has 325 subscribers, which number ought to satisfy us." The number of newspapers has increased since last year by more than 30; but, as is annually the case, many of them will soon again disappear and make way for others. A long time is required for a journal to take firm root; those who demand quick returns, and are not prepared to make any sacrifices, must quickly retire from the arena.

The Revue terminates, as usual, with a necrology. The first place is assigned to Dr. Wilson, and is followed by a notice of Dr. M. Haug. During the same year with Drs. Wilson and Haug, also Râdâ Khásha or Râo Khish, a former tutor of the Mahârâja Dhumíl Singh, died; he was a good Sanskrit scholar—and one of the most fertile of Hindustâni poets.—Edward Thornton died on the 26th December 1875, at the age of 77 years. He was for several years the editor of Allens's Indian Mail, and is well known by his History of the Oriental Empire of India, as well as by his Gazettes of Sindhi and of India. During the
same year also Francis Johnson, the author of the most extensive Persian dictionary, expired. He occupied during 31 years the chair of Sanskrit, Telugu, and Bengali at Haileybury, where he had been installed at the age of 24, and remained till 1855, when he was succeeded by Mr. Monier Williams, now Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford. He was endowed with a prodigious memory and great talents for languages. His two editions of the Hitopadèsa, with text, translation, and vocabulary, his select pieces from the Mahâbhârata, his editions of the Meghaduta and of the Gâlatâ, are valued by students of Sanskrit or Persian.—On the 4th January 1876 M. Jules Mohl, President of the Asiatic Society of Paris, editor and translator of the Shahnameh, died.—On the 25th July 1876 Robert Childers expired, at the age of 25.—On the 10th August of the same year Edward William Lane died, at the age of 75 years. He is well known as the author of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, and the translator of the Thousand and One Nights with extremely valuable notes; but his chief work—over which he died—was his Arabic and English Lexicon, a treasure of vast erudition, of which five volumes are already published, and the sixth is in the press, while the seventh and eighth will be edited from the manuscripts left by the author.—E. R.

ON THE KRISHÑAJANMÂŚHTAMI, OR KRISHNA'S BIRTH-FESTIVAL.

BY PROF. A. WEBER, BERLIN.

Read in the Royal Academy of Sciences, Berlin, 17th June 1867.†

(Translated from the German by E. Behasek.)

Since I communicated to the meeting of philologists at Erlangen (1851) "some data relating to Krishna's birth-festival," † a very rich mine of new materials on this subject has become accessible to me, to arrange and utilize which the time has perhaps arrived.

In the first place these sources are themselves to be indicated, and the manner in which the subject is treated in them is to be discussed (§ 1), whereby particular aspects of it will be at once specially illustrated, so that only a brief retrospect will afterwards suffice. To the elucidation of the ritual of the festival itself (§ 2) an investigation concerning the origin of the festival (§ 3), or rather of Krishna-worship in general, as well as on the pictorial representations connected therewith, will then be added (§ 4).

§ 1. The Sources.

In order to obtain a chronological standpoint, I adduce, in the first instance, in their proper order, the texts referable to fixed authors, or rather those the period of whose compositions can in any way be fixed, and only afterwards I deal with the works not allowing of being ascribed to a fixed author. For though the works belonging to this latter class are just those quoted in the texts to be first treated of, they are still, at present, with the exception of the passages actually quoted from them, devoid of definite chronological value. Their higher antiquity in general is no voucher that in single instances considerable additions or other alterations have not crept into the texts, especially in those sections which cannot yet be pointed out in their acknowledged texts, and appear merely as pieces detached from them, though with a claim to belong to them.

Accordingly the oldest chronologically fixed text making mention of the festival is the Vratakhaṇḍa of Hemâdri, written perhaps at the end of the thirteenth century, and representing the various festival-days of the Brahmanic ritual according to the order of the lunar festivals.

* As the printing of the paper could only be begun after a considerable time, it became possible to utilize, or rather to interweave, several communications or publications of later date,—thus, e.g. the number of the Athenaeum of 10th August 1867, mentioned in the beginning of § 3, and others.


† Conf. Wilson, Mackenzie Coll. vol. I. p. 33; Burnouf, Bâdg. Pur. tom. I. pp. 409-411; my Catalog. of the Berlin Sansk. MSS. pp. 333-343; Anreicht, Catalogue, p. 376. There are several Hemâdri. The patron of Vopadeva bearing this name was minister to King Râmschandra of Devagîra. But a commentator on Vopadeva at the court of a king Râmaresa was also called Hemâdri.

(Anreicht, Catalogue, p. 333). Our Hemâdri, son of Chârudeva, styles himself minister (sarvaśrīrmanagrabha, śrīkaranwâsa) of a king Mahâdeva, by whose command he composed the Chaturvargachântâmany, the first part of which is the Vratâkhâṇḍa. I determine his age from the circumstance of his being quoted several times by Mâdhava in the Kâlmanâpya. (Raghunanda also mentions him in the beginning of his Tithisastra before the latter.) One of our MSS. of the second section of the Chaturvargachântâmany, the Dânâkhâṇḍa, is dated Sambat 1435, A.D. 1379. (Conf. the first leaf of the facsimile added to the Cat. of the Ber. Sans. MSS.) Besides the Chântâmany, King Mahâdeva caused also the Kâmadhenu and the Kalpadruma to be prepared (see v. 13 of the Intro. to the Vratâkhâṇḍa and to the Dânâkhâṇḍa).

By this both the works of Vopadeva bearing these names can scarcely be meant, as the other data do not agree.
also the other abbreviations may be here inserted in one abundantly.

which are

Vmtardja=sn.

ndtha's

Bhauish-

or rather the

Bhavishya,

(all three also in Visva-

according to his wont, doubtless utilized very)

dri really deserve

I insert the following abbreviations by which I designate

is shown, for example, that he utilized for it par¬

later authors from this section of his work, it

Ymtakhanda,

hoped that the

will yet be disco¬

of the kind, which he had,

older representations

thus we lose not only

seventh day,

whereas the festival

Kdtmirnaya

Sdmasaihhiti,

M&dhava,iu the introduction to the

Pc^chavihabrdh|ncvm,

Sdmaweda,

on the

Jcdminiyany&yam&ld,

and the

Introd. to the

there¬

(see Aufrecht,

p.

Catalogue

26d%)

Dharmdh P&r&Swr&h

he

(77. = Nifakapfeha (Janmdshtamtvratodydpana.

Ud.

(Dharmasindhus&ra).

Ms.

Msasakritya

= Chambers 640.

Vi.

977,

of the Ind. Philos. Systems,

pp. 94-95.

his

(ed. Rost, where among

139-141

Works,

his

(On fol.

Burnout,

Pref.

According to Lassen, Ind. Ali. IV. p. (168) 977, this

prince of Vヤyana đãra reigned "from about 1305-1370." M đh ava, in the introduction to the Kdtmirnaya, mentions that, after completing his commentary on the Dharmd Pärtvärth (see Aufrecht, Catalogues, p 2646), he began to compose this work, the Kdtmirnaya. From the introductions to the commentaries on various Vedic writings ascribed to and by his brother Säyaṇa, their later composition, or rather the following order of them, further appears. The first place is occupied by the explanation of the two Mändäd, pärvatarambhänâ (conf. v. of the introd, to the Jämaṣaṇyaśaydantam, and the vibrations there¬

to 19, 15, ed. Goldich); then follows the commentary on the Yojyád, on the Räjyád, on the Sändhd, on the Sämayândha, on the FhÎcchhâdrâd, on the Sdhañéva. As in the beginning of all these works, or rather com-

mentaries, king Bukkâṣa (or rather Bukkan) as mentioned as patron, he must very probably have reigned more than five years! At the conclusion of the introduction to the com-

mentaries on the first part of the Sämayândha, M đh ava calls himself the son of Sämaṇya daar (pakshâyigîndâ Mädhavâna Śrī Nârâyanaṇandâ, Berl. MS. Orient. fol.

No. 452), whilst elsewhere, as in the introduction to the commentary on the Purânasamhitâ (Aurrecht, loc. citato), and in other places his father is called Mäyaṇa. On a
colony of 21 learned Brahmanas who cooperated in the com-

position of the works bearing the name of Mä dadva, see Roth in the Mélanges (ind. Aps. 1858, p. 464, or rather the inscription communicated by Major Roth in the Journ. Asi. Soc. Ind. Sec. Comm. 1844, p. 184). As, moreover, this inscription states concerning him that, whilst tempor¬

arily entrusted with the government of the town (and
district) of Jayanti, he had composed Gâvam (now Goa),

the capital of the Kukka, where he issued the still exist¬

ant engraving of 20 edicts inscribed in the district of Kukka

(now Kõchë), and which were henceforth to be called 'Mähadva-town,' was a monument of his conquest in the1317th

Shaka year (A.D. 1301, just 107 years before Vasco de Gama's arrival), the question is not out of place whether

he acquainted with Syrian Christians, who were so num¬

erous in that very district, has not exerted some in¬

fluence on the special emphasis imparted by him to the

Krisna-gynäkhast)<&. There was, according to all ap¬

pearances, just in this southern part of India, where at that
time also the Jains exerted considerable influence, a pecu¬

liarily favourable soil for a certain synerasy of religious

systems at that period; as appears, among other circum¬

stances, also from that commingling of the Viahnu-cultus with

Siva-worship as manifested in the name Harihara borne by a brother and a nephew of king Bukkan: conf. Lassen,

IV, pp. 171, 172. This may have been in a measure com¬

pendible simply on patriotic and political grounds, as in

opposition to the invasion of Maléna, against whom these

princes had to contend.—According to Mädavendra (Introduction to the Käpyapradåta, Calcutta Oct., 1860, p. 221), Mä-
dhaṇa composed the Sarvaviranachintamani A.D. 1355; it is unknown to me on what this statement rests. Conf. also

Coplebrooks, Hist. Ind. vol. I. p. 301; Cornwall, Introd. to the

Krisna-dânaka, p. 10.—(Germann, in his edition of Zie¬

genbalg's Genæologia der Mitlabar. Götter (p. 118), has

confounded gar Mädhaṇa with an older namesake (born

Sala 1191,—A.D. 1390), who appears as a very zealous

promoter of Krisna-worship (but whose real name is Anu¬

nädra). See, on the latter, Wilson's Select Works, vol. I. pp. 139-141 (ed. Rest, where among his works

curiously enough, also a Räjadhâna, under the abbrevia¬


[Comparas at present Burnell, Patria Brâhmana, Pref.

pp. vii.-xxiv.—A. W.]
the Skanda Purāṇa; and on the other hand they promise very special rewards for the fulfillment of a peculiarly meritorious form thereof, which is called Jayanti [where, namely, the solemn festi-
val, i.e. the eighth day of the dark half of the ‘last quarter’ of the month Śrīvaṇa (July-
August) is connected with the star Rohiṇī, Aldebaran]—thus five passages from the Viṣṇu-
dharmottara, Vaiṣṇavpurāṇa, Padmapurāṇa (fol. 780), Skanda Purāṇa, and Bhaviṣyottara purāṇa. Afterwards he quotes for the Jayanti a variety of different passages from the Purāṇas and similar works, with detailed information on its special relations: thus from the Viṣṇudharmottara, the Sanatkumārasaṅhitā (fol. 79a), the Skanda: for some do not celebrate it in Śrīvaṇa (naḥhas, July-August) but in Praḍāpapada (naḥhasya, Bhādrapada, August-September), those, namely, who end the month with the full moon, or rather cause it to begin with the dark half, with whom, accordingly, the dark

half following the full moon no longer belongs to Śrīvaṇa, but to Praḍāpapada; for this there are also two passages from the Viṣṇuvrahasya and from the Viṣeṣa-

pāṇiḥśāntiḥ. With this is connected a detailed explanation of the question (fol. 79a-82b) whether, considering the higher position, or rather, larger effectiveness and bearing of the Jayantīvara, the same ought not to be entirely separated from the Krīṣṇa-jayamāṇaṁśaṁvīrā, in favour of which latter doctrine the author finally decides, with a display of much mānāśāda learning, on five different grounds, namely: nāma-

bhedā, nimmātahedā, rāpabhedā, śādhanaśrī-

rāvahedā, nirdeśāhahedā chā. Here his state-

ment based on the third ground, rāpabheda (fol.

80c), is of particular interest, namely, that the essence of the Janmāśāti celebration consists only in the fast (upāvāsamātāṁ tasya śvarū- 

pam) enjoined for it; whereas in the Jayanti celebration, the erection of a shed, watching

70a: prativarshavādhasena madabhakto Dharma-mananda] nar va yadi va nā rātī yathoktam phalām āpṇīyat (labhate phalatā, sa.)] || 1 ||

putrasaṁhitāṁ sroṣyam saṁhāram atulam āpave [dhāmārācarāṁ bhūto, ā. sa.ṁṣyo vākṣyaṁ āpṇūtyāṁ iti || 2 ||

Viṣṇudharmottare: rohini ca yādā kriṣṇaṁ paṁke 'a haṁāṁ yād vitōtā [sahajāṁ yād viśvaṁ yād viśvajāṁ yādā sa bhūto, ā. sa.]

sarasvate saṁhitāḥ | sarvābhāvāṁ yādā viśvāṁ yādā (āpi viśvāṁ yādā) || 2 ||

Jayanti nāmāṁ śaṁkṣiptaṁ sarvābhāvāṁ yādā (āpi viśvāṁ yādā)]

Sanatkumārasaṅhitāṁ yādā (v. in D. 93): śrīvaṇa-vaṁs tathā kathāṁ sthānam maṁ nā maṁ yādā yādā saṁhitāṁ yādā yādā (āpi viśvāṁ yādā)

Jayanti nāmāṁ śaṁkṣiptaṁ sarvābhāvāṁ yādā (āpi viśvāṁ yādā) || 1 ||

rohini yādā līkhaṁ yādā yādā yādā yādā yādā (āpi viśvāṁ yādā) || 2 ||

Śrīvaṇa-vaṁsvaṁ yādā sarvābhāvāṁ yādā (āpi viśvāṁ yādā) || 2 ||

Jayanti nāmāṁ śaṁkṣiptaṁ sarvābhāvāṁ yādā (āpi viśvāṁ yādā)

Jayanti nāmāṁ śaṁkṣiptaṁ sarvābhāvāṁ yādā (āpi viśvāṁ yādā) || 1 ||

Jayanti nāmāṁ śaṁkṣiptaṁ sarvābhāvāṁ yādā (āpi viśvāṁ yādā) || 2 ||
through the night, distribution of images, &c. (madepani-rasta-jagara-pratidhahadāti) take place; he adduces for this (fol. 81a) several quotations from the works quoted before, with the exception of the *Nārādhyasaṅgha*, which is made of this name, and not another, which

* Pacāka (Bhavishyapuruṣa), R.:

Jayantin prakāśa, karitate parṇasāradāvaram iti (accusative

Jāya�yāنا in the same way also in B. 48b, 49b, 50b);

Pratidhippurāṇa 22a): dhīmānāya māsāyā māriṣa ya śa vya

Jayantin prakāśa, karitate parṇasāradāvaram iti (accusative

Jāya�yāنا in the same way also in B. 48b, 49b, 50b).

Jayantin prakāśa, karitate parṇasāradāvaram iti (accusative

Jāya�yāنا in the same way also in B. 48b, 49b, 50b).

Jayantin prakāśa, karitate parṇasāradāvaram iti (accusative

Jāya�yāنا in the same way also in B. 48b, 49b, 50b).

Jayantin prakāśa, karitate parṇasāradāvaram iti (accusative

Jāya�yāنا in the same way also in B. 48b, 49b, 50b).

Jayantin prakāśa, karitate parṇasāradāvaram iti (accusative

Jāya�yāنا in the same way also in B. 48b, 49b, 50b).
The ritual prescription that at the Jayanti festival an arghya gift is always to be given to the moon, which term is on its part again limited to the rising of the moon, serves, on the authority of a passage from the Vishnudharmottara, as a closer determination. If, however, Rohiṇī does not meet the eighth exactly at midnight, it will suffice if this meeting occurs at any other moment either in the diurnal or nocturnal portion of this lunar date: for this there are quotations* from the Vasishtha-saṃhitā (fol. 84a) and from another Purāṇa. In a year in which such a meeting does not occur at all, then neither the Jayanti form, but the simple Jaya-vadhāṃ form of the festival is to be celebrated. But then also the midnight term for the tithi is kept.† With this, moreover, several specialities are connected concerning the various possibilities of the beginning of the tithi, whether it coincides with sunrise, or occurs during the night; ‡ &c. There are, moreover, yet other possibilities added for

The examination of the Vishnudharmottara, as it is one of the older dharmasaṁhitās, would here be of special importance (conf. particularly also Bihler’s remark in the ed. of D. M. G. XLI. 327); but according to R. it is to be read Vishnudharmottara, whereby the quotation considerably loses in force, as the attune part of the Vishnudharmottara is evidently of a much later date than the Vishnudharmottara itself.

Jayanti are, moreover, yet other possibilities added for

Yogas chet tAm uposhayed iti | (.

K.); but here yet a fourth hemistich is added (in *pi as D.*)

For the older dharmasaṁhitās, as it is one of the older dharmasaṁhitās, would here be of special importance (conf. particularly also Bihler’s remark in the conclusion to that part of the Vishnudharmottara, viz. in the case when it falls on a Monday (somavāra) or Wednesday (avāsana), the author turns in conclusion to the pārāyaṇa, i.e. to the infringement of the fast enjoined by the festival on the day.

Jayanti are, moreover, yet other possibilities added for

The examination of the Vishnudharmottara, as it is one of the older dharmasaṁhitās, would here be of special importance (conf. particularly also Bihler’s remark in the ed. of D. M. G. XLI. 327); but according to R. it is to be read Vishnudharmottara, whereby the quotation considerably loses in force, as the attune part of the Vishnudharmottara is evidently of a much later date than the Vishnudharmottara itself.

Jayanti are, moreover, yet other possibilities added for

Yogas chet tAm uposhayed iti | (.

K.); but here yet a fourth hemistich is added (in *pi as D.*)

For the older dharmasaṁhitās, as it is one of the older dharmasaṁhitās, would here be of special importance (conf. particularly also Bihler’s remark in the conclusion to that part of the Vishnudharmottara, viz. in the case when it falls on a Monday (somavāra) or Wednesday (avāsana), the author turns in conclusion to the pārāyaṇa, i.e. to the infringement of the fast enjoined by the festival on the day.

The examination of the Vishnudharmottara, as it is one of the older dharmasaṁhitās, would here be of special importance (conf. particularly also Bihler’s remark in the ed. of D. M. G. XLI. 327); but according to R. it is to be read Vishnudharmottara, whereby the quotation considerably loses in force, as the attune part of the Vishnudharmottara is evidently of a much later date than the Vishnudharmottara itself.

Jayanti are, moreover, yet other possibilities added for

Yogas chet tAm uposhayed iti | (.

K.); but here yet a fourth hemistich is added (in *pi as D.*)

For the older dharmasaṁhitās, as it is one of the older dharmasaṁhitās, would here be of special importance (conf. particularly also Bihler’s remark in the conclusion to that part of the Vishnudharmottara, viz. in the case when it falls on a Monday (somavāra) or Wednesday (avāsana), the author turns in conclusion to the pārāyaṇa, i.e. to the infringement of the fast enjoined by the festival on the day.
following (parody). The general rule is that the parāṇam falls in the forenoon: consequently, as breakfast is here subjected to exception, it is strictly incumbent that it should not take place as long as there is a remnant of the eighth (i.e. of the tithī) or of the star (bha), namely, rohini (fol. 87a), but this again with the further observation that the parāṇam is not allowed to take place in the night, but restricted, without reference to it, to the day-time, namely, (fol. 87a),* but this again with the further observation that the parāṇam is not allowed to take place in the night, but restricted to the day-time, so that in case either the tithī or the nakṣatram should extend into the night, the parāṇam is, without reference to it,‡ to commence before, or at the termination of the festival (utsavādite) itself.§

The third work among those approximately fixed in chronological order is the sort of calendar handbook Nirnayadīrīta (see Verz. J. Berl. Sans. H. S. pp. 331-2, Chambers 560 (fol. 318-343a), which was composed by order of a Sūryasena by Allāmānatha (== AL), probably in the fifteenth century, as it is quoted by R. (e. g. vol. I. pp. 32-33 in the latter passage even before Mādhava, immediately after Hemādri). The representation of the Janaṁśṭami therein (in śrāvane) begins with numerous quotations, containing threats of penalties for those who eat on the birthday of Kṛṣṇa, and similarly disproportionate promises of rewards for those who observe the fast.|| A representation of 18 different ways, in which the festival day in its simple and in its complex form may commence, or at the termination of the festival itself.§

Among others, a quotation from the Mārkandeyya is now:—

prajāpatyaṁ saṁjñyādhi krīṣṇaṁ nabhastih chut̄ṣṭamā | Jayantaṁ niṁnaṁ aḥ prabhāyaḥ kṣaḥ upavāṣya mādhaṇḍaḥ
tāṁ | (see p. 165, n. †), &c., is appended to this, as well as statements concerning the correct

termination of the parāṇam: both with the production of all kinds of quotations, and in general in concert with what has been adduced above from Māḍaḥavā. Among others, a quotation from the Mārkandeyya is now:—

prajāpatyaṁ saṁjñyādhi krīṣṇaṁ nabhastih chut̄ṣṭamā | Jayantaṁ niṁnaṁ aḥ prabhāyaḥ kṣaḥ upavāṣya mādhaṇḍaḥ
as well with regard to this context of the words (though the first henistich with the variant "pratyaṅgaḥ" occurs, according to M.—see above, pp. 163,165)—also in the Viṣṇudharmottara, and together with pāda 4, also in the Viṣṇudharmottara), as in its being attributed to the Mārkandeyya, whereby no doubt the Mārkandeyya Purāṇa is meant (but I have not found there any passage of the sort).

By tāl uktam, among others, also the following new quotations are introduced:—

rohiniṁ saṁjñyādhi cheyaṁ viḍāvañdhāṁ sanvyapāśkāṭd | viyogaṁ parāṇaṁ kṣayur manavaṁ brahmaṁvādina iti ||
and (conf. herewith the verse from Bhṛgūn in M. above, p. 164)—

Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī Skandashasthikī Śivarātri(<) Ohaturdayaḥ atāḥ pūrṇaṁkāṁ kārīyaṁ tithyante parāṇam bhaved iti ||
and by Nigame: pi:—
pāravaṇidhāsas titihsa tuksaṁ cha śravane vinaḥ vupasya tuksaṁ viśhyate kṣayey ante ("tadante, M.S.) tu parāṇaṁ iti ||

No mention whatever is made of the ritual part of the festival.

As the fourth among those fixed approximately in chronological order, the Janaṁśṭami—

|| The passages quoted for the threats of penalties are more particularly designated as evaṁvinaḥ, which at any rate involves a still more sacred authority for them than if they were designated only as smaranam. Most of the quotations are known already from M. The following are new:

* Brahmavāivartapurāṇa (Bhaviṣya-Viśnuśaṁsya Brahma-vāivartapuruṣa E.); ahṣamyaṁ etāḥ rohiniṁ nā kuryaṁ parāṇaṁ krātvā | hanyat parāśītaṁ karma uparāśītaṁ phalam || 1 ||

† tad uktam a śaktam āṇaṁ naksatram ca chaturgamam || tasmāt prayatnataḥ kuryāṁ titibhānte cha parāṇaṁ || 2 ||

‡ The beginning of a tithi in the night is considered as of evil import (tāmaso, doomed to darkness), that in the day as favoursable (tejaso, light); titīḥ cha Brahma-vāivarta (fol. 87b): sarvēva eva purāṇe śivaṁ śucaṁ hiśaṁ tāṁ saṁjñyādhi ca tikṣaṇaṁ parāṇaṁ ādhiśāna, tāṁ cha gṛhyānāmāvartasya rātri-parāṇaṁcidhānte E. ||

§ Anyatīḥbhāyamro gṛtāṁ tāṁsaṁ tatjaśo divā | tāmase parāṇaṁ kuryaṁ tāṁsaṁ ca jānita iti || (this last verse is according to B. N. from the Brahma Pur.)

I. One quotation (fol. 88a) even excludes in general rhedaḥ (the yoga of which occupies just 3½ entire days) from any reference to this: yāḥ kāchaḥ tikṣhāyaḥ pralābhī puyāḥ naksatramasthāntukāḥ | rikṣhate parāṇaṁ kuryaṁ śivaṃvādinaḥ (ēravat M.S.) iti.||

§ For this calendar-like representation of Mārkandeyya's, compare with Wilson's statements in his The Indian Antiquary, [June, 1877]; also with regard to this context of the words (though the first henistich with the variant "pratyaṅgaḥ" occurs, according to M.—see above, pp. 163,165)—also in the Viṣṇudharmottara, and together with pāda 4, also in the Viṣṇudharmottara), as in its being attributed to the Mārkandeyya, whereby no doubt the Mārkandeyya Purāṇa is meant (but I have not found there any passage of the sort).
said in a collection of passages from the Bhavishya and from the Bhavishyottara Purana, which, however, the author has not taken directly from these texts themselves, but from other works, and partly from one which is called Samkutasarapradipika (the author of which is by Anrict, p. 38b, designated as a pRahua-
guna). This pujd is said to be only an angan or secondary member of the celebration by which its meritoriousness is enhanced, whilst the chief part of it (pradah, nam) is the fast, as set forth in a passage from the Brahmasayara.

This is followed by a second and more detailed description of the ritual of the festival, first of the prayers, &c. to be addressed to the god on the day before the fast, in quotations from the Garuda|| and Bhavishyottara Purana, which are taken from the Dgandartha, and the Kriyachintanani, and secondly, of the formalities to be observed on the fast-day itself from the morning, and on the day after it, which are likewise described in quotations from the same Puranas (partly on the ground of their mention in the Samkutasarapradipika.) From the middle of p. 29 the calendaric examination (vrkudalayasyavastha) of the festival begins with the discussion of the correct time for the pRana-nam. The quotations are essentially the same as in Madhava, but with the addition of a few more of the same kind from the Brahmnanda-
prdhana, Paradara, Vasishtha, PahItnag, and Vihoua Purana. B also assigns some verses

† He is similarly placed by Anrict, in his Catalogus, p. 291b, between p. 1439 (Prayannatha) and 1612 (Ka-
malakara). According to Wilson (Poest. Works, I. 60), Raghnundara lived "less than a century ago" (this was written in 1840); but is decidedly erroneous. For on a sectarian

bhaktiy, vinopachara, rRama jRagaRama a cha
phalam yvahati datiyah Jaya tra samasambhavam ||
tivitasathyam akurnivah samyuk phalam arpa
nyayat | kur-
vino vittaRasyaham tu labhate sadrims phalam || 3 | vin
vRataenair sampradahm rRama

† In place of the great festival to be celebrated on the morning of this day, yet before breakfast (prayarn) in honour of Bhagavati (i.e. here of Devaki) R. says, on p. 29, a festival dedicated to Durga; garudina pradar bhag-
avatians yatvividhi samepiyah durgadyah cha maha
sahavah karyat | toto brhmadn bhogayat. This is evidently a sectarian misunderstanding. For on p. 20 R. quotes the very verses, O. 50, 60, which show plainly that by bhaga-
avati here Devaki is meant. There are, after all these, still

other Saiva alterations occurring in R. (see below, § 2).
† Thus Brahmsayara (p. 40):—
dvikaladasi rRaham adhikah rOhiviratram | tato hi dur-
labham matvah tvahayat yatehan saumacharet ||

Parvata (p. 31):—tristardhanyaspadi tv saiva pRaya
saad titihau | na tatra yugalodharma anyam bhi vir.

They (see above, p. 361). Kriyadaksham-a Shatk-
dhasthithi (on) pRana-nam bhaved iti | Vasishtha-
brahmavaitarta-Parvata-saivyaksyam yahi eva
vivahayat | kriyadaksham krishnamah -
The fifth place may be assigned to the Samayana-Mudra of Nilakantha (N.), the son of Sankarakhya, who lived, according to Bühler (loc. cit., p. viii.) "about 1000 A.D." Here, too, the calendar side of the festival is especially favoured. A few new quotations, e.g. from the Skanda and the Saiva Purāṇa, are here added to those already known. According to the view of the author, in the first place the fast (uparāda) and the worship (pājā) of the gods are of equal import, both being (pradhānām) essential parts of the festival. At length he arrives at an opposite result to that of Haghurtandaixa, —on the assumption that the pradhanam, of which the god is, unfortunately, not at our disposal—

The author enters more particularly upon the calendaric question briefly discussed by the author (in A. to fol. 132a), or rather dismissed by him with a reference to the samayana-Mudra of his father (the views of the grandfather are also alluded to). After this first brief description of the ritual of the festival (jaṃsad-shaktarata-pañadhāthā) as contained in the work of his father from which it is entirely transcribed (fol. 139a-141b in A.), there follow three detailed metric representations of it:—first one taken from Hemādri from the Bhavisya Purāṇa (fol. 141b to 145b = Śk.); then a second (Śk.) introduced by the words atka sīkhi-chārapratāpī kathā, and indicated at the conclusion (fol. 145b) as taken from the Bhaviṣyaottara; and lastly, a third (Śk.), which is likewise marked at the end as taken from the latter work, under the special title janmadeshātryakatādhyanāpanam. More on these three texts will be said in the course of this treatise.

Seventhly, the Nirnayaindīla of Kamalakara (== K.) composed a.p. 1012 (see Aufrecht, Catalogue, p. 280a; Bühler, pp. x.-xi.), treats in detail, in its second section (fol. 21b to 24b of the Bombay ed.), of the Janmadesam and especially the night watches, is meant, according to K. Bhd. and Bhaṭṭavīśyottara (in K. Bhd. designated as likewise borrowed from the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa); Samyagta, the father of Jyotisamātha,—see Aufrecht, p. 281. (The work of "Vachaspati is meant by him with a reference to the samayana-Mudra of his father (the views of the grandfather are also alluded to).After this first brief description of the ritual of the festival (jaṃsad-shaktarata-pañadhāthā) as contained in the work of his father from which it is entirely transcribed (fol. 139a-141b in A.), there follow three detailed metric representations of it:—first one taken from Hemādri from the Bhavisya Purāṇa (fol. 141b to 145b = Śk.); then a second (Śk.) introduced by the words atka sīkhi-chārapratāpī kathā, and indicated at the conclusion (fol. 145b) as taken from the Bhaviṣyaottara; and lastly, a third (Śk.), which is likewise marked at the end as taken from the latter work, under the special title janmadeshātryakatādhyanāpanam. More on these three texts will be said in the course of this treatise.

The author of which he designates here by the name of guru: prapañcita chaturvedyakṣa dovantimayā puruṣa. Accordingly, not the work of Vachaspati is meant (see above, p. 167), but one of the same name by Śaṅkara, the father of Nilakantha,—see Aufrecht, Catalog. p. 281. (The passage is cited more closely in S. by iti pitaṇa haca-rāṇā.)
in its calendric aspect, with a thorough inves-
tigation of the controversy started by Hemâdri 
and Mâdhava, whether the simple and the 
Jayanti form of the festival are two different 
vratas. The quotations adduced from the 
Purāṇas are mostly those already known, but a few other 
works and authors are also added, e.g. A nanta
tha, Chādānāṇi, Madanaratna, &c. (see Anrecht, loc. cit. pp. 277-280); the 
differing views of the Gauḍās and Māthi
las are particularly reflected upon several 
times (once, e.g., in the following order: Madanar
i, Thāla, Māla, Gauḍā-Māthila-ganvadhāis). According to a statement in 
the Madasamrataṇa purporting to have been taken 
from the Vahni Purāṇa, the festival may also 
be celebrated every month on every “eighth;” 
whoever does this throughout a whole year is 
promised an abundant reward.* The description 
of the festival itself (fol. 245-25a) is based 
on the Bhaśicṣyā Purāṇa, or rather on Hemā
ḍri’s quotation from it.

The eighth place may be assigned to Bhātto
ji Dikshita’s (Bhid.) Sanskṛetapatīhinirnāya 
(Chambers 625). According to Colebrooke’s 
Misc. Ess. II. 12 (1801) the author lived “between 
one and two centuries ago;” and according to 
Hall (Index, p. 156) not much before a.d. 1676. 
He puts together the calendric statements in a 
compressed form (fol. 9b to 10a), referring to 
the antagonistic views of Hemāḍri and Māḍhava 
in respect to the Jayanti (Hemāḍris 
tu: Jayanītoratāh na bhīmān). The celebration 
of the festival is touched on but slightly 
by him, as he refers the reader to Hemā
ḍri’s quotation from it.

In the ninth place the Vratardjā (Vṛ.) of Vīś
vanātha, composed at Banaras a.d. 1736, is 
at least briefly to be mentioned. The section† 
treating of the subject presents, however, al-
most nothing particular, but is, with a few 

* Among others also a quotation from the Brahmāṇa 
Purāṇa (fol. 23a), utilized already by Hemāḍri according to 
K. Bh., is new:—

Abhijñā nāma naksatram Jayanti nāma sārvar | mukhito vijayo nāma vatsa śāta Janakiḥam.|| Conf. with this Ha
vadhā, v. 3520; the passage is of interest because it mentions 
another nakṣatra—Abhijñā, not Rohini—as that under which Krishnā’s birth took place (see below). Fur-
ther, a few quotations from the Vatipurnāya,—thus, fol. 
22a:—

Tretāyōn. Deśa-pra chaiva rājām Kṛṣṇeyyo tathā | rāhita ṣaṁsūyaḥ vajrādhiḥ sannamakāḥ | and fol. 23a (after Hemāḍri):—

Satām paramaḥ maśpīlaḥ śaṁsūyaḥ kalau | janmaññi Vaiśvāsyaḥ bhuvatā vratam uttayanam. (It is surprising that K. quotes by the side of the Vaiśvāsyāna also the 
Agni Purāṇa, both according to Hemāḍri,—see here, and 

omissions, or additions, identical with the cor-
responding passage in the Vratadārika of Sankara. 
whence it has been directly taken without ac-
knowledgment.

In the tenth place the description of the 
festival is to be mentioned which occurs in a 
ritual of the Vaishnavas, calendrically arranged 
bearing the name Mahābhikṣa (Ms.) (Chambers 
It is entirely of a ritual character (fol. 32-33), 
and breaks off abruptly. Here the Jayanti
form of the festival is treated quite separately 
(fol. 25a-25b = J.), and is placed, moreover, on 
the twelfth; see the remarks made on this in the 
course of this treatise in connection with the 
statements from the Varāhā Purāṇa. The date 
of the work is not known.

In the eleventh place, I mention the jannamā
ṭāi-vratadāpanam (Ud.), which treats ex-
clusively of the festival in question, and which 
exists in a Berlin MS. (Chambers 606f. fol. 9), 
without date, but evidently modern. It is com-
posed in prose, of a purely ritual kind, and con-
tains one reference to the Bhīdajāva. Conf. 
herewith what has already been observed in the 
Z. der D. M. G. VI. 98, Catal. of the Berlin 
Sanskrit MSS. p. 338. Devaki is, on the oc-
casion of a pājā dedicated to her, invoked under 
various names belonging to Durgā, finally even 
as Durgā herself.

The twelfth place may be occupied by the 
Dharmasindhuveda of Kāsinātha pādhyāya 
(Kd.), though composed only in a.d. 1720, but 
is highly valuable for its rich contents. Here 
the festival is considered in two pariṣhedes, 
fol. 17b to 22a of the Bombay edition †; first, 
nevertheless, with a calendar view, with an accu-
rate statement of the time measured by nādi and 
pata (to fol. 19b), and then from a ritual 
aspect. In both respects the author adheres to the 
above, p. 164,—whilst under both names the same work 
ought to be understood; we are evidently to conclude from 
this that two such Purāṇas existed.) Lastly, a quotation 
from Vyāsa—jannamāṭām pārva-viśādhīṁ sarabāhān 
sakalam api | vidhāya navamādascuddhim upoṣyā vratam 
lichen iti ||

† The embraces fol. 96a-104d of the Bombay edition (on 
which see Z. der D. M. G. XVII. 782) and fol. 181a-183d of 
an Oxford MS., on which see Aufrecht, Catalogus, p. 
259a.

† Z. der D. M. G. XVII. 785.
description given in the Kaustubha of Śrīmad- 
A n a n t a d e v a ś (fol. 19a-21b), or rather to the 
views of Mādhava, once with a polemic glance 
at Nīrṇayasindhu (19a). He gives, however, 
also some new indications, e.g. he remarks that 
the festival is at present celebrated in the Mā- 
hara ḍ a h ra country under the name Gopā- 
lakāla. The Purāṇa quotations are wanting. | |
Lastly, I mention the article Janmadhānī in vol. 
II (1827) of Ṛ ā ḍ h ā kānta D e v a ' s 
Sadalakajñākrama (Sk.), which however appears 
to be really only an extract from E .

With this closes the series of works directly 
fixed in a chronological order, or at least refer¬
able to a certain author (whose name is, however, 
not known in the case of the tenth and eleventh).

Now we come to the texts of uncertain times 
adduced in the above-mentioned works as sources 
for their own representations. These mostly be¬
long to the Purāṇa literature, either directly, 
or as quotations from the Agni (K. Kā. Sk.), 
Ādīṭhya (Ādī C.), Garuḍa-, Pāddha-, Brahma 
(R. K.), Brahmaśāstra-, Brahmāṇḍa (R. N. 
K.), Bhavisya (Svyā M. N.), Bhavisyottara- 
Markāṅgā (Śr., Vāyu (R.)), Jīvaka, Vāyu 
(śr.), Vaiṣṇava (Śr.), Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, or at 
least works of a similar kind (which are probably 
to be considered as parts of particular Purā¬
a), such as the quotations from the Nārada- 
Yudha-, and Vaṣiṣṭha-Purāṇa, or from the 
Viṣṇu-purāṇa. Besides, however, several works 
apparently also belonging to the literature of 
the Śrīmad-purāṇas are quoted, such as Parīśara 
(R., according to M. however the passage stands 
purāṇa, Pāṇiṭha), Pāṇiṭha (R.), Bhṛgu-, Yājñavāla- 
Vaiśāla (more strictly Vaśiṣṭha), Viśnu- 
Jāhna, and dharmottara, Viṣṇu (R.). Now 
almost all these works, only those excepted for 
which I have just now adduced another authority 
within parentheses, have already been util¬
lized by M. at the end of the fourteenth century 
as sources for the compilation of the Kṛishṇa- 
mandaṇī. And some of these books, such as the 
Bhavisya Pur., Garuḍa Pur., Vaṁśi Pur., 
and Agni Pur., are traceable yet one century 
earlier as already utilized in this manner by 
Hautrī. Now it will, I think, not be going too 
far if we assign to a work quoted in the 13th and 
14th century, and claiming to be a Purāṇa or 
Śrīmad-purāṇa, an age from two to three centuries 
earlier, whence the eleventh century would be 
obtained as the period for which the celebration 
of the festival appears to be vouched for as cer¬
tain. Moreover, the consensus of so numerous 
works of this kind leads us, after all, probably 
now somewhat higher, since such an universal 
acknowledgment of the festival appears to warrant 
the conclusion that it was at the time of their 
composition a generally received one, whence 
again the further suggestion presents itself, that 
the institution, or rather the introduction of it, 
belongs to a yet earlier time.

In this respect notice is to be taken of the 
circumstance that among the quotations ad¬
duced as authorities the Bhāgavata Purāṇa is 
entirely wanting. This is the more surprising, as 
just this Purāṇa, especially the tenth book of it, 
constitutes the real text-book of the Kṛish¬ 
ṇa sect. But according to all appearances the 
celebration of the festival does not actually 
 occur in it. From this the conclusion might 
perhaps be ventured that the festival had no 
existence at the time when the Bhāgavata 
Purāṇa was composed. Such a result, however, 
falls to the ground simply from the circum¬ 
cumstance that the grammarian V o p a d e v a — 
to whom Colebrooke, with Wilson and Burnouf, 
ascribes the composition of this Purāṇa in its 
present form—was a contemporary of the 
author in whom we are able to point out the 
from the Bhavisyottara, the citation from the Bhāgavata 
is indicated indeed as a part of the celebration itself; but 
there is no mention here, as in Ud. (Ms.) of a descrip¬ 
tion of the festival in the Bhāg., only some sayings, or 
rather sections, are utilized for it. And the quotation in 
Kā. only refers evidently to a secondarily added and un¬ 
important ceremony.

† The period of the birth is described in detail, X. 3, 1-8, 
but without giving any date; it is only mentioned that it 
took place under the star Rohiṇī and at midnight: v. 1 
yartho eva hṛṣaṇāyasmecadham (school: asādanda (sic !) 
neḥ saṃghaḥ jāmaḥ yasya prajñāpati, lītaka Plkham, rohini 
neṛiḥ maṃsavid). And v. 7 naśte tama-udabhate jayamāne. 
But neither there, nor in X. 44 seq. after the death of 
Kāna, at which time the Bhavisyottara takes place the insti¬ 
tution of the festival, do I find any remarks about it.

† See Colebrooke, Misc. Ess. I. 104; Wilson, Yājñavāla 

|| The Śaṅkara-bhāṣya of this author (see Cts. of the 
Berlin Sans. MSS., p. 351) which I have before me, 
also in a Bombay (1861) edition (see Z. der 
DM.G. XVII. 783), cannot be here meant. Aufrecht 
(Catal. 272b) mentions also another work of this author, the title w hich 
terminates also with the word kaustubha (rājākarma). 
Probably he composed a larger work named Samīkṣa- 
kaustubha, of which both the above-mentioned ones 
are sections.

|| We find several verses recurring in O, Sa., &c.; and 
on fol. 21b two entirely new quotations from the Agnipur¬ 
āṇe and from the Bhāgavata (see below, § 2).

§ The Śāṅkara-bhāṣya of this author (see Cts. of the 
Berlin Sans. MSS., p. 351) which I have before me, 
also in a Bombay (1861) edition (see Z. der 
DM.G. XVII. 783), cannot be here meant. Aufrecht 
(Catal. 272b) mentions also another work of this author, the title w hich 
terminates also with the word kaustubha (rājākarma). 
Probably he composed a larger work named Samīkṣa- 
kaustubha, of which both the above-mentioned ones 
are sections.

|| The material of the Bhāvisyottara Purāṇa is 
by Wilson (Vaṁśi Pur., ed. Hall, I. lxxii.) designated as refer¬
able to a period " probably prior to the Mahamandara 
conquest;" also the Agni Purāṇa belongs, according to its 
materials, to the oldest Purāṇas.—ibid. p. lxxii.

|| Excepting the entirely modern text Us. (Ms.) and Kā. 
In D likewise a secondary section purporting to be taken
first dated representation of the festival, namely, Hemädrī, the author of the Chatutargycha-ntāmaṇī. Therefore it must have been another reason which led to the omission of the festival in the Bhāy. Pur. I would propose the following explanation:—In the Bhāy. Pur. we have the modern turn of the Krishṇa-cultus, which chiefly concerns the amours of Krishṇa, and where the mother of the god gradually retires in course of time more and more into the background; whereas, on the other hand, as we shall see, in the celebration of the Janmashtāmi the mother comes specially into the foreground,—she plays a chief part in it, whereas no notice at all is, or rather can be, taken of the amours of Krishṇa, since he still appears as a babe at his mother’s breast. I do not hesitate to notice here a particularly archaic moment of the celebration, the more so, since, as will appear further on, even here the endeavour has in course of time manifested itself to repress this side of it, and to offer the tribute of the celebration to the god alone, without his mother.

Among the Purāṇas quoted as authorities for the festival, the Bhaviṣhya (or Bhaviṣhya), and the Bhaviṣhyottarā Purāṇa occupy throughout the most prominent position. With reference to the verification of the quotations in question, unfortunately, peculiar ill luck prevails. As far as in the first instance the Bhaviṣhya Purāṇa is concerned, the Oxford MS. of it (see Aufrechte, Catalogus, pp. 80-33) breaks off in the representation of the Festival calendar just

with the seventh (exactly like our MS. of Hemādrī’s Viśakaḥanda); the immediately following section of the eighth, in which the Janmashtāmi celebration ought to be represented, is wanting:* Further, the Bhaviṣhyottarā Purāṇa, evidently a supplement to it, is indeed before me in MS. (see Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit MS., pp. 133-7), but contains nothing about this festival in the section treating of the festivals on the “eighth.” According to all probability, we have here to deal, however, only with an omission on the part of the copyist; for, according to Aufrechte (Catalogue, pp. 34-35), both the Oxford MSS. of the work actually contain a chapter on the Janmashtāmi, whilst our MS. gives in lieu of it a chapter on the somādhvīrtam, which is thus twice represented therein.† For this a double explanation presents itself; the writer was either a Saiva, and therefore intentionally interpolated in lieu of the Krishṇa festival a Rudra festival (which the somādhvīrtam communicated by him is), or—as his name, Rīmāji contradicts this—the MS. from which he copied was defective. This defect appears, however, to have been noticed finally on the delivery of the MS., and the writer may have had to answer for it, because after the date of the copy has been stated, yet 7½ verses more are added (see my Verz. der Berl. Sansk. H. S. p. 137), which, although in an extremely unsatisfactory manner, really concern the Krishṇa festival, so that the suspicion arises that the

that we have here an intentional omission from a standpoint quite unlike to Krishṇa (see immediately, p. 12½). But none of the other asākṣa festival have anything to do with Krishṇa.

* On the probable difference of his personality from that of Vopadeva’s patron who bore the same name, see what has been remarked above, p. 161. The synchronism of both men is meanwhile secured, unless, or it is entirely beyond the bounds of possibility that an identity of personality may yet at last result. The author of the Chatutargycha-nitāmaṇī calls himself the minister of king “Mahādeva”; on the other hand, only later texts designate the patron of Vopadeva as the minister of a king Śrīnachandra of Devagiri, but nothing of the kind is said by himself. That, however, at the time of the Chatutargycha, one Bhagavata Purāṇa already existed appears by the quotations made therefrom, which occur in it (see, for instance, Aufrechte, Catalog. p. 939).

† Also the order of the other sections is different:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Berlin MS.</th>
<th>Oxford MS.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ch. 51,</td>
<td>somādhvīrtam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52,</td>
<td>dārvalaḥvīrtam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53,</td>
<td>krishṇaḥvīrtam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54,</td>
<td>budhādhvīrtam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55,</td>
<td>auṣṭraḥvīrtam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56,</td>
<td>somādhvīrtam.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the representations of the somādhvīrtam in Ch. 51; 56 of the Berlin MS. agree considerably in the beginning, and more particularly in the seven first verses, but afterwards diverge. Ch. 56 has in general only 25 verses. Ch. 51, on the other hand, breaks off on fol. 146 and in the 50th verse, so that the conclusion is entirely wanting, as fol. 146 begins with Ch. 52. The Krishṇaḥvīrtam occurring both in the Berlin and the Oxford MS. has nothing to do with the god Krishṇa, but concerns a celebration, to be addressed on each second quarter of the moon during the twelve months of the year, to Siva under twelve different names (sivaḥkara in Margaśīrṣha, Sambha in Pushta, Mahēviṣa in Yāgha, Mahādeva in Phalguṇa, śākha in Caihira, śiva in Vaiśākha, Patu- gati in Jyāśhika, Upa in Āśākha, śiva in śravasana, śravasana in Bādaraṇa, Bhava in Aśvina, Ādītra in Kṛṣṭhika); and this celebration is considered to be a comfortable substitute for the Yedic sacrifice agniṣṭhoka, &c.
copist has on his part needily stitched together these verses in order to make up for the blamed defect. However the case may be, the ritual texts beginning from Hemadri all unanimously point to the Bhavishya and to the Bhavishyottara Pur. as the chief sources for the celebration of the festival: hence there is no doubt that they are actually to be considered as such, and that accordingly the Oxford MSS. of the last-mentioned Purāṇa justly contain the Janmadāśtamī chapter as a portion of the work. For a copy of this chapter from both MSS. I am indebted to the kindness of one of my former students, Hermann Brunnofer, residing at present in Oxford. Unfortunately both these MSS. are of recent date, the one (Wilson 126) having been copied at the end of the last century, and the other (Wilson 124) as late as 1826. They are also rather incorrect, but nevertheless closely agree with each other (= O.), both assigning to the chapter the same 67 verses. A comparison of their contents with other texts on the Janmadāśtamī now before me in a detached form as sections of the Bhavishyottara, or rather the Bhavishya Pur., leads to the conclusion that it is, on the whole,—of course excepting very numerous differences in detail,—identical with that text which Saṅkara (= Sa. or rather after him again Vṛtarāja = Śr.) adduces after Hemadri from the Bhavishya Pur. (not from the Bhavishyottara Pur.), but in 78 verses.§ On the other hand, the two texts adduced by Saṅkara from the Bhavishyottara Purāṇa (Śr., Śc.) have nothing in common with the Oxford text. Further, among the other texts of this kind occurring separately in the Chambers collection, and designated in their final signatures as having been taken from the Bhavishyottara, there is, firstly, one which in reality almost wholly corresponds with the Oxford text (Chambers 794 = C.), and further a second (Chambers 793 = B.) which shows at least in the first ten of its 87 verses close relations, whereas afterwards it differs entirely, and shows again a few closer points of contact only in the description of the festival itself. These latter coincidences then occur again also in the third text of this kind (Chambers 816 = D., written A.D. 1654), and are therefore evidently to be recognized as a common original stock; as to the rest, however, this third text is quite different from the Oxford text, whilst on the other hand some verses of it recur partly in B., and partly in Śa., Śb.

Now the question is how this discrepancy is to be explained. In the first place, by the fact that the Janmadāśtamī appears to have been treated in both works,—in the Bhavishya as well as in the Bhavishyottara Purāṇa; and that in consequence of the similarity of names and the identity of the subject, in citations as well as in larger independent extracts from these two works, the confusion of the one with the other easily arose. Further, particularly stress is doubtless to be laid also on the circumstance that all the Purāṇa texts in general are, so to speak, in a fluent state, easily allowing of interpolations as well as of alterations; especially it may often have been the case that refuge was taken under the authority of the name of

§ They correspond as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O.</th>
<th>Sa.</th>
<th>O.</th>
<th>Sa.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 2. 3.</td>
<td>20b.</td>
<td>19a.</td>
<td>40b. 45.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-32a.</td>
<td>2. 4.</td>
<td>205.</td>
<td>21a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-32a.</td>
<td>5-7.</td>
<td>275.</td>
<td>23b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29-31a.</td>
<td>8-9.</td>
<td>22-23.</td>
<td>24-29.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>10.</td>
<td>34a.</td>
<td>51a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14b. 15.</td>
<td>11.</td>
<td>34b.-36.</td>
<td>32-34a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. 16.</td>
<td>12.</td>
<td>37a.</td>
<td>52a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. 15.</td>
<td>13.</td>
<td>37b.</td>
<td>52b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. 16.</td>
<td>14.</td>
<td>38a.</td>
<td>54a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. 16.</td>
<td>15.</td>
<td>38b.</td>
<td>54b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. 25a.</td>
<td>16.</td>
<td>40. 41.</td>
<td>46. 47.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25b. 26b. 27b.</td>
<td>26.</td>
<td>48. 49.</td>
<td>50-55.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Accordingly the following verses are peculiar to O.—

| Sa. 8a. 9a. 11b. 13a. 14b. 17-19. 26a. 27a. 37a. 43a. 46. 62. 64. 65 and 6a. alone has the following verses:—
| 16b. 20. 22. 25a. 30. 31. 34. 35. 36. 37b. 39b. 42. 43. 53. 59. 61. 62. 70-73. 75-76. |

In the Vṛtarāja (Śr. 2, 3), indeed, the second of them (Śr. 2) is at the conclusion designated as taken from the Bhavishya, not from the Bhavishyottara. No source whatever is given at the conclusion of Śr. 1 and Śr. 2, so that Viśvanātha appears to have considered all the three texts as taken from the Bhavishya.—No reference to Hemadri occurs in Śb., Śc.
some Purāṇa for sectarian purposes, and that any special elaboration by utilizing older constituent parts was perhaps bluntly designated as a section of such a Purāṇa. Hence it will always be necessary to be very cautious in using texts of any only so-called Purāṇas, in their final signatures; and only such passages of this sort as may be supported by being quoted as parts of a particular Purāṇa also in other works can with certainty be used as being original.¶

Now if we compare the quotations adduced in the ritual texts from the Bhavisya (Bhavisyat M., N.), and the Bhavisyottarā Pur., with those texts just purporting to belong to these Purāṇas (O., Sa., C., B., D., Sb., Sc.), it first appears that a not inconsiderable part of those quotations does not occur in them. This, at all events, may very likely be attributed to the fact that they may have been taken from the yet wanting Jamnādāstami section of the Bhavisya Pur.; though of course yet other circumstances may have co-operated to effect this. Further, those quotations which can be identified, though with numerous and considerable variants, yield the following result:—

The far preponderating number of them is taken from O., Sa., C., mostly indeed from the verses common to these three texts; some, however, also from verses peculiar either to O. or to Sa. (C. has but few of this kind).* Also from B. a few verses are quoted; also a certain number of verses from D.; the latter are, however, mostly attributed directly to other Purāṇas than to the Bhavisya, or Bhavisyottarā.† Lastly, of Sb. and Sc. I find no verses at all quoted which are peculiar to them alone. Or, in other words, O., Sa. C. are really ancient Bhavisya or Bhavisyottara texts. B. D. Sb. Sc., on the contrary, are, in comparison with them, of secondary origin, although they contain ancient portions.

Now, as these texts on the Jamnādāstami celebration which are assigned to the Bhavisya, or the Bhavisyottara, constitute in reality the chief basis of our knowledge of this festival, I think it proper, before I proceed, to examine them individually according to their principal features.‡

1. In Chap. 48 of the Bhavisyottara Purāṇa in the texts of both the Oxford MSS. (= O.) compared with Chambers 734 (= C.)§ and Śāṅkara's Vṛatārtha, fol. 1415-1465 (= Sa.),Krīṣhṇa himself instructs Yudhīśthīra on his own establishment of the festival of his birth-celebration (Janmādāstami) which ensued after Kaśī'sā's death in Māthūrā. He had instituted it on the occasion when, taken into the lap of his mother Devaki with tears of joy, and tenderly embraced by his father Vāsudeva for the sake of the people arriving in rejoicing crowds, and, at the fervent requests of all castes also of Śūdras and other believers (dharmīṇaḥ), he had ordered it to take place (vv. 11-19), at midnight the eighth of the black half of Bhadrapada, whilst the sun is in Leo, and the moon in Taurus (Vṛṣṭi), or more definitely in the prīyādaya rīkṣa (i.e. Rohini, Aldebaran). At Yudhīshthīra's request (vv. 20-21) Krīṣhṇa then explains to him the details of the celebration. —The same begins with taking the vow to fast at the break of the day in question, after the necessary cleansing of the teeth (so that no remnants of food are left on them); at noon a bath in pure water, in a river, or elsewhere; then the erection of a beautiful inlying-house (āttīkārya),¶ provided with all

¶ But with reference to these latter passages a peculiar circumstance is not to be overlooked,—the fact, namely, that, considering the large extent of the Purāṇas, complete copies of these works are not very frequently to be met with, which is manifest simply from the circumstance that several authors of ritual texts (K., S., K.) often expressly state that they have not taken their quotations from the respective Purāṇas—themselves, but from other works. How easily in this way might false coin also obtain currency! Corresponding to this, we have already, several times observed, that the same verse is by various authors attributed to different Purāṇas.

* Al. quotes, e.g., the verses St. 638-75 together.—In one case some verses which occur only in St. 1 (156, 161b) are quoted already by M. (16a).
† Thus M. attributes the verses D. 326, 324, 23, 429, 431b, 465, 47, 50, 50, 55; the Śakaśā (likewise Al. the verses D. 375, 832, 38a; it is in fact Skanda who appears as teacher in D., see below), further D. 93 to the Saṃkramaṇa (Sanākramkāra); D. 322, 334 to Bṛihu, D. 31 to Yogīvara, D. 27 to Purāṇadharavatāṭīța, D. 30 to Purāṇapura; D. 17a, 35b, 34a are quoted by him without special statement whence they are taken, merely by purāṇa or avatārādhyā. Also the verses elsewhere quoted from D. namely, 112, 114-118, 139-151, 136, are all adduced (especially in Bhād. Ma., only 115 also in K., and 133 in RNK) without giving any special source; therefore not as taken from the Bhavisya.
‡ On Chambers 734, 786, and 816 conf. also the communications already made by me in the Z. der D. M. G. VI. 99-107, and in the Ver. der Berl. S. H. pp. 338-340.
§ Viz. of the 2nd section of the MS. A section in prose but mixed with 20 verses, mostly again occurring in D. precedes (to fol. 8a = Ca), which explains another representation of the worship (pādaśāda) to be addressed to Krīṣhṇa. Some of these verses ought to have found a place again also in the 2nd section (which I call C.), but are wanting; these are the verses 44b-52 of the Oxford text. In consequence of this and of some other differences C. has only 62, not 67 verses.
|| = Vatsarājā, fol. 99b-100b (sv. 1).
¶ Conf. K. III. 1, fol. 6a, Saṁskārākāśṭūṭa fol. 56a, Kd. III. 1, fol. 188.
appointures of ornaments, amulets, &c. for Devaki in the shape of a cow-stall, or rather shepherd-house (gokulavat), filled with shepherdesses. In the centre a couch (par-yatka) : on it an image of Devaki as just delivered, slumbering, with Krishna likewise sleeping as a suckling on her breast. Also Yasodā is to be represented as just delivered of a beautiful girl (prasidhati varahanyalabhi). Gods and genii of every kind are to be represented as soaring in the air. Vasudeva armed with sword and shield stands at hand;* * illewise singing Apsarasas and dancing Gau-dharvas. Also the snake Kāliyā is to be portrayed in its Yamunā bed. Then follows an adoration of Devaki (vv. 38 seq.) with fumigation, fruits, delicacies, and flowers, whilst consecrated presents to Hari (Vishnu), with a consecrating formula invoking the moon in connexion with Rohini (v. 52). At the same time the god himself (i.e. Hari, strictly Krishna), the moon with Rohini, the parent-pairs of Devakī and Vasudeva, and Yasodā and Nanda, as well as Baladeva (Krishna's brother), are placed on a sacrificially arranged spot, namely a heap of earth, sthanālīla,f and worshipped. At midnight, the moment when Krishna's birth took place, a śāś- present, called vasordhārā, is sacrificed; next follows the birth-ritual, called varāhāpanam,|| the adoration of the goddess Shasṭhi,¶ and also in the night the ceremony of giving the name. Then at the break of day on the ninth, in breaking the fast, just as great a feast (mahotsava) as to “me” (Krishna) is to be offered to Bhagavatī (Devaki), in connection with abundant feeding and largesses to the Brāhmaṇa, who are afterwarls to be dismissed with prayers to Krishna. The conclusion (beginning from v. 60) consists of high promises to those who thus understand how to celebrate the mother and the son, and who hold the Janaśṭāmi either themselves in their own houses, or at least participate in its celebration by others.

(2) Chambers 7984 (= B.), in 87 verses. The beginning (to v. 10) agrees essentially with the Oxford text (as far as v. 14). * * In place of immediately entering on the description of the festival, Krishna here first premises the preliminary cereal, nārāyana, of the goddess the adoration of the goddess; namely, as the "sixth" of the seven named parvardhāna denotations, the birth-protesting goddesses: the four first are the four phases of the moon under their feminine names: Kākā, Anumati, Śīrśā, Kuhi; the name of the fifth is said to be Vaiṣṇavī, removing disorders from wind. This is probably an erroneous idea; the passage is hasty: chātavān, ektān, chātavān, ektān, chātavān, ektān, chātavān, ektān, chātavān, ektān, chātavān.

* According to C. &c also the sleeping watchmen of Devaki, the servants of Kanasa, are to be represented, as well as the various Dāmas, whom, according to the legend, the child Krishna had vanquished.

† Name-prayers (nāma-
mantra) are repeated by mentioning a deity's name followed by an exclamatory salute to it. The MSS, correspond with each other as follows—

The gods, vexed by Kansa, came (for me) to Vai-
kuptha, and brought information about his keeping his sister Devaki imprisoned, who was married to Vasudeva son of the āśi Śukdeva, and that he had, on the strength of a prophecy that her eighth child would kill him, slain already six. Hereon I resolved to enter into Devaki's lap myself, and ordered Mayā to take birth in Yādava, the wife of the cow-
herd Nanda. After my birth in the eighth month I showed myself first to my own-minded parents in my true Vishnu form, and then ordered Vasudeva to exchange me for the girl just born on the other side of the Yamuna, in the shepherd-house (gokula). The watchmen became insensible. The bolts of the apartment opened spontaneously, the Yamuna allowed Vasudeva to pass through her waters. After the exchange, the girl now reposing on Devaki's couch, cried loudly. The watchman awoke. Kanasa arrived
of the date of the birthday (vv. 31-39). To this are added glorifications of the festival-celebration (vv. 40-66), especially under the name Jayanti. Already the kings of antiquity from Ambarisha to Sumantu, and the old rishis and sages from Vasishtha to Vālmiki (kṛitam Rāmacarita yena visṇuṣ charitam uttamam), have kept this festival. Threats to him who does not fast on that day, or keep the festival (vv. 60 seq.). The description of the celebration itself (vv. 67-82) is very brief, but agrees pretty closely with the Oxford text. The statement that at midnight a cow rich with milk is to be given away with her calf (v. 80) is new; and that this is to be followed by songs, music, dancing, and listening to the narrative of Krīṣṇa’s birth. The vārdhāpanam etc. follows only after this. The conclusion (vv. 83-87) consists of new promises for the celebration of the festival; and their purport, as well as partly also the context, agrees closely with the final verses of the Oxford text.

(3) Chambers 816 (D.) in 173 verses; written A.D. 1654.

Instruction of Nārade by Brahman on the greatness of the Jayanti festival. First its glorifications to v. 28, whereof many verses are identical with B. (4). Then (till v. 34) various calendric determinations (asātim Ṛādvarṣa 'ṣṭāmi, Wednesday, and rohini), among which there are many verses occurring in M. but quoted from other Purāṇas (see above, p. 173). Again promises for the celebration, and on the other hand threats for non-observance, of the fast (till v. 34). Next follows a legend about the mighty king Harischandra whom Brahmarshi Skanda, or, as he is also called, Sanatkumāra, informs about the reasons of his glory, which is inconceivable to the king himself; stating that having formerly in an earlier birth as a Yāṣya in Kanyakubja, been suddenly seized with religious zeal at the sight of the preparations (vv. 82 seq.) for a celebration of the Jayanti festival at Vārāṇasi, arranged by

Chandravati, the daughter of the Kāśi king Indradyumna, he had gratuitously given away for it flowers, and had also kept the fast itself. At the question of Harischandra about the way and manner of this celebration, he then gives him the details of it (vv. 92-150), partly analogous with the statements of the Oxford text but also with considerable variations. After the bath about noon, first a pilīcher (ghata) adorned with five jewels and filled with holy water is to be set up, and over it a vessel (pātram) made of gold, silver, copper, or plated of reeds, and on this again a golden image of the god is to be placed which represents him as he sucks the breast of the mother, presses the nipple with the hand, and often lovingly looks up to the countenance of the mother. Only now, and not before, the lying-in house of Devaki is to be erected, in order thereby to represent by it the history of the Hari race as well as the shepherd’s house. Then Hari is to be honoured with flowers and fruits under recitals of the (Vedic) Purāṇa sūkta. In a flower-arbour (pushpaparṇa-pāka) song, music and dancing takes place. The thousand-name prayer is to be recited, the “liberation of the elephant,” the acts of the Viṣṇu- (= Krīṣṇa-) child, and the various Astāvaras are to be narrated. In the night, prayers follow to Devaki, who is to be considered equal to Aditi (111-116), and to her son Hari (117-125), as reposing in the lap of his mother (maitrī Viṣṇu-paṇavamsthīm, 118), and to be honoured by all kinds of consecrated gifts (perfumes, &c.). Also the name-prayer is to be addressed to the Govinda placed on the copper vessel (pāṭre tāmara-vānaya sthitān, 126). When the moon rises, an argha-gift to Krīṣṇa and Devaki is presented, which consists of a coconuts and a shell: and then a similar present to the moon, consisting of water with flowers, roasted barley, and sandal placed in a shell. (The birth-ritual about midnight is not mentioned here.)

§ The MSS. agree with each other as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O.</th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>O.</th>
<th>B.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>675, 68a</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>74b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>52a</td>
<td>52a</td>
<td>75b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>406, 70</td>
<td>29a</td>
<td>31a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>408, 70</td>
<td>29a</td>
<td>31a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>29a</td>
<td>31a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

but of course with all sorts of variants.

**[The MSS. agree with each other as follows:—]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>B.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**[The MSS. agree with each other as follows:—]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>B.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Then the night is further to be spent in all kinds of amusements, dance, music, song, &c., listening to the history of Devaki's son, especially to the Harivāna and the Bhāgavata (187). Rich presents are due to the reader (vādcaka). At daybreak the prayers to mother and son are repeated. After having fed, and given presents to the Brāhmans, the landlord himself eats, with his family (150). Then Sanatkumāra terminates with renewed promises for the celebration of the festival (till v. 160); and after this Brahmā first makes a few calendric statements (161-165), and then terminates by again praising the greatness of the festival.

(4.) Śaṅkara's Vratārka (= Śb.) fol. 145b-146b† in 81 verses.

After the termination of the Bhārata fight, Yudhishṭhira turns to Kṛṣṇa with the request to communicate to him, after imparting so many benefits and instructions, also the Janmādaśtri-vratam. Kṛṣṇa begins with the history antecedent to his birth, and narrates how the earth, tormented by Daitya hosts, had turned to Brahmā for protection, and that, the latter, accompanied by all the gods, had departed to Svetadvipa, in order to represent to him (to Viṣṇu) this suffering of the earth. That he had then promised his aid, and had, according to a promise formerly made to Vāsudeva and to Devaki, taken up his abode in the womb of Devaki (v. 18), whilst Yogamāyā had done so in that of Yasoda. The farther narrative is entirely as in B., although in quite different words.‡ After the disappearance of the cīri in the air, Kārṣṇa being frightened, ordered a general slaughter of infants (vālāṇā kadaṇṇāya). In order thus, possibly, to annihilate the new-born foe announced to him. Kānśa's general order thus, possibly, to annihilate the new-born foe announced to him. Kānśa's servant, accordingly, sent his command. He himself, however, growing up in the cowherd's house (gokulē), eluded all persecutions, slaying the wicked Pūtanā,§ as well as other numerous servants of Kaṁśa, and lastly him also (v. 44). Joyfully saluted by his parents, and requested by the people streaming by in festive joy, he then explained the celebration of his birth-festival as follows (vv. 52-62). The following very laconic description is limited to the bath, the fast, the erection of the shed (mandapa, sūtikāgriha; then some particulars are given as to the arrangement and fabrication of the images of the holy family), the watching through the night with song, dance, &c. The performance of the birth-ritual is touched upon quite briefly,—purāṇaṁ stotrapathaiḥ cha jñānāmādāśṭāḥ ('śavaiḥ); the argha-gift and the moon are not even mentioned. In the morning the fast is broken on feeding the Brāhmans. After two verses in glorification of the festival, a legend follows to the same purpose (vv. 65-72), about Satyajit, the son of the Áiga king Amitrājī, who had by connection with heretics (pākhandaṅāḥ) become an unbeliever, and then, after long heavy infernal punishments, roaming about in the form of a Piśāca, having been wholly exculpated by accidentally witnessing a celebration of the Janmādaśtrī and listening to it,|| and had found direct entrance into the Viṣṇu-world. In conclusion two verses more are added in glorification of the festival, and finally the question is put to Yudhishṭhira what more he wished to hear.

(5.) Ibidem (= Śv.), fol. 146b-151a¶ in 55 verses.

This piece directly follows the preceding one;* the first verse especially, in which Yudhishṭhira announces his wish to be henceforth instructed concerning the udgāpannavādi by which "this vratam" is fulfilled, is probably meant as his actual reply to Kṛṣṇa's question in the last verse of Śv. Kṛṣṇa now gives, first, extensive details on the preparations for the festival. In the middle of a spot of the size of a cowhide, a circle is to be drawn where the gods (idols) Brahman, &c. are to be set up and worshipped. There a shed (mandapa) is to be erected of plantain-tree trunks—the sūtikāgriha of Devaki is not mentioned; in the circle a copper or earthen pitcher is to be placed (see above in D.); on this a vessel (pād...
The cowherd Nanda, arrives, and asks the reason of her tears. Enlightened on the subject, she promises to exchange her own child in case it should be a girl for the seventh of Devaki if it should be a boy. Kañsa, who does not find his sister at home, goes after her, and keeps her henceforth shut up at home and closely watched. But after the birth of Krishna the bolts open spontaneously, the birdcages close up, and Devaki goes to her husband Vasudeva and requests him to carry the infant to Yasoda, and there to exchange it for her girl; the Yamuna touched by Krishna’s foot becomes shallow, so that all this easily takes place. Kañsa does not himself kill the girl, but causes a servant to do so. Of the ‘first daughter of the innocent’ (Vishnu Pur. V. 4, p. 504; Bhāg. Pur. X. 4) no mention occurs here.

† Ver. 53: saṃsārga-bhājya-pāda.
pathanena, v. 43). On the other hand, the ritual for the next morning is discussed here in still more detail than in Sc., although materially corresponding therewith. The colour of the richly adorned cow to be presented to the teacher is not specially dwelt upon, and therefore left optional. The presents to be given to the priests, or rather to the Brahmans, are very specially treated.

The withdrawal of Devaki appears to be particularly worthy of remark in this narrative. Whilst she and her sūtikādṛīka occupy in O. (G., Sc.), as well as in E., Ś., a specially prominent position, and also the birth-ritual constitutes a material part of the celebration, here in both texts of Vi., as well as in Śc., strictly speaking, only Krishna himself is celebrated, and Devaki mentioned only incidentally. Nor is Krishna here any longer represented at his mother's breast, but his image alone is worshipped, and that over a pitcher. Lastly, also, the great stress laid in Vi. Sc. on the presents to be given to the Brahmans, is to be noticed, insomuch as it likewise appears to militate in favour of a more secondary origin of this narrative. An intermediate step between the two groups of texts is formed by D., where the sūtikādṛīka of Devaki is indeed specially mentioned, and the god is also still represented as a suckling on her breast; the latter representation, however, no longer takes place in its natural place, the sūtikādṛīka, but (as in K. Śa.) over a pitcher; moreover, the birth-ritual at midnight is entirely wanting (as the presents to the Brahmans also play in D, a notable part). This adoration of the god (and moreover, as in D, of the god sucking the mother's breast) over a pitcher (jumāba kalāka) appears, in comparison to his worship, as a sucking reposing on a couch by the side of his mother, or rather sucking her breast, to be very extraordinary. It becomes intelligible only when we observe (see p. 179) that at other similar sectarian festivals also, a pitcher filled with holy water placed in the centre of the sacred circle, plays the same part. Thus it appears to be a variation which has, on the strength of other Indian ritual forms, been put in the place of that other representa-

tion which corresponds to the natural circumstances.

Other allied Purāṇa texts on the Krishṇa-viṣṇuṇ-māḥṣṭamī are not at present at my disposal. Accordingly I am not able to verify the numerous quotations added concerning it by the ritual texts from the Purāṇas or from the Śārīrī-viṣṇuṇatras. According to Aufrecht's excellent Catalogus, the festival is indeed explained in detail also in chapters 164, 165 of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa (Aufrecht, p. 148; Wilson's Select Works, ed. Rost, III. 70), as well as in chap. 6, 7 of the Krishṇākhāṇḍa of the Brāhmaṇa-viṣṇuṇa Purāṇa (Aufrecht, p. 268, Wilson III. 109);* and corresponding with this these two Purāṇas, especially the Brāhmaṇa-viṣṇuṇa Purāṇa, occupy in fact an important place among the quotations of the ritual texts. Besides, the Vāhni Purāṇa, the Vishnuharmottara, and the Skanda (from which 21 slokas are cited) play a prominent part in this respect. In all these quotations, however, the ritual celebration is not dealt with specially—only the fast and the pājā of the god, the watching through the night, and the ārṇāṃ are often dwelt upon. In this, however, the Garuda Purāṇa is an exception, and appears to treat the ritual celebration very specially, as in R. (pp. 27, 28) and in N. (31a, 32a) quite a number of prayers pertaining to it are quoted from it. Also a verse quoted from the Brahma Pur. by R. on p. 24 refers to a speciality of the ritual; likewise two verses which only Kā. adduces from the Agni Pur., and 2½ verses quoted by K. from the Vāhni Pur. (see above, p. 109) after Madanaratna.

Now all these texts give one and the same date for the Āṃśāṃ-bāṣaṇam celebration (be it for śrāvana or for bhādrapada). In contrast to this, it is of special interest that we find in the Vārāha Purāṇa (Chambers 585a, fol. 142a, Chambers 557, fol. 40b,—conf. my Catalogue of the Berlin Sansk. MSS. pp. 142-43, and ch. 46 in Aufrecht) an entirely different datum for the celebration of the Krishṇa-birth-day†. It is there called Krishṇā-viṣṇuṇa-bāṣaṇaṃ, and falls on the twelfth of the white half of Aśādha (June, July). Moreover the text runs just as in Vi. Sc. (D.) about a golden

* Wilson's statement (p. 130) that this Purāṇa was composed only "about four centuries ago" can at all events relate only to the text which he had before him, because that one Purāṇa of this name existed already at the time of Madhava, or rather of Hemākri, appears by the quotations from it in these authors.
† On the other hand, the Vārāha Śrāvīṣṭhī (quoted by M., fol. 583, see above, p. 164) has the usual date for it; we are therefore to separate it from the Vārāha Purāṇa. R. indeed quotes both works (pp. 23, 23, 50).
image of Vásudeva, which, after a previous āṅgapyāja, being covered with clothing, is to be placed over a pitcher (ghata), to be worshipped with perfumes, flowers, &c., and then to be presented to a Brāhmaṇa. The legend on the birth of Krishṇa recited by Durvīśas, who appears as the narrator, is entirely divested of the usual additions, and simply states that,—

"Nārada once came to the house of the Yadava prince Vasudeva, who had no children by his wife Devaki, and reported to him what he had just seen in heaven: ‘The earth stepped into being covered with clotiling, is to be jujpujad, to Narayana, who immediately arrived in person and promised them to assume the human form: “The woman who will with her husband fast during the white half in Ashādha, into her womb shall I enter.” Then the gods dispersed, and he (Nārada) immediately hastened to this place.’ Accordingly Vasudeva confirmed himself herewith, fasted on the 12th of the Ashādha, and obtained Krishṇa for a son, and great glory. And so also now the celebration of this festival secures the birth of a son.”

Here the idea at once suggests itself that an older narration is before us, and this the more so as the Vārāha Purāṇa in general seems to contain rather old material. Wilson (Vishnu Pur. I. lxxi. ed. Hall) places it in “the early part of the twelfth century,” and mentions also just the very absence of the Janmāśṭami in it as a sign that the work belongs “to an earlier stage of Vaiṣṇava worship.” In other words, he considered this festival to belong to a later time. That he was, however, mistaken herein, apart from the other points involved in this question, is evident from the simple fact that a century later Hemādri uses the Bhavishya Pur., the Vāhini Pur., &c. in his description of the festival. Accordingly, as with regard to the total omission of it in the Bhāgavata Pur., so we must here also look for an explanation of this indication of a different date, resting on a basis other than a chronological one. There might exist for it many geographical, religio-historical, or other reasons the particular details of which escape our notice. In the first place special stress is, at all events, to be laid on the fact that in the Vārāha Purāṇa the birthday-festival of Krishṇa appears as a single link of an entire series of such festivals to be held on the twelfth, and addressed to the ten, or rather eleven (!) avatāras of Vishnu as fish, tortoise, boar, man-lion, dwarf, Bāhūrgava (i.e. Parāśurāma), Rāma, Krishṇa, Buddha, Kālkin, and as Pādmanābha (sic). With the general calendar this single festival had to be harmonized.|| Therefore this description does not exclude the possibility that in other quarters it was contemporaneously celebrated also according to the manner known to us, which finally become the only acknowledged one. In the festival-calendars of other nations similar differences are also found to occur by the side of each other. I am moreover inclined to recognize an after-effect of this festival described by the Vārāha Purāṇa, in that form of the Janmāśṭami celebration which (see above, p. 178) likewise, as is done here, requires the worship of the god over a pitcher. We shall return to the probable reason for this manner of adoration in § 2. I have finally to state an extremely peculiar fact, in the above discussed (p. 169) modern Vaiṣṇava ritual M., which breaks off in our MS. at the representation of the Janmāśṭami (fol. 232-33b), we find an exposition also of this festival described by the Vārāha Purāṇa, and that shortly before it (fol. 254a-26a), under the very name of Jayanti, or rather Jayantimahāvāḍāvāratam, in such a manner, however, that the description entirely agrees in the essential points with that of the Janmāśṭami itself (except the erection of the arthākṣara, which is here wanting), so that the defect at the end may be considered quite supplemented by the former description. We have here, then, a peculiar commingling of the view of Mādhava, according to which Jayanti and Janmāśṭami are two special vratas (the month-date whereof, however, is the same), with the divergent month-date of the Vārāha Purāṇa,—in such a manner, however, that whilst according to M. the Jayanti is the richer form of the festival, here rather the Janmāśṭami appears as such. This is, however, probably quite a secondary arrangement, as it cannot as yet be traced to other sources.

There is, besides, yet a third date, though of a pitcher, watching through the night, the giving away of the idol in the morning,—these are, throughout, the separate stages of the celebration.
The same night. This night is in v. 3247 called that Devaki and Yasoda gave birth to infants in Harivahsa, in the ninth day of the dark half (navamyam eva saugdita krishnapakahaya vai titkun), but the month is not mentioned, and in v. 3320 it is said the birth of Krishna, if not for a special celebration. In the latter place, also, Abhijit, not Rohini, is named as the star of the birth, and the hour of the birth is as above, p. 177, called Vijaya, but in v. 3317 Abhijito (conf. also v. 3248). Now, although it is evident that in this statement the root ji, “to conquer,” intentionally employed, is of great importance, and therefore perhaps no special stress is to be laid on the difference of the birth-hour, it remains nevertheless strange enough; besides, the difference of the date is in no wise touched by any reasons for the use of the root ji. The verse (3320), moreover, which gives the star Abhijit, the day Jayanti, and the hour Vijaya as the birth-marks of Janardana, is elsewhere (see above, p. 169) quoted from the Brahma Purana, or rather was known already to Hemadri, and is therefore just as old as any other statement concerning the subject in question.

Considering the vast extent of India, it is self-evident that various calendar-ritual differences must have taken place there, and do take place, according to the locality, time, sect, or sub-sect. Thus we find, for instance, for the same date which was finally fixed as the solemn one to celebrate the Krishnajanmashtami, and in the same work which is the chief source for it, namely in the Bhanishyottara Purana, almost immediately after the description of this festival, also a festival dedicated to Siva in Sravana as Sarva (see above, p. 171), and in Bhadrakali as Tryambaka.

ELEVEN LAND-GRANTS OF THE CHAULUKYAS OF ANHILVÁD.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF GUJRÁT.

BY G. BÜHLER.

Some time ago Major J. W. Watson, then Acting Political Agent, Revakántha, informed me that a large number of ancient copper-plates were lying in the Gaikvádi kachéri at Kádi, the chief town of the Uttara Maháls. At the request of the Honourable Sir E. C. Bayley, Dr. Thornton, Officiating Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, was good enough to ask the Agent to the Governor-General at Baroda to use his influence with the Gaikvádi Bhogó to make these important historical documents accessible. On hearing of the matter, Sir T. Madhavrám, with the greatest readiness and courtesy, gave orders that the Kádi plates should be made over to me for publication, and I received shortly afterwards, 20 pieces—Nos. 1 and 3 to 11.

No. 2 I owe to the kindness of Colonel Shorrit, Political Agent, Pahlánpur, who obtained it, together with a very valuable grant of Govinda III., the Ráshtrakúta king of Málkhet, from the Rádhánpur Dárbar. The first information regarding the existence of the plates I received in this case also from Major Watson.

Hitherto three grants only, issued by Chaulkya kings of Anhilvád,—the Nádola plates of Kámárápála, a Kachch grant of Bhimádeva I., and the Ahmedábád plates of Bhimádeva II.,—have been partly published.† The discovery of so large a number of new grants is therefore an important event for those who take an interest in the history of Gujarát. The Chaulkya have had, it is true, more, and more trustworthy, chroniclers than any other Indian dynasty; and the hoarding disposition of the Jaina Pancháyats has preserved, if not all, at least many important works of these writers.† Still there are a number of points in the history of the Chaulkya kings which require further elucidation. Thus the origin of the Anhilvád Chaulkya, and the

---

† The works hitherto recovered are —
2. Somására’s Krírákaumódí, 1220–35 A.D.
3. Krishnabhátta’s Bátamád, about 1330 A.D.
4. Morutunga’s Prabandhakachánáva, 1308 A.D.
5. Morutunga’s Píchakiyam, about 1310 A.D.
6. Bábájáthán’s Prabdándhakosha, 1340 A.D.
7. Harshagáni’s Vásuptílakórítá, 1440–41 A.D.

---
manner in which the first king Mularaja came to the throne, is not quite clear. Next, the number of the kings is doubtful, as Bhimadeva's published grant leaves out the fourth king, Valla bha. Further, the statements of the later Muhammadan writers about the invasion of Gujarāt by Mahmu d Ghaznavi do not agree with the chronology of the Jainas. Finally, the duration and the history of the last portion of the reign of Bhimade va II., the last Chaulukya of the main or Anhilvād line, and the accession of the Vyāghrapalli or Vāghelā branch line to the sovereignty of Gujarāt, require further elucidation. The information given in Mr. Kinloch Forbes's standard work, the Rās Malā, on these last points is very scanty, because Somesvara's Kirtikaumudī, Rājaekhara's Prabandhakosha, and Harshagani's Vastupalidacharita were not available when he wrote. A not very correct Gujarāti abstract of the latter work has been published by Vrijālī Śastrī in the Buddhprakāsa for 1866. Owing to the language, and the obscurity of the periodical, it has not received any attention on the part of Orientalists. Under these circumstances, it will be advisable to prefix to the transcripts and translations or abstracts of the new inscriptions a short review of the history of the Anhilvād Chaulukyas, with special reference to the doubtful points. Though it is not yet possible to solve all the doubtful questions, still the information which these grants afford, advances our knowledge not incon siderably.

Most Jain chroniclers of Gujarāt agree that the first Chaulukya ruler of Gujarāt was descended from Rāja, a son of king Bhuvana nāditya who ruled at Kalyāna, the capital of Kānoj, and from Līlādevī, the sister of the last Chāpotkata or Chaudā king of Anhilvād Pāṭhaṇ. A rather romantic story is told of the manner in which Rāja came to Pāṭhaṇ, attracted the notice of Sāmantasiṁha, and became his brother-in-law. Merutunga asserts that Rāja in 998 Vikrama, with two brothers, in disguise, made a pilgrimage to Somanaṭhapāṭhaṇ, and on his way back attended at Anhilvād a parade of cavalry, on which occasion his criticism of the performances and an exhibition of his equestrian skill, gained him the esteem of the king. When his descent became known, Sāmantasiṁha wished to retain him, and married him to Līlādevī. The latter died in childbirth. But her body being opened, a living son was taken from it, who was called Mula rāja, after the constellation under which he was born. Mularaja was educated and adopted by his maternal uncle. When he was grown up, Sāmantasiṁha used repeatedly, when drunk, to abduct in his favour, and to resume the kingly power after he had become sober. Mularaja, who became tired of being a plaything for his uncle's varying moods, finally caused him to be assassinated, and usurped the throne.

Mr. Forbes has accepted this account, merely toning down some of the palpable absurdities of the story, and assuming with Mr. Elphistone that Mularaja's father came, not from Kānoj, but from Kālyāna in the Dekhan, the seat of the great southern Chālukya dynasty. If I do not think that the accuracy of any portion of the story can be upheld, except perhaps the assertion that Mularaja's mother was a Chaudā princess, and that his father was a Chaulukya. For if the chronology of Mern tunga is compared with his story, the utter absurdity of the latter comes out very clearly. Merutunga says that Sāmantasiṁha mounted the throne in 991 Vikrama, and ruled seven years, until 998. At the same time and in the same breath he states that Rāja came to Anhilvād in 998 Vikrama, married Līlādevī, and had a son by her, as well as that this son grew up to manhood under his uncle's care and slew him. Now for all these events at least twenty years are required, and yet we are told that Rāja came to Pāṭhaṇ in 998, and that Mularaja deposed his uncle in the same year! It will not avail anything to say that the arrival of Rāja must be dated earlier. For as Sāmantasiṁha reigned only seven years it could not have fallen in his reign at all, and the story of Rāja's meeting with Sāmantasiṁha while king must be untrue. I think Merutunga's whole narrative must be thrown aside, as an invention of the bards, who wished to join in a convenient manner the history of their Chāpotkata and Chaulukya rulers. In this opinion I am confirmed by the silence of the Dvādāśiyakosha on the point, and by the short statements of our grant No. 1. The Dvādāśiyakosha is, as Mr.

† Forbes, Rās Malā, vol. I. p. 49.
‡ Hist. of India, p. 244, 6th ed.
Forbes has already pointed out, not simply a work of Hemachandra. It has probably been revised by Abhayatilaka in 1312 Vikrama, and contains a sufficient number of anachronisms to prove that even its earlier parts are not simply the work of an author of the 12th century. But on the whole it is more trustworthy than Merutunga’s ‘varia historia.’ Now this work merely states that Mularaja was a Chaulukya, and extols his valour and power. The statement of our inscription regarding the donor’s origin is very short, but, I think, sufficient to further discredit Merutunga. He calls himself a descendant of the Solankis (chaulukikânya) and son of the great king of kings Râjî, and says that he acquired the Sarasvatâ, i.e. the province watered by the Sarasvatî, by (the strength of) his arm.’ Now it may be conceded that the assassination of Sâmantaisâ, and probably would, be represented by the pandîts of the murderer as an honest victory gained by the strength of his arm.’ But it does not at all agree with Merutunga’s narrative that Râjî is called ‘the great king of kings.’ Such a title would hardly be given to a wandering Rajput younger son. I do not think that the desire to do honour to his patron’s father would induce a pandit to call him mahârvijââhirajâ if he had not really been a king seated on the pûâda. At least, before I could admit such an hypothesis, I should require a much stronger proof than Merutunga’s inconsistent story.

As matters now stand, I think it safer to take the statement of Mularaja’s grant as the basis for the reconstruction of the origin of the Chaulukya rule in Gujarât. The above-cited words of the inscription, coupled with the fact that Mularaja is always, in the grants and elsewhere, named as the first Chaulukya king of Anhilvad, lead to the conclusion that his father was actually king of Gujarât. The question is now where Râjî’s home and kingdom was. The Gujarât chroniclers state that in 752 Vikrama, Bûrâja, Bhûyâda, or Bhûyâda (i.e. Bûpatî), king of Kalyâna (i.e. Kânôj), held Gujarât and destroyed Jayâsekhara; that after him Karna-ditya, Chandraditya, Somâditya, and finally Bhuvanaditya occupied the throne of Kalyâna, the last being Râjî’s father. Mr. Forbes, Mr. Elphinstone, and others have identified this Kalyâna with the capital of the Dekhani Chaulukyas, and have assumed that the Gujarâtis are in error. I must confess that until very lately I have been of the same opinion. But a careful reconsideration of the question inclines me to side now with the native writers. The fact that Kalyâna in the Dekhan was for more than eight centuries a Chaulukya capital, and that no famous town of this name has been traced in Kânôj, is no doubt a strong argument in favour of the European historians. It becomes all the stronger by the repeated statements of the Dekhanî Chaulukyas in their inscriptions that they conquered Gujarât, and by the fact that a grant of a Chaulukya king Vijayarâja dated Samvat (i.e. probably Śaka Samvat) 394, or 472-78 a.d., has been found, which proves that that king held the Bharuch districts. But the arguments in favour of the native statement appear still stronger. Firstly, the form of the family name used by the Dekhanis slightly differs from that given by the Gujarâtis. The latter always call themselves Chhalukyas (whence Solunki or Solanki), an; the latter are named now Châlukyas or Châlukyas, now Chalikyas, or even Chalkyas. Hence their modern descendants are called Chalke. I do not doubt that Chaulukya and Chalukya are only dialectic forms of the same name. But it is inexplicable why the founder of the Pâtâla dynasty should call himself Chaulukika if he came direct from Kalyâna, where the form Châlukyâ was used. On the other hand, the difference would be easily explained if he was descended from a northern branch of the family, separated for a long time from its southern brethren. Secondly, the kuladevata, or family deity, of the Dekhan Châlukyas is Vishnu, while the Gujarât Chalukyas are significant pupils of Śrî Jineśvara Sûri, Abhayatilakagani. Jaina names are frequently formed with abhay, e.g. Abhayadeva. Lesîfaya has no meaning. Lesî means ‘a particle,’ and abhayadesa literally ‘a particle of a pupil,’ i.e. ‘an insignificant pupil.’
July, 1877.

GRANTS OF THE ANHILVAD CHAULUKYAS.

Saivas. Thirdly, the cognizance of the former is the boar, and that of the latter, as grant No. 1 shows, the bull, Nāndī. Fourthly, the names of the kings from Bhūpāti to Rāji do not agree with those of the vansāvāti of the Dekhāṇi inscriptions. Fifthly, it seems certain that the relations between Mūlārāja and his Dekhāṇi clansmen were anything but friendly. After his accession to the throne he had to encounter an army under Bārāp, sent by Tāliḷaṇa of Telēṅgāṇa. Sixthly, Mūlārāja, as well as his successors, settled in Gujarāt numerous colonies of Brahmans, who down to the present day are called Audīchyas, 'Northerners.' He gave to them Simhāpura or Sihor, in Eastern Kāṭhāvāḍa, Stambhatirtha or Khambay, and numerous villages in the country between the Baṇās and the Sābhārmati.* Now, as a general rule, Indian kings, on making new conquests, import people from their native homes† if they do so at all. If, therefore, Mūlārāja had come from the Dekhiāṇ, Gujarāt would have been filled with Telēṅgāṇa and Karnāṭa Brahmans. If, as the chronicles say, he came from the north, the introduction of the Audīchya Brahmans is at once explained. This last point is, in my opinion, one of the strongest arguments in favour of the native statement, and least likely to be reconciled with Elphinstone's theory. Several of the other points above mentioned may be explained away. Thus, it may be contended that Mūlārāja changed his religion and his crest on succeeding to the Chāudā throne, and accepted those of his mother's family. But though the adoption of a new deity is not a matter of great importance for a Rājput,—because, as I was told in Rajputana, a rājā ought not to be exclusive in the point of worship, but favour all the various sects among his subjects,—and though the adoption of new armorial bearings may have occurred in other cases, still it would be desirable to have some proof (which has hitherto not been furnished) that Śiva and his Nandi were affected by the Chāuḍās. I must leave the reader to estimate the weight of each of the other arguments for himself. But in concluding this discussion I will add that the existence of a Chaulukya kingdom in Kāṇoḍ and the existence of another* Forbes, Rāḍ Mālā, vol. I. p. 65.
† As an instance I may quote the introduction of Deśāś.

Kalyāṇa are not so very incredible. There is a gap in the history of Kāṇoḍ from the times of Yaśovarman, in the beginning of the eighth century, down to the end of the tenth century, when the Rāthors appear as its lords. This gap very nearly corresponds to the period assigned to Bhūpāti and his successors, as the former is stated to have reigned in 695-6 a.d., and Mūlārāja's accession is placed in 941-42 a.d. Further, the Dekhāṇ Chāulukyas assert that their ancestors came from the north, and ruled in Ayodhya and other towns, and from the Gazetteer of the N. W. Provinces it appears that Chaulukya Rajputs are found in the Kāṇoḍ districts to the present day. As regards the existence of another Kālyāṇa, it ought to be borne in mind that the name is by no means uncommon. Two towns of this name are well known and of great antiquity, viz. Kālyāṇa near Bombay, the Kallēnē of the Greeks, and Kālyāṇa in the Dekhāṇ. Less noted Kalyāṇapurās occur frequently on the map of India. Considering all these circumstances, I adopt the statement of the Gujarātis, and take Miḷārāja to have been the son of a king who ruled in Kāṇyakubja and who reconquered Gujarāt, which had been an old dependency of his paternal empire. It may be that his father belonged to the Chāuḍā family. As the account of the chroniclers is evidently based on bardic stories, it deserves, in such a particular, some credit. The genealogies are the special province of the bards, and they are more careful in matters connected with these than regarding other historical facts. There are two other points in the inscription which receive their explanation through facts related by the chroniclers, and confirm the history given by the lätter. The first of these is contained in the statement No. 1, Pl. I. 1. 2, that Mūlārāja was tryambaka iva vihitāchaldārayaḥ, literally, 'like Tryambaka, one who took up his residence on a mountain.' Now, if we did not know that Mūlārāja's capital was Anahillapāṭaka (Pl. I. 1. 8), situated in an entirely flat, sandy country, and not even within fifty miles of any hill, the inference might be made that he held his court in some hill-fort. As the case stands, such an explanation is not admissible, and we have to look for some other solution of the problem. This is the Marṭhā Brahmans into Gujarāt since the conquest of Barōḍ by the Gaikvēṣa.
afforded by Meruntunga, who tells us that soon after his accession to the throne Mularaja was assailed by two armies, that of the Sapaadalaskhiya Rajaj of Sambhar and that of Barapa, the general of Tailapa of Kalyana. Unable to resist his foes, he fled to Kanyakura, the modern Kantkota in the eastern division of Kathiawar, and there bided his time. Now it seems to me very probable that the Pandit who composed the Prashasti, in his anxiety to find points of resemblance between his patron and the various gods, found nothing more to the purpose than Mularaja's temporary stay on the hill of Kanya, which he boldly compared to Siva's residing on Kailash. Nothing more to the purpose than Mularaja's Sastha, and that of Bapasa, the general of Tailapa of Kalyana.

The second point is clearer. Meruntunga says in the Prabandhachintamani that Mularaja was a constant worshipper of Somanatha, and used to perform a pilgrimage to Somanatha Patna every Monday, i.e. a journey of about 250 miles, and back! Somanatha was so much pleased with this devotion that he personally migrated first to Manadali (now Mandal, in the Viramgam Taluka), and later to Anhilvad. At Manadali, Mularaja built for him the temple called Mulesvara. This is evidently the Malanathdeva to which the village of Kambojka was given.

It is a pity that the historical portion of the inscription is so short, and affords no information regarding the great expeditions of Mularaja against the Abdhiya or Yadava of Vanmanasthal (Vanthali) and the ruler of Lata. Its date, 1043 Vikrama (986-87 A.D.), agrees with the statement of the chroniclers that Mularaja ruled from 998 to 1058 of the same era.

According to the account of Meruntunga, Mularaja was succeeded by his son Chaumunda, who ruled for thirteen years, until 1066 (A.D. 1009-10). After him came his two sons Vallabharaja and Durlabhara, the former of whom died of small-pox after a reign of six months, while the latter occupied the throne until S. 1078 (A.D. 1021-22). In that year he abdicated in favour of his nephew Bhimadeva I, the son of his younger brother Nagaraja. No historical events are recorded of these three reigns except that both Chaumunda and Durlabhara became ascetics, and that during this period the enmity between Malayana and Gujarati began, owing to an affront offered either to Chaumunda or to Durlabhra when proceeding to Banaras. A great deal of confusion has been caused in this account by the fact that Mr. Forbes's grant of Bhimdeva II., dated 1266 Vikrama (1209-10 A.D.), does not enumerate Vallabharaja among the kings of Anhilvad, and that some of the later Muhammadan historians place the expedition of Mahmud Ghaznavi in the reign of Jumund, i.e. Chaumunda. The first circumstance has led Mr. Forbes to doubt that Vallabharaja actually reigned. The new collection of grants settles this question in favour of the chroniclers. Seven out of the eight grants which give the complete genealogy of the Chaulukya kings, Nos. 4-10, include Vallabharaja, while one only, No. 3, omits him. It is evident that the shortness of his reign induced the writers of Mr. Forbes's grant and of our No. 3 to omit his name.

The other point, the discrepancy between the chronology of the chroniclers and that of the Ayin Akbari and other late Muhammadan writers, is very serious. If Chaumunda is placed in 1024 A.D. instead of in 1010, the dates of the Gujarati writers are entirely disarranged, and the confusion becomes worse by the identification of the descendant of the Dabshlime, whom Mahmud is said to have placed on the gaadi of Anhilvad, with Durlabhaseva (Durlabharaja). Mr. Forbes's chapter on this period is, therefore, most unsatisfactory. His narrative first follows the account of the Gujaratis, which is plain enough. When, afterwards, the conflicting version of the Muhammadans is given, accompanied by hints that this may contain, after all, the real historical facts, the reader is left in an uncomfortable state of perplexity and doubt. This is, however, not the fault of Mr. Forbes, in whose time it would have been difficult to obtain a satisfactory solution of the question without a thorough study of the rare MSS. of the earlier Musalman historians of the Ghaznavi dynasty. It is gratifying that now the Gujarati chroniclers can be proved to be in the right, both by the testimony of early Musalman writers and of the inscriptions of Bhimdeva I.
In the Appendix to Sir H. Elliot's *History of India*, vol. II. pp. 429 seq., a full review of the history of Mahmūd's expeditions against India has been given. The oldest account of the Somanāthā expedition by Ibn Asīr, p. 469, states that the "chief of Anhalwāra, called Bhīm, fled hastily (on Mahmūd's approach), and abandoning his city he went to a certain fort for safety and to prepare himself for war." Next the march against Somanāthā zīd Dabal-wāra, "which is two days' journey from Somanāthā," and the capture of the temple, are related. After this we are told* that "Mahmūd received intelligence that Bhīm, the chief of Anhalwāra, had gone to the fort of Kanḍa-hāt, which is situated about forty parasangs from Somnāṭ, between that place and the desert. He marched thither, and when he came in front of the place he questioned some men, who were hunting, as to the tide. From them he learned that there was a practicable ford, but that if the wind blew a little he might be submerged. Mahmūd prayed to the Almighty and then entered the water. He and his forces passed over safely and drove the enemy out of the place. From thence he returned, intending to proceed against Mansūrā, &c.

In this narrative we have the name of Bhīma twice. He was therefore on the throne in 1024 A.D., as the Gujarātī chroniclers assert. This account is remarkable also in other respects. It knows nothing of a long stay of the Musalmāns in Gujarāt, or of the establishment of a descendant of the Dāhis hīṁs on the throne of Anhilvāḍ. That fable occurs first in Mirkhond's history together with a wild description of the riches of Gujarāt and its gold mines, and it may be therefore rejected as one of the later embellishments which have been added so freely to the fall of Somanāthā by the later Musalmān writers. As regards Ibn Asīr's story that Bhīma fled at Mahmūd's approach to a fort called Kanḍa-hāt, there is no reason for rejecting it. On the contrary, the flight is what might be expected from a king whose dominions probably included not much more than the Pahlanpur Agency, part of the Mahikāntha, the Gaikvāḍī Uttar Mahāls, the Ahmadābād Collectorate north of the Sābharmatī, and eastern Kachh (Vāgad), and who was taken by surprise. The fort of Kanḍa-hāt I consider to be Kanṭhakot, in Kachh,—the same to which Mūlarāja retired before his enemies. Just this last point, as well as the resemblance of the two names, its position between Somanāthā and the desert (of Marvād), and the fact that Bhīmadeva did possess eastern Kachh,† are strong arguments in favour of this identification. It seems to me also that the difficulty about the sea being near Kanḍa-hāt may be got over. For in marching from Somanāthā to Kanṭhakot Mahmūd had to cross the Raṇ of Kachh, which in his time probably extended further east than now. The statement that the sea was fordable at low water, and that it became dangerous at high water if the wind rose, fits the Raṇ well. Anybody who has crossed its eastern corner will know how frequently the boats stick in the mud at low water, while a strong west wind with the tide is sure to fill the narrow outlet to a considerable depth. The only difficulty which remains is the phrase "when Mahmūd came in front of the place," which would seem to indicate that the sea was close to the fort.‡ This is not the case, as Kanṭhakot is about twenty miles north of the Raṇ. But it is not too much to suppose that Ibn Asīr and his successors, who were not possessed of any personal knowledge of Gujarāt, may have made a little mistake on this point.

If we now turn to Bhīmadeva's inscriptions, they fully confirm the Gujarātī chroniclers' chronology, as they show that he reigned in 1086 and [10]93 Vikrama, or A.D. 1029 and 1036. It is highly interesting that both grants are dated from Anhilvāḍ, and prove that Mahmūd's invasion did not prevent the king from reoccupying his capital soon after the invader's departure. This fact confirms the narrative of Ibn Asīr, who makes Mahmūd march from Kandahat against Mansūrā. To sum up, the Gujarātī chroniclers are right in placing the accession of Bhīmadeva in S. 1058 Vikrama, or 1022 A.D. Bhīmadeva was the king who ruled Gujarāt at the time of Mahmūd's invasion. He fled, at the latter's approach, to his ancestral fortress Kanṭhā or

‡ See grant No. 2 and Mr. Kahhar's grant, *Kachh-Dehno Ithās*, p. 17.
§ As is expressly stated by the later Muslimādans,—see Elliot, *loc. cit.* p. 473.

[1] The historian of Kachch, *loc. cit.*, says that Bhīmadeva's grant is dated in S. 93, and he refers this date to the years of the Chaulukya dynasty. If the grant really is dated 93, which may be doubted, as it has been imperfectly deciphered, it is more likely that the hundreds have been left out, according to a very common habit of Hindu writers.
passed, and ruled for nearly fifty years longer, not without glory.

Their inscriptions furnish no information regarding the latter part of Bhimadeva's reign, nor for that of his son Karna I., S. 1128-50. Vikrama (1072 to 1093-94 A.D.) except that he bore the surname Tribhuvana-ganda, 'the wrestler of the universe.' Regarding Karna's son Jayasimha, the varna-dvati of No. 5 repeats the statement of Mr. Forbes's Ahmdabad plate that he conquered 'the lord of Avantí', (and) Varvaraka; while Nos. 3 and 6 to 10 insert Tribhuvana-ganda between the two names, and No. 4 shows an erroneous displacement of the names. The first fact is well known. Who Tribhuvana-ganda, 'the hero of the three worlds,' was, I am not able to tell. Varvaraka deserves a passing remark. In the Dvâyârayakoshâ, Barber is represented as a leader of Rakshasas who troubled the Brâhmaṇa at Srîsthello-Sidhaphura. Jayasimha conquered him, and granted him his life at the instance of his wife Pin-galika. Afterwards Barber gave valuable presents to Jayasimha, and 'served him as other Rajputs did.' Mr. Forbes* expresses his opinion that Barber-Varvaraka was a name of the king of Malava whom Jayasimha conquered. He has been led to form this view by a mistake in the rendering of the compound avantinâtha-varvarakajishna, the first two parts of which make a copulative, not a determinative compound, and which must therefore be translated as has been done above. The proof of the correctness of this interpretation is afforded by the fact that most of the new inscriptions insert Tribhuvana-ganda between Avantinâtha and Varvaraka. The chroniclers also separate the subjugation of Barber entirely from the expeditions against Malava. Someśvara (Kirtikâvamêtiti, II. 38) gives the following notice of this event:—

The verse shows that within a hundred years after Jayasimha's death this story had become completely mythical. Instead of Srîsthello we have a burial-ground as the scene of the fight, and the Rakshasa has been converted into a prince of goblins (yâtułhâlva). The inscriptions, in placing the lord of Avantí, Tribhuvana-ganda, and Varvaraka side by side, indicate clearly that they consider him a human foe. The account of the Dvâyâraya gives the same impression, in spite of the appellation 'the leader of the Rakshasas.' It seems to me most probable that Varvaraka belonged to one of the non-Aryan tribes who are settled in great numbers in northern Gujarât, and that he was either a Koli or a Bhil, or perhaps a Mör. Such people are occasionally called Rakshasas on account of their cruelty and want of civilization.

Of the numerous important events of Kumârapâla's reign the inscriptions Nos. 3-10 mention only the victory over the lord of Sâkambhari (Sambhar), which is described at great length by the chroniclers. Regarding Ajaya-pâla, the next king, the chroniclers say little, as they were Jainas, whom the king hated as his uncle's friends and proteges. Our inscriptions say that he made tributary the Sopâladalakshahshamâpâla, i.e. the king of Sâkambhari. It would seem, therefore, that Kumârapâla's conquest had no lasting effects. His epithet paramâmâhešvara or mahâmâhešvara, 'the ardent devotee of Siva,' alludes to the reaction against Jainism which took place during his reign. He is said to have roasted Râmachandra, the pupil of Hemachandra, alive, and to have destroyed the Jaina temples and books. The only fact noted by the chroniclers regarding the reign of his successor Mûlarâja II., the struggle with the Masalmâns, is confirmed by our inscriptions, as he is called 'the king who overcame in battle the ruler of the Garjana kas, who are difficult to conquer.'

Garjana-kas is a Sanskrit word coined to represent Ghausenâ, and intended to give to the latter an etymological meaning, viz. 'the roarer.' Merutunga uses it or Garjana-kas in several passages and in the same sense. Someśvara (Kirtik. II. 57) says of Mûlarâja II. that make no distinction between us and ba. Barberaka may therefore be the correct form.
he conquered the lord of the Turushkas. Mr. Forbes has already correctly pointed out the invasion to which allusion is made.

For the next reign, that of Bhimadeva II., or Bholo Bhima, the inscriptions are of the utmost importance. The Gujarati chroniclers accessible to Mr. Forbes say very little regarding him, and those now available do not add much more. The hearts of Merutunga and Someśvara were not with Bhima. The sovereign of Anhilwad interested them no longer. They turned their attention to the father of the future ruler of Gujarat, Rānā Viradhavañla of Dhavalagriha or Dholka, and to his two great Jaina ministers, Vastupāla and Tejapāla.

Mr. Forbes has therefore been obliged to trust for his history chiefly to the Prabhāndhachintdmanī, attributed to Chand, and to the late Muhammadan writers, who, as he himself points out in his work, have not accurately reconstructed the case of the former. Chand kills Bhimadeva off at an early period of his reign, some time before 1193 A.D. Mr. Forbes places his death in 1215 A.D. It is difficult to understand how he could do so, as he repeatedly quotes the Abū inscription dated 1231 A.D., which mentions Bhimadeva as lord paramount, and as Merutunga in the Prabhāndhachintdmanī says quite plainly, "Bhimadeva reigned sixty-three years from S. 1235 Vikrama," i.e. until 1298, or 1241-42 A.D. Bhimadeva's inscriptions fully agree with Merutunga. His last grant, No. 9 of our collection, is dated 1299 Vikrama, and the grant of his successor Tribhuvanapāla in 1299 Vikrama, or 1242-43 A.D.

Of actual historical facts connected with Bhimadeva's reign, Merutunga reports in the Prabhāndhachintdmanī only an attempted invasion of Gujarat by Sōhāḍa, i.e. Subhaṭavarna of Mālava, which was averted by a timely epigram of the Pradhana, and the destruction (bhanga) of Gūrjaradesa by Sōhāḍa's son Arjunadeva, who in his own inscriptions boasts of this exploit. Further he says that "Rānā Viradhavala's father, Lavanaprassāda of Vāgyarapallī or Vāghel, was Bhima's major domus (vajjachintatiḍa). At this point he turns aside to the history of the Vāghelās and of their Jaina mantra. In the Vichitravirya he merely notices Bhimadeva's accession in 1233, and adds drily, tato gajajanakarājyam, "Then follows the rule of the Gajjanakas," i.e. of the Musalmāns. After inserting a Prakrit verse he proceeds to enumerate the Vāghelā kings. Someśvara (Kirtīk. II. 59-61) treats Bhimadeva still worse. He says:

Drutam unnīlite tatra dhātrā kalpadrumān-kure
njigāṇāṇuvajnamāya kṛtbhīma āti bhūpātital|| 59
bhīmasena bhīmayojā bhūpāritar na kaddeneha
bāhūpakāndriṣa tulyo rājajanakadakshahamahal|| 60
mantrihir māṇḍalikāiça cha balavadbhāj āś- 
nāṅkṣoṣuṇāi||

Bhāṣyā bhūmiṃḍalasya tasyā rājyaṃ vyābhijanye
|| 61||

(59) "After the Creator had swiftly uprooted that shoot of the tree of paradise (Mūliarīja), his younger brother, called Śrī Bhima, became king.

(60) "That prince was never equal to Bhimasa, the destroyer of the (Asura) Baka, (nor) able to tame the swan-like kings (his enemies).

(61) "The kingdom of that young ruler was gradually divided between the powerful ministers and provincial chiefs (of Gujarat)."

After these disparaging remarks, Someśvara turns, like Merutunga, to the history of the Vāghelās.

In direct opposition to the chroniclers, the inscriptions prove Bhimadeva to have been by no means a contemptible ruler. In our land-grants he receives the titles abhinavasiddhārja, 'the new Siddhārjā,' (the old being Jayasiṃha), Nārāyanavatđara, 'an incarnation of Vīṣṇu,' and septamachahravartin, 'the seventh wheel-king.' These epithets occur not only in his own inscriptions, but also in those of Jayantaisimha (No. 4), and of Tribhuvanapāla (No. 10). The inscriptions prove also that he held the greater part of Gujarāt north of the Sābharmati, which formed the original kingdom of Mūliarīja, and that his power was acknowledged by the chiefains of Chandrāvata and Ābu, in southern Rajputana. Three of our grants (Nos. 6, 8, and 9) dispose of villages situated in the Vardhipathaka, the Vadhīrīrzillā, No. 3 mentions the Agambhūta or Gambhūta pathaka as one of his provinces, No. 5 the Chāllisapathaka, and No. 7 the Vālauyapathaka. Again, in the Ābu inscription and I am inclined to consider it a translation of Bhima's Gujarāti nick-name bholo, 'arrogant, foolish,' see above, and below note to the grant of Mūliarījā I.
No. XVI.† (Wilson), dated Saṁvat 1265, or 1208-9 A.D., Bhimadeva is mentioned as lord paramount of Abhā, and he occupies the same position in the Abhv inscription No. IV,* which is dated twenty-two years later, in A.D. 1230-31. At the same time the inscriptions prove also that his rule was not without "thorns." Our grant No. 4 was issued by a Chaulukya ruler, Jayanta-simha, who describes himself in the following terms:—The great king of kings, the supreme ruler, the supreme lord, the illustrious Jayanta-simha, a new Siddhārtha who rules in the royal city of Aghailapurā, who is possessed of the whole series of honorific titles, such as "he who obtained grace in consequence of a boon given by the husband of Umā," "he who has become the self-chosen husband of royal Fortune," "he who is a son of exceedingly marvellous ferocity," "he who is resplendent on account of his having extended the paradise-creper-like Chaulukya race," "he who is the great hero (able) to raise the earth that has sunk into the ocean of evil times," "he who is the only cloud (able) to cause to grow the seed-like Garjara country, that has been burnt up by the fire of misfortune," "he who is the hero (who conquers) through one body (ekānga) (his own) only (not as other kings through a [chaturanga] four-bodied army)." This vanglorious passage is preceded by the usual caitya-vyakhyā, beginning with Mālava-jā I. and ending with Bhima-deva II. But after naming the latter and giving his titles, and just before the enumeration of Jayanta-simha's own titles, follow the significant words tadānantaram sthitena, "after him (Bhima) in (his) place." Considering these statements, and the further assertion, in the preamble to the grant, that Jayanta-simha ruled over the Varāhi-patāka and the Agaṁbhūtā or Gaṁbhūtā-patāka, it is evident that he was a usurper who supplanted Bhima for a time. As one of Bhima's own grants (No. 5) is dated in 1283 Vikrama and from Aghailiapātaka, it follows that Jayanta-simha, who dates his grant in 1280 Vikrama, must have been ejected by the rightful owner soon after issuing the grant. But it is by no means probable that 1280 was the first year of his reign, and it must not be forgotten that the last known grant of Bhima, issued before 1280, is Mr. Forbes's Ahmadābād plate of 1266 Vikrama.

While it is thus evident that Bhimadeva maintained himself, though amidst difficulties and struggles, in the northern portion of the Chaulukya kingdom, it is no less certain that he lost the southern and south-western portion, the country between the Sābharmati and the Narmadā, as well as the Dholkā and Dhañḍhukā districts to the Vaghelās. The very man whom Merutunga calls his pradhāna, Lavanā-prasūda, appears to have forsaken his liege lord, and to have founded a Vaghelā kingdom at Dholkā, which, shortly after Bhimadeva's death, absorbed the northern possessions of the elder branch of the Solankis. The fact of the rebellion is not clearly stated by the chroniclers. According to the habits of their kind, they smooth the difficulty over by making Lavanā-prasūda have a vision or dream in which he is commanded to restore the fortune of Gujrāt and of its princely house. The oldest and most authentic version of this story is found in Somesvara's Kirtitamunudī II. 62-115, the author of which states that he himself was called by Lavanā-prasūda to hear the relation of the dream and to explain it. An abstract of the fifty verses, which contain also all the information which Somesvara gives regarding his patron's ancestors, may find here a place. After giving (II. vv. 59-61) the short notice of Bhimadeva which has been quoted above, he goes on as follows:—

"Now there was one Arnora who belonged to another branch of the Chaulukya race.† That royal saint was unable to bear the destruction of the country. He began to cleanse the kingdom of 'thorns,' and gained great victories and immortal fame in the three worlds.‡ His son is the illustrious Lavanā-prasūda, a warrior of the greatest bravery. He slew the chief of Naḍāla (Naṇḍol, in Marvād). In his well-ordered kingdom thieves are unknown; he himself takes only their glory from hostile kings. Rebellious Sāmantas are unable to check him. Before him the ruler of Malava, who had come to invade the country, turned back; and the southern king also, when opposed by him, gave up the idea of war.§

† V. II. 62-66.
‡ Kirtik. II. 67-75.—The king of Malava alluded to was no doubt Subhaṭavarman, who, according to Merutunga, was turned back by an epigram of Bhima's pradhāna.

† As. Res. vol. XVI. pp. 299-301.
* Ibid. p. 289.
† i.e. the Vyaghrapall or Vaghela family,—see Forbes, Rās Mālā, vol. I. p. 198.
His son, the illustrious Viradhavaia, has gained splendid victories in battle. He resembles his father so closely that he reflects, as it were, his image in a mirror. These two, the father and the son, make the family unconquerable.

Now it happened once that Lavanaprasadā awoke at the end of the night, and at once sent for his purakhīṃ, Someśvaradeva, by name, the son of Kuniara, as he wished to tell to that śishta a dream which he had had during the night. The priest came, made his obeisance, gave his blessing to the chief, and sat down on a mat. Then Lavanaprasadā, who was attended by his son Vīra, began to narrate as follows:—"It seemed to me that I ascended the mountain of Siva and worshipped the god, who appeared visibly before my eyes. Then, after I had finished my worship and was sunk in pious meditation, I saw standing before me a moon-faced maid, beautiful like Itaka, whose image-in a mirror. Her name was Hāvīla, has just told me her dream. Now tell me what this means."

Hereupon Someśvarā addressed the chief, declared him to be the happiest of all Rajputs, since Fortune vouch'd him her own accord, and exhorted him to accept the charge laid upon him and to engage able ministers. Then Lavanaprasadā appointed Viradhavaia to save the country, and he began to consider whom he should appoint his śiśita. But when the morning came the three companions rose in order to do what was to be done."

This story, which is told with additions and numerous embellishments by the later chroniclers Rajaśekhara and Harshagani, means, translated into plain English, that for a time Lavanaprasadā, and perhaps also Viradhavaia, served Bhimadeva, but that later, either disgusted with his arrogance and folly, or in despair of overcoming his numerous enemies, they separated from him, and took what they could lay hold of. A remnant of regard for his rightful king probably prevented Someśvarā from giving the naked truth, and moved him to introduce the Gūrjara-raja-kshatras dea eva mañcitā dib. If Someśvara does not misrepresent his own position at Lavanaprasadā's court, he probably was not without influence on the latter's course of action. It is also probable that the same feeling prevents him from mentioning any hostile engagements which, no doubt, occurred between the two Dholka chiefs and Bikamalerā. Throughout the remainder of his work he speaks of Viradhavaia as of an independent prince, who owned allegiance to nobody, and ignores the king of Pihān entirely. The same line is adopted in the inscriptions of Viradhavaia's two ministers Vatupāla and Tujapāla, who, as Someśvara states in the third canto of the Kirtitamāndi, were engaged shortly after the occurrence described above.

The southern king must have been either the Yudhara Singham or his father. The Kirtitamāndi, as well as Vimaladeva's grant No. 11, shows that in the 18th century Gūjarāta was repeatedly attacked by its southern neighbors.

[ Kirtti. II. 78-79. ]

* śishta = phalāśāja, 'a person who knows the results of actions, &c.'

† Kirtti. II. 82-86.

are broken. Therefore do thou, together with thy son Viradhavaia, rescue me and save the country." After the goddess had spoken thus, Lavanaprasadā continued, 'She threw her garland on this chair and vanished together with my dream. Now tell me what this means.'

6 This must be taken as the abdication of Havaprasadā. It mentions Krumira. It mentions a purakhita Kumaṇa.

7 Kirtti. II. 82-86.

8 This must be taken as the abdication of Sunamprasada, as in the later parts of the Kirtitamāndi Viradhavaia always appears as ruler.
Neither in the Abu nor in the Ginnar inscriptions of the two brothers is Bhimadeva mentioned with a single word, though another Abu inscription of the same time acknowledges him as lord paramount.† On the other hand Lavaaprasada and Viradhavala are given the titles mahdraja and mahdrjadhiydraja. The time of Lavaaprasada's defection can be fixed approximately from Vastupala's Ginnar inscriptions. There‡ Vastupala says that he transacted the 'business with the seal' in Gujarat since 1276 Vikrama (1219-20 A.D.). The portions of the Chaulukya kingdom which Lavaaprasada and Viradhavala 'saved' were, besides the Dholka and Dhaqdhuksa districts, Khambay, Lata, and Godiera, which are mentioned by Somesvara as subject to Viradhavala. The Chaulukya conquests in the Kathiavad peninsula are added to the notes given above, it will be possible to give a tolerably accurate outline of the history of Bhimadeva's reign. But I defer this for another opportunity, when I shall give a short history of the whole Solanki period.

All the Gujarati chroniclers close the list of the Chaulukya kings of the main line with Bhimadeva. If grant No. 10 furnishes the name of an additional king, Tribhuvanapala, who held Aghilvad 1299 Vikrama, after Bhimadeva's death, and declares himself to be 'meditating on his feet,' i.e. to be his lawful successor, the most probable solution of the difficulty is that this ruler maintained himself only for a short time, and was not generally acknowledged as king of Gujarat. In favour of this view Merutunga's statement, from the Vichdrasreni, may be adduced, according to which Visaladeva the son of Viradhavala succeeded to the throne of Aghilvad in 1300 Vikrama, or 1248-49 A.D., as the first Chaulukya king of the Vaghel branches. Merutunga's dates have been proved to be correct in so many cases which appeared at first sight rather doubtful that I have no hesitation in accepting them as long as they are not proved to be wrong by very strong evidence.

As regards the history of Visaladeva Vaghel of Aghilvad, Rajasekhar and Harshagani state that his father Viradhavala died at Dholka not long before his great minister. As the latter's death occurred in 1297 Vikrama (1246 A.D.), the Rana's career must have come to an end either in 1295 or 1296 Vikrama, i.e. between 1288 and 1240 A.D. Viradhavala had two sons, Virama and Visaladeva. The former, who, as the elder, was the rightful heir to the gadi, had given offence both to his father and to Vastupala by ill-treating a Vanga, and had been banished to Viramagara, the modern Viramgam. On the news of his father's mortal illness he came to Dholka and tried to assert his right. But Vastupala was too strong for him. He secured Visaladeva's succession, and forced Virama to fly from the city. Virama then tried an appeal to arms. Being defeated, he went to his father-in-law Udayasimha, chief of Jabali, and was treacherously murdered at the instigation of Vastupala, who, like a true Hindu mantri, made it his first care to remove 'the thorns' from the kingdom. If Vastupala hoped to keep Visaladeva in dependence, and to retain the great influence which he possessed during his father's reign, he was disappointed. The new Rana appointed a Brahman called Nagadas as his prime minister, and left to the two brothers some minor offices only. They suffered many indignities, and had been nearly obliged to undergo the ordeal by 'the snake in the pot' (ghatasarpa) in order to prove themselves innocent of peculation. Their old friend Somesvara saved them by a timely epigram. Not long after, another incident occurred which had nearly driven Vastupala into open rebellion against his new master. The king's maternal uncle, called Simha, gave a blow to the goji or yati who was Vastupala's spiritual guide. The proud minister avenged it by causing one of his Rajput servants to accost Simha in a seemingly friendly manner and to cut off his

† Wilson, No. II. As. Res. vol. XVI. p. 339.
‡ See J. Burgess, inscription from Kakhilvad No. 16, l. 4; Baghat: Mr. Limaye, the translator, has made a sad mess of this passage.
§ Mentioned as minister in grant No. 11, Pl. I. l. 7.
¶ Harshagani says that the change in the ministry did not occur at once, but that Visaladeva, before it happened, was rescued by the brothers from an invasion made by Narasimha, king of Dhahala, i.e. Triparia-Tivera, and that he was afterwards corrupted by his uncle Simha.
hand. After performing this feat the brave

... carried the bleeding member to Vastūpāla, who
displayed it in front of his palace. The mutila-
tion of their chief roused all the Jēḥvā

... Rajasthan and the Rākṣa, "abandoning the hope of life." While matters were thus in a critical state, Someśvara again interposed and brought about a reconciliation. After these events the chroniclers lose sight of Vīsālaḍeva, and we hear nothing more of him than that he be-
came, as stated above, king of Gujarāt in 1300

Vikrama. It is very probable that the reunion
of all the Chaulukya possessions in his hand did
not take place peaceably. Probably he ousted
Tribhuvanaḍāla by force of arms. Grant
No. 11 proves that he took up his residence at Aṇhīlvaḍ. It also shows that he was not
allowed to rest on his laurels, but had to
defend his new possessions against numerous
and various foes. Sīnghaṇa, the Yādava of
Devagiri, who ruled until 1247-48 A.D.,*§ had
already unsuccessfully assailed Viradhavala, as
we learn from Someśvara, Kṛiti. IV. If Vī-

... sālaḍeva boasts that he "dried up the ocean
of his army," that means, probably, that he
successfully resisted another invasion. The
ruler of Mālaḍa was one of the hereditary
foes of Gujarāt, who probably tried another in-
novation. Vīsālaḍeva's contemporary in Mālaḍa
was Pūrnamalla.* The king of Mēḍa-
pāta appears for the first time in this grant as
an enemy of the Solankis. Mēḍapāta is the
Sanskrit form of Mēvaḍ.† The word means etymo-
logically 'the country of the Mēdas.' the Mērs of modern times, who still inhabit the
Aravali hills, on the boundary of Mēvaḍ. Per-
haps the Tējasinha mentioned in the Abū
inscription, which gives the pedigree of the Gobels
down to 1235-36, was the opponent alluded to.
Another interesting fact recorded in our grant is
that Vīsālaḍeva was the successful competitor at a scayajñāvara for the hand of the daughter
of the king of the Karnāṭa country. I suppose
the latter must have been one of the Bāllāla-
Yaḍavas of Dvārastamudra. Our grant
is dated in 1317 Vikrama, or 1296-97 A.D.; and
this agrees with the statement of Merutunga in
the Vēchārakāvya that Vīsālaḍeva reigned until
1318 Vikrama, 1261-62 A.D. According to the
same authority his three successors ruled as fol-
... lows:—

Aruṇadeva 1318 to 1331 V. = 1261-62
to 1274-75 A.D.
Sārāngadeva 1331 to 1353 V. = 1274-75
to 1296-97 A.D.
Karṇa (ghelo) 1353 to 1360 = 1296-27 to
1303-4.

We have inscriptions of Aruṇadeva at
Somanātha Pāthaq dated 1264-65 A.D.,* and in
Kachh dated 1282 Vikrama, or 1271-72 A.D.;§
and of Sārāngadeva, in the temple of
Vastūpāla at Abū, dated 1294 A.D. These dates
agree, therefore, with Merutunga's statement.
The final annexation of Gujarāt by the Muham-
dmadans in 1304 is well known.

No. 1. ||

Plate I.

(1) 9 राजाबलिपूर्वम् || राजहसत हस विमलामयमः || कमलयोगिनि- ।

(2) व वितकबमलयमः || विश्वरूप विकालायमयः || स्मरक हस विहिताय- ।

(3) तापः || सत्मयम हस विवाहदंडनमः || कल्पपुष्क हस वृद्धितार्कत्वमः। ।

(4) 5 म हिरिव सर्वनामायमः || तेषपिति बहुस्वायमः || जलहि हस सर्वप्रवासः। ।

(5) तुरुणी || तुर्यसिद्ध हस सदादनमोपाधिकारः || चौकुलकस्यम हस महारा- ।

(6) ताधिराजस्वारुणः || महाराजाधिराजमहाराजितः || निजमु स्वपाराजितसाधसः। ।

(7) लमसपोलो श्रीमंद्रकीयामद्यमः || कस्मवर्धीयाम लमसपोलो ।

§ See also As. Res. vol. XVI. p. 292, where inscription
X gives the vahahāra of the Gobels of Udepur, or Mēda-
pāta. The word occurs frequently in Jaina works, in the
same given above.
§ Atmārām K. Drivedi, Kachhdeño Itihās, p. 18.
No. 1.—Translation.

Ome! First the pedigree of the king:†

He who resembles a royal swan, since both sides (of his family, paksha) are spotless, just as both wings (pala) of the bird,—who resembles Brahmā, since he is the abode of great prosperity (kamalāraja), just as the god reclines on a large lotus (kamalāraja),—who resembles Viṣṇu, since he has conquered the earth with his prowess (vikramākrantābhiṭāta), just as the god measured the earth with one step (vikrāntābhiṭāta),—who resembles Tryambaka, since he took up his residence on a mountain, just as the god dwells on Mount (Kailāsa),—who resembles Indra, since he gladdens wise men (vibudha), just as the god gladdens the wise deities (vibudha),—who resembles the tree of paradise, since he fulfills the desires (of his dependents),—who resembles Mount Meru, since he is always impartial (madhyastha), just as the mountain always stands in the centre (of the universe, madhyastha),—who resembles the ocean, since he is the abode of great courage (sattvadīrāya), just as the sea is the abode of many creatures (sattvadīrāya),—who resembles a cloud, as he takes compassion on all beings,—who resembles the elephant of the king of the gods, since his hand is always moist with libations (poured out in confirmation) of gifts (dānāyādrākṛitraṇam), just as the trunk of Airavata is always moist with the ichor (flowing from his temples, tadāyādhrāhrinārā),—the king of kings, the illustrious Mālavāja, the son of the king of kings the illustrious Mālaśakā,—who belongs to the 0 li a u 1 u k a family,—who has conquered with his own arm the province watered by the Sarasvati,

doation of the Gṛjabhūti phrase SC^f* \^m

||

† L 8, the sign under न in नावत्र looks like a च; but I think it is intended for the Prāma. L 10, read निर्धारन.

† L 11, read हरदु; date Anusvāra over दी; read आदु.

‡ L 8, date Anusvāra over पु. L 6, read हर. L 7, read सुभ. L 10, read आदु.

† I take अज्ञातस्वरूपम as a compound. It is probably a translation of the Gujarātī phrase राजवीरो मर०. Similarly Merutunga uses यहींएँ, a literal translation of Gujarātī varṇ वहीँ, instead of वट्टमरुः.

§ Regarding the explanation of the allusion see above.

|| Now Kambol, situated north-west of Modhera, in the Gaṅgāśāl Itara Mahāla.
GRANT OF MÛLARĀJA OF AṆHILVĀDA. (A.D. 986.) 1st PLATE.

९. राजावली पृष्ठे राजा राजां संबंध विसंगत जन्म पग्न। कमलायानि वि बुधिननास्रययकविधर्मनि विशिष्ट राजार्जन हुन नर गुरुधुव्विहिनार लालापाशनमसं ॥०॥ बद्र वाजन्दल नन्दरकम पुं कृष्ण वायकार्तवृहुप

सुमेन्द्रित सर्वदामुण सुहालोयविविकर राजसावाण्डरश्रवित्वा ॥

उक्तवी। जुन दुमुक्तपवस दयानलायाजीत्वा त्रालोकुरुक्षिर नाम गुरुमन्नायवा

शान्तिकूट प्रवर्त्तकस्त्रायामराधविविहा राजसुनानिकृ हुपासदित्यसभि न महुँलो श्रीमानननीयियह ग्राममुक्ता कान्द्वकुलारामसम्बा राजपुराणुखाने

लोक गान्नत विशिष्ट पाण्डवशास्त्रसंस्कारिते स्वंसंस्कारिते। मथि श्रीमद्रहस्तिर तु।

क यो नावतमित्वस्य आदिसंस्करकारपिनिमी स्वरूप ग्रामविशिष्टस्य पुत्रीमनुष्टोलिन निमित्तुर्मकालवतत्वल।

टर्पुर्णविनिमेयकालानावयवमहृत्संसारसा राजासा गार्विस्तिरणनितिनीदत

गकरलकोलनलालसाद्यग्रान्तत्व कवित्यसमाप्तानन
laya, having pondered on the worldlessness of the world, having considered that life is unstable as a drop of water lying on a lotus-leaf, and fully understood the rewards of spiritual merit, I have given, confirming the gift by an edict and a libation of water, for the increase of my own and my parents’ merit and fame, the above-mentioned village up to its boundaries, together with its wood, grass, and water, together with the right of pasturing cattle, and with the right of (inflicting) fines and (deciding cases arising out) of the ten flaws, to the illustrious Mula Natha Deva, that is established at Manjali, in the Vardham zona.† Knowing this, the people dwelling there shall obediently give to this (daily) everything according to custom, viz. the share of produce, taxes, gold, and the like; and future kings, whether they belong to our family or be strangers, knowing that the reward for the merit acquired by such (gifts of land) is common (to all kings), should agree to and protect this our religious gift. Wherefore the divine Vyasa has declared. . . . . .

This grant has been written by Kanya, the son of Kayastha, Je... Sambat 1043, on the 15th day of the dark half of Magha, on a Sunday. (The signature) of the illustrious Mularaja.

No. 2.‡

Plate I.

(1) 9 Vikram Samvat 1086 कालिक शुद्धि ९० अयोह जीमदमाहिलि-

(2) पाठके समस्तराजकृतविप्रतिष्ठितमहाराजाधिकारिवीभि-

(3) मदेषः समुपमनक्षमभंलांत मातिप्पहदिकादाशः-

(4) केस मदुरयांः समस्तराजपुस्तान् आह्माणोरतितिवः-

(5) सिजनपदाश बोधयस्तु के संविदितं ययः अयः कार्तिखे-रीणि भागवतं भावानितिमायच्छं क्षमभंलमायव-

(6) सेमनाशकस्मनानिवेदवात आचयमांगलविषमुणात-

(7) य भारक आजपलाय सहिष्णुयमागः संज्ञदानापरापः-

(8) सर्वोपदेशमेति उपरिखितमुस्मुरामः शामेनेनोद-

(9) कपूरस्माभं पद्यो यस्य पूर्वेष्वस सदमिच्छदहदिकायता-

(10) सो दक्षणायां एकाधिकायमः पात्मायां धरवदिकायाम-

(11) उत्तरायं प्रसरिकायाम तत्स चुदुरागापोष-Plate II.

(1) लक्षितं मसूरामाय मतव तत्वाविदिकादीयाम-

(2) मानभाभोमागादि सर्वं सर्वदा आजपलायाम-

(3) विचेरोत्तमस्वेत्य आजपलाय समुपनेत्तव सामाय-

(4) न्यं चैतन्यमरत्वुज्जामदंसंज्ञेयज्यापि भाषिभोव-

(5) न्मिरिमदलतन्मदायमनमुत्तवः पालं-

† This is apparently the etymon of the modern name of Mularaja’s temple at Siddhapura, Rudromola. It means ‘the palace of Rudra, i.e. Siva.’

* At a late visit to Manjali I inquired in vain for any trace of this once famous temple, and the monastery attached to it, which occurs so frequently in the grants. Nobody had ever heard that such a temple had existed. An ingenious vakimvachado or bard at last suggested that the temple might have stood near a well called Malumkila, about two miles east of Mandal, and that Mularaja might be a corruption of Mularaja. I should say that it meant ‘brackish.’ I believe that the temple stood on the south side of the taldo, where many sculptured stones lie about.

† Yaridhhi is a synonym of Vadhika, the ancient and also modern name of the country adjacent to the Ban of Kachh from Baidhanpur to Jhinghavada. The word Vadhika represents Sanskrit Vrddhi, not Vardhi.

‡ Measurements of the plates 9 inches by 7 inches. Characters modern Brhamanical Devanagari, frequently mixed with the ancient forms of da, na, da, tha, bha, sya. Preservation good. Transcript, made under my supervision, by Narayana Shetri.

§ L. 8, read देशावरः. L. 10, insert आजारणः. L. 11, देशायं in पालिका doubtful.

¶ L. 3, read बुधाप्रमः. L. 5, read समवरः.
I. Preamble.—In Samvat 1086 Vikrama, on the 15th day of the bright half of Karttika, the king of kings, Bhimadeva, who resides in Anahilapâtaka, addresses all officials and inhabitants of Masūra, situated in the Dedāsa of Ghaḍahādiṅkā, in the province of Kachha, and announces the following grant:

II. Grantee.—Bhattāraka Ajapalā, son of Aeharya Mangalasiva, an emigrant from Havalisaka, situated in Kachha.

III. Object granted.—The village of Masūra, bounded—
(a) East by the village of Ghaḍahādiṅkā,
(b) South by the village of Aikyikā,
(c) West by the village of Dharavadikā,
(d) North by the village of Prajharikā.

IV. Officials.—Writer of the grant: Yatavarā, son of Kaṁchana, a Kayastha. Dufcaka: the minister of peace and war, Chandasarman.

No. 3.||
Plate I.

Measurements 11 inches by 12½. Characters Jaina-devanagari. Preservation good. The plates had been neatea, to remove the rust, before coming into my nanas. transcripts of this and following grants made, under my own and Yamanacharya Jhalkikar's supervision, by Narvāna Sāstṛī. Mistakes in Sandhi occurring in this and the other plates have not been corrected in the notes, as they are too numerous.

* L. 6, read "9th the priest or Brahman, has deposited it (in my house)."
† Descentants of this Bhattāraka exist to this day in Kaĉh, as Mr. D. Khair informs me.
‡ Neither this nor any of the other villages mentioned can be traced on the map.
§ See grant No. 1.

[Measurements 11 inches by 12½.] Characters Jaina-Devanagari. Preservation good. The plates had been heated, to remove the rust, before coming into my hands. Transcripts of this and following grants made, under my own and Vamanacharya Jidhikar's supervision, by Narvāna Sāstṛī. Mistakes in Sandhi occurring in this and the other plates have not been corrected in the notes, as they are too numerous.

† L. 8, read "perhaps letters half destroyed. L. 14, read "विपः".
July, 1877.]
GRANTS OF THE ANHILVAD CHAULUKYAS. 195

GEANTS OF THE ANHILVAD CHAULUKYAS.

Plate II.

No. 3.—Abstract.
I. Preamble.—(a) Vamśadvali.†

† L. 10, read Sahaṃagni. L. 11, read (निर्मल्यम्). L. 12, read तन्निर्मल्यम्;—समुंचराय. L. 17. The इति at the

7. Kūmarapāladeva, conqueror in battle of the king of Sākambhari.
8. Ajayapāladeva, the ardent devotee of Śiva, who made the Sapādalaksha king tributary.
9. Mūlarāja II., who conquered the ruler of Garjjanakas in battle.
10. Bhimadeva, a second Siddharāja. (b) Bhimadeva, who rules at Anhilvāḍ haṭakā, addresses the officials and inhabitants of the Agambhūṭa or Gambhūṭa.

end of this and Bhima's other inscriptions shows the ancient forms of the letters श्रव. I All the kings mentioned receive in this and the following grants the titles mahāvīruḍḍhikāra, parameśvara, and pararadvijātikāra, and various other epithets, which declare them to be possessed of high virtues, and worshippers of Śiva.
Pathaka, dating on Sunday, the second day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, 1263 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:

II. Object granted.—The village of Indilâ, bounded—
(a) East by the village of Deilavâdana,
(b) South by the village of Kâlharî,§
(c) West by the village of Seshadevati,
(d) North by the village of Ghâriyâvali.

III. Grantee.—The temples of Bhimesvara and Lilesvara, built by queen Lilâ-devî, daughter of Râṇâ Samarasînâ, Chahunâ, at Lillâpura, between the villages of Karîrâ and Mâlakatari, to the drinking-fountain and almshouse (situated in the same place).

IV. Officers.—Writer of the grant: Mahâ-kshapaṭâlîka, i.e. the chief registrar Thakur Vosarîn,|| son of Thukur Kumâra, a Kâyastha.

2. Dûtaka: the minister of peace and war Thakur Südha (?).

No. 4. §
Plate 1.

(1) Sarita Rajârajîlpurâṃ, Samstârajanakśiśamālakârâjanâgirajaparam—Bhaisarvâra] Umaârâbhurâmâya—
(2) Pâradhipâlakârîdevûcholûkakul[âlmal] ——–nânik-samâyamini———Śrîmûlurajâḍapadadunâ-
(3) Jâhirajaparametaparamârâkânumâpativirâlôcâpâgârâjârya laksârâsvârbhâjâmuâlâraujâîwârâ-
(4) Hârâjâhirajaparametaparamârâkânumâpativirâlôcâpâgârâjârvâlîkârvâr ————
Śrî-
(5) Vâlârajâdevapadarâtâmârâjanâgirajaparametaparamârâkânumâpativirâlôcâpâgârâjârvâ-
(6) Sànâudhâra—
(7) Mâhrâjâdevapadarâtâmârâjanâgirajaparametaparamârâkânumâpativirâlôcâpâgârâjârvâ-
(8) Bahârajâmûlurajâdevapadarâtâmârâjanâgirajaparametaparamârâkânumâpativirâlôcâpâgârâjârvâ-
(9) Maha—
(10) Vâlakârâsvârbhâjâmuâlâraujâîwârâjârvâlîkârvâr ————
Śrî-
(11) Pâtrivirâlôcâpâgârâjârvâlîkârvâr ————
(12) Avarâdwâdahâlâshkâshrijâmâjjîvâîkâjâdevapadarâtâmârâjanâgirajârvâ—
(13) Kârakârâ—
(14) Sângâhârâ—
(15) Bârânâgirajaparametaparamârâkânumâpativirâlôcâpâgârâjârvâ—
(16) Śrî-

§ Probably Kârî, on the road from Viramgâm to Pâthâq.
|| Perhaps a mistake for Kesarîn.
† Measurements 14 inches by 15 inches. Characters

Jaina-Devanâgarî. Plates badly damaged by rust, and by attempts to clean them by exposure to heat.
† L. 6, the last three letters are doubtful. L. 11, read Mâshâna. L. 12, read Shâkaṃbîrî.
GRANTS OF THE ANHILVAD CHAULUKYAS.

Plate II.

(1) नपर्वण स्नाव सुचिभूमि चराचरणुः संगमर्यः भजनीपति प्रभायः संसारातराः बीच निमित्ति -

(2) नललवतरदान्तर्प्राणिनितिराहुलिंग एविकारियुक्त च फलमंगीकृत विषारामःः नाम गुणयोगः -

(3) ये पूर्वपुरुषाणां स्मरणिकताः संपादिक संपादिकायामः पुँज पलमानदिक वाचनजातवर्ती स्वामिः भूतापकः बैबः -

(4) देवतियामथापति कोंडियापाटकमुखीहंडः १ उपमेयत गृहंसे देवदायबृहदायसकारिणां असमायेव भूतः -

(5) मी तोरूः राणकुआला उः नुपातकेन स्वामाभूतालुक्खन्तेविनामकः कारितालुक्खन्ते मी[भाने] जेबरदशः -

(6) केत्रितल्खन्ते शरदेयामायां शासनोदक पूर्वप्रसामाः प्रदर्शः II संपादिकायामस्थाए यथा || पूर्वाः महाबली -

(7) श्रेष्ठदेवमूर्ति सीमा || दक्षिणात्यां कीचदीयामहानसुल्कुरुयामयामः सीमायां सीमा || पवित्रामयाः

(8) यामयां सीमायां सीमा || उत्तराः राणेयायामायामचिलमायां आपीवादायामायां महाश्रीवेश -

(9) सीमा || तथा कोंडियापाटकभूपिक्षहिंदायामः || पूर्वाः इतिनामाकालायामहिंदायामः

* L. 16, read भीममुद्रे. L. 17, दीर्घः. L. 18, कोरः. L. 19, read बिन्दः. L. 20, read जसभः.
† L. 1, श्रीश्वर indistinct. L. 2, read माकेश्र. L. 8, indistinct. L. 9, read विन्दः. L. 10, read दक्षिणात्यां. L. 11, read श्रीश्वर indistinct.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY. [July, 1877.


(20) Yajnavalkya. 1. Kusumangal. 2. Vasi. 3. Phalchitam. 4. Sakti*

(21) Sakti.

No. 4.—Abstract.

I. Preamble.—(a) Validity

1. Mūlarāja I., the unique sun, causing to blossom the lotus-field of the Chaulukya race.

2. Chāmunḍarāja.

3. Vallabharāja.


5. Bhimadeva I.


7. Jayasimhadeva, conqueror of Tribhuvanaganda (and) Varrrasa (ka), the lord of Avantī, the wheel-king of the Siddhas, (called also) Ekāṅgavāra.

8. Kumārāparāja, conqueror in battle of the king of Sākambhāri.


10. Mūlarāja II., conqueror in battle of the king of the Garjjanakas.

11. Bhima, an incarnation of Nārāyana. After him in (his) place,


(b) Jayantasimha addresses the officials of Vardhipathaka and Agambhūtā Patthaka, on Tuesday, the third day of the bright half of Pausha, S. 1280 Vikrama, the day of the winter solstice, and announces the following grant:

II. Objects granted.—(1) The village of Sāmpavāḍā in Varphi Patthaka, bounded—

† L. 11, first sign of uninterpretable. — perhaps for Dr. Read ठिल्लिनिवृत्तः. L. 12, read तुकः; भोगः शः; कालः. L. 13, read गताः; दैवः; बिविष्यन्तः. L. 14, भाषालन्तः. Delete last letter of line. L. 15, delete first letter of line. Read शक्ति; सहस्त्राणि. L. 16, read भिन्नतः; अभिक्रिया. L. 21, read धीर्यः.§ This epithet seems to have got into the wrong line.
July, 1877,]  GRANTS OF THE ANHILVAD CHATLUKYAS.  199

(a) East by the land of Seshadevata,
(b) South by the villages of Phimchaḍi||
and Hāmsalapura,
(c) West by
(d) North by the villages of Rāneloya,
Khāmbhila,¶ Ādhiwāḍā, and the land of
Bhatārakaśī Śrī Seshadevata.

(2) A piece of land in Seshadevati, in the
Gambhūṭa or Agambhūṭa Pātika, bounded—

(a) East by the villages of Itīlā Kāl-
harī and Vahichara,*
(b) South by the village of Phimchaḍi,
(c) West by the land of Bhatārakaśī Śrī
Seshadevata,
(d) North by Dōdhiyāpaka.

III. Grantee.—The (temples of) Ānaleś-
vara and Salakhaṇeśvara, built by
Solunkī Rāṇā Ānāo Lūgappasāka for the
spiritual benefit of his mother Salakhaṇa-
devī in Salakhaṇapura.

No. 5.†
Plate I.

(1) L. 4, read Ⅵ 4

Plate II.

II. See below, note 11 to abstract of No. 6, p. 208.
† Probably Kambejl of the Quarter-Master General’s
map, on the borders of the Gaikvāt territory, east of
Manipur, in the Rādhanpur state.
* Probably Kāhīl and Becherjī, on the road from Vīram-
gām to Pāṭhaṇ.
¶ L. 15, read सति.
§ L. 4, read माकठ्ठय.
Abstract.

I. Preamble.—(a) Vamsavali.
(1) Mūlarāja I., the unique sun causing to blossom the lotus-field-like Chauluksya race.
(2) Chāmanḍarāja.
(3) Vallabharāja.
(4) Dūlabharāja.
(5) Bhīmadeva I.
(6) Karṇādeva, Trailokyaamalla.
(7) Jayaśimha deva, conqueror of the lord of Avantiand of Vararaka, wheelking of the Siddhas.
(8) Kumārapāladeva, the ardent devotee of Śiva.
(9) Ajayadeva, who made the Sāpadalaksha king tributary.
(10) Mūlarāja II., who conquered the ruler of the Garjana, a morning sun illumining the earth.
(11) Bhīmadeva II., a new Siddhārāja, the seventh wheel-king.
(b) Bhīmadeva II., who resides in Anahillapāṭaka, addresses the officials and inhabitants of the Chālisa Pathaka, on Thursday, the 15th of the bright half of Śravaṇa, 1288 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:—

II. Object granted.—The village of Natāuli, bounded—

(a) To the east by Omkara.. and Avaya..
(b) To the south by the villages of Avayānija and Chuyāntija.
(c) To the west by the Talapada land of Vadāsara,
(d) To the north by the villages of Omkura and Vadāsara.

III. Grantee.—The temple of Māleśvara (at Māndal), and the ascetics of the monastery attached thereto, for daily worship and maintenance, the Sthānapati Vedagarbha-raśi, (the superior of the Māndal monastery) being the trustee.

IV. Officials.—The writer of the grant: Akshapaṭalika Somasiha, son of (Śati) Kumāra, a Kāyastha. Dūtaka: the minister for peace and war, Thakura Vaḥudeva.

No. 5.

J. Preamble.—

(1) Mūlarāja I., the unique sun causing to blossom the lotus-field-like Chauluksya race.
(2) Chāmanḍarāja.
(3) Vallabharāja.
(4) Dūlabharāja.
(5) Bhīmadeva I.
(6) Karṇādeva, Trailokyaamalla.
(7) Jayaśimha deva, conqueror of the lord of Avantiand of Vararaka, wheelking of the Siddhas.
(8) Kumārapāladeva, the ardent devotee of Śiva.
(9) Ajayadeva, who made the Sāpadalaksha king tributary.
(10) Mūlarāja II., who conquered the ruler of the Garjana, a morning sun illumining the earth.
(11) Bhīmadeva II., a new Siddhārāja, the seventh wheel-king.
(b) Bhīmadeva II., who resides in Anahillapāṭaka, addresses the officials and inhabitants of the Chālisa Pathaka, on Thursday, the 15th of the bright half of Śravaṇa, 1288 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:—

II. Object granted.—The village of Natāuli, bounded—

(a) To the east by Omkara..and Avaya..
(b) To the south by the villages of Avayānija and Chuyāntija.
(c) To the west by the Talapada land of Vadāsara,
(d) To the north by the villages of Omkura and Vadāsara.

III. Grantee.—The temple of Māleśvara (at Māndal), and the ascetics of the monastery attached thereto, for daily worship and maintenance, the Sthānapati Vedagarbha-raśi, (the superior of the Māndal monastery) being the trustee.

IV. Officials.—The writer of the grant: Akshapaṭalika Somasiha, son of (Śati) Kumāra, a Kāyastha. Dūtaka: the minister for peace and war, Thakura Vaḥudeva.
No. 6.
Plate I.

GEANTS OF THE ANHILVAD CHALUKYAS.


† L. 5, dele one word before भारक. L. 15, read भारक.

* L. 16, doubt. Read भारक. L. 17, read सरसुद. L. 24, read श्रीमतोऽयाः.

† L. 5, dele one word before भारक.
Plate II.

1. The Indian Antiquary. [July, 1877.] Plate II.

2. No. 6.—Abstract.

*Abstract.*

1. *Preamble.*—(a) Vanidśāmī agrees with No. 5 of S. 1288. Vikrama, except that the description of Jayasimha is according to No. 3 of 1268.

(b) Bhimadeva II., who resides at

---

"Plate II."
July, 1877.]

GRANTS OF THE ANHILVAD CHAULUKYAS. 205

A gāhillapātaka, addresses the officials and inhabitants of Vardhi Pathaka on Friday, the 8th day of the bright half of Āshāḍha of S. 1287 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:

II. Object granted.—(1) The village of Devā́ (?)§ bounded
(a) East by the village of Ham sandapura,
(b) South by the villages of Phimchāḍi and Hāniyān,
(c) West by the village of Meḍhurā,
(d) North by the villages of Sārayaja and Sāpāvāḍa.
(2) And various taxes in land and money.

III. Grantees.—The temples of Analeśvara and Salakhaṇēśvara, built by the Solfunka Rāṇā Āṇa Ṭha(kura) Lūnapasāka in Salakhaṇapura, to defray the expenses of the temple service, and to feed Brahmans, the trustee being the superior of the monastery of Mulesvaradeva in Māṇḍali.

IV. Officials.—The writer and Dūṭaka are the same as in No. 5.

V. Postscript.—The postscript, which is considerably mutilated, apparently contains some more orders regarding dues to be paid by the Vāṇiās of Salakhaṇapura. I regret that I have no means of ascertaining the meaning of all the technical terms in ancient Gujarati which it contains.

No. 7.
Plate I.

[Plate I.

---

§ The village given is not to be traced on the Quarter-Master General’s map. Ham sandapura is the village of that name in the north-west corner of the Virmegān Tulakā. To the north lies ‘Soomj’, the Suraḍja of the grant. Southwest I find Panchar, which I identify with Phimchāḍi.
Plate II.

I. Preamble.—(a) Vanaharaj. Agrees with No. 5 of 1283 Vikrama, except that the descriptions of Jayasimha and Mularaja II. are literally the same as in No. 3 of 1263 Vikrama.

(b) Bhimadeva II., who resides in Analeswara and Salakhanesvara in Salakhanapura, addresses the officials and inhabitants of Valauya Pathaka on Monday, the Pratipad of the bright half of Bhadrapada of 1288 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:

II. Grantees and Purpose.—The temples of Analesvara and Salakhanesvara in Salakhanapura, (and) the superior of the monastery (there), Vedagarbharasi, as well as his son Someesvara, for the main-

tenance of the Bhattarakas and the almshouse.

III. Object granted.—The village of... and twenty ploughs of land in the village (for Someesvara), the village being bounded—

(a) To the east by the villages of Sampara and Chhatathara (?),

(b) To the south by the village of Gunthavada,

(c) To the west by the village of Rannahavada,

(d) To the north by the villages of Undirand Anganavada.

IV. Officials.—The writer, Mahaskhapatalika Thakura Somasinha, of Thakura Satakumara, a Kayastha.

Dutaka: the minister for peace and war, Thakura Vahudeva.

† L. 1, v. 20; v. 4?; v. 16 doubtful. L. 6, changed doubtful. L. 11, read sarvabhut.; v. 6. L. 12, read 
nakal bandir. L. 17, read bhakasvadana.
Plate II.

1. BHUMIHALAYAN SANGATADHITAKA 1 ASMEE ------ SIOUD 4 RAPA ||

2. SAHUJUWARAN BIREN CHUTI DHARIPALI KARITKHEEMOTHERET DITIY DOOUMUMLA ||

3. DUDERAO [var] NAVEBAPARTHAPANCHADH JHARAPADAGARE PATHEPATIBHARNAKURUHEEMOTHERUGARE ||

4. RASH [var] BHARATBEDPURINGMASMAPI : PRATAN || PURABHARAPADAGA YAYA || POOJNASI NALODDEMA |

5. AIRIOYAPPAI SIFMA || DUKHAPARAPOOHUMAHAPPAI SIFMA || PAAMBAGAN KALAYANAPA ||

6. MUDHAARAPADAGARE SIFMA || UNANSIA VINTHIYAPAMKULUMAIRYAM || SIFMA ||
No. 8.—Abstract.

1. Preamble.—(a) Vaahsdvaita agrees with No. 7 of 1288, except that Mālātāja II. is described as (resembling) the morning sun by illuminating the world, that had been overshadowed by the darkness of the Miēchhas.

(b) Bhīmadeva II. addresses the officials and inhabitants of Vārdhipatka on Thursday, the 14th day of the bright half of Mārga of 1295 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:

II. Object granted.—(1) ... pura, erected on the site of the village of Bhōjuya.

(2) A palladikā in the village of Ghūsādi near Gohānasara.

(3) A garden measuring two ploughs in the north-eastern part of ... sāṇa.

... pura, being bounded—
(a) East by the village of Nilachhi,
(b) South by the village of Ghūsādi,
(c) West by the village of Maduchhānā.

(d) North by the villages Trihati and Kushaloda.

Boundaries of the palladikā:
(a) East the palladikā of Drāvaratīsatka,
(b) South by the king's highroad,
(c) West by a little tank and the king's field,
(d) North by the road to Bhōjuya.

III. Grantee.—The temples of Vīramesvāra, built by Rāṇā Vīrama, son of Rāṇā Lūnapāsā, in Ghūsādi, and of Sūmalāsvāra, for the purpose of defraying the expenditure of the worship, the trustee being the superior of the monastery, Rājakula Veda-garbharāśī.

IV. Officials.—Writer, as above in No. 7 of 1288 Vikrama.

Dātaka: the minister for peace and war, Thākura Vayajaladeva.

N.B.—The first plate is signed in line 26 by Sūmaladevi, one of Bhīmadeva’s queens.

No. 9†

Plate I.

† Dimensions 13 inches by 15 inches. Characters Jaina-Devaṅgarā.
Plate II.

(1) यहाँ दशाप्रथम स्थविंद्रसमस्ति नवनिधाशित: पूर्वप्रदेशवदवाहायहेः।

(2) घूमरिवाची सोलूंगः श्रीलून्पुस्तोभोद्वार भारतभूमिः।

(3) सुमन्तरंदेयाक्षियुक्तवायंसंघांमात्रायं ज्ञाताश्रयते स्ताः।

(4) नौदोकद्रवुपुर्वकास्मिनः प्रश्नः यामाप्रायहः यामायः।

(5) यामायः सीमाया सीमा। देशस्यं लगूः उभायांमीमां सीमा। चिन्तामणि मंडलः सीमा।

(6) उदारस्यं सहजस्तुदाल्प्रयायः सीमाया सीमा। एकमभिकृतविः।

(7) पक्कोन्यं मायामेहनिन्यं तिष्ठति सुविभाष्यं । सामायं संगतः पुरुषः मनोरेण रसक्रिया।

(8) श्रवणविवेशः भूमिभूपणेती तपोद्वाय सुपुणिशवः । सामायं चैतन्य पुष्पमणलाभाय।

(9) च भगवता व्यस्तं । विष्ण्वविशारदं क्षणं विविधः। उपदेशः च तान्यः।

(10) नेर्व नर्से सती । इति न सतिदातायां जीवनं वृहस्तृतः च्वः संसारस्तोऽयः।

(11) यः।। ॥ महाराजाः पुरुषदेवायः।

(12) लोकोऽगुणानिवृत्तिः ज्ञाताभावास्तक्राणि। मित्रायत्वप्रतिमां।

(13) न निवृत्तिः कृत्यं नाम नामायाः पुरुषदेवायः।

(14) लोकोऽगुणानिवृत्तिः ज्ञाताभावास्तक्राणि। मित्रायत्वप्रतिमां।

(15) न निवृत्तिः कृत्यं नाम नामायाः पुरुषदेवायः।
Abstract.

I. Preamble. — (a) Ajasvanita agrees with the preceding No. 8 of S. 1295 V., except that the 9th king Ajayapala receives the additional epithet mahāmāheśvara, or 'the ardent devotee of Śiva.'

(b) Bhimadeva II., who resides in Anahillapataka, addresses the officials and inhabitants of the Varadhipathaka on Sunday, the 14th of the dark half of 1296 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:

II. Object granted. — The village of Rajasayan, bounded—

(a) Past by the villages of Thethavasa and Rivada,

(b) South by Little Ubbadā, and

(c) East by the villages of Sahajavasa and Dālauḍā.

III. Grantees. — The temple of Viramēśvara and Sūmalēśvara, built by Rānā Viramā, son of the Solunki Rāṇā Laṇapaśā in Ghūsaqi to defray the expense of the worship, the trustee being the superior of the monastery, Rājakula Vekara bharāśi.

IV. Officials. — The writer is the same as in Nos. 7 and 8.

Dūtaka: the same as in No. 8.

N.B. — The first plate is signed Mahārājīśrī samaladavāsahā, 'and (a grant) of queen Sūmala devī.'

Plate I.

1. The village is called Rakhiṇā, tāluk Virmagam, on the Revenue Survey map, where Thēthavasa appears as Dhešāna, Rivadā as Rūḍhā, Laghu Ubbadā as Ubbadā.
(16) July, 1877.

GRANTS OF THE ANHILVAD CHAULUKYAS.

190

Plate II.

(1) July, 1877.

GRANTS OF THE ANHILVAD CHAULUKYAS.

209
No. 10.—Abstract.

I. Preamble.—(a) Vamśadvalī agrees for the first eleven kings, from Mūlarāja I. to Bhimadeva II., with the preceding grant No. 9, of S. 1296 Vikrama; the additional king is Tribhuvanapāladeva.

(b) Tribhuvanapāla, who resides at Aṇahillapātaka, addresses the officials and inhabitants of the Vishaṇa and Dānḍāḥī Pathakas on Monday, the sixth day of the bright half of Chaitra of 1299 Vikrama, and announces the following grant, which he had vowed on the new moon of Phalguna (of the same year), on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun.

II. Objects granted.—1. The village of Bhamśara,† bounded—

(a) East by the villages of Kūrajī and Dāsayaja,

(b) South by the villages of Kūrajī and Tribha,

(c) West by the villages of Arathaurā and Unjharā,

(d) North by the villages of Unjharā, Dāsayaja and Kāmbalā.

(2) The village of Rājapurī, bounded—

(a) East by Ulāva(sāṇa) and Dāngraṇā,

(b) South-east by the villages of Chāndāvāsana and Inḍravāḍā,

(c) South by the village of Āhitrāṇa,

(d) West by the villages of Sirasāvī and Nandāvāsana,

(e) North-west by the villages of Unṭaūyā and Sirasāvī,

(f) North by the village of Nandāvāsana,

(g) North-east by the village of Kulaṇya.

III. Purpose of Grant.—To feed the religious mendicants (kūrpatiṣṭha) at the almshouse built by Rāṇa Luṇapāsā in the Talapada of Māula, for the spiritual benefit of his mother, queen Salakhaṇadevi.

IV. Officials.—The writer and dātaka are the same as in No. 9, Bhimadeva’s grant of 1296.

V. Postscript.—A postscript states that this sādana has been made over to Śtānāpati, the illustrious Veda garbhārāṣi (the superior of the Śaiva monastery at Maṇḍalī), and that he and his successors have been made trustees. A further postscript adds the proviso that the possessors of the two villages are responsible for robberies committed within their boundaries.

---

† The Quarter-Master General’s map gives of all the villages mentioned only Unjharā, south of Siḍhpur and Uttobar, which appears to be Arathaurā.
Plate II.

(1) आज्ञेयार्य तथा पतितपृथिविभरमेथानामाधार्यां वैधानिकवर्ण सामस्मृत पदके संतिष्ठानम्
(2) भेष्टेणिनामाधार्य कस्य तथा मंडल्यां भूमिहल ५ तथा हात १२ तथा रिणाज्ञानामेवयेवपूर्वः
(3) निमित्तहल ५ तथा दुभार्णमिकाकिर्तिशास्त्रा १ तथा श्रीपुरुस्वामितिक १ तथा आदार्यां बुधोऽजेनितिकाः
(4) यां दिनं प्रति १ २ त्रीमकः करदपलिकाः १ ऐतथा समस्तसमुदायरूपम् कला धीरूस्मृतिर्देवीयं
(5) हायुनिद्राराजकुलाबिश्वानितिकाः निर्माणांश शास्त्र समपित भेष्टेणिनामसाधारण यथा।
(6) खी चूर्णितामद्वातिसारामर्दनिग्रामवर्जन सीमां तीमा। दक्षगण्यां दिशिः पौड़ीवामनानाः
(7) यों सीमां सीमा। पाक्षिक्यां दिशिः दुधुप्तामातीसीमाः सीमा। उत्तरस्त्रां दिशिः नायकायाः
(8) एवमात्रमानाराजांगविविधकार्यकरायेत अस्मातामलकल निर्धारणसहित सहिरणामागमेनादा
(9) नीरसित सदेवदारायारायः सकारात्मकोऽन्ते सर्वायामसमतः देवायामदारायः
(10) यामोऽया तथा मंडल्यां भूमिः तथा वाटके तथा हटानि आदार्याः पलार्कार्मृताः एवस्ये
(11) तु राजकुलाबिश्वानितिकास्तिल्यामध्यसकलप्रपर्य सिन्धानीयं अवस्तदक्षमिति परिश्राय
(12) वर्णसामान्य वैद्यु अन्यत्तम मत्ता अस्मातामल्यां अन्याय पार्वमोऽभूमिपुरुषमत्तव्य पालनीाः च।

यथा दासवेणुः

१२ L. 12, read double.; L. 18, read सदीक्षणाः; नीरसित.
* L. 1, read नैवेद्याः; श्रृंगित or perhaps शृंगित; युक्ताः;
१२ L. 2, perhaps भौमेषे; L. 4, read दृष्टिकोष, i.e. एक दाम. L. 5, read विश्वासवर्ग; एम.-
१२ L. 6, read चारणां; दक्षिणां.; L. 8, read पार्यंता; कुर्तेः; सहित; L. 9, read सहित.; कर्तेः; समेत.; L. 10, read चारणाः. L. 11, read परिश्राय.
No. 11.—Abstract.

I. Preamble.—In the 1817th year of the Vikrama era, on the 4th day of the dark half of the month of Jyeshtha, on a Thursday, while the supreme ruler, supreme lord, the illustrious Visaladeva, the great king of kings,—who is made illustrious by the whole line of kings (his ancestors),—who obtained grace in consequence of a boon given by the husband of Urna,—who is endowed with exceeding valour, who is (as it were) a sun (able) to open the buds of the lotus-field of the Chaukya,—who is a volcanic fire to dry up the ocean of the army of Simgana,—who crushed the lord of Malava, who resembled a hatchet on account of his cutting the roots of the creeper-like turbulent government of the Medapataka country,—who resembled Purushottama since he was chosen as husband by his obedient prime minister, the illustrious Nagada, held all the great offices, viz. that of secretary and the rest, the great provincial chief Rana Sambasimha, who rules in Mandali, situated in Vardhipathaka, the favoured district of the above-mentioned supreme lord, gives the following grant:

II. Grantees and Purpose.—For the spiritual welfare of the donor's grandfather, Rana Lunapasa, to feed in Asappalli, at a formerly instituted sattra, eight new Brahmans, and to keep the drinking-fountain there filled (Pl. I. 14).

2. For the spiritual welfare of the donor's father, Rana Samgramasimha, to provide a complete dinner of royal food and drink, with condiments, betel, &c., at Mandali to eight new Brahmans; for sixteen Brahmans of Brahmapura, at the Rachadadhana Sradha, during the dark half of the month when the sun stands in the constellation of Virgo, and also to provide for the same Brahmans on every new moon alms and dakshind; and also alms for those Brahmans of the Kapilavat, who have sat down to recite the whole Veda, and to keep the drinking-fountain filled (Pl. I. 15-18).

3. To provide daily food-offerings and the expenses of the service in the temples of Balalanarayana and Rupanarayana, and to repair dilapidated temples. (Pl. I. 19, Pl. II. 1.)

III. Objects granted.—(a) In the village of Medunaka six ploughs of land, twelve shops in Mandali, and 6 ploughs of land in the village of Rinasivasana.

(b) A garden in Lunadvasana.

(c) A garden in Rupapura.

(d) A palladikd with a daily tax of one dam.*

All this was made over for management to the superior of Srismulesvara's monastery (at Mandal), the great lord of ascetics, Rajakula Visvamitra. (Pl. II. 2-5.)

* Fed before and were not to be fed again, a new batch taking their place.

† P. 14, read ल द व ा ण . L. 15, read न ग द .

‡ The coast of the Bharg districts.

I am unable to explain the word palladikd. The text has न , but I think, can only stand for न द व , 'one dam.'
Boundaries:—
(1) Of Mehunä—
(a) East the villages of Chunari, Suhasaða, and Ranṭi,
(b) South the villages of Shändika and Náloða,
(c) West the village of Dādhuṅkhā,
(d) North the village of Nāyakā.

IV. Officers.—Dūtāka: the minister of peace and war (of the Rāṇa) Thakur Śridhara; the writer of the grant is Mahâkshapataalika Mahān Govinda.

PEDIGREE OF THE CHAULUKYAS OF ĀNHILVĀD.

A.—Main line.

I. Mālāraja I., son of king Rāji
S. 998—1063 or 941-42—995-97 A.D. [S. 1043]

II. Chāmunda-raja, S. 1053—1066; A.D. 997-98—1009-10

III. Vallabhāraja, IV. Durabharāja Nāgadeva
S. 1066, a.d. 1066—1078 A.D. 1010—1021-22

V. Bhimadeva I. [S. 1086 and (10)93]
S. 1078—1120
A.D. 1021-22—1063-64

VI. Karna I.
S. 1120—1150
A.D. 1063-64—1093-94

VII. Jayasimha, Siddharaja Prabhuvanapala
S. 1150—1199
A.D. 1021-22—1063-64

VIII. Kumārapala Mahipala
S. 1190—1230 [S. 1207, 1215]
A.D. 1143-44—1173-74

IX. Ajayapala
S. 1230—1233
A.D. 1173-74—1176-77

X. Mularaja II.
S. 1233—1235 XI. Bhimadeva II.
A.D. 1176-77—1178 S. 1235—1238
A.D. 1178—1241-2
[S. 1263, 65, 66, 83, 87, 88, 93, 96]

XII. Tribhuvanapala
[S. 1299]
S. 1298—1300
A.D. 1241-42—1243-44

B.—Vyaghrapallī or Vāgholā branch.

Dhavala, married to Kumārapala's
mother's sister

Arboraja

Lavanprasada, chief of Dholkā

Viradhavala, Rāṇa of Dholkā
Independent since S. 1276—1295 (?)
A.D. 1219-20—1235-39 (f)

XIII. Visaladeva [S. 1317]
Rāṇā from 1288-39
S. 1300—1318 king of Anhilvād
A.D. 1243-44—1261-62

XIV. Arjunadeva
S. 1318—1331 [S. 1318, 1328]
A.D. 1261-62—1274-75

XV. Sārangadeva
S. 1331—1333 [S. 1330]
A.D. 1274-75—1296

XVI. Karnadeva II.
S. 1333—1369
A.D. 1296—1304.
Note.—The dates have been taken for the reigns of the kings of the main line from the Prabandha-chintamani, and agree with those of Mr. Forbes, given in the Esraj Malla, except in the cases of Bhima Deva I., Karnadeva I., and Bhima Deva II. They agree with those of the Vichidranandi for the reigns of Durlabharaja and of his successors, not for the earlier ones, which have been thrown into utter confusion by a transposition of Chamundaraja’s name among the Chapotkatas. The origin of this error probably was a clerical mistake by which the correctors then entered Chamunda in the wrong place, and altered the dates so as to agree. The Government copy of the Vichidranandi says, fol. 6b, l. 12, to fol. 7a, l. 7.—tad anusasana. 821 varsha vatsaka; dusthika; somachandragiri-vratyasrota suta; sandhyapayat tatra cha. 60 varshahoti rajyam abhukta; tatpustana yogardjena nasa varsha 9 rajyam krut(a)m; tatah sanyaat 991 (!) varshopavishta-sutadindityena varsha 3 rajyam krit(a)m; tato vairavishayasya rājyam varsha 11 tatah sanya. 903 upa ratasat keshamardasaya rajyam cha. 13 944 varshopavishta suta; chāṃnadārāva 28 tatah sanya. 991 || varshopa suta; ghatadāsya rājyam cha || 28 || 998 varshopaiva sutapardhyaya cha || 9 titthava evam 1018 titthah chāsadravāksh-tadhvaha 196 varsha; rājyam krut(a)m; tad anu sanya. 1018 varsha chanulakṣepavākṣpavākṣyasay dadvikshā śṛṅgārādāśyam 35 tatah || sanya. 1052 varshopavishtasya suta; vallabhadarājyadhyaya v. 14 tatah sanya. 1066 varsha; bārdvāi; durlabhadrājyam varsha 12a, etc. The Vichidranandi gives the following exact dates for (1) Jayasimha, death S. 1199. Kārttika sudi 3; (2) Kumarapāla, abhisheka Mrgasira sudi 4; S. 1199, death Pauṣa sudi 12, S. 1229; (3) Ajyapāla, death Phālgaṇa sudi 12, S. 1232; (4) Māla-raja II, death Chaitra sudi 4, S. 1234.—The dates for the kings of the Vahelā branch have been taken from the Vichidranandi. The connection of their first ancestor, Dha v a l a, with the main line is not clear. But he also must have been a Chauk k y a, as his descendants always bear this family name in the inscriptions.

MISCELLANEA.

BARISAL GUNS, &c.

In a manual of The District of Bākarganj by Mr. Beveridge, the country round the mouth of the Ganges, and its peculiarities, are described. In one passage he refers to a phenomenon in one of the islands out in the Bay of Bengal.

"I questioned Khela Mag about the curious phenomenon known by the name of the Barisal guns. He said that he heard them often in the beginning of the rains. He described the sound as being exactly like that of the discharge of a cannon, and said it appeared to have no connection with the tide, and that the noise was quite different from that of the ‘Bore,’ or of the coming in of the breakers. The noises appeared to come from the north, south, and south-west. The statement that they sometimes come from the north is important, for hitherto we have supposed that no one ever got to the south of them. It is because that they are always heard from the south that the natives poetically represent them as caused by the shutting and opening of Bāvana’s gate in Ceylon." Mr. Beveridge adds (p. 168), "The conclusion, therefore, which I come to, is that the sounds are atmospheric, and in some way connected with electricity."

At p. 164 of vol. V. of the Indian Antiquary, Mr. Horns, in his account of Himalayan villages, mentions the extraordinary and imposing sounds heard in the early morning amongst the mighty peaks,—not ascribable, he thinks, to avalanches, and which the natives cannot account for.

The town of Koimbattur, in Madras, is backed on the west by a semicircle of lofty mountains, cleft in the centre of the arc by a lower pass, down the high slope above which, on the south, a white streak of water is seen descending. This is the source of the Sirivāni, an affluent of the Bhavāni river, which skirts and drains the southern watershed of the Nilgiris. The Sirivāni waterfall issues from a remarkable pool or rock-basin, quite 4000 feet high on the mountain side, and can hardly be persuaded to come in of the breakers. The noises appeared to come from the north, south, and south-west. The statement that they sometimes come from the north is important, for hitherto we have supposed that no one ever got to the south of them. It is because that they are always heard from the south that the natives poetically represent them as caused by the shutting and opening of Bāvana’s gate in Ceylon." Mr. Beveridge adds (p. 168), "The conclusion, therefore, which I come to, is that the sounds are atmospheric, and in some way connected with electricity."

At p. 164 of vol. V. of the Indian Antiquary, Mr. Horns, in his account of Himalayan villages, mentions the extraordinary and imposing sounds heard in the early morning amongst the mighty peaks,—not ascribable, he thinks, to avalanches, and which the natives cannot account for.

The town of Koimbattur, in Madras, is backed on the west by a semicircle of lofty mountains, cleft in the centre of the arc by a lower pass, down the high slope above which, on the south, a white streak of water is seen descending. This is the source of the Sirivāni, an affluent of the Bhavāni river, which skirts and drains the southern watershed of the Nilgiris. The Sirivāni waterfall issues from a remarkable pool or rock-basin, quite 4000 feet high on the mountain side, and can hardly be persuaded to come in of the breakers. The noises appeared to come from the north, south, and south-west. The statement that they sometimes come from the north is important, for hitherto we have supposed that no one ever got to the south of them. It is because that they are always heard from the south that the natives poetically represent them as caused by the shutting and opening of Bāvana’s gate in Ceylon." Mr. Beveridge adds (p. 168), "The conclusion, therefore, which I come to, is that the sounds are atmospheric, and in some way connected with electricity."

The town of Koimbattur, in Madras, is backed on the west by a semicircle of lofty mountains, cleft in the centre of the arc by a lower pass, down the high slope above which, on the south, a white streak of water is seen descending. This is the source of the Sirivāni, an affluent of the Bhavāni river, which skirts and drains the southern watershed of the Nilgiris. The Sirivāni waterfall issues from a remarkable pool or rock-basin, quite 4000 feet high on the mountain side, and can hardly be persuaded to come in of the breakers. The noises appeared to come from the north, south, and south-west. The statement that they sometimes come from the north is important, for hitherto we have supposed that no one ever got to the south of them. It is because that they are always heard from the south that the natives poetically represent them as caused by the shutting and opening of Bāvana’s gate in Ceylon." Mr. Beveridge adds (p. 168), "The conclusion, therefore, which I come to, is that the sounds are atmospheric, and in some way connected with electricity."

Whether Mr. Beveridge’s suggestion of atmospheric causes and electricity will account for these mighty and mysterious voices from ocean, mountains, and forest is a question for natural philosophers to determine.  

M. J. W.
ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(Continued from page 42.)

XV.—Gold treasure-trove in Madras.

In vol. II. of Col. Yule's edition of the Travels of Marco Polo, pp. 305-311, there is an account of the once famous port of Kail, in Tinnivelly, near the extreme southern cape of the Peninsula. In Marco Polo's time it belonged to Aslar, the eldest of five brother-kings who ruled the regions of the south. "At this city," says Marco, "touch all ships that come from the west—from Hormos, Aden, and Arabia." Its site is ascertained to have been on the Tamraparni river, at a spot now one and a half miles from its mouth,—of old probably nearer the sea, on a backwater, whence its name (kāyāl in Tamil = a backwater); and ruins of old fortifications, temples, wells, tanks, everywhere for three or four miles along the coast, attest its ancient wealth and importance, while the whole plain for a mile and a half inland is covered with mounds, tiles, and broken pottery, amongst which pieces of chincware are not uncommon. Diggings in those mounds would probably discover much of antiquarian interest. Except the above-mentioned vestiges, the great and populous city has disappeared from the face of the earth, its name surviving only in tradition, and its site till of late uncertain. Tutacorin, a few miles farther up, is now the rising and frequented port.

Between two and three years ago a remarkable discovery of gold coin was made in the tract once occupied by the ancient port. Some coolies, whilst digging a water-channel at some distance inland, dug up a large globular metal vessel, the lips of the mouth of which had been turned down and beaten together so as to close the opening completely. The vessel contained gold coins to the amount, it is believed, of some thousands,—principally, it would seem, Muhammadan; but the treasure was instantly divided amongst the finders, and almost the whole of it, melted down! The energetic Collector of the province, Mr. R. K. Puckle, from whom I received the account, as soon as the news of the find oozed out and reached him, used all means of encouragement and persuasion to induce the people to bring him any of the coins, offering a reward for them beside their intrinsic value as gold; but this only increased the fear of the ignorant finders, and of the whole great treasure only about thirty pieces were rescued, in a manner showing how insuperable popular suspicions are in such an affair. On approaching a village where it was thought there might be some of the coins, a little girl was seen running away from it carrying a small earthen chāṭṭi, and happening to fall in her haste the chāṭṭi broke and thirty coins rolled out, which appear to have been all that escaped the melting-pot. It would be unsafe to estimate from this scanty remnant the general character of the whole great hoard, which there is reason to believe did amount to thousands, all gold, but the few that escaped were of Muhammadan coinage, except one piece of Johanna of Naples (A.D. 1343-82); from this it may be concluded that Spanish, Portuguese, and Venetian broad pieces, such as were wont to be used in the old traffic with the East, were not wanting in the hoard. Could but the circumstances be told in which this remarkable golden treasure was amassed, concealed, and lost, what a strange story might be revealed!

Of other golden finds in Madras territories, a large quantity of Roman gold coins was found in 1787 near Nellur, under the remains of a small Hindu temple; there were many coins of Trajan, and several as fresh and beautiful as if just from the mint. (See As. Res. vol. II. p. 332.) Five pieces of the Emperors were dug up at Karur, in Koimbatur, in 1806; and in the same district I have twice known small chāṭṭis containing several hundreds of the minute spangle-like Hindu coins, popularly called 'Shānār cash,' with which all Southern India seems sown (see Ind. Ant. vol. III. p. 191), to have been turned up in ploughing. I remember, too, when the right of excavating and searching for coin in the extensive old mud fort at Dharapuram, in Koimbatur, was rented out and farmed—an item in the district accounts—gold coins were said to be found there frequently. A potful of Roman aurei is also reported to have been found near Solapur in 1840: only a few were preserved. In Asia, as in Europe, the amount of treasure-trove preserved has ever been lamentably small, in proportion to the amount discovered.
The hoard in Tinnivelli was discovered in December 1872; its probable value is estimated at a lakh of rupees. The labourers divided the spoil, but the Tahsildar succeeded in recovering Rs. 8,000 worth of coin and ingots; the rest was quickly melted down, and all traces of it lost. Of the coins 31 were obtained for Government, and are now in the Madras Museum. The inscriptions on the whole of the coins are in Arabic or Kufic, with one exception,—a coin of Peter of Aragon, (not Johanna of Castile), the legend on which is in Latin in old Gothic characters, and reads thus:—

"Summa potestas est in Deo.
P. Dei gra. Aragon, sigil. re."

In the field an eagle.

The P. referred to is Pedro III., king of Aragon, who began to reign A.D. 1276. He concluded a treaty with a Sultan of the Mamluk Bahrite dynasty, and hence probably the coin found its way to Egypt, and so to India.

The coins bearing Arabic characters belong to four dynasties,—the Khalifs, Atabegs, Ayubite, and Mamluk Bahrite. The coins in Kufic characters have not been deciphered.

The greatest gold-find recorded in Madras happened in 1851, when a vast treasure was discovered on a hill near Kottayam, ten miles east of Kannanur: the native discoverers for a long time maintained the strictest secrecy; the purity of the gold attracted the jewellers and wealthy men, and nearly all were melted down for ornaments. No less than five cooly-loads of gold coins are said to have been taken from this spot. Eighty or ninety coins came into the possession of the Raja of Travancore, and a larger number was obtained by General Cullen, the Resident. Not one reached the Madras Museum. The coins were of the following reigns:—Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Caligula, Drusus.*

MATHURÁ INSCRIPTIONS.

BY F. S. GROWSE, M.A., B.C.S.

The Pāli inscriptions, of which rubbings and transcripts are herewith sent, have been collected within the last few years from different spots in and about the city of Mathurā. The stones upon which they are engraved are as yet in my own possession, but will eventually be transferred to a local museum, which is now in course of erection. The building was commenced more than twenty years ago by Mr. Mark Thornhill, the then Collector of the district, who intended it as a rest-house for natives of rank on their occasional visits to the station. After some Rs. 50,000, raised by local subscription, had been expended, the work was interrupted by the Mutiny, and never resumed till 1874, when Sir John Strachey, the most liberal supporter of art and science that the North-West has ever had at its head, warmly encouraged the idea of its conversion into a museum, and subsequently sanctioned a grant-in-aid of Rs. 3,500 from provincial funds. The central court was last year raised by the addition of an attic, and covered with a stone vault. In this (so far as constructional peculiarities are concerned) I have reproduced the roof of the now ruined temple of Harideva at Govardhan, an interesting specimen of the eclectic style that prevailed in the reign of the emperor Akbar, and which so recently as 1872 was in almost perfect preservation. The cost of these additions was Rs. 5,366. A portico is now being added at an estimated outlay of Rs. 8,494; and when the openings that were broken through the walls by Mr. Thornhill's whimsical successor, with the express object of disfiguring his predecessor's design, have been closed in with tracery, the whole will present a most beautiful and elaborate specimen of the architecture of Mathurā in the nineteenth century.†

Though the cost of the building has been so considerable, it is only of small dimensions, the whole surface of the stone being covered with geometric and flowered patterns of the most artistic character. It is therefore intended to thing that was built about this period. I wish, therefore, to place on record that I am not responsible for the design of the portico. It is in itself very beautiful work, but it is quite out of place in the open air, on the side of a dusty road.

* From Catalogue of Coins in the Government Museum, Madras.
† I have been able to carry out so many architectural works since I have been at Mathurā that probably in after years native tradition will associate with my name every-
make it not a general, but simply an architectural and antiquarian museum, and I hope to be able to arrange in it, in chronological series, specimens of all the different styles that have prevailed in the neighbourhood, from the reign of the Indo-Skythian Kanishka, in the century immediately before Christ, down to the present day, which (as before said) will be illustrated in perfection by the building itself.

It cannot be denied that it was high time for some such institution to be established: for in an ancient city like Mathura interesting relics of the past, even when no definite search is being made for them, are constantly cropping up; and, unless there is some easily accessible place to which they can be consigned for custody, they run an imminent risk of being no sooner found than destroyed. Inscriptions in particular, despite their exceptional value in the eyes of the antiquary, are more likely to perish than anything else, since they have no beauty to recommend them to the ordinary observer. Thus a pillar, the whole surface of which is said to have been covered with writing, was found in 1860, in making a road on the site of the old city wall. There was no one on the spot at the time who could read it, and the thrifty engineer, thinking such a fine large block of stone ought not to be wasted, had it neatly squared and made into a buttress for a bridge. A base of a pillar, No. 3 in the present series, was dug up about the same time, and, after being plastered and whitewashed was imbedded by the Collector in a gatepost he was then building in front of the Tahsili. There I re-discovered it only two years ago, when the gateway was pulled down to improve the approach to the museum. Similarly No. 11 had been set up by a subordinate in the Public Works Department to protect a culvert on the high-road through cantonments. I have therefore thought it better to provide at once for some such institution to be established: for in 1860, when the foundations of the new building were being laid, a number of large statues, bases of pillars, rails, and other sculptures were unearthed. The greater part were sent to the Agra museum, and the others dispersed in various quarters. The little stone of which I am now writing had probably been thrown aside as of no value. It reads thus:—

\[... shriyas råjya saimatsare 25, Hemant 3 (or 4) di ...\]

which might be translated "On the ... day of the third (or fourth) winter month in the 28th year of the reign of."

The king commemorated was probably Kanishka; for the end of the tail of the n is just visible, and other inscriptions of his were found on the same spot. If, however, for råjya be read råjya, it would be necessary to translate "in the 28th year [of some unspecified era] in the reign of." And this is perhaps preferable, for although a reign may well have lasted twenty-eight years,—the number here given,—in other parallel inscriptions the figures run too high to be so interpreted.

No. 2 is from the base of a large seated figure of Buddha, in red sandstone, of which only the crossed legs remain. This I dug up in one of what are called the Chaubara mounds, near the Sonkh road, at the junction of the boundaries of the township of Mathura and the villages of Bakirpur and Girdharpur. Both these settlements are of comparatively recent date, and the site seems to have been the very centre of the old Buddhist city. The left hand of the figure had rested on the left thigh, the right being probably raised in an attitude of admonition. Another mutilated figure of similar character, but without inscription, was found on the same spot, and I mention the fact since these are the only specimens I have, with the hands in this position; in all the others they are crossed over the feet. The inscription begins Mahådråjya Dava-putrasya Huvishka-sa, 33 gri. 1 di. S bhikshu-sa ... ha-sa ... takasa ... Budhasa.

The remainder is more or less uncertain. General Cunningham took the word ending in takasa to be Tripitakasa. If really so, the inscription would be specially valuable as probably fixing the site of the stūpas of the Abhi- dharmo, the Sātra, and the Vīnaya (collectively...
called Tripitaka), which are mentioned by both the Chinese pilgrims as being at Mathura.

No. 3 is from the base of a pillar found at the same place as No. 1. It is cut in bold clear letters which are for the most part decipherable, as follows:—

_Ayam kumbhaka jānam bhikṣhunam Sūriyasya Buddha-rakṣitaḥ saha prahiti-dānanam. Anantya? (?) dayam dharma ya ... nam._

_Sarvasa prahitānām arya dakhitaye bhavatu._

The purport of which would be: "This pillar is the gift of the mendicants Surya and Buddha-rakṣita, prahitānas. A religious donation in perpetuity. May it be in every way a blessing to the prahitānas!"

I observe that Prof. Kern, in his "Notes on the Jannar Inscriptions" (Ind. Ant. vol. VI. p. 40), questions the probability of a bhikṣu being over a donor, since (as he says) monks have nothing to give away, all to receive. But in this place the reading is unmistakably clear, nor is the fact really at all inconsistent with Hindu usage. In the Mathura district I can point to two large masonry tanks, costing each some thousands of rupees, which have been constructed by mendicant bosīdāsīs out of alms that they had in a long course of years begged for the purpose. The word prahitāna, if I am right in so reading it, is of doubtful signification. It might mean either 'messenger' or 'committee-man,' a commissioner or a consularaire.

No. 4 is from the mound called the Kan-kālī tīlā. It is cut on the upper part of a broken slab which has an ornamental border round the edge, but otherwise presents a plain surface. The obverse of the stone is more elaborately carved, and resembles the spandril of a doorway, with a vine-leaf scroll, and in the jamb the model of a triumphal column supporting the figure of an elephant on a bell capital that is surmounted by winged lions. The upper portions of two such pillars as that here represented are in existence, the one at Sankīsa, the other in my own collection with the date Huvishka Sanh. 39 on the abacus; it has been figured in vol. II. of Gen. Cunningham's Archeological Survey Reports. The first letter in the inscription at the back of this curious slab belongs to a word that has been destroyed: it is followed by the name of the donor in the genitive case, Mungali-puṣṭa. This would seem to be a distinctively Buddhist appellation, and therefore worthy of remark, since most of the sculptures found in this tīlā are of Jaina type.

No. 5 is from the base of a small headless seated nude figure of white stone, and, to judge from the style of the sculpture and the ill-formed letters, is of no very great antiquity. Under it is a row of six standing figures, three on either side of a central chakra. Nothing is recorded in the inscription beyond the date; but this is given both in words and figures, as follows:—

_Saṅghatara saṃta paṇḍaṭe 57 Hemantā tritiya dīvac atravadyāsa. Aṣyā purvayaḥ:_

that is to say, "In the year fifty-seven (57), on the thirteenth day of the third winter month."

It had been built up into a mud wall in the Manoharpur quarter of the city, and my attention was first called to it by General Cunningham. It is curious in two ways: _first_ , because it definitely fixes, beyond any possibility of doubt, the value of the symbol representing 50; _secondly_ , if the date is really the year 57 of the same era as that employed in the inscriptions of Kanishka and Huvishka, it is the earliest unmistakably Jaina figure yet found in this neighbourhood. I cannot, however, believe but that it is comparatively modern, and if so it affords a strong confirmation of a theory originally broached, I believe, by Mr. Thomas. He suggests that the Indo-Skythians using the era of the Seleucide, which commenced in the 1st of October 312 B.C., gave only the year of the century, omitting the century itself, in the same way as we write '77 for 1877. The theory is corroborated by the fact that only one of the Mathura inscriptions as yet found gives a date higher than a hundred, viz. 135; and this particular inscription probably belongs to an entirely different series: for in it the division of the year is not into the three seasons of Grīhama, Varahā, and Hemanta, but according to the Hindu calendar still in use, the month quoted being Paushya. It is, however, very doubtful whether the era of the Seleucide is the one intended; it might with equal or even greater probability be the Kašmīrian era employed by Kalhaṇa in the last three books of his _Rājatarangini_, and still in use among the Brahmans of that country. It is otherwise called the era of the Saptarāhis, and dates from the secular procession of Uṣra Major, Chaitra Sudi 1 of
the 26th year of the Kali-yuga, 3076 b.c.* It is
known to be a fact, and is not a mere hypo-
thesis, that when this era is used the hundreds
are generally omitted. The chronological dif-
ficulties involved in these inscriptions seem,
therefore, almost to defy solution: the order in
which the kings, whose names are mentioned,
succeeded one another is uncertain: the era
may commence either in October 312 B.c. or in
March 3076 B.c.; and the century of the era is
never expressed. It has occurred to me that
the phrase *asya pūrvayam,* which is of such very
frequent occurrence, and has never been satis-
factorily explained, may possibly refer to this
suppression of the first figures of the date.

No. 6 is from a broken Buddhist rail found
at the same place as No. 2. The front is
carved with a single female figure, unusually
well executed, and at the back were three bas-
reliefs, the lowest of which has been lost. The
inscription is a single line between the upper
and middle groups, and, as it ends with the word
dānam, apparently records only the donor’s
name, though what the name is I cannot exactly
determine.

No. 7 is from the base of a seated Buddha of
very early character, with drapery falling over
the body in a multiplicity of small folds. I re-
covered it from the bed of the Jamunā, where
it was being used by the ḍhobis as a washing-
stone. The letters are so worn that the only
words I am able to decipher are Daya-dharmma,
and Buddha in the first line, and at the end of
the second sarvva and again Buddha.

No. 8 is from the base of a small seated figure
with a group below it as in No. 5. It was found
at the Kankāli tīlā. Bābū Rājendralāla Mitra
reads it thus:

No. 9 is from the base of a very large seated
figure carved in red sandstone, of which nothing:
but the feet remain. It begins Varsha-māsē
2 dīvas 6, “On the sixth day of the second month
of the rains.” The remainder is too much de-
faced for me to make out.

No. 10 is from below a small seated nude
figure, carved in white stone, a material which
ordinarily indicates a more modern date. The
inscription is in three portions, and gives the
Sāvat year in Nāgāri figures as 1134. It was
found at the Kankāli tīlā, which would thus seem
to have been popularly frequented as a religious
site for a period extending continuously over
more than a thousand years. Either the Jains
succeeded the Buddhists, in the same way as
Protestants have taken the place of Catholics
in our English cathedrals, or the two rival sects
may have existed together, like Greek and Latin
Christians in the holy places at Jerusalem.

No. 11, under the feet of a large seated Bud-
дра in red sandstone, reads thus:

Mahārājasya Devaputraśya Huvishkasya rajya
san 50 Hs. 3 dī. 2.

It is valuable as an undoubted early example
of the same symbol for 50, as is seen in No. 5.
All these readings are tentative and imper-
fect. Even so they supply matter for interest-
ning speculation. But if, as I hope, they are
supplemented and corrected, much more will,
no doubt, be elicited from them.

Mathurā, February 2, 1877.

THE STORY OF KHAMBA AND THOIBI: A MANIPURI TALE.

TRANSLATED BY G. H. DAMANT, OFFG. POLITICAL AGENT, MANIPUR.

In the country of Manipur there is a village
called Mayang Imphāl, where there was a king
called Yai Thongnal. He had three sons, the
eldest called Hauram Halba, the second Hauram
Ningai, and the youngest Hauram Tol. When
their father died they three brothers quarrelled as
to which should be king; but the youngest
 gained the throne, and the second brother,

Hauram Ningai, fled to a village called Moirang,
where the king, Songiel Lālthāba, succoured
him, and he married a wife there and begot
Pachelba, who begot Purelba, who slew five
tigers in Tarbung.

Songiel Lālthāba, the king of Moirang, begot
Kekhói Lālthāba, who had two sons, Jāra-
kong Yamba and Chingkhoi Haiba; the

* See Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 28.—Ed.
eldest, Jārathong Yāmba, afterwards became king, and the second, Chingkhutol Haiba, was Jūbrāja.

King Jārathong Yāmba, deeming that Purelba had become famous by having killed the tigers, gave him his own wife, Gnāngko Reima Yareltom Pokpi, and he married her and begot a daughter called Khamnu and a son called Kamba. As the king of Moirang had a great liking for Purelba, he gave him the lands of Nongholba, Lonoirakpa, and Khada Halba, and also the salt well at Tarbung and the Nāgā villages of Laisang and Khāram Lairel; he also received a tribute of pepper from the Nāgās. Purelba had formed a friendship with Thonglel Athoiba, Nongbāl Chouba Asingba, and Kabui Sālāng Maiba Khāringnang Chumba. When Kamba was born his three friends told him that it would be well to go to the king and ask him to give the child a name. The king told them to wait a little, and after some consideration came back and said, "As I have made you wait, let us call your son Khamba."* The father was pleased with it, and gave a chēi, i.e. two tolūs, of gold.

Now the king Jārathong Yāmba and the Jūbrāja Chingkhutol Haiba had no children, although the king had fifteen wives and the Jūbrāja eleven, so they went and worshipped the god Thāngjing, but still the king had no child. However, Lang-mailing Thoibi Sangtanil Khuram, the first wife of the Jūbrāja, bore a daughter. The king was very much pleased, and said, "As I have no child, this daughter of my brother's will be celebrated above all others: let us therefore call her Thoibi (i.e. 'famous')."

One day after this, as Purelba was returning from the palace he fell ill, and called his two friends Thonglel and Chouba, and said to them, "My friends, I am very ill and about to die, therefore I wish to speak to you. My friend Chouba, you have a son, Phairoichamba Selungbahal, and I have a daughter, Khamnu; do you therefore make her your daughter and marry her to your son." So saying he called the child and gave her away; she was then five years old. Then he said to Thonglel, "You, my friend, although you have nine wives, have no child; therefore take my children, Khamnu and Kamba, for your own, and also take all my clothes, turban, dāo, spear, hunting dress, war dress, necklaces and ornaments, and if you hear of any one ill-treating my children protect them like a father; and do you, my friend Chouba, acting like a mother, protect their land and wood, and guard them should any one make them slaves or seize their cattle; and do you, Thonglel, be a father to them." With these words Purelba died.

After this Kamba gradually began to sit and walk, and when Khamnu was old enough to nurse her little brother her mother died, and Thonglel and Chouba came and burnt her body, and Thonglel said to Khamnu and Kamba, "My children, come to my house and I will be your father; you have none else left to care for you." But Khamnu refused to leave her father's house, and Thonglel then told her that her father on his deathbed had entrusted all his property to him; and, as it would be spoiled if it remained there, he took it all away with him. When he reached home he said to his wife, Thungselbi, "In case I die, fall ill, or forget it, you remember that this property all belongs to my friend Purelba and his wife." But afterwards, through the miraculous power of a god, he forgot all about it, and so did the children. In the meantime Khamnu used to support her little brother by begging.

One day, by the mercy of God, Khamnu went to beg at the house of Ningollākpa of Moirang, and it happened that Thoibi had come there to play at kāng,† and was eating with the other ladies of the royal family. When Khamnu came up, the servant at the door would not let her enter, saying that the ladies were at dinner; but just at that moment Thoibi came out to bathe, and seeing Khamnu asked who she was. Khamnu replied that she had come to beg, and that her name was Khamnu, and she was the daughter of a Kumal.‡ Thoibi felt pity for her, and asked her where she lived, and why she came to beg, and whether she had no father, mother, or brother. Khamnu said she had no father or mother, but supported one

* The Manipuri word khamba means 'to restrain, to make to stop.'
† This is a game something like skittles on a small scale. The kāng is the seed of a large kind of creeper called stīna in Bengal; it is propelled by the finger at a number of pins set in a row. It is principally played by the Manipuri women.
‡ The Manipuri are said to be derived from four tribes—Moirang, Luang, Kumal, and Meithi; they have now all assumed the name Meithi, which tribe seems to have conquered the rest.
young brother, and she lived in the quarter of Chingnai. Thoibi pitying her, replied, "Let you and me be friends and eat together;" and she took her among the other royal ladies and made her eat, and gave her rice and vegetables for her brother, and had it well cooked, and told her to take home with her all the rice, fish, and salt that was left; and it was as much as she could carry. Thoibi then asked her brother's name, and Khamnu told her it was Khamna. Thoibi then said, "Sister, all the royal ladies are going to-morrow to fish in the Logták (a lake in the south of Manipur); come with me and steer my boat; but it is not proper that you should come among so many people with such ragged clothes; stop a little." And she sent her servant Senu into the house and brought a dhuri, chadar, and pagri for Khamna, and a phanek and chadar§ for Khamnu, and gave her some sel|| as well.

Khamnu returned home and gave the rice and clothes to her brother. Khamna, finding the food very good, asked her where she had got it, and she told him how she had formed a friendship with Thoibi, who had given her the food and clothes, and invited her to steer her boat next day when she went a-fishing; and she told Khamna to stay at home and guard the house. Early next morning the ladies of the royal family, with Thoibi and Khamnu, went down to the Logták, and cast their nets and caught many fish.

Towards evening Khamna, thinking that he might meet Thoibi, determined to go to the lake, so he took a boat and fortunately came to the very place where his sister and Thoibi were. Directly he and Thoibi met they fell in love with each other, and she asked Khamnu if she knew who he was. The girl replied that he was her own brother, and turned to him and asked him why he had come. He said he had been a long time returning, so he had come to meet her. His sister said she would follow, and he returned home. Thoibi, Khamnu, and the rest followed, and Thoibi gave Khamnu a great quantity of fish for herself and her brother to eat.

Now Thoibi had been very much pleased with Khamna, and could not forget him, so she told Khamnu she would pay her a visit at her own house, and then went away, and they all went each to his own house. In the evening Thoibi took her servant Senu with her to carry some food, and went to Khamna's house. Khamnu saw her coming and saluted her, and Thoibi asked her how she and her brother managed to live. She replied that through their poverty they were forced to live by begging. Thoibi replied, "Your house does not look like the house of poor people, but seems to belong to some great officer: tell me the truth." Khamnu said, "My father was an officer under the king of Kuma—one so I have heard my father and mother say." Thoibi was secretly rejoiced to hear that, and said, "It is very late, we cannot go alone; tell your brother to see us home." So Khamna went with them and on the way he and Thoibi agreed that they would be betrothed, and took an oath to be faithful to each other, and Khamna came back after seeing Thoibi home.

Some time after this the two divisions of the village of Moirang played a match at hockey¶; Kongyāmba was captain of the lower division, and Khamna of the upper division. Previous to this, Khamna had not been renowned among the people, but God made him victorious at hockey, and he defeated Kongyāmba, and all the people of the upper division were glad; and after this his father's friend Nongbāl Chouba introduced him to all as the son of Purelba.

In a short time afterwards all the people assembled and obtained leave from the king to hold a festival* in honour of the god Thāngjing, and Kongyāmba was appointed to collect flowers to decorate the lower division of the village, and Khamna to do the same for the upper division, and Nongbāl Chouba then introduced him to the king. Early next morning Kongyāmba and Khamna went to pick flowers, as the festival was to be held on the following player is a sure way of rising to notice in the state.

§ The dress of a Manipuri woman consists of a skirt called phanek, worn straight across the breast under the armpits, a jacket called phurit, and a chadar; the two latter are often dispensed with.

|| A small brown corn used in Manipur; about 450 go to the reape.

¶ Hockey is the great national game of the Manipurs, whether on foot or horseback; it is played by all classes, from the Héja downwards. Even now to be a good hockey-
day. Kongyamba told Khamba to go up the mountain, and he would remain where he was; and Kongyamba picked haukeroi1 flowers, but Khamba climbed a tree and gathered mellai2 flowers, and when they had done so they both returned home. And Thongel, his father's friend, called Khamba and gave him his father's clothes and ornaments, and also taught him to dance.

When the king and all the people were assembled for the festival, Kongyamba presented flowers to the deity and the king, and distributed the rest among the people, and Khamba did the same; and the king, seeing that the flowers he had brought were out of season, gave Khamba a reward. After that the boys and girls danced, and the king made Khamba and Thoibi dance together, and all the people talked of their beauty. When the festival was over, the king and others made obeisance to the deity, which was taken away, and they all returned home.

After some time it happened that wrestling and running matches were held, and Kongyamba was chosen captain of the lower village, and Khamba of the upper village; there were fifteen competitors on either side, and the starting point was at Kwakta. Khamba won the race. Khamba and Kongyamba then wrestled together, and Khamba was victorious. In jumping, tossing the caber, and putting the stone he was also successful; and the king, saying he was the best man, gave him a present of clothes.

Some days after this the time came for the maibi§ to sit at the shrine of the god to consult the oracle. Now Kongyamba determined to kill Khamba, so he disguised himself as the maibi and sat before the god, and told the king, "The god declares in a dream that if you can catch the bull which feeds at Ikop and offer it to him, your life will be long and your people happy." So the king assembled all his officers and people, and said, "If the bull which feeds at Ikop can be caught and offered to the god, my life will be long; is there any among you who can catch it?" As no one answered, Khamba came forward and saluted them, and said he was ready, and he and the bull had a great struggle. At last he threw the bull down, and bound him with a rope and brought him to the two kings. The king of Moirang was much pleased, and gave him a present of clothes and a gold necklace and bracelets. The king of Kumal asked whose son he was, and the other king replied, "He is of your family, for he is the son of Purelba." The king of Kumal said, "Then he is my cousin, for Purelba was my father's elder brother: treat him kindly." The other king said, "I have given him my niece Thoibi in marriage." And the king of Kumal replied, "Then you and I have become relations. Let us go now." So they both of them went away home, and the bull was offered to the god of Moirang.

In the course of time it was determined to hold a shooting match, and every one put on his best clothes. Kongyamba was ordered to pick up the arrows shot by the king, and Khamba those of the Jubraja. Now Thoibi had made a very handsome jacket, and when she heard that Khamba was to collect the arrows shot by her father she called her servant Senn and told her to give it to Khamba, and tell him to wear it next day at the festival. After she had done so, her father the Jubraja asked her where the jacket was, as he wished to wear it, but she said she had sold it and could not give it him. So the king and the people of Moirang went to the place where the archery match was held, and the king shot first, and Kongyamba picked up his arrow and gave it back to him. Then the Jubraja shot, and Khamba picked up his

† A kind of red corcoomb flower.
1 Mellai, a kind of yellow and brown orchid; it flowers in October. It is one of the most handsome of the orchid tribe.
§ The maibi$ are a kind of priests, or rather priestesses: but the bull feeds on the lands of the king of Kumal: we must send word to him." So he sent an officer named Thangarakpa, who told the king of Kumal about it, and he agreed to let them catch the bull, and proposed that his friend the king of Moirang and he should go together to see the sight.

So Thangarakpa returned, and the king ordered proclamation to be made, and the next day the king of Moirang and his people, and the king of Kumal and his people, all assembled, and the two kings sat on platforms to see the sight. Khamba came forward and saluted them, and said he was ready, and he and the bull had a great struggle. At last he threw the bull down, and bound him with a rope and brought him to the two kings. The king of Moirang was much pleased, and gave him a present of clothes and a gold necklace and bracelets. The king of Kumal asked whose son he was, and the other king replied, "He is of your family, for he is the son of Purelba." The king of Kumal said, "Then he is my cousin, for Purelba was my father's elder brother: treat him kindly." The other king said, "I have given him my niece Thoibi in marriage." And the king of Kumal replied, "Then you and I have become relations. Let us go now." So they both of them went away home, and the bull was offered to the god of Moirang.

In the course of time it was determined to hold a shooting match, and every one put on his best clothes. Kongyamba was ordered to pick up the arrows shot by the king, and Khamba those of the Jubraja. Now Thoibi had made a very handsome jacket, and when she heard that Khamba was to collect the arrows shot by her father she called her servant Senn and told her to give it to Khamba, and tell him to wear it next day at the festival. After she had done so, her father the Jubraja asked her where the jacket was, as he wished to wear it, but she said she had sold it and could not give it him. So the king and the people of Moirang went to the place where the archery match was held, and the king shot first, and Kongyamba picked up his arrow and gave it back to him. Then the Jubraja shot, and Khamba picked up his arrow and gave it back to him. The king of Kumal said, "Then he is my cousin, for Purelba was my father's elder brother: treat him kindly." The other king said, "I have given him my niece Thoibi in marriage." And the king of Kumal replied, "Then you and I have become relations. Let us go now." So they both of them went away home, and the bull was offered to the god of Moirang.

In the course of time it was determined to hold a shooting match, and every one put on his best clothes. Kongyamba was ordered to pick up the arrows shot by the king, and Khamba those of the Jubraja. Now Thoibi had made a very handsome jacket, and when she heard that Khamba was to collect the arrows shot by her father she called her servant Senn and told her to give it to Khamba, and tell him to wear it next day at the festival. After she had done so, her father the Jubraja asked her where the jacket was, as he wished to wear it, but she said she had sold it and could not give it him. So the king and the people of Moirang went to the place where the archery match was held, and the king shot first, and Kongyamba picked up his arrow and gave it back to him. Then the Jubraja shot, and Khamba picked up his

† A kind of red corcoomb flower.
1 Mellai, a kind of yellow and brown orchid; it flowers in October. It is one of the most handsome of the orchid tribe.
§ The maibi§ are a kind of priests, or rather priestesses:
arrow, but as he was giving it back the Jurbraj saw that he was wearing his daughter's jacket, and grew angry and said he would not give his daughter to him, but to Kongyamba. So he called Kongyamba and said to him, "I will give you my daughter Thoibi, and you may bring the fruits for the marriage in seventeen days to me." When Khamba's father's friends Thonglel and Chouba heard this, they came with Khamba and saluted the Jurbraj and said, "Do not, because you are angry, dismiss Khamba." But the Jurbraj answered, "The daughter I have reared I have given away, there is nothing left." The king was inwardly displeased to hear it, and retired to his palace, while the Jurbraj and all the people returned home.

The Jurbraj called Thoibi and told her that he had given her to Kongyamba; but she secretly determined that she would not consent, and went to her mother, the first queen, and said, "My father has given me to Kongyamba, and told me to marry him, against my will." The queen replied, "The king gave you to Khamha for having caught the bull; tell him to come and marry you." So she sent word to Khamha by her servant Seim. Early next morning Khamha took some fruit from his father's friend Kabui Senang Maiba, and earned it home with him. And the same morning Kongyamba brought his fruit for the marriage, but Thoibi did not love him she pretended to be ill, and he returned home. After this, by the queen's advice, Khamha brought his fruit for the marriage, but as Thoibi did not love him she pretended to be ill, and he returned home. After this, by the queen's advice, Khamha brought his fruit, but Thoibi did not go with him, as the Jurbraj was angry and would not eat of the fruit that he had brought, so she put it aside carefully to give to her father when he was in a good humour. Meanwhile the Jurbraj went to hunt wild beasts at Tarbul, but was not successful, and as he was returning the god Thangjing inspired him with a great desire to eat some of Thoibi's fruit, and when he reached home he asked her for some. She prepared the fruit which Khamha had brought, and gave it to him. He said, "My daughter, this fruit is very good, where did you get it?" She replied, "It is the fruit which Khamha brought, and which you refused to eat." At that he grew very angry, and said, "What have you given me the fruit which I refused to eat before?"

The Jurbraj thought in his heart that Khamha had made his daughter mad; so he determined to have him beaten, and sent a servant to call Kongyamba secretly. Kongyamba came and saluted him, and the Jurbraj took him aside and said, "Call Khamha to Khauri bazar and assemble your friends and relatives to beat him, for he has bewitched my daughter, whom I gave to you." Kongyamba was very glad, and went away and assembled all his friends and relations, and called Khamha, and took them all to Khauri bazar.

The Jurbraj took secretly one of the king's elephants called Gningkharka Saranghalba, and went to the same place and said to Khamha, "You have spoken softly to my daughter and made her mad; now if you will at once promise to give her up I will not beat you, but if you refuse, your grave shall be in this bazar." Khamha replied, "Jurbraj, even though you do not love me, yet when I caught the bull you and the king gave your daughter to me in the presence of all the people; and moreover she and I are betrothed, and have taken an oath to be faithful to each other, so I cannot give her up." The Jurbraj hearing this became very angry, and said he would kill him. Khamha said, "I will abide by the constancy of your daughter, and will never turn my face away from her."

The Jurbraj then told Kongyamba to assemble his men to beat Khamha, and he and all his men came with a rush and attacked Khamha, and the latter girt up his clothes and attacked them in turn, without turning his face away; but they were so many that they overcame him and beat him severely, and the dust rose in such clouds that their bodies could not be seen. There were thirty of them, so that he could not resist them. The Jurbraj became still more angry, and said, "If he acts like this in my presence I will kill him at once; bring the elephant." So the elephant was brought, and he ordered them to tie Khamha to its foot, and have him dragged up and down the bazar. So the men all seized Khamha, and were tying him to the elephant's foot.

Now, while this was going on, Thoibi was asleep, but the god came to her in a dream...
and told her that Khamba was being killed in the bazar. She opened her eyes and wondered what it was, and then she called her servant Senu, and took a knife in her hand and went out. When the Jubraja and the men who were tying Khamba to the elephant's foot saw her they all ran away.

Thoibi went up to the elephant and said to him, "Elephant, if you kill my lover, trample me underfoot and kill me too," and she took an oath to die under the elephant's feet. The elephant, seeing she was a good woman and had taken an oath, lowered his tusks to the ground and trumpeted; and she, seeing Khamba, asked the elephant to unloose the rope by which he was tied, and he did so, and she said to Khamba, "My dear, have you suffered all this for my sake?" and they both wept.

Meanwhile Khamba's sister Khamnu, and Phairoichamba, and his father's friends Thonglel and Chouba, hearing the news, ran up from all sides. When they saw Khamba, Thonglel and Chouba both grew very angry, and said, "Bring Phairoichamba with you and come to the palace." So they all went and found the Jubraja sitting there. Thonglel said with anger, "Who has beaten my son P' Lairarhe, with many followers, wearing his sword, spear, and shield, and all his war dress and ornaments, burst in; and the people, when they saw the numbers with him, and his angry looks, were all afraid. Thoibi told the king everything that had happened, and the king was much displeased when he heard that Khamba had been beaten, and went to his throne-room to give judgment in the matter. He decided that the Jubraja was in fault, and forbade him to enter the palace again, and ordered all the men who had beaten Khamba to be themselves beaten. But when Kongyamba was about to be beaten, Khamba saved him by saying that he was not in fault,—all the blame was with the Jubraja. So Khamba and all the people returned home, and the king ordered them to take care that his servant Khamba did not die, and told the royal doctor to attend him, and Thonglel and Chouba to see that he had proper food while he was ill.

One day after this her father the Jubraja said to Thoibi, "For five days I have been trying to persuade you to marry Kongyamba; why do you still persist in refusing him?" Thoibi replied, "Both you and my uncle the king promised me to Khamba when he caught the bull, and I have taken an oath to be his slave; I will not live with Kongyamba." At this answer the Jubraja grew angry, and said, "If you do not obey me, your father, I will sell you as a slave to my friend Tamurakpa at Kubbo, and I will take the full price for you and spend it in feasting on fish." Thoibi answered, "Whatever my father says is right."

Early next morning the Jubraja, saying he would make a slave of Thoibi, called five of his servants and gave them orders concerning her. And she, seeing that her father intended to carry out his purpose, sent her servant Senu to Khamba secretly to tell him about it,—how her father had made a slave of her, and five men were appointed to conduct her to Tamurakpa. So Khamba went and waited quietly in the road, with a bamboo stick in his hand, and when he saw Thoibi he said sadly, "I have nothing else to give you; take this stick and think of it as me." So he gave her the stick, and she went on her way, while he went sorrowfully home.

When Thoibi sat down to rest by the roadside, she broke the stick into two pieces at the point and called God to witness that if she were true and faithful the bamboo should sprout, and she planted it there and it sprouted. After going a little further on the way she saw a large stone, and she said, "If I am chaste and have truly chosen Khamba, may this stone become soft;" and she put her foot on it, and the footprint was left. When she arrived at the house of Tamurakpa, the five servants told her that she was not really sold, but that her father had sent her there to frighten her, and they asked Tamurakpa to treat her kindly, and went away. Tamurakpa called his daughter Chăngning Khombi, and told Thoibi to make friends with her and live there happily.

After three months' time the Jubraja felt pity for his daughter, and called his five slaves and

* The valley of Kubbo has now been ceded to Burmah; it formerly belonged to Manipur.
† The clump of bamboos which grew from the stick, and the stone with Thoibi's footprint, are still shown, as is Khamba's coat, which is kept at Moirang, the scene of the story. It is said to be of gigantic size.
told them to fetch her back, and next morning he sent for Kongyamba and said to him, "Today my daughter Thoibi will return from Tammu: do you wait for her in the road and try and persuade her to go to your house. If she refuses and escapes from you, say no more to me about her, for I will not give her again." Kongyamba saluted gladly and went away, and his father and mother and all his relations waited in his house, expecting Thoibi to come. Meanwhile he mounted his horse and took two servants with him, and waited in the road for Thoibi to come. Now Senu, the servant of Thoibi's mother, heard the news and told Khamba secretly, and he told his sister Khamnu, but was undecided whether he should go to meet her or not. Meanwhile Tamurakpa told Thoibi that her father had sent for her, and she must go home, and he gave her some silk and other presents.

Now Thoibi, thinking Khamba would have heard the news, had made him a jacket and a full suit of clothes. Before she started she put on her ornaments and best clothes, and made obeisance to the household god of Tamurakpa, and prayed that she might be united to her lover; then she saluted Tamurakpa and his wife, and he blessed her and told her that her wish should be accomplished. And her friend Changning Khombi gave her a present, and hoped she might succeed in her wish. So she set out with her father's five slaves, and met Kongyamba in the road; and, as she did not love him, she was sorry for it, but he was very glad, and tried to persuade her to go with him by saying that her father had given her to him. Thoibi pretended to be glad outwardly, and sat down near him, but she put the stick which Khamba had given her between them, and thought of it as if it were Khamba himself, and determined to run away to him. Thoibi had given her horse to Kongyamba, and he mounted the horse and galloped him up and down, but when she was at some little distance she galloped away, and by the help of the gods, who loved her because she had saluted them, she arrived safely at Khamba's house. He and his sister Khamnu received her joyfully, and he let Kongyamba's horse loose.

Meanwhile Kongyamba, tracking the footprints of the horse, came to the front door and saw Thoibi in the verandah, and thinking that there would certainly be a quarrel he went away quietly, and told his father and mother how Khamba had taken Thoibi away and got the better of him. He said he would go next day to the king and demand justice. Meanwhile his family remained in the house.

Thoibi's servants brought all the things which Tamurakpa had given her to Khamba's house, and they all remained there that day, and word was sent to the Jnbraja that Thoibi was there. Next day, early in the morning, all the officers of Moirang assembled before the king to decide the dispute between Khamba and Kongyamba; but while it was being heard the news came that a man had been killed by a tiger at Khonentak. Then the king said to Khamba and Kongyamba, "This news has come while we are hearing your dispute, so whichever of you can kill the tiger shall have my niece, and let God be the witness." They both agreed, and all the people were witnesses thereto. So the people surrounded the tiger, and built a fence round the place where he was, and early the next morning the king and all the people went to see the sight. As Khamba was starting, Thoibi said to him, "If I am faithful and pure, you will certainly kill the tiger," and she saluted her god and remained at home. Khamba and Kongyamba, each of them taking his weapons—spear and dao—and two servants, went to the place where the tiger was.

They saluted the king, and he gave pan to each of them, and told them to be careful not to be killed, and said if one was wounded the other was to protect him. The two friends then saluted the king and all the people, and went surrounded by men armed with long, heavy spears; the tigers now-a-days are generally shot, but in former days it was customary to spear them.
into the enclosure; and the king and the people, holding their tiger-spears, waited to see the sight. As the two entered the tiger-net the people raised a shout. Khamba entered on the north side, and Kongyamba on the south. Kongyamba saw the tiger first and struck at it with his spear, but the tiger turned it aside with its paw and leaped up to seize him, and he, thinking the tiger would certainly bite him, caught it by the loins, and they both struggled together, but the tiger succeeded in biting Kongyamba on the back of the neck. Khamba then came up, and the tiger seeing him went away, and he took Kongyamba and gave him to his father to be taken care of. The king then ordered Khamba to go in again, and he went to the place where the tiger was, but when it saw him it ran away, and he chased it to strike it with his spear. The tiger ran round and round the enclosure, and the people shouted at the sight. Now, since Thoibi was faithful, through the might of the god to whom she had prayed, the tiger was afraid of Khamba, and could not turn its head towards him, and in its efforts to escape it caught hold of the platform where the king was, and a great number of people were assembled. Khamba came up and put his foot on the beast's tail, and when it turned to bite him he struck it in the open mouth with his spear and killed it. The people were all rejoiced, and presented the tiger to the king. Khamba's father's friends Thonglel and Chouba, and his brother-in-law Pharoichamba, all of them wearing their ornaments, gold bracelets and necklaces, came there too. And Thoibi came wearing a red phanak embroidered with flowers, and her dancing dress which was covered with bosses of gold and silver, jewels, and glass, so that it shone brightly; she wore gold bracelets and a gold necklace, and her chain of gold and coral fell down to her waist. The necklace on her bosom lighted up the place; round her throat was fastened a beautiful jacket, and she wore a transparent scarf all bright with bosses of gold. Her appearance was like running water, and the hair on her head was like fresh flowers. When Thoibi came forth to her wedding, her arms were like lotuses, her legs were as beautiful as the inside of the stalk of a plantain tree and were like an elephant's tusks, her foot was arched as if she wore a clog, her colour was like turmeric, and her complexion like a champaka flower;—she came forth like the full moon. All the people who had come to the marriage, when they saw Thoibi and Khamba, said they were beautiful like children of the gods, and were never tired of looking at them. When the marriage was over, the king and the Jubrāja conducted them to their own house, with all the presents they had collected, and they saluted the king and the Jubrāja, who blessed them and returned to the palace.

After this Khamba gave his sister Khammi in marriage, and conducted her to her husband's house, and gave her many slaves; and Thoibi gave her servant Senu in marriage, and gave her slaves; and Thoibi and Khamba lived happily together in Moirang.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

In looking again over some of Mr. Fleet's valuable Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, my attention has been recalled to a note, appended to the introductory number of the series at vol. IV. p. 176, in which, on the faith of a report furnished by the late Mr. J. A. C. Boswell to the Madras Government, he gives some account of my collection...
of old inscriptions, abounding in mistakes. Although hardly worth noticing, I consider that all inaccuracy should be avoided, as far as possible, even in trivial matters, and therefore beg to offer the following corrections.

I made two collections of inscriptions,—the first between 1826 and 1832 in the Dekhan, the second between 1848 and 1854 in the Northern Sirkars. Each collection, when arranged and the most valuable ones selected, filled two folio volumes. Three copies were made of each; of the first or Dekhan set, one was presented to the Literary Society of Bombay, a second to the Literary Society of Madras, and the third to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. Judging from inquiries recently made, the first appears to have been lost. The third is still preserved in Albermarle Street. The Telugu series was likewise transcribed three times, and copies presented to the Madras Society, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the India Office Library. A copy of the Dekhan series, which I had retained for my own use, has since been presented to the library of the Edinburgh University, and is now on loan with Mr. Fleet, who makes such good use of it.

My first essays in palaeography were begun in 1826, with the aid of Mundargi Ranga Rāo, a young Brahman attached to my office by the late St. John Thackeray when I was appointed Second Assistant to the Principal Collector and Political Agent of the Southern Marāṭha Country, in 1822. He was the son of Bhima Rāo, a muddhika of that Desi of Danuḷa who was hanged over his own gateway by the Honourable Colonel Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) in 1800, for firing on the British troops, at the same time that Rāṇībednār and Hāli were sacked and given to the sword for the resistance offered to the march of the forces sent to quell the insurrection of Dhondia Wahāg. After the death of the Desi, Bhima Rāo, a man of enterprise and ability, taking advantage of the unsettled state of the country, collected troops in the Peshwā’s name, and rose to considerable eminence. His career, however, was cut short of rank into the public service, invited Ranga Rāo, on whom Gokhle conferred the village of Mundargi with three others in jāgiri.

Mr. Thackeray, being desirous of enlisting men of rank into the public service, invited Raṅga Rāo to join his kachchār, and, when I joined the district, attached him to me as office musahih. He was about my own age, a fine, high-spirited, intelligent young man. We became great friends. He was well mounted and fond of sport. We shot and hunted together, and he entered into all my pursuits. When I first turned my attention to the inscribed stones so frequent in the Southern Marāṭha Country, we tried hard to make out their contents, but at first without much success. He then remembered that a gowndhī in one of his inda villages had the reputation of being a very learned man. He was summoned, and we found him to be an invaluable assistant. By our united efforts we gradually mastered the archaic characters. I began to collect copies of ādamana by means first of one, afterwards of two copyists in my own service, carefully trained to the work of transcription. The Yēdh inscription let in a flood of light. We arranged our materials. Each inscription, of any value, by degrees fell into its place, and the result was embodied in the paper read to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1835, but which having been printed after my return to India, the following year, the proofs did not receive my corrections, and it thus contains several orthographical errors, especially of proper names.

At Madras I held the subsidiary appointment of Canarese Translator to Government, which was almost a sinecure. The office establishment consisted of a musahih and an English writer. The former, Adaki Subhā Rāo, I soon found to be an invaluable assistant in my antiquarian pursuits. He was an accomplished Sanskrit, Canarese, and Telugu scholar, with a fair knowledge of Tamil. He had also a turn for archaeological research, which only needed stimulus, and he soon entered zealously into my views. I engaged a Brahman named Raghappa as an itinerating copyist in my private service, with occasional assistance from one of Colonel Mackenzie’s old collectors, named Baktavachaliya. The reduction of my materials and all my translations was made with the aid of Subhā Rāo. Threefolio volumes of these translations, with much other valuable MS., matter, drawings, &c., perished in a vessel laden with sugar, in which much of my baggage, books, &c. was despatched from Madras. The ship experienced a hurricane off the Isle of France, and shipped much salt water, melting the sugar, and getting at the tin-lined cases penetrated to their contents and entirely destroyed them.

Subhā Rāo died shortly before I was appointed to Council, and Raghappa some time afterwards. The names mentioned by Mr. Boswell had nothing whatever to do with my antiquarian labours. They were public servants in the Commissioner’s
vexed and chafed, and when the Mutiny broke out he joined his neighbour, the Nirgund chief, afforded small opening for native gentlemen in the regulation district. The stringency of our rules was driven into the fortress of Kopaldurg, and afterwards, when the people of the Bekhan were disarmed, the measure was carried out with some harshness in his villages. He was appointed. I have never seen a more promising youth—clever, well-disposed, and with the most kindly disposition. I tried, without success, to get him employed in Maisur or in some non-office. Kidambari Jagannath was the officer or secretary. He is since dead. Vavilala Subha Rao was an English copyist, a very intelligent man, and now Tahasildar of the Yemagudi taluk, in the Godavari district. Chipuri Jayaramadu was a mere copyist whom I engaged to transcribe and make fair copies for the three sets of my collection, prepared for distribution. Who Nagappa Sastri may have been I cannot imagine, and suspect the name is meant for Raghappa.

My own copies of the Telugu collection for the India Office and the Royal Asiatic Society, with the original copper-plates and collections of fac-similes, fortunately came home safe.

The conclusion of my connection with my first assistant in archaeological investigation was sad and tragic. Ranga Rao died whilst I was at home on furlough. His son Bhima Rao, a very fine, gentlemanlike lad, came to see me at Madras in 1843-44, and remained with me a twelvemonth. I have never seen a more promising youth—clever, well-disposed, and with the most kindly disposition. I tried, without success, to get him employed in Maisur or in some non-regulation district. The stringency of our rules affords small opening for native gentlemen in the public service. He returned to Mundargi disappointed. Afterwards, when the people of the Dekhan were disarmed, the measure was carried out with some harshness in his villages. He was vexed and chafed, and when the Mutiny broke out he joined his neighbour, the Nirgund chief, was driven into the fortress of Kopaldurg, and fell in the assault.

WALTER ELLIOT.

Wolfe's, Hawick, N. B., 26th April 1877.

VEDIC SANSKRIT.

Prof. Delbrück of Jena, who assisted Prof. Grassmann in his translation of the Rig-Veda, has published an essay on "Tenses in Old Sanskrit" (Althändighe Tempuslehre). It contains a translation of many intricate passages from the Rig-Veda and some of the Brâhmanas, and marks a definite advance in our knowledge of Vedic Syntax. The essay forms the second number of a series published by Delbrück and Windisch under the title Syntaktische Forschungen.—The Academy.

"TAVA BA TAVA NAU BA NAU.
Sing me a lay, sweet bard, I sue; once and again, anew, anew!
Seek for me wine's heart-opening dew; once and again, anew, anew!

CHAMPA.

Champa is a name which has been for a very long time applied to a portion of that region to which we give the name of Cochin-China, though the extent covered by the name has varied. It is from the Malays that western navigators adopted most of the geographical nomenclature of the Eastern Seas. And Crawford implies that the Malays gave the name of Champa to the whole of the most salient part of the Cambojan Peninsula, including a part of the coast of the Gulf of Siam, as well as part of the China Sea.† It is possible that this usually accurate writer has here made a slip. But in any case the most ancient use of the name would seem to extend it to the Gulf of Siam. For there is strong reason to believe that both the Zaba of Ptolemy, and the Çanf or Tsanf of the early Arab mariners, both of which are demonstrably to be placed westward of Cape Camboja, are only representative of the same name, Champa. It is a persistent tradition in modern Camboja that the Cham or Tsiam race, the proper people of Champa, did occupy the Cambojan soil before the arrival of the Khmers, who have held it, probably, at least since the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era; and M. Garnier, who gave great attention to these questions, has deduced from such data as exist, in the Chinese annals and elsewhere, that the ancient kingdom which the Chinese describe, under the name of Funan, as extending over all the peninsula east of the Gulf of Siam, was a kingdom of the Cham race.

Close to some sweet and doll-like fair, sit thou apart with cheerful air:
Steal from that cheek the kiss that's due; once and again, anew, anew!
Saki, who steps with silvery limb, now has recrossed my threshold's rim:
He shall my cup with wine imbibe; once and again, anew, anew!
How shall life's fruit by thee be won, if thou the wine-filled goblet shum?
Quaff: and in thought thy loved one view; once and again, anew, anew!
Ravishing-hearts, the friend I choose, eager to please me well doth use
Gauds and adornments, scent and hue; once and again, anew, anew!
Breeze of the morn that soon shall fleet
Hence to that Peri's blissful street,
Tell thou the tale of Hâfiz true;
Once and again, anew, anew!*

* A recent communication from him informs me that he is Acting District Officer of the district, and that Jayaramadu is employed as a peon in the Bapatla taluk on Rs. 7 a month.

† Descriptive Dictionary, "Indian Archipelago," sub voce Champa.

This well-known Persian song, however, is not by Hâfiz of Shiraz, though it is almost always included in his Divâna. Conf. Academy, Sept. 30, 1876, p. 332.
But in the mediaeval narratives of Western authors (e.g. Marco Polo, Friar Odoric, John Marignolli, Rashid-ud-din) the name Champa applies to that region which is now sometimes called Cochin-China Proper, as distinguished from Tongking, viz. the protuberant S.E. coast of the peninsula in question, extending northward to 16° or 17° of latitude, the position of which on the route to China caused its shores to be well known to those voyaging to that country. This, or nearly this, was the kingdom called in the oldest Chinese annals Lin-i, and afterwards, till its extinction, Chenching. We hear of Chenching or Champa as being often at war with its neighbours, Tongking on the one side, and China or Camboja on the other, and as for a time, at the end of the twelfth century, completely conquered by the latter. But it had recovered independence a century later, for Kublai Khan (1280-1290) had dealings in war and diplomacy with its king. According to Javanese annals, about the middle of the fifteenth century the queen of the principal sovereign of Java was a princess of Champa.

The precise historical relation of this ancient kingdom to the modern kingdom which we call Cochin-China is a little difficult to disentangle. But this southern kingdom of Chenching or Champa was conquered in 1471 by the king of Tongking or Anam, and has never since revived. For though there was for a long time subsequent to the date named, and down to 1802, a separation of Tongking and Southern Cochin-China into two distinct kingdoms, the latter was not a revival of Champa, both being ruled by dynasties of Anamite origin. And after the conquest the name of Champa seems to have become restricted to the districts adjoining the south-eastern curve or the coast, and eventually to that district immediately eastward of the Cambojan delta, a somewhat barren tract with fine natural harbours, now called by the Cochin-Chinese Binh-Thuan.

This continued to be occupied by the people called Chams or Ts'iams, whose dominion we thus presume (as far as we can see light in these obscure histories) to have first extended over the whole peninsula (as Funan); then to have been limited to its eastern and south-eastern shores (Chenching); and lastly to have been restricted to a small tract of those shores (modern Champa or Binh-Thuan).

Here a principality of Champa long continued to subsist, the residence of the prince being at a place called Phanri, about 10 miles from the sea, and apparently near, if not identical with, the present Binh-Thuan. The Champsas, his subjects, were, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, well known over the Archipelago as rovers and sea-faring people. This principality was often overrun by the Cochin-Chinese, but maintained itself in some shape of recalcitrant subjection to the latter till about 1830, when the Anamite king conquered it effectually, expelling the Champa prince and most of the people of the same race.

Name.—The name Champa is Indian, like the adjoining Camba and countless other names in Indo-China, and was probably borrowed from that of an ancient Hindu state and city which stood upon the Ganges, near modern Bhagalpur. Hiwen-Thsang, the famous Chinese ecclesiastical traveller of the seventh century, makes mention both of the original Gangetic state (which he visited) and of the Indo-Chinese kingdom (which he knew only by hearsay), calling the latter Mahâ-Champa (or "Great") Champa, an indication, perhaps, of its ample dominion, either then subsisting or traditional, an amplitude of dominion which nearly all states of Indo-China have enjoyed in turn. Hindu titles are also distinctly traceable in the corruptions of the old Chinese notices of the names of kings, and even in one mentioned by Marco Polo.

Ethnology and Religion.—The people are known in Camboja as Ts'iams, to the Anamites as Loi Thuan, and Thien. We do not know whether the former name has been taken from Champa, or the adoption of the Indian name Champa been suggested by the name of the people. They have been in great part driven into the mountains, or into the Cambojan and Siamese territory, where a number of them are settled near the Great Lake. There were also old settlements of them on the Cambojan coast, between latitude 11° and 12°. The people are said to exhibit, even in language, strong Malay affinities, and they have long professed Muhammadanism. The books of their former religion, they say, came from Ceylon, but they were converted to Islam by no less a person than 'Ali himself. The statement in italics is interesting. For the Tongking people received their Buddhism, such as it is, from China; and this tradition marks Champa as the extreme flood-mark of that great tide of Buddhist missions and revival which went forth from Ceylon to the Indo-Chinese regions in an early century of our era, and which is generally connected with the name of Buddha-ghosa.

Antiquities.—There have been many reports of the existence of monuments of Indian or Buddhist character in the Champa country; and Mr. Crawford saw an image of the Hindu god Ganesa which was brought from that country to Singapore by a M. Diard in 1821. But there is, we believe,
nothing yet precisely known as to the monuments, and indeed the late M. Garnier doubted their existence. There are also said to be many Musalmān structures, such as minarets and tombs, with Arabic inscriptions.

The district of Champa, or Binh-Thuăn, is one of those especially productive of eagle-wood or aloes-wood; and the Tswang, or aloes-wood of Champa, was one of the kinds in high repute with the old Arabs. The native name is Kināna. Ebony is also abundant.

*Medieval Notices.*—Both these products are mentioned from Marco Polo, who visited Champa as a commissioner from Kublai Khān about 1285. It was also visited forty years later by the Franciscan Odoric of Pordenone. Both travellers notice as prominent facts the immense family of the king, and the great number of domestic elephants that were kept. Both circumstances are still characteristic of most of the Indo-Chinese states. (Garnier, *Voyage d'Exploration*; Crawfurd, *Mission to Siam,* &c., and other works; Bastian, *Reise.* I and IV.; Mouhot’s *Travels*; De Mailla, *H. Gov. de la Chine,* tom. XII.; Bishop Louis in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,* vols. VII. and VIII.; *Tableau de la Cochinchine,* &c. &c.)

BIJAPUR.

The admirers of Saracenic architecture will be glad to hear that the glory of Bijapur are probably not doomed to extinction. A project for making the city the head-quarters of the present Kaladgi collectorate is in favour with the authorities, and will, it may be hoped, be carried out within a few years. Many of the old civil buildings, ruined more by Marāṭhā savagery than by time, will be repaired and re-inhabited; and the preservation of the great monuments will pass from the hands of the municipality into those of a competent scientific officer.

The local officers are all enthusiastic for the preservation of their splendid buildings; and if any one should object to the re-occupation of the Adil Shāhī palaces, it may well be answered that no government can afford to keep up as a mere curiosity the remains of so large a city. The Arkilla, or citadel, is already being cleared out; and the excavations have already revealed a number of beautiful Hindu or Jaina pillars with inscriptions, which are being carefully protected, and when read will probably contribute a good deal to the history of the pre-Muhammadan period in Karnāṭa. At present, however, plague, pestilence, and famine render the city of Bijapur no place for amateurs or idlers, and leave very little time for research at the disposal of the handful of local officers who dwell among the tombs, like Scriptural lunatics, and find it quite enough for them to attend to the living.

W. F. S.

**KURUBHARS AND DOLMENS.**

In the Kaladgi district the Shepherd caste are called Kurubhars. They bury their dead, and the other day I came across the tomb of one only four years old. It was a complete miniature dolmen about eighteen inches every way, composed of four stones, one at each side, one at the rear, and a capstone. The interior was occupied by two round stones about the size of a man’s fist, painted red, the deceased reposing in his mother-earth below. No ancient dolmens are known in this (northern) part of the district, though they are, I believe, not uncommon in the tālukās on the Krishna river.

What is the meaning and derivation of Kurubhār, and is it the same word as Kurarnbās, the name of a Nilgiri hill-tribe?† The latter, I believe, is a race of dwarfs; the Shepherds here are a fine breed of men; yet the difference can hardly be greater than that which exists among the Būllās.

In his *Rude Stone Monuments* (p. 476) Mr. Ferguson hazards a conjecture that the Kurambās of the southern hills are the remnant of a great and widely spread race, who may have erected dolmens; and the fact now noted seems to point in the same direction.

W. F. S.

**NOTES ON THE MUHARRAM FESTIVAL.**

In connection with my Notes in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI. page 79, a friend sends me the following:—

*I think that you may be interested to hear that all the practices you mention are followed here (Kolhāpur). That peculiar one of piercing the ears in front of the tābut is in vogue here. It is also common for Marāṭhās, even of the highest families, such as the Chief of Mudhol, to bind a thread of coloured worsted round their arms and call themselves Fakirs for that day. They also declare that people jump into the burning pit and come out unscathed, but this I have not seen and will not swear to. You don’t mention the institution of the Nāl Sāheb, a horse-shoe or crescent on the top of a pole; have you not noticed it? Here the Nāl Sāheb is paraded about with music and

* W. F. S.


† The Nāl is the shoe and representative of Husain’s charger, Zu’l Janna.—W. F. S.
dancing, till somebody goes into convulsions, and then they say that Nāl Sāheb has entered into his body."

W. F. S.

IS THE SULTAN THE KHALIF?

Mr. Neil B. E. Baillie writes—"The Prophet himself expressly declared that none could be the Imām, or head of his religion, but an Arab of the tribe of Koreish. On the faith of that declaration his first successor was appointed, in preference to a candidate set up by the people of Madinah. Nay, all his other generally acknowledged successors down to the taking of Baghdad by the Tatars, and even those who were only partially acknowledged, such as the Khalīfs of Spain, and those of the Fatemite and second Abbasside Dynasties, were all of the same tribe of Koreish. Further, if any one in the early ages of Muhammadanism had maintained that a man might be promoted to the dignity of Imam though he was not of the tribe of Koreish, he would have been denounced as a heretic, and a Karejil, or rebel to the whole Musulman community. The Turks are of Tatar origin, and their sovereign does not, I believe, pretend to be an Arab of any tribe, much less of the tribe of Koreish. How, then, can any true Muhammadan acknowledge him to be the head of his religion, and the successor of the Prophet, and at the same time profess to be a follower of that Prophet to whom he thus in a manner gives the lie?"

CHAMĀRS AND PANKĀS.

It was among the Chamārs of the Central Provinces, "the very first Aryan immigrants," a sturdy race of cultivators who are described as the busy bees of the community, that Ghāsi Dās, a fair unlettered seer of visions, arose as a reformer. From the forest hamlet of Girod, where the Jāk falls into the Mahānādi, he disappeared for six months, but only to be seen descending from its rocky eminence, at the appointed time, with a message to his multitude of expectant followers. "Worship the one God—Satnam, the True One—whose high-priest I am, and live as brothers," was his creed, and when he died—in 1850, at the good old age of eighty—his son succeeded him.

In ten years that son became a victim to his zeal in promulgating the doctrine of the equality of Brāhmaṇ and Chamār, but his fate only incensed the Satnamis the more against Hindus, as in the parallel case of the Sikhs and Musalmāns. The grandchild of the founder of this faith is now high-priest; but the work of initiation, by placing a necklace of beads on the children when they are named, is done by the boy's uncle. The Satnamis have neither temple nor rites, scriptures nor forms of devotion. To name the Satnam and invoke his blessing, to visit the high-priest once a year and offer a gift, and to keep far from them graven images—these constitute their faith. Socially they differ little from the Hindus, who slander them, and differ among themselves only as to the lawfulness of tobacco. They are divided into smokers and non-smokers. Some years ago the settlement officer of Bilāspur reported of them that "there is no class more loyal and satisfied with our rule than this community, and if it should happen that, like the Kolhs, they are favourably impressed with missionary teaching, a time may come when they will be a source of strength to our government." A small Christian mission has been established among them.

The Pankās are less known. Weavers, cultivators, and village watchmen, industrious and quiet because not claiming equality with the Hindus, who half acknowledge their sect, the Pankās worship Kabir, or the one God, who has often appeared incarnate on earth, and last of all in 1060 A.D., near Banāras, as a crying child struggling amid the leaves of the lotus in a tank. Before the weaver's wife who rescued it, the babe developed into a man, revealed himself as God, and accompanied her home. There he wrought miracles, and in the period of his incarnation, from 1060 to 1472, he became, what he is still, the weavers' God all over India, under the name of Kabir Pant. There are to be in all forty-four such incarnations, ending with the reappearance of Kabir himself on earth. The present apostle is only the eleventh in the list—Parghātmān Sāheb. He succeeded in 1856, and is supported by an order of priests, who, in white-peaked cloth cap, loose white tunic and loin-cloth, follow him in long procession two or four abreast, as he proceeds on his collecting tours. His head-quarters is Kāwardā, in Bilāspur. Like all offshoots from Hinduism, Kabir Pantism denounces caste, and finds its popularity. The Pankās' change to this faith is preserved in this favourite doggerel—

Pāni se Pankā bhai
Budan hua sharir
Age jan mein Pankā
Fiche Dās Kabir.

From water sprang the Pankā,
His face so bright and clear;
At life's early dawn a Pankā
Now worships Dās Kabir.

Kabirpanthis and Satnamis resemble each other in many respects. They avoid meat and liquor, they marry usually at the age of puberty, they ordinarily celebrate their ceremonies through the agency of elders of their own caste, and they bury
their dead. As with the Sikhs, the comparatively pure and noble teaching of the founders of these sects soon degenerates, the converts from the higher Hindu castes insisting on certain distinctions. The salt, never very pure, soon loses its savour. Of the best as of the worst, of the Brahmo as of the Sikh, the Satnami and the Kabir-Panti, it is true that neither the varying intuitions of all, nor the rapt ecstasy of one, can supply the place of that Name which is above every name, of the Logos in all the fullness of the meaning of that word.—*Friend of India*, 30th April 1874.

**BOOK NOTICES.**


This new edition of a work already so well known makes an epoch in the study of Sanskrit dramatic poetry, and thus the learned and most industrious Kiel professor’s labours especially deserve mention here, as being of more than usual interest so far as India is concerned.

The *Cākuntālā* has always been much read in India, and, owing chiefly to Sir W. Jones’s florid version, it has become the generally received type of a Sanskrit play, except among scholars,* and is also commonly in use as a text-book. Considering its popularity, it is perhaps a matter for surprise that more has not been done to ascertain, if possible, the relative value of the several recensions current; for, like most Sanskrit books, the text exists in several recensions. Sir W. Jones, as was natural, took the Bengali recension; but the recension current in the rest of North India, and which is generally known as the ‘Nāgari recension,’ early supplanted the former in general esteem. Since then, a third recension, current in South India, has become known.† Prof. Pischel’s chief object is to give a critical edition of the Bengali text, and hence to show that it is not a corrupt text, as is generally supposed, but that it is the best of all.

As regards the merits of Prof. Pischel’s book as a critical edition there cannot be two opinions; it is in every way a masterpiece, done with great acuteness and regardlessness of labour. As such, its use should at once be made compulsory by candidates for the University and Government examinations. The old way of Sanskrit study is now impossible, and, if the study of that language and literature is to be an effectual instrument of future, students must be made to follow improved methods. Much has been done in this way by the Calcutta University, and still more at Bombay; in the Madras Presidency it is difficult to regard what is done by students—and that is very little—otherwise than as a pure waste of time. From this point of view Prof. Pischel’s edition deserves as warm a recognition from those occupied in teaching as it is sure to meet with from scholars. Educationalists, by encouraging such editions as this, could soon meet the arguments—at present nearly unanswerable—of those who would exclude Oriental languages from the colleges and schools of India; they would thus also, in all probability, excite among their pupils a more intelligent interest in Sanskrit than is now displayed.

Prof. Pischel’s second object is to show that the Bengali text of the *Cākuntālā* is the best one, and his edition is thus the necessary conclusion of his former treatises, *De Kālidāsae Cākuntālen* and *Die Recensionen der Cākuntālā.* It is by no means so easy to pronounce an opinion on this part of his work as it is to recognize the great merits of his edition; the problem to be solved is one of exceptional complication and difficulty even in Sanskrit literature. The general acceptance of the ‘Nāgari recension’ was perhaps hasty, and Prof. Pischel has, by a minute consideration of the texts, elicited some new and important facts which entitle the Bengali recension to more consideration than it has hitherto met with. He has also compared the Nāgari and South-Indian recensions of the, *Vikramavāśiyam,* and thus come to the same conclusion. It is thus obvious that his inferences deserve the most serious consideration. The results of his researches are that the Prākrit of the Drāvidian (or South-Indian) and Nāgari recensions is not Saurasi, but a wild mixture of various dialects; also that “it is in South India that Sanskrit dramas have been adulterated and abridged.”

The first point must, as determined by so competent a scholar,† be accepted as an undoubted fact. Before admitting the second, I think it may reasonably be asked, On what principles, and to meet what views, were the adulterations and abridgments made in South India? So far as I have been able to consider the matter, I cannot find

* A better selection might have been made, for the story is poor, and the more sober estimate of the literary value of this play is not likely to differ much from what J. Mill wrote in 1877 (*Hist. of India*, bk. II. ch. 9).
† Prof. Pischel described this in 1873 in the *Göttingen Nachrichten.* When I drew his attention to this recension

(Andra Grammarians, pp. 80, 81) I was not aware of this fact; I can only apologize for my ignorance.

† It is hardly necessary to remind readers of Prof. Pischel’s splendid edition of Hemachandra’s *Prākrit Grammar.*
any. Prakrit has been studied with great success in the Dehkan and South India; Hemachandra and Trivikrama represent in this way the countries where the Nagari and South-Indian recensions have been current; yet shouid pandits in those parts of India have adulterated the Prakrit passages in Kālidāsa’s text? Again, the botany of Kālidāsa is strange to South India, where only a few of the many plants to which he alludes are known, but I can not find even a single instance where the South-Indian text has been altered in this respect to suit that part of India. It also appears to me very unlikely that South-Indian pandits ever wilfully falsified texts. It is now more than sixteen years since I first arrived in South India, and during this time I have been personally acquainted with most of the chief pandits of the old school—now, alas! I to be numbered on the fingers. None of the many I have known were capable of doing anything of the kind. Durimg this period thousands of South Indian MSS. have passed through my hands, but I have never observed in them anything that would lead one to suspect that systematic and intentional falsifications had been carried on in South India. I must, without any prejudice, assert these facts, for I fear that Prof. Pischel’s words may (unintentionally) wrong the pandits of South India. It is remarkable also that the South-Indian commentators notice several differences in the texts; this would not indicate any prejudices on their part; clerical errors, however, cannot have given rise to the great differences in the three recensions.

Anyhow, whatever may be the conclusion on which scholars will eventually agree as regards the respective merits of the several recensions of the Śākuntala, it is impossible not to be grateful for the new and important facts brought to notice in so complete a way by Prof. Pischel, and not to consider that his authority is too often accepted without inquiry; the more necessary that his “last words” should be carefully reviewed. The present work is understood to contain so much of his promised contributions to the Bombay Gazetteer as could be collected by a nameless official editor. The title is hardly correct; for of 61 pages altogether only 24 are devoted to tribes that could by any stretch of language be called aboriginal. The doctor enumerates only eleven of these; viz.:—

1. The Bhils (Sanskrit Bhilla), whose name he derives from the Dravidian word bhillu = a bow, and connects with the name Phyllitaes, ascribed by Ptolemy to an Indian tribe.

2. The Nāyakadas (Naikras), who might indeed have been classed as a mere division of the Bhils.

3. The Gonds, a term, as he thinks, corrupted from Govinda = a cowherd. This is exceedingly probable; the contraction is sometimes seen at the present day, as in the name of a tank near Dhubli, called Gondūr, for Govindārā. They are to be found, says the doctor, in the Bombay Presidency only in small numbers, in some of the forests and hills of the Narmadā. This is hardly correct; as we have seen them as far west as Chālīsgaon, on the G. I. P. Railway, and heard of them at Malegaon, in modern Nāsik.

4. The Kolis, or Kulls as the doctor delights to call them. Their name he makes out to be from kula = a clan. It may be so; but it is certain that they always call themselves Kolīs, and that the doctor is in error when he says that “Kulābā receives its name from them, meaning the abode of Kulls.” There are two places called (pace Dr. Wilson) Kollābā, both sandy islets, the one of which has become an integral part of Bombay by the process of reclamtion; while the other is occupied by the sea-fort of a branch of the pirate dynasty of Angria, and now gives its name to a British collectorate. In each case the name is that of a grāma devata of the fisherman;* who are, indeed Kolis by caste. The reader who wishes to know more of this interesting race will find much valuable information in the doctor’s article; more, perhaps, in Mr. Nairne’s Historical Sketch of the Konkars, and the writings of Dr. DaCunha.

A. BURNSELL, Ph.D.
Comoor, Nilgiri Hills, 6th May 1877.


So distinguished was the position which “the old man eloquent” whose last (and posthumous) contribution to Oriental research now lies before us occupied among the scholars and inquirers of Western India, that it will be by many thought presumption to criticize his work. Considerable steps, however, have been made in his favourite studies since he ceased to learn; and for the very reason that his authority is too often accepted without inquiry it is the more necessary that his "last words" should be carefully reviewed. The present work is understood to contain so much of his promised contributions to the Bombay Gazetteer as could be collected by a nameless official editor. The title is hardly correct; for of 61 pages altogether only 24 are devoted to tribes that could by any stretch of language be called aboriginal. The doctor enumerates only eleven of these; viz.:—

1. The Bhils (Sanskrit Bhilla), whose name he derives from the Dravidian word bhillu = a bow, and connects with the name Phyllitaes, ascribed by Ptolemy to an Indian tribe.

2. The Nāyakadas (Naikras), who might indeed have been classed as a mere division of the Bhils.

3. The Gonds, a term, as he thinks, corrupted from Govinda = a cowherd. This is exceedingly probable; the contraction is sometimes seen at the present day, as in the name of a tank near Dhubli, called Gondūr, for Govindārā. They are to be found, says the doctor, in the Bombay Presidency only in small numbers, in some of the forests and hills of the Narmadā. This is hardly correct; as we have seen them as far west as Chālīsgaon, on the G. I. P. Railway, and heard of them at Malegaon, in modern Nāsik.

4. The Kolis, or Kulls as the doctor delights to call them. Their name he makes out to be from kula = a clan. It may be so; but it is certain that they always call themselves Kolīs, and that the doctor is in error when he says that “Kulābā receives its name from them, meaning the abode of Kulls.” There are two places called (pace Dr. Wilson) Kollābā, both sandy islets, the one of which has become an integral part of Bombay by the process of reclamtion; while the other is occupied by the sea-fort of a branch of the pirate dynasty of Angria, and now gives its name to a British collectorate. In each case the name is that of a grāma devata of the fisherman;* who are, indeed Kolis by caste. The reader who wishes to know more of this interesting race will find much valuable information in the doctor’s article; more, perhaps, in Mr. Nairne’s Historical Sketch of the Konkars, and the writings of Dr. DaCunha.

* Perhaps another form of Kolamā.—Ed.
(5) The Dhadias, a small community in the south of Surat.

(6) The Chaudaris, settled immediately north of these. Both may be considered offshoots of the Koli race; as may also

(7) The Wāralis, whom the doctor considers "the most interesting and remarkable" of this family, and whom he has to a greater extent made his own literary property by the sketch of them now before us, which, though first written and published many years ago, still remains the standard authority on their "beastly customs, and total absence of manners;" though they have certainly become much more settled and civilized in the interval.

(8) The Katoḍs or Katkārs = catechu-makers, certainly the most monkey-fied tribe of Western India, and better described, perhaps, in Mr. Hearn's excellent Statistical Account of Kolhād.

(9) Dubalas = weaklings, an aboriginal tribe of Surat and the North Koṅkaṇa, reduced formerly to serfage, from which a few are now emerging.

(10) The Thākurs, whose origin the doctor traces to certain barons (Thādur) of Gujarāt who took the jungle with their followers, chiefly Kölis and Wāralis, from the earlier Muhammadan invasion. His account of this race, however, is short and not very accurate, as they are both more numerous and more respectable than he seems to have thought. He notices, however, the antipathy between them and the Brīhmans, which still in part survives, and is hardly consistent with his account of their origin.

The 11th tribe are the Rāmusis, called in Shōlaḍ Beruds, and further towards their ancestral Dravīḍā seats Bedars. A certain amount of interest attaches to the history of their single dynasty, called by Grant Duff the Naiks of Wādir, and later known as the Rajas of Shorapur; I know of no better account of it, by the late Colonel Meadows Taylor, is among the appendices to the fine volume of Photographs of the Antiquities of Dharwar and Mysore, published by the old "Western India Architectural Committee."

The doctor, having thus disposed of the "Jungies," mentions next the "depressed aboriginal tribes" of Mhās, Dhedas, and Mānges. The first two are identical, and they are generally lumped together as "Parvārā." It is obvious that this list, though valuable, is by no means exhaustive; but the doctor, or his editor, here leaves the aboriginals properly so called, and enters upon the subject of wandering tribes and classes. These he divides into religious devotees and pilgrims, and a second class, or more classes, which we shall now never find out his opinion of; for the extravagant doctrines and rites of the eccentric sects of India occupy all the rest of the notice which were made available after the writer's death. The subject was so much more congenial to the missionary and scholar that it occupies nearly two-thirds of the book, and this portion is certainly, on the whole, as superior in quality as in quantity: It is, however, occasionally marred by most atrocious editing, as in a paragraph about the Nilūliṣ Shunyāvādās, which is absolutely unintelligible. If the doctor really wrote it, he must have been prostrated by illness at the time; but the confusion seems rather the result of a printer's devilry, or of the careless collation of confused notes. The proofs, too, do not appear to have been corrected by a competent person.

The doctor classes the devotees under twenty-one heads, each with many subdivisions. Some, as the Sikhs, Jainas, Vālaḥābhāchāyas, and Śvāmī Nārikṣṇas, have made a noise in the world, and been fully described elsewhere. The Rāmānūjas, most numerous in the south, may perhaps be considered as the Vaishāvī counterpart of the well-known Śaiva Liṅgāyats. The Rāmānūjas or Bairagis, also Vaishāvī, are often confounded by Europeans with the Śaiva Gosains, and have a quaint habit of condescending to a sīhēl's ignorance by answering to his questions that they are Śīlā-pāḍārēs. The Dnyāṇadeva Panthīs, or followers of the celebrated author of the Dnyāṇē-savārē, the Chaucer of the Marāṭhi tongue, do not, says the doctor, really constitute an organized body at all. But space fails us to examine in detail the mass of information, the collection of which was doubtless far more a labour of love to the lamented autho: than the reviewing of it can be to a lay commentator.

W. F. S.

The History of India, as told by its own Historians.—


This seventh volume of materials for the history of India under the Muhammadans consists of twenty-three extracts and notices of varying lengths from the native histories relating to the reigns of Shāh-Jahān, Aurangzeb, Bahādur Shāh, Jahānādār Shāh, Farrukh Sīyār, Rafa'ī-ud-Daula, and Rafa'ī-ud-Darajāt, and of the earlier part of the reign of Muhammad Shāh,—that is from A. d. 1627 to about 1732. Some of the twenty-three sections, it should be remarked, are merely bibliographical notices of books: thus the first is a notice of the Fīdākhā Nāma of Muhammad Amīn Kazwīnī, which has been the model for most of
the Shāh-Jahān-nāmas. 'Abdu-l Hamīd Lāhorī follows its arrangement and supplies the same matter, though without acknowledgment, in his Badshāh-Nāma, from which Professor Dowson gives 57 pages of extracts. This latter work is the great authority for the first twenty years of the reign of Shāh Jahān, and has been published in the original Persian in the Bibliotheca Indica. For the remainder of the reign 45 pages of extracts are given from a MS. translation of nearly the whole of Inayat Khān's Shāh-Jahān-Nāma made by the late Major Fuller for Sir H. M. Elliot. The Badshāh-nāma of Muhammad Wāris, the pupil of 'Abdu-l Hamīd, is the completion of his master's work, containing the history of the last ten years of Shāh Jahān's reign; but, as this period has been pretty fully treated of in the extracts from Inayat Khān's work, only a short extract relating to the twenty-second year is given. A few pages of extracts follow bearing on the 31st and 32nd years of the reign, from the 'Amal-i Sādī of Muhammad Sādik Kāmbū. The Shāh-Jahān-nāma of Muhammad Sādik Khān is merely noticed, as it seems to have been followed by Khāfī Khān in his history. From the Majdīs-sa'dīka of Muhammad Sharīf Hanafī four short extracts are given, translated by a munshi for Sir H. M. Elliot from the only MS. he knew of—a copy in one of the Royal Libraries at Lahore. The Tārikh-i Mufazzal of Mufazzal Khān, a general history from the creation down to a.d. 1666, is represented in a similar brief way. Of the Mīr-‘at-i ‘Alam and Mīr-‘at-i Jāhān Nāma of Bakhtāwar Khān,—apparently essentially one and the same work, being a universal history, a table of contents is given and a few extracts by Sir H. M. Elliot. He dismisses the worthless ‘Zulqān-t-Tawārikh of ‘Azizullāh with a notice and outline of the contents; from the ‘Lub’ba-t-Tawārikh-i Hind of Bātī Bihārī Mal, he gives the contents and three pages of extracts. The ‘Alamgir-Nāma of Mirzā Muhammad Kāzīm, containing a history of the first ten years of Aurangzeb, was dedicated to him in the 32nd year of his reign; but on its being presented, though the author had been specially instructed to prepare it, "the Emperor forbade its continuation, and, like another Alexander, edito vetuit ne quis se pingeret, but for the same reason. The Moghul Emperor professed, as the cause of his prohibition, that the cultivation of inward piety was preferable to the ostentatious display of his achievements." The book is written in a style of courtly panegyric, and from it Sir H. M. Elliot and the editor supply only a few extracts. The

history of the conquest of Assām, translated from this work by Mr. H. Vansittart, appeared in the Asiatic Miscellany, vol. I. and Asiatic Researches, vol. II. (pp. 171-185), and the original has been printed in the Bibliotheca Indica. It has also been abridged in the Mādīs-‘Alamgir of Muhammad Sākī Masta’īd Khān, which, however, continues the history down to the death of ‘Alamgir in a.d. 1707. This latter work was edited and translated into English by H. Vansittart in 1785, and another version of the last forty years was made for Sir H. Elliot by Lient. Perkins, 71st N.L., and from that translation 14 pages of extracts are here supplied. The Persian original has also been published in the Bibliotheca Indica. The next five sections are only short notices of books:—The Futuhāt-i ‘Alamgirī or Wākhi’d-t-i ‘Alamgirī of Muhammad Ma’sīm, an account of the "events of two or three years;" the Tārikh-i Mulk-i ‘Asām, or account of the expedition to Assām in the 4th year of Aurangzeb, by Mālānā Ahmad Shahāb-ud-dīn Tālāsh; the Wākhi’ā of Mirzā Muhammad Ni’āmat Khān, devoted to the siege of Golkonda; the Jang-nāma of the same author; and Ruku’d-t-i ‘Alamgirī or Letters of Aurangzeb.*

We now come to perhaps the most important section of the book,—322 pages of extracts from Muntakhabu-l Lubāb of Muhammad Hāshim, frequently called Tārikh-i Khāfī Khān, "a highly esteemed history, commencing with the invasion of Bābār a.d. 1519, and concluding with the fourteenth year of Muhammad Shāh," but "chiefly valuable for containing an entire account of the reign of Aurangzeb, of which, in consequence of that Emperor's well-known prohibition, it is very difficult to obtain a full and connected history." Khāfī Khān, however, had privately compiled a minute register of all the events of the reign, which he published some years after the monarch's death; and Professor Dowson has done great and good service by translating so largely as he has done from this excellent history, covering as it does the most stirring period in Marāthā history, of Śivājī, Sambāl, and Rāja Rām.

The extracts (28 pp.) from the Tārikh-i Irdat Khān (1706-1712 a.d.) and two letters of Aurangzeb's are taken from Capt. J. Scott's History of the Deccan. From Tārikh-i Bahādur Shāh, the account of Bahādur Shāh's reign (a.d. 1707-1712) was translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by Lient. Anderson, 25th N.I., but only four short extracts were thought worth printing. Tārikh-i Shāh ‘Aīlam Bahādur Shāh by Dānishmand Khān, otherwise called Mirzā Muhammad Ni'āmat Khān, extends

only to the month of Rajab in the 2nd year of Bahádur's reign, and is consequently dismissed without an extract. 'Ibrát-Náma of Muhammad Kásim is a history of the period from the death of Aurungzeb to that of Ktíb-ul Múlک Sáyíd 'Abdu-lla, of which the editor gives the contents and two pages of extracts.

This volume contains much interesting matter for the century of which it treats, and the editor informs us that "ample and very diversified matter remains for the concluding volume." That volume too, we are happy to learn, will contain a complete Index to the whole work,—a feature which will greatly enhance the value of it: we wish it could also contain a complete chronological table, or that the chronology could be incorporated in some way in the Index, for we often come upon statements of events (e.g. p. 561) taking place on a certain day of a month, but without the year mentioned; and though the year is generally not far to seek, yet there are cases in which the reader does not feel certain that he may not be wrong in his conclusion, and others in which it is very difficult to arrive at the year at all.

THE INDIKA OF MEGASTHENÉS.

(Continued from p. 135.)

TRANSLATED BY J. W. McCORDLE, M.A., GOVT. COLLEGE, PÁTNÁ.

BOOK III.

FRAGM. XXXII.


Of the Seven Castes among the Indians.

XI. But further: in India the whole people is divided into about seven castes. Among these are the sōphists, who are not so numerous as the others, but hold the supreme place of dignity and honour,—for they are under no necessity of doing any bodily labour at all, or of contributing from the produce of their labour anything to the common stock, nor indeed is any duty absolutely binding on them except to perform the sacrifices offered to the gods on behalf of the state. If any one, again, has a private sacrifice to offer, one of these sophists shows him the proper mode, as if he could not otherwise make an acceptable offering to the gods. To this class the knowledge of divination among the Indians is exclusively restricted, and none but a sophist is allowed to practise that art. They predict about such matters as the seasons of the year, and any calamity which may befall the state; but the private fortunes of individuals they do not care to predict,—either because divination does not concern itself with trifling matters, or because to take any trouble about such is deemed unbecoming. But if any one fails thrice to predict truly, he incurs, it is said, no further penalty than being obliged to be silent for the future, and there is no power on earth able to compel that man to speak who has once been condemned to silence. These sophists go naked, living during winter in the open air to enjoy the sunshine, and during summer, when the heat is too powerful, in meadows and low grounds under large trees, the shadow whereof, Nearchos says, extends that even ten thousand men could be covered by the shadow of a single tree. They live upon the fruits which each season produces, and on the bark of trees,—the bark being no less sweet and nutritious than the fruit of the date-palm.

After these, the second caste consists of the tillers of the soil, who form the most before the king at the gates, when any philosopher who may have committed any useful suggestion to writing, or observed any means for improving the crops and the cattle, or for promoting the public interests, declares it publicly. If any one is detected giving false information thrice, the law condemns him to be silent for the rest of his life, but he who gives sound advice is exempted from paying any taxes or contributions.

(40) The second caste consists of the husbandmen, who form the bulk of the population, and are in disposition most mild and gentle. They are
numerous class of the population. They are neither furnished with arms, nor have any military duties to perform, but they cultivate the soil and pay tribute to the kings and the independent cities. In times of civil war the soldiers are not allowed to molest the husbandmen or ravage their lands: hence, while the former are fighting and killing each other as they can, the latter may be seen close at hand tranquilly pursuing their work,—perhaps ploughing, or gathering in their crops, pruning the trees, or reaping the harvest.

The third caste among the Indians consists of the herdsmen and herdswomen; and these neither dwell in cities nor in villages, but they are nomadic and live on the hills. They too are subject to tribute, and this they pay in cattle. They scour the country in pursuit of fowl and wild beasts.

XII. The fourth caste consists of handiemen and retail-dealers. They have to perform gratuitously certain public services, and to pay tribute from the products of their labour. An exception, however, is made in favour of those who fabricate the weapons of war,—and not only so, but they even draw exempted from military service, and cultivate their lands undisturbed by fear. They never go to town, either to take part in its tumults, or for any other purpose. * It therefore not unfrequently happens that at the same time, and in the same part of the country, men may be seen drawn up in array of battle, and fighting at risk of their lives, while other men close at hand are ploughing and digging in perfect security, having these soldiers to protect them. The whole of the land is the property of the king, and the husbandmen till it on condition of receiving one-fourth of the produce.

(41) * The third caste consists of herdsmen and hunters, who alone are allowed to hunt, and to keep cattle, and to sell draught animals or let them out on hire. In return for clearing the land of wild beasts and fowls which devour the seeds sown in the fields, they receive an allowance of grain from the king. They lead a wandering life and live under tents.

Pieg. XXXVI. follows here.

[So much, then, on the subject of wild animals. We shall now return to Megasthenes, and resume from where we digressed.]

(46) * The fourth class, after herdsmen and hunters, consists of those who work at trades, of those who vend wares, and of those who are employed in bodily labour. Some of these pay tribute, and render to the state certain prescribed services. But the armour-makers and shipbuilders receive wages and their victuals from the king, for whom alone they work. The general in command of the army supplies the soldiers with weapons, and the admiral of the fleet lets out ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandize.

(47) The fifth class consists of fighting men, who, when not engaged in active service, pass their time in idleness and drinking. They are maintained at the king's expense, and hence they are always ready, when occasion calls, to take the field, for they carry nothing of their own with them but their own bodies.

(48) The sixth class consists of the overseers, to whom is assigned the duty of watching all that goes on, and making reports secretly to the king. Some are entrusted with the inspection of the city, and others with that of the army. The former employ as their coadjutors the courtezans of the city, and the latter the courtezans of the camp. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.

* Sheriffs: see Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 287.
The seventh caste consists of the coun-
cillors of state, who advise the king, or the magistrates of self-governed cities, in the management of public affairs. In point of number this is a small class, but it is distinguished by superior wisdom and justice, and hence enjoys the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy-governors, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers, and commissioners who superintend agriculture.

The custom of the country prohibits inter-marriage between the castes:—for instance, the husbandman cannot take a wife from the artisan caste, nor the artisan a wife from the husbandman caste. Custom also prohibits anyone from exercising two trades, or from changing from one caste to another. One cannot, for instance, become a husbandman if he is a herdsman, or become a herdsman if he is an artisan. It is only permitted that the sophist be from any caste: for the life of the sophist is not an easy one, but the hardest of all.

**Fragm. XXXIV.**


Of the administration of public affairs.

Of the use of Horses and Elephants.

(Fragm. XXXIII. has preceded this.)

(50) Of the great officers of state, some have charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiers. Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners.

They construct roads, and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances. Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first look after everything relating to the industrial arts. Those of the second attend to the entertainment of foreigners. To these they assign lodgings, and they keep watch over their modes of life by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistants. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or, in the event of their dying, forward their property to their relatives. They take care of them when they are sick, and if they die bury them.

The third body consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur, with the view not only of levying a tax, but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of Government. The fourth class superintends trade and commerce. Its members have charge of weights and measures, and see that the products in their season are sold by public notice. No one is allowed to deal in more than one kind of commodity unless he pays a double tax. The fifth class supervises manufactured articles, which they sell by public notice. What is new is sold separately from what is old, and there is a fine for mixing the two together. The sixth and last class consists of those who collect the tenths of the prices of the articles sold. Fraud with regard to this tax is punished with death.

Such are the functions which these bodies separately discharge. In their collective capacity they have charge both of their special departments, and also of matters affecting the general interest, as the keeping of public buildings in proper repair, the regulation of prices,
the care of markets, harbours, and temples. 

Next to the city magistrates there is a third governing body, which directs military affairs. This also consists of six divisions, with five members to each. One division is appointed to co-operate with the admiral of the fleet, another with the superintendent of the bullock-trains which are used for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites. They supply servants who beat the drum, and others who carry gongs; grooms also for the horses, and mechanists and their assistants. To the sound of the gong they send out foragers to bring in grass, and by a system of rewards and punishments ensure the work being done with despatch and safety. 13 The third division has charge of the foot-soldiers, the fourth of the horses, the fifth of the war-chariots, and the sixth of the elephants. 14 There are royal stables for the horses and elephants, and also a royal magazine for the arms, because the soldier has to return his arms to the magazine, and his horse and his elephant to the stables. 15 They use the elephants without bridles. The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen, 16 but the horses are led along by a halter, that their legs may not be galled and inflamed, nor their spirits damped by drawing chariots. 17 In addition to the charioteer, there are two fighting men who sit up in the chariot beside him. The war-elephant carries four men—three who shoot arrows, and the driver. § (Fragm. XXVII. follows.)

Fragm. XXXIV. 

Of the use of Horses and Elephants. 

Strab. XV. 1. 41-43,—pp. 704-705. 

Of Elephants. 

Conf. Epit. 54-56. 

(Fragm. XXXIII. 6 has preceded this.)

A private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king, and persons are appointed to take care of them. 8 The manner of hunting the elephant is this. Round a bare patch of ground is dug a deep trench about five or six stadia in extent, and over this is thrown a very narrow bridge which trenches, enclosing as much space as would suffice to encamp a large army. They make the trench with a breadth of five fathoms and a depth of four. But the earth which they throw out in the process of digging they heap up in mounds on both edges of the trench, and use it as a wall. Then they make huts for themselves by excavating the wall on the outer edge of the trench, and in these they leave loopholes, both to admit light, and to enable them to see when their

§ “The fourfold division of the army (horse, foot, chariots, and elephants) was the same as that of Menen; but Strabo makes a sextuple division, by adding the commissariat and naval department.”
The wild lie in ambush in concealed huts. The men themselves are introduced three or four of the best-trained female elephants. The men themselves by one, the strongest of the tame fighting elephants, they fight it out with the wild ones, whom at the same time they enfeeble with hunger. When all have passed the entrance, the men secretly close it up; then, introducing the strongest of the tame fighting elephants, they fight it out with the wild ones, whom at the same time they enfeeble with hunger. When the latter are now overcome with fatigue, the boldest of the drivers dismount unobserved, and each man creeps under his own elephant, and from this position creeps under the belly of the wild elephant and ties his feet together. When this is done they incite the tame ones to beat those whose feet are tied till they fall to the ground. They then bind the wild ones and the tame ones together neck to neck with thongs of raw ox-hide. To prevent them shaking themselves in order to throw off those who attempt to mount them, they make cuts all round their neck and then put thongs of leather into the incisions, so that the pain obliges them to submit to their fetters and to remain quiet. From the number caught they reject such as are too old or too young to be serviceable, and the rest they lead away to the stables. Here they tie their feet one to another, and fasten their necks to a firmly fixed pillar, and tame them by hunger. After this they restore their strength with green reeds and grass. They next teach them to be obedient, which they effect by soothing them, some by coaxing words, and others by songs and the music of the drum. Few of them are found difficult to tame, for they are naturally so mild

prey approaches and enters the enclosure. They next station some three or four of their best-trained she-elephants within the trap, to which they leave only a single passage by means of a bridge thrown across the trench, the framework of which they cover over with earth and a great quantity of straw, to conceal the bridge as much as possible from the wild animals, which might else suspect treachery. The hunters then go out of the way, retiring to the cells which they had made in the earthen wall. Now the wild elephants do not go near inhabited places in the day-time, but during the night they wander about everywhere, and feed in herds, following as leader the one who is biggest and boldest, just as cows follow the bulls. As soon, then, as they approach the enclosure, and hear the cry and catch scent of the females, they rush at full speed in the direction of the fenced ground, and being arrested by the trench move round its edge until they fall in with the bridge, along which they force their way into the enclosure. The hunters meanwhile, perceiving the entrance of the wild elephants, hasten, some of them, to take away the bridge, while others, running off to the nearest villages, announce that the elephants are within the trap. The villagers, on hearing the news, mount their most spirited and best-trained elephants, and as soon as mounted ride off to the trap; but though they ride up to it they do not immediately engage in a conflict with the wild elephants, but wait till these are sorely pinched by hunger and tamed by thirst. When they think their strength has been enough weakened, they set up the bridge anew and ride into the trap, when first a fierce assault is made by the tame elephants upon those caught in the trap, and then, as might be expected, the wild elephants, through loss of spirit and faintness from hunger, are overpowered. On this the hunters, dismounting from their elephants, bind with fetters the feet of the wild ones, now by this time quite exhausted. Then they instigate the tame ones to beat them with repeated blows, until their sufferings wear them out, and they fall to the ground. The hunters meanwhile, standing near them, slip nooses over their necks and mount them while yet lying on the ground; and, to prevent them shaking off their riders, or doing mischief otherwise, make with a sharp knife an incision all round their neck, and fasten the noose round in the incision. By means of the wound thus made they keep their head and neck quite steady; for if they become restive and turn round, the wound is galled by the action of the rope. They shun, therefore, all violent movements, and, knowing that they have been vanquished, suffer themselves to be led in fetters by the tame ones.
and gentle in their disposition that they approximate to rational creatures. Some of them take up their drivers when fallen in battle, and carry them off in safety from the field. Others, when their masters have sought refuge between their forelegs, have fought in their defence and saved their lives. If in a fit of anger they kill either the man who feeds or the man who trains them, they pine so much for their loss that they refuse to take food, and sometimes die of hunger.

13 They copulate like horses, and the female casts her calf chiefly in spring. It is the season for the male, when he is in heat and becomes ferocious. At this time he discharges a fatty substance through an orifice near the temples. It is also the season for the females, when the corresponding passage opens. 14 They go with young for a period which varies from sixteen to eighteen months. The dam suckles her calf for six years. 15 Most of them live as long as men: but attain extreme longevity, and some live over two hundred years. They are liable to many distempers, and are not easily cured.

The Indians cure the wounds of the elephants which they catch, in the manner following:—They treat them in the way in which, as good old Homer tells us, Patroklos treated the wound of Eurypyllos,—they foment them with lukewarm water.|| After this they rub them over with butter, and if they are deep allay the inflammation by applying and inserting pieces of pork, hot but still retaining the blood. They cure ophthalmia with cows' milk, which is first used as a fomentation for the eye, and is then injected into it. The animals open their eyelids, and finding they can see better are delighted, and are sensible of the benefit like human beings. In proportion as

remedy for diseases of the eye is to wash it with cows' milk. For most of their other diseases draughts of black wine are administered to them. For the cure of their wounds they are made to swallow butter, for this draws out iron. Their sores are fomented with swine's flesh.

FRAGMENT XXXVIII.


Of the diseases of Elephants.

(Of Fragn. XXXVI. 15 and XXXVII. 15.)

The Indians cure the wounds of the elephants which they catch, in the manner following:—They treat them in the way in which, as good old Homer tells us, Patroklos treated the wound of Eurypyllos,—they foment them with lukewarm water.|| After this they rub them over with butter, and if they are deep allay the inflammation by applying and inserting pieces of pork, hot but still retaining the blood. They cure ophthalmia with cows' milk, which is first used as a fomentation for the eye, and is then injected into it. The animals open their eyelids, and finding they can see better are delighted, and are sensible of the benefit like human beings. In proportion as

stated. 15 Diseases of their eyes are cured by pouring cows' milk into them, and other distempers by administering draughts of black wine; while their wounds are cured by the application of roasted pork. Such are the remedies used by the Indians.

[FRAGMENT XXXVII. B.]

Ælian, Hist. Anim. XII. 44.

Of Elephants.

(Of Fragn. XXXVI. 9-10 and XXXVII. 9-10 init. c. XIV.)

In India an elephant if caught when full-grown is difficult to tame, and longing for freedom thirsts for blood. Should it be bound in chains, this exasperates it still more, and it will not submit to a master. The Indians, however, coax it with food, and seek to pacify it with various things for which it has a liking, their aim being to fill its stomach and to soothe its temper. But it is still angry with them, and takes no notice of them. To what device do they then resort? They sing to it their native melodies, and soothe it with the music of an instrument in common use which has four strings and is called a skindapos. The creature now pricks up its ears, yields to the soothing strain, and its anger subsides. Then, though there is an occasional outburst of its suppressed passion, it gradually turns its eye to its food. It is then freed from its bonds, but does not seek to escape, being enthralled with the music. It even takes food eagerly, and, like a luxurious guest riveted to the festive board, has no wish to go, from its love of the music.

Arrian almost as exactly as from the account of the modern practice in the " Asiatic Researches," (vol. III. p. 299)—Euphrasius's History of India, p. 343.
their blindness diminishes their delight overflows; and this is a token that the disease has been cured. The remedy for other distempers to which they are liable is black wine; and if this potion fails to work a cure nothing else can save them.

Fragm. XXXIX.
Strab. XV. 1. 44.—p. 706.
Of Gold-digging Ants.*

Megasthenes gives the following account of these ants. Among the Dardai, a great tribe of Indians, who inhabit the mountains on the eastern borders,† there is an elevated plateau‡ about 3,000 stadia in circuit. Beneath the surface there are mines of gold, and here accordingly are found the ants which dig for that metal. They are not inferior in size to wild foxes. They run with amazing speed, and live by the produce of the chase. The time when they dig is winter.§ They throw up heaps of earth, as moles do, at the mouth of the mines. The gold-dust has to be subjected to a little boiling. The people of the neighbourhood, coming secretly with beasts of burden, carry this off. If they came openly the ants would attack them, and pursue them if they fled, and would destroy secretly with beasts of burden, carry this off. If both them and their cattle. So, to effect the robbery without being observed, they lay down in several different places pieces of the flesh of wild beasts, and when the ants are by this device dispersed they carry off the gold-dust. This they sell to any trader they meet with while it is still in the state of ore, for the art of fusing metals is unknown to them.

Fragm. XL.
Arr. Ind. XV. 5-7.
Of Gold-digging Ants.

But Megasthenes avers that the tradition about the ants is strictly true,—that they are gold-diggers not for the sake of the gold itself, but because by instinct they burrow holes in the earth to lie in, just as the tiny ants of our own country dig little holes for themselves, only those in India being larger than foxes make their burrows proportionately larger. But the ground is impregnated with gold, and the Indians thence obtain their gold. [* Now Megasthenes writes what he had heard from hearsay, and as I have no exacter information to give I willingly dismiss the subject of the ant.]††

Fragm. XL. B.
Dio Chrysost. Or. 35.—p. 436, Morell.
Of Ants which dig for gold.
(Cf. Fragm. XXXIV. and XL.)

They get the gold from ants. These creatures are larger than foxes, but are in other respects like the ants of our own country. They dig holes in the earth like other ants. The heap which they throw up consists of gold the purest and brightest in all the world. The mounds are piled up close to each other in regular order like hillocks of gold dust, and all the plain is made effulgent. It is difficult, therefore, to look towards the sun, and many who have attempted to do this have thereby destroyed their eyesight. The people who are next neighbours to the ants, with a view to plunder these heaps, cross the intervening desert, which is of no great extent. They are mounted on wagons to which they have yoked their swiftest horses, and arrive at noon, a time when the ants have gone underground. They at once seize the booty, and make off at full speed. The ants, on learning what has been done, pursue the fugitives, and overtaking them fight with them till they conquer or die, for of all animals they are the most courageous. It hence appears that they understand the worth of gold, and that they will sacrifice their lives rather than part with it.

Fragm. XLI.
Strab. XV. 1. 58-60.—pp. 711-714.
Of the Indian Philosophers.
(Fragm. XXIX. has preceded this.)

(58) Speaking of the philosophers, he (Megasthenes) says that such of them as live on the mountains are worshippers of Dionysus, showing as proofs that he had come among them the wild vine, which grows in their country only, and the ivy, and the laurel, and the myrtle,

* See Ind. Ant. vol. IV. pp. 235 seqq. where cogent arguments are adduced to prove that the ‘gold-digging ants’ were originally neither, as the ancients supposed, real ants, nor, as so many eminent men of learning have supposed, larger animals mistaken for ants on account of their appearance and subterranean habits, but Tibetan miners, whose mode of life and dress was in the remotest antiquity exactly what they are at the present day. These are the Dardai of Pimly, the Dara da/i of Polemy, and the Daradas of Sanskrit literature. “The Dardai are not an extinct race. According to the accounts of modern travellers, they consist of several wild and predatory tribes dwelling among the mountains on the north-west frontier of Kāñṣīrī and by the banks of the Indus.” Ind. Ant. loc. cit.

† The table-land of Chojostal, see Jour. R. Geog. Soc. vol. XXXIX. pp. 149 seqq.—Ep.

‡ The mines of Thok-Jalung, in spite of the cold, prefer working in winter; and the number of their tents, which in summer amounts to three hundred, rises to nearly six hundred in winter. They prefer the winter, as the frozen soil then stands well, and is not likely to trouble them much by falling in.”—Id.

§ A few rygovro ῥωτ ῥώτοπος be adopted, the rendering is, “They dispose of it to merchants at any price.”

and the box-tree, and other evergreens, none of which are found beyond the Euphrates, except a few in parks, which it requires great care to preserve. They observe also certain customs which are Bacchanalian. Thus they dress in muslin, wear the turban, use perfumes, array themselves in garments dyed of bright colours; and their kings, when they appear in public, are preceded by the music of drums and gongs. But the philosophers who live on the plains worship Hêrakles. [These accounts are fabulous, and are impugned by many writers, especially what is said about the vine and wine. For the greater part of Armenia, and the whole of Mesopotamia and Media, onwards to Persia and Karmânia, lie beyond the Euphrates, and throughout a great part of each of these countries good vines grow, and good wine is produced.]

(59) Megasthenes makes a different division of the philosophers, saying that they are of two kinds—one of which he calls the Brachmanes, and the other the Sarmânes. The Brachmanes are best esteemed, for they are more consistent in their opinions. From the time of their conception in the womb they are under the guardian care of learned men, who go to the mother and, under the pretence of using some incantations for the welfare of herself and her unborn babe, in reality give her prudent hints and counsels. The women who listen most willingly are thought to be the most fortunate in their children. After their birth the children are under the care of one person after another, and as they advance in age each succeeding master is more accomplished than his predecessor. The philosophers have their abode in a grove in front of the city within a moderate-sized enclosure. They live in a simple style, and lie on beds of rushes or (deer) skins. They abstain from animal food and sexual pleasures, and spend their time in listening to serious discourse, and in imparting their knowledge to such as will listen to them. The hearer is not allowed to speak, or even to cough, and much less to spit, and if he offends in any of these ways he is cast out from their society that very day, as being a man who is wanting in self-restraint. After living in this manner for seven-and-thirty years, each individual retires to his own property, where he lives for the rest of his days in ease and security.† They then array themselves in fine muslin, and wear a few trinkets of gold on their fingers and in their ears. They eat flesh, but not that of animals employed in labour. They abstain from hot and highly seasoned food. They marry as many wives as they please, with a view to have numerous children, for by having many wives greater advantages are enjoyed, and, since they have no slaves, they have more need to have children around them to attend to their wants.

The Brachmanes do not communicate a knowledge of philosophy to their wives, lest they should divulge any of the forbidden mysteries to the profane if they became depraved, or lest they should desert them if they became good philosophers: for no one who despises pleasure and pain, as well as life and death, wishes to be in subjection to another, but this is characteristic both of a good man and of a good woman.

Death is with them a very frequent subject of discourse. They regard this life as, so to speak, the time when the child within the womb becomes mature, and death as a birth into a real and happy life for the votaries of philosophy. On this account they undergo much discipline as a preparation for death. They consider nothing that befalls men to be either good or bad, to suppose otherwise being an illusion, else how could some be affected with sorrow, and others with pleasure, by the very same things, and how could the

—Schwanbeck, p. 46; H. H. Wilson, Gloss. "It is a capital question," he adds, "who the Sarmâne were, some considering them to be Buddhists, and others denying them to be such. Weighty arguments are adduced on both sides, but the opinion of those seems to approach nearer the truth who contend that they were Buddhists."

† A mistake (of the Greek writers) (i.e. an ascetic), it is evident that the forms Γαμάνας and Γεμάνας, which are found in all the MSS. of Strabo, are incorrect. The mistake need not surprise us, since the Σα when closely written together differ little in form from the syllable ΙΑ. In the same way Clement's Αυλάβιοι must be changed into Strabo's 'Αυλάβιοι, corresponding with the Sanskrit Vânaprastha—"the man of the first three castes who, after the term of his householder's rights has expired, has entered the third stage of life, and has proceeded (pravâsa) to a life in the woods (Vâna)."—Schwanbeck, p. 46; H. H. Wilson, Gloss. "A mistake" (of the Greek writers) originates in their ignorance of the divided life. Thus they speak of men who had been for many years spouses marrying and returning to common life (alluding probably to the fourfold division of a Brâhmaṇa's life. Thus they speak of men who had been for many years spouses marrying and returning to common life (alluding probably to the fourfold division of a Brâhmaṇa's life. Thus they speak of men who had been for many years spouses marrying and returning to common life (alluding probably to the fourfold division of a Brâhmaṇa's life. Thus they speak of men who had been for many years spouses marrying and returning to common life (alluding probably to the fourfold division of a Brâhmaṇa's life. Thus they speak of men who had been for many years spouses marrying and returning to common life (alluding probably to the fourfold division

—Schwanbeck, p. 46; H. H. Wilson, Gloss. "It is a capital question," he adds, "who the Sarmâne
same things affect the same individuals at different times with these opposite emotions?

Their ideas about physical phenomena, the same author tells us, are very crude, for they are better in their actions than in their reasonings, inasmuch as their belief is in great measure based upon fables; yet on many points their opinions coincide with those of the Greeks, for like them they say that the world had a beginning, and is liable to destruction, and is in shape spherical, and that the Deity who made it, and who governs it, is diffused through all its parts. They hold that various first principles operate in the universe, and that water was the principle employed in the making of the world. In addition to the four elements there is a fifth agency, from which the heaven and the stars were produced. The earth is placed in the centre of the universe. Concerning generation, and the nature of the soul, and many other subjects, they express views like those maintained by the Greeks. They wrap up their doctrines about immortality and future judgment, and kindred topics, in allegories, after the manner of Plato. Such are his statements regarding the Brahmanes.

(60) Of the Sarmanes § he tells us that those who are held in most honour are called the Hylobioi. They live in the woods, where they subsist on leaves of trees and wild fruits, and wear garments made from the bark of trees. They abstain from sexual intercourse and from wine. They communicate with the kings, who consult them by messengers regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the deity. Next in

FRAGMENT XLII.


That the Jewish race is by far the oldest of all these, and that their philosophy, which has been committed to writing, preceded the philosophy of the Greeks, Philo the Pythagorean shows by many arguments, as does also Aristoboulos the Peripatetic, and many others whose names I need not waste time in enumerating. Megasthenes, the author of a work on India, who lived with Seleukos Nikator, writes most clearly on this point, and his words are these:— "All that has been said regarding nature by the ancients is asserted also by philosophers out of Greece, on the one part in India by the Brahmances, and on the other in Syria by the people called the Jews."

FRAGMENT XLII. B.


E Clem. Alex.

Again, in addition to this, further on he writes:—

"Megasthenes, the writer who lived with Seleukos Nikator, writes most clearly on this point and to this effect:— "All that has been said," &c.

FRAGMENT XLIII. C.


Aristoboulos the Peripatetic somewhere writes

† Aδδία, 'the other or sky.'
‡ Schwabenbeck argues from the distinct separation here made between the Brahmances and the Sarmanes, as well as from the name Sarmania being especially applied to Bandhs teachers, that the latter are here meant. They are called Sarmazos by Bardesanes (ap. Porphyry, Abst. IV. 17) and Alex. Polychrestus (ap. Cyrill. contra Julian. IV. p. 133 E. ed. Paris, 1638). Conf. also Hieronym. ad. Jonasion. II. (ed. Paris. 1706, T. II. pt. II. p. 206). And this is just the Fal name Sarmania, the equivalent of the Sanskrit Srama. Bohlen in De Buddhismo origine et statu definitive sustains this view, but Lassen (Schema Mus. Wir Phil.)

to this effect:— "All that has been said," &c.

FRAGMENT XLIII.


Of the Philosophers of India.

[Philosophy, then, with all its blessed advantages to man, flourishing long ages ago among the barbarians, diffusing its light among the Gentiles, and eventually penetrated into Greece. Its hierophants were the prophets among the Egyptians, the Chaldeans among the Assyrians, the Druids among the Gauls, the Sarmanes who were the philosophers of the Balkrians and the Kelts, the Magi among the Persians, who, as you know, announced beforehand the birth of the Saviour, being led by a star till they arrived in the land of Judsea, and among the Indians the Gymnosophists, and other philosophers of barbarous nations.] There are two sects of these Indian philosophers—one called the Sarmanes and the other the Brahmances. Connected with the Sarmanes are the philosophers called the Hylobioi, who neither live in cities nor even in houses. They clothe themselves with the bark of trees, and subsist upon acorns, and drink water by lifting it to their mouth with their hands. They neither marry nor begot children [like those ascetics of our own day called the Enkraftétai. Among the Indians are those philosophers also who follow the precepts of Boutta, whom they honour as a god on account of his extraordinary sanctity.]

I. 71ff.) contends that the description agrees better with the Brahman ascetics. See Schwabenbeck, p. 46ff. and Lassen Ind. Alterth. (2nd ed.) II. 705, or (1st ed.) II. 700.—En. See note* page 243.

† "In this passage, though Cyril follows Clemens, he wrongly attributes the narrative of Megasthenes to Aristoboulos the Peripatetic, whom Clemens only praises."—Schwabenbeck, p. 56.

* The reading of the MSS is Allobioi.

† V. l. Bouré—The passage admits of a different rendering: "They (the Hylobioi) are those among the Indians who follow the precepts of Boutta." Colebrooke in his Ob-
honour to the Hyllobioi are the physicians, since they are engaged in the study of the nature of man. They are simple in their habits, but do not live in the fields. Their food consists of rice and barley-meal, which they can always get for the mere asking, or receive from those who entertain them as guests in their houses. By their knowledge of pharmacy they can make marriages fruitful, and determine the sex of the offspring. They effect cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines. The remedies most esteemed are ointments and plasters. All others they consider to be in a great measure pernicious in their nature. § This class and the other class practise fortitude, both by undergoing active toil, and by the endurance of pain, so that they remain for a whole day motionless in one fixed attitude. ||

Besides these there are diviners and sorcerers, and adepts in the rites and customs relating to the dead, who go about begging both in villages and towns.

Even such of them as are of superior culture and refinement inculcate such superstitions regarding Hades as they consider favourable to piety and holiness of life. Women pursue philosophy with some of them, but abstain from sexual intercourse.

Fragm. XLIIL, XLIII.
See ante, p. 244.

Fragm. XLIV.
Strab. XV. 1. 68.—p. 718.

Of Kalanos and Mandanis.

Megasthenes, however, says that self-destruction is not a dogma of the philosophers, but

servations on the Sect of the Jains, has quoted this passage from Clemens to controvert the opinion that the religion and institutions of the orthodox Hindus are more modern than the doctrines of Jina and of Buddha. "Here," he says, "to my apprehension, the followers of Buddha are clearly distinguished from the Brahmans and Sarmanes. The latter, called Germans by Strabo, and Samanae by Porphyrios, are the ascetics of a different religion, and may have belonged to the sect of Jina, or to another. The Brahmans are apparently those who are described by Philostratus and Hierocles as worshipping the sun; and by Strabo and by Arrian as performing sacrifices for the common benefit of the nation, as well as for individuals. They are expressly discriminated from the sect of Buddha by one ancient author, and from the Sarmanes or Samanae (ascetics of various tribes) by others. They are described by more than one authority as worshipping the sun, as performing sacrifices, and as denying the eternity of the world, and maintaining other tenets incompatible with the supposition that the sects of Buddha or Jina could be meant. Their manners and doctrine, as described by these authors, are quite conformable with the notions and practice of the orthodox Hindus. It may therefore be confidently inferred that the followers of the Vedas flourished in India when it was visited by the Greeks under Alexander, and continued to flourish from the time of Megasthenes, who described them in the fourth century before Christ, to that of Porphyrios, who speaks of them, on later authority, in the third century after Christ." § "The habits of the physicians," Elphinstone remarks, "seem to correspond with those of Brahmanes of the fourth stage."

|| "It is indeed," says the same authority, "a remarkable circumstance that the religion of Buddha should never have been expressly noticed by the Greek authors, though it had existed for two centuries before Alexander. The only explanation is that the appearance and manners of its followers were not so peculiar as to enable a foreigner to distinguish them from the mass of the people." ||

"Kalanos followed the Macedonian army from Taxila, and when afterwards taken ill burnt himself on a funeral pyre in the presence of the whole Macedonian army, without swerving in any symptom of pain. His real name, according to Pintarch, was Sphines, and he received the name Kalanos among the Greeks because in saluting persons he used the form £â££ instead of the Greek kálete. What Pintarch here calls £â££ is probably the Sanskrit form kālyása, which is commonly used in addressing a person, and signifies 'good, just, or distinguished.'"—Smith's Classical Dictionary.

(1) Samana is the Pali form of the older Samana.)
desired to converse with one of these men, because he regarded their fortune with admiration. The eldest of these sages, with whom the others lived as disciples with a master, and whose name was Dandanis, not only refused to go himself, but forbade any of the others to do so. He is said to have returned this answer, that if Alexander was the son of Zeus, then he too was the son of Zeus as well, and that he wanted none of the things which Alexander possessed, as he was quite contented with what he had. He noticed, he said, that those who were wandering with Alexander over so many lands and seas gained no good by it all, while at the same time there was no end to their many wanderings. He coveted, therefore, nothing which it was in Alexander's power to bestow, nor did he fear any restraint which he could possibly impose upon him; for if he lived, India would yield him as much food as he required, and if he died, he would be delivered from his ill-assorted companion the body. Alexander accordingly did not attempt to force him to act in opposition to his inclinations, appreciating his spirit of independence. But he prevailed upon Kalanos, one of their number, whom Megasthenes for that reason condemns for his want of firmness, and the rest of the sages reproached Kalanos with folly, for leaving the happiness they imagined they had, and acknowledging any other master except the supreme God.

BOOK IV.

FRAGM. XLVI.

Strab. XV. I. 6-8.—pp. 689-688.
That the Indians had never been attacked by others, nor had themselves attacked others. (Cf. Epit. 23.)
6. But what just reliance can we place on the accounts of India from such expeditions as those of

FRAGM. XLVII.

Arr. Ind. V. 4-12.
That the Indians had never been attacked by others, nor had themselves attacked others.

Well, then, this same Megasthenes informs us that the Indians neither invade other men, nor do other men invade the Indians; for Sesostis the Egyptian, after having overthrown the greater part of Asia, and advanced with his army as far as Europe, returned home; and I d a n t h u r o s the Skuthian, issuing from Skuthia, subdued many nations of Asia, and carried his victorious arms even to the borders of Egypt; and S e m i r a m i s, again, the Assyrian queen, took in hand an expedition against India, but died before she could execute her design; and thus Alexander was the only conqueror who actually invaded the country.

And regarding D i o n u s o s many traditions are current of his having also made an expedition into India, and subjugated the Indians before the days of Alexander. But of H é r a k l e s tradition has but little to say. Of the expedition, on the other hand

* For an account of Alexander's interview with the Gymnasophists see Plutarch's Alexander, 65.
† The expedition of Semiramis as described by Dio- dorus Siculus (II. 16-19), who followed the Assyrians of Tissias, has almost the character of a legend abounding with puerilities, and is entirely destitute of those geographical details which stamp events with reality. If this expedition is real, as on other grounds we may believe it to be, some traces will assuredly be found of it in the cuneiform inscriptions of Nineveh, which are destined to throw so much expected light on the ancient history of Asia. It has already been believed possible to draw from these inscriptions the foundations of a positive chronology which will fully confirm the indications given by Herodotus as to the epoch of Semiramis, in fixing the epoch of this celebrated queen in the 6th century of our era—an epoch which is quite in harmony with the date, which we derive from other sources regarding the condition of the North-West of India after the Vedic times.

** Kyros, towards the middle of the 6th century of our era, must also have carried his arms even to the Indus. Historical tradition attributed to him the destruction of Kattas, an important city in the upper region of the Kophis (Plin. VI. 23); and in the lower region the Asakenians and the Astatkanians, indigenous tribes of Gandara, are reckoned among his tributaries (Arrian, Indasc, I. 3). Tradition further recounts that, in returning from his expedition into India, Kyros had seen his whole army perish in the deserts of Gedrosia (Arr. Anab. VI. 24. 2). The Persian domination in these districts has left more than one trace in the geographical nomenclature. It is sufficient to recall the name of the Khaspest, one of the great affluents of the Kophis.

Whatever be the real historical character of the expeditions of Semiramis and Kyros, it is certain that their conquests on the Indus were only temporary acquisitions, since at the epoch when Dareios Hystaspes mounted the throne the eastern frontier of the empire did not go beyond Arashtus (the Horaculis of the Zend texts, the Horaculis) of the cuneiform inscriptions, the Arvokhad (of Musalmân geography, the province of Kandhahar and of Ghazni of existing geography)—that is to say, the parts of Afghanistan which lie east of the Suhme chain of mountains. This fact is established by the great trilingual inscription of Bisotoun, which indicates the last eastern countries to which Dareios had carried his arms at the epoch when the monument was erected. This was before he had achieved his well-known conquest of the valley of the Indus.**—St. Martin, Étude sur la Géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde, pp. 14 seqq.
the Egyptian and Tarkhon the Ethiopian advanced as far as Europe. And Nabukodrosor, who is more renowned among the Chaldeans than even Herakles among the Greeks, carried his arms to the Pillars, which Tarkhon also reached, while Sesōstris penetrated from Iberia even into Thrace and Pontos. Besides these there was Idanthuros the Skuthian, which overran Asia as far as Egypt. But not one of these great conquerors approached India, and Semiramis, who mediated its conquest, died before the necessary preparations were undertaken. The Persians indeed summoned the Hūdrakai from India to serve as mercenaries, but they did not lead an army into the country, and only approached its borders when Kuros marched against the Massagetai.

Of Dionysos and Herakles.

7. The accounts about Herakles and Dionysos, Megasthenes and some few authors with him consider entitled to credit, [but the majority, among whom is Eratosthenes, consider them incredible and fabulous, like the stories current among the Greeks....]

which Bacchus led, the city of Nusais is no mean monument, while Mount Mēros is yet another, and the ivy which grows thereon, and the practice observed by the Indians themselves of marching to battle with drums and cymbals, and of wearing a spotted dress such as was worn by the Bacchanales of Dionysos. On the other hand, there are but few memorials of Herakles, and it may be doubted whether even these are genuine: for the assertion that Herakles was not able to take the rock Aornos, which Alexander seized by force of arms, seems to me all Macedonian vaunt, quite of a piece with their calling Parapamisos—Kaukasos, though it had no connexion at all with Kaukasos. In the same spirit, when they noticed a cave in the dominions of the Parapamisados, they asserted that it was the cave of Promētheus the Titan, in which he had been suspended for stealing the fire. So also when they came among the Sibae, an Indian tribe, and noticed that they wore skins, they declared that the Sibae were descended from those who belonged to the expedition of Herakles and had been left behind: for, besides being dressed in skins, the Sibae carry a cudgel, and brand on the backs of their oxen the representation of a club, wherein the Macedonians recognized a memorial of the club of Hērakles.

8. On such grounds they called a particular race of people Nussians, and their city Nussa— which Dionysos had founded, and the mountain which rose above the city Mēros, assigning as their reason for bestowing these names that ivy grows there, and also the vine, although its fruit does not come to perfection, as the clusters, on account of the heaviness of the rains, fall off the trees before ripening. They further called the Oxdraakai descendants of Dionysos, because the vine grew in their country, and their processions were conducted with great pomp, and their kings on going forth to war and on other occasions marched in Bacchic fashion, with drums beating, while they were dressed in gay-coloured robes, which is also a custom among other Indians. Again, when Alexander had captured at the first assault the rock called Aornos, the base of which is washed by the Indus near its source, his followers, magnifying the affair, affirmed that Hērakles had thrice assaulted the same rock and had been thrice repulsed. They said also that the Sibae were descended from those who accompanied Hērakles on his expedi-
tion, and that they preserved badges of their descent, for they wore skins like Hérakles, and carried clubs, and branded the mark of a cudgel on their oxen and mules. § In support of this story they turn to account the legends regarding Kaukasos and Prométhées by transferring them hither from Pontos, which they did on the slight pretext that they had seen a sacred cave among the Paropamisadae. This they declared was the prison of Prométhées, whither Hérakles had come to effect his deliverance, and that this was the Kaukasos, to which the Greeks represent Prométhées as having been bound.]

**FRAGM. XLVIII.**  
Josephus Contra Apion. I. 20 (T. II. p. 431, Haverc.).

**Of Nabouchodosor.**
(Cf. Fragm. XLVI. 2.)

Megasthenês also expresses the same opinion in the 4th book of his Indika, where he endeavours to show that the aforesaid king of the Babylonians (Nabouchodonosor) surpassed Hérakles in courage and the greatness of his achievements, by telling us that he conquered even Ibérie.

**FRAGM. XLVIII. B.**  
"In this place (Nabouchodonosor) erected also of stone elevated places for walking about on, which had to the eye the appearance of mountains, and were so contrived that they were planted with all sorts of trees, because his wife, who had been bred up in the land of Media, wished her surroundings to be like those of her early home."

Megasthenês also, in the 4th book of his Indika, makes mention of these things, and thereby endeavours to show that this king surpassed Hérakles in courage and the greatness of his achievements, for he says that he conquered Libya and a great part of Ibérie.

**FRAGM. XLVIII. C.**  

Among the many old historians who mention Nabouchodonosor, Jósephos enumerates Béro sos, Megasthenés, and Diocklès.

**FRAGM. XLVIII. D.**  

Megasthenês, in his fourth book of the Indika, represents Nabouchodonosor as mightier than Hérakles, because with great courage and enterprise he conquered the greater part of Libya and Ibérie.

**FRAGM. XLIX.**  

**Of Nabouchodosor.**

Megasthenês says that Nabouchodosor, who was mightier than Hérakles, undertook an expedition against Libya and Ibérie, and that having conquered them he planted a colony of these people in the parts lying to the right of Pontos.

**FRAGM. L.**  
Arr. Ind. 7-9.

**Of the Indian races—of Dionysos—of Hérakles—of Pearles—of the Pandean land—of the Ancient History of the Indians.**

VII. The Indian tribes, Megasthenês tells us, number in all 118. [And I so far agree with him as to allow that they must be indeed numerous, but when he gives such a precise estimate I am at a loss to conjecture how he arrived at it, for the greater part of India he did not visit, nor is mutual intercourse maintained among all the tribes.]

He tells us further that the Indians were in old times nomadic, like those Sknthians who did not till the soil, but roamed about in their wagons, as the seasons varied, from one part of Skuthia to another, neither dwelling in towns nor worshipping in temples; and that the Indians likewise had neither towns nor temples of the gods, but were so barbarous that they wore the skins of such wild animals as they could kill, and subsisted on the bark of trees; that these trees were roamed over the East, than to suppose that the god of luxuriant fecundity had made his way to India, a country so remarkable for its fertility. To confirm this opinion they made use of a slight and accidental agreement in names. Thus Mount Mêru seemed an indication of the god who sprang from the thigh of Zeus (ἐκ δυσ μυροε). Thus they thought the Kudrakae (Oxudrokai) the offspring of Dionysos because the vine grew in their country, and they saw that their kings displayed great pomp in their processions. On equally slight grounds they identified Kypnos, another god, whom they saw worshipped, with Hérakles; and whenever, as among the Sibae, they saw the skins of wild beasts, or clubs, or the like, they assumed that Hérakles had at some time or other dwelt there."—Schwanb. p. 48.
alled in Indian speech *tala*, and that there grew in them, as there grows at the tops of the palmrees, a fruit resembling balls of wool; that they subsisted also on such wild animals as they could catch, eating the flesh raw,—before, at least, the coming of Dionysos into India. Dionysos, however, when he came and had conquered the people, founded cities and gave laws to these cities, and introduced the use of wine among the Indians, as he had done among the Greeks, and taught them to sow the land, himself supplying seeds for the purpose,—either because Triptolemos, when he was sent by Demeter to sow all the earth, did not reach these parts, or this must have been some Dionysos who came to India before Triptolemos, and gave the people the seeds of cultivated plants. It is also said that Dionysos first yoked oxen to the plough, and made many of the Indians husbandmen instead of nomads, and furnished them with the implements of agriculture; and that the Indians worship the other gods, and Dionysos himself in particular, with cymbals and drums, because he so taught them; and that he also taught them the Satyric dance, and cymbals and drums, because he so taught them; and that he had only one daughter. The name of this child was *Pandaia*, and the land in which she was born, and with the sovereignty of which Héraclès entrusted her, was called after her name, *Pandaia*, and she received from the hands of her father 500 elephants, a force of cavalry 4000 strong, and another of infantry consisting of about 130,000 men. Some Indian writers say further of Héraclès that when he was going over the world and riding land and sea of whatever evil monsters infested them, he found in the sea an ornament for women, which even of whatever evil monsters infested them, he found in the sea an ornament for women, which even to this day the Indian traders who bring their wares to our markets eagerly buy up as such and carry away, while it is even more greedily bought up by the wealthy Romans of to-day, as it was wont to be by the wealthy Greeks long ago. This article is the sea-pearl, called in the Indian tongue *margarita*. But Héraclès, it is said, appreciating its beauty as a wearing ornament, caused it to be brought from all the sea into India, that he might adorn with it the person of his daughter.

Megasthenes informs us that the oyster which

---

**Note:**

- *tala* is the Sanskrit word for a wild animal.
- *Pandaia* is the name of the daughter of Héraclès.
- *margarita* is the Greek word for pearl.
- The text contains references to various authors and ancient works.

---

The text describes the impact of Dionysos in India, including the introduction of agriculture, wine, and the Satyric dance. It also highlights the story of Héraclès and his daughter Pandaia, who is associated with the sea-pearl. The text reflects on the cultural exchanges and the role of Megasthenes in documenting these historical events.
yields this pearl is there fished for with nets, and that in the same place the oysters live in the sea in shoals like bee-swarms; for oysters, like bees, have a king or a queen, and if any one is lucky enough to catch the king he readily encloses in the net all the rest of the shoal, but if the king makes his escape there is no chance of catching the others. The fishermen allow the fleshy parts of such as they catch to rot away, and keep the bone, which forms the ornament: for the pearl in India is worth thrice its weight in refined gold, gold being a product of the Indian mines.

IX. Now in that part of the country where the daughter of Hérakles reigned as queen, it is said that the women when seven years old are of marriageable age, and that the men live at most forty years, and that on this subject there is a tradition current among the Indians to the effect that Hérakles, whose daughter was born to him late in life, when he saw that his end was near, and he knew no man of equal rank with himself to whom he could give her in marriage, had incestuous intercourse with the girl when she was seven years of age, in order that a race of kings sprung from their common blood might be left to rule over India; that Hérakles therefore made her of suitable age for marriage, and that in consequence the whole nation over which Pāndāyana reigned obtained this same privilege from her father. Now to me it seems that, even if Hérakles could have done a thing so marvellous, he could also have made himself longer-lived, in order to have intercourse with his daughter when she was of mature age. But in fact, if the age at which the women

Should they be caught, the others are easily enclosed in the nets as they go wandering about. They are then put into earthen pots, where they are buried deep in salt. By this process the flesh is all eaten away, and the hard concretions, which are the pearls, drop down to the bottom.

Fragm. L. I.
Phlegon. Mirab. 33.
Of the Pandaian Land.
(Cf. Fragm. XXX. 6.)
Megasthenēs says that the women of the Pandaean realm bear children when they are six years of age.

Fragm. L. C.
Of the Ancient History of the Indians.
For the Indians stand almost alone among the

there are marriageable is correctly stated, this is quite consistent, it seems to me, with what is said of the men's age,—that those who live longest die at forty; for where men so much sooner become old and die, it must needs be that they attain their prime sooner, the sooner their life is to end. It follows hence that men would there at the age of thirty be turning old, and young men would at twenty bo past the season of puberty, while the stage of full puberty would be reached about fifteen. And, quite compatibly with this, the women might be marriageable at the age of seven. And why not, when Megasthenēs declares that the very fruits of the country ripen faster than fruits elsewhere, and decay faster?

From the time of Dionysonos to Sandar-kottos the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years; among these a republic was thrice established * * * and another to 300 years, and another to 120 years. The Indians also tell us that Dionysonos was earlier than Hērakles by fifteen generations, and that except him no one made a hostile invasion of India,—not even Karōs the son of Kambuses, although he undertook an expedition against the Skuthians, and otherwise showed himself the most enterprising monarch in all Asia; but that ALEXANDER indeed came and overthrew in war all whom he attacked, and would even have conquered the whole world had his army been willing to follow him. On the other hand, a sense of justice, they say, prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India.

Solin. 53. 5.

Father Bacchus was the first who invaded India, and was the first of all who triumphed over the vanquished Indians. From him to Alexander the Great 6451 years are reckoned with 3 months additional, the calculation being made by counting the kings who reigned in the intermediate period, to the number of 153.

(To be continued.)
NOTES ON THE LAX OBSERVANCE OF CASTE RULES, AND OTHER FEATURES OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE, IN ANCIENT INDIA.

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D., EDINBURGH.

The object of this paper is to show, by illustrations drawn chiefly from Manu and the Mahabharata, that the regulations defining the duties, relations, prerogatives, and functions of the different Indian classes, as prescribed by Manu and in some parts of the Mahabharata, were not strictly respected or practised in ancient times in India; that the custom of polyandry was not unknown, that liberal sentiments were entertained regarding the religious position of the lower classes, and that considerable freedom of speculation on theological topics was prevalent.

On this subject the remarks of Professor Max Muller, in his Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 46ff., the article of M. Auguste Barth, of which a partial translation appeared in the Indian Antiquary, vol. III., p. 329ff. (Nov. 1874), and my Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. I. p. 366, note, and vol. III., pp. 292ff, may be referred to.

Both in Manu and in the Mahabharata we find very different ideas and statements about the system of castes in earlier ages. I begin with Manu. In some passages he appears to record the Brahmanas as infinitely superior to all other men in virtue of their birth alone; while in other places they are considered as deriving their eminence more from learning or from moral goodness. In the following texts their natural and inherent power and virtue, and that springing from a knowledge of the Vedas, are set forth:—i. 93-95, 98-101; ix. 245, 313-320; x. 3; xi. 32, 85, 261, 263. The Brahmana is said to be the chief of the creation, and lord of all beings (i. 93, 99); everything in the world is his by right (i. 100). A man of this class who has gone through the Veda is lord of the whole world (ix. 245). Brahmanas could destroy a king with all his host; they created fire, the ocean, and the moon, and could create new worlds and gods (ix. 313-15). Whether learned or not, and even when practising undesirable occupations, a Brahman is a great divinity (ix. 317, 319). He is a divinity even to the gods (xi. 84). If he retain in his memory the Rigveda, he would incur no guilt by destroying the three worlds, or eating food received from any quarter; as a clod of earth is dissolved when thrown into a lake, all sin is sunk in the triple Veda (xi. 261, 263). With this may be compared the glorification of royalty in chapter vii. 5-8, where a king is said to be composed of eternal portions of different gods, to surpass all beings in glory, to dazzle the eyes of all gazers, and to be a great deity in human form.

Elsewhere, however, it is said that neither the Vedas, nor liberality, nor sacrifices, nor observances, nor austerities, can avail in the case of a man whose nature is corrupted (ii. 97); and that a Brahman who knows the gāyatrī only, if his life is well regulated, is better than one who knows the three Vedas but whose life is unregulated, who eats everything, and who sells all commodities (ii. 118). An unlearned Brahman is compared to a wooden elephant or a leathern deer (ii. 157). One who does not study the Veda, and employs himself in other pursuits, soon sinks with his descendants, even in this life, to the condition of a Sudra (ii. 165). Such (ignorant) Brahmanas, as are mere ashes, should not be entertained at sraddhas (presentations of oblations to gods and departed ancestors) (iii. 97, 133, 142). Similarly, low and infidel Brahmanas are declared unworthy of receiving honour at such celebrations (iii. 156, 167). The kind of Brahmanas who should be honoured on such occasions are described in verses iii. 128-131, 143, 145. A father who has been instructed in the Veda by his son is to be shunned (iii. 160), as is also a Brahman leading the life of a Sudra (iii. 164). In answer to an inquiry how death can prevail over Brahmanas, Bhrigu declares that they are subject to death owing to their neglect of the study of the Veda, and inattention to propriety of conduct, &c. (v. 2-4). Those Brahmanas who accept gifts from Sudras for the offering of oblations to fire (agni-kotra) are contemned as ministers of the base-born (xi. 42ff.); and the performance of sacrifices for Sudras is again reprehended (iii. 178ff.). Kings, Kahatriyas, kings' domestic priests, and men skilled in the war of words, are declared to belong to that middle class of beings who are under the influence of the principle of rājās or...
passion; while other Brāhmaṇs, according to their merits, belong to the lowest and middle class of natures influenced by salivation, or goodness (xii. 48, 49f.)

Brāhmaṇs are recommended not to take many presents (iv. 18f.) and are even enjoined to be aversive to receiving honour, and to desire contempt as ambrosia. Though contumled, they may live happily; but the despiser perishes (ii. 157ff.).

The three twice-born or upper classes, the Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya, and the Vaiśya, should all read the Veda. The Brāhmaṇa alone is to teach it (i. 88ff., x. 76ff). But although a Brāhmaṇa's proper work (i. 88) is to read and to teach the Veda, to perform sacrifice for himself and others, &c., yet, in case of necessity, he may adopt the profession, or do the work, of a Kṣatriya, and even of a Vaiśya (x. 81-85). But when acting as a merchant he must abstain from selling certain articles which are specified (x. 83ff.), and among which are mentioned human beings. A Kṣatriya is never to usurp a Brāhmaṇa's functions (x. 93). The duty of a Śūdra is to serve the higher classes (i. 91), especially Brāhmaṇs (ix. 334ff., x. 122ff.). He is not to become rich, as if he did so, he would vex Brāhmaṇs (x. 129). The Veda is not to be read in his presence (iv. 99). He is not to receive instruction in duty, nor to participate in oblations of butter (iv. 80ff.). Oblations to fire are not to be performed on his behalf (xi. 42ff., see above). Some religious duties, however, are recognized as performable by this class. Although they receive no initiation, like that of the twice-born, and may not employ Vedic texts, they are not forbidden, but encouraged, to imitate the practice of good men, and to perform the acts of the twice-born (x. 129ff.). This the commentator understands of the five great sacraments (see Mānu. iii. 70ff.). But among these is found the teaching of the Veda, and sacrifice by fire. Women are represented as having nothing to do with the Veda (ix. 15).

Yet we find from other passages that the more exclusive of these rules were not always observed. In time of calamity (or necessity, explained by the commentator to arise from the absence of any Brāhmaṇa), a student may learn the Veda from one who is not a Brāhmaṇa (a Kṣatriya, according to the commentator) (ii. 21f.). But from iii. 156 it would appear that the function of teaching was occasionally assumed by men of the lowest caste, as along with teachers for hire, and those who pay them (see also xi. 62), the pupils of Śūdras, and their teachers, are also denounced. It is true the commentator understands such teaching of grammar, &c.; but grammar is one of the Vedāngas (or appendages of the Vedas); and if such ambitious Śūdras studied grammar they would scarcely fail to go on and explore the Veda itself. In x. 96, where the king is enjoined to deprive of his wealth and to banish a man of the lowest class who lives by the work of the highest, something of the same kind seems to be referred to. It also appears that Śūdras sometimes ventured to assume the appearance and marks of twice-born men, in which case Mānu ordains that they should be killed (ix. 224). From iv. 61 it appears that Śūdra kings were known in the writer's time. From the general tone of his laws, it is scarcely to be supposed that, unless known by experience, such kings would have been contemplated as possible, or probably.

In the Mahābhārata xii. 227ff. the duties of the four castes are described. In verses 228ff. those of the Śūdra are stated. "Prajāpati," it is declared, "created him as the slave of the other castes." . . . 229f. He is not to amass wealth, for by its acquisition, he who is inferior, would subject his superiors to himself; yet, if permitted by the king, he may indulge his desire (for it). He is to be provided with subsistence by the superior castes, who are to give him articles which they have already used: Brāhmaṇs are to give him their worn-out, cast-off clothes. He is never to abandon his master, but to tend him, especially when he has lost his means. The Śūdra has no property of his own. He may not offer the sacrifices open to the other castes, but must confine himself to the simple domestic offering, the pākayajna, the gift accompanying which is a platter full of grain. A Śūdra named Paijavana (who, however, was a king!) is reported to have given a present of a hundred thousand of
According to Manu iii. 4, a Brāhmaṇ should marry a wife of his own caste: that is, according to verses 12ff. of the same chapter, she is the most approved for his first wife; but if he desires to marry again, women in the order of the other classes may be taken, those of the classes next in order being the most approved. It does not appear from any text which I have noticed, whether he may also marry a second Brāhmaṇ wife while the first lives. After her death he may marry again (ver. 168), presumably, among others, a woman of his own class. By iii. 18, a Śūdra is only allowed a wife of his own class; a Vaiśya one of his own class and a Śūdra; a Kshatriya, wives of his own, and of the two lower classes; while a Brāhmaṇ may have four wives, one from each of the inferior classes (compare verse 44, and ix. 85 and 149ff., in which last passage the rules of inheritance for the sons of a Brāhmaṇ by wives of the four castes are laid down). In ii. 210, reference is made to a Guru, or religious preceptor, having wives not of his own caste; and in ii. 238ff. it is said, among other things, that a good wife may be taken even from a low caste. In ix. 22ff. it is declared that a woman duly united to a husband takes his qualities, like a river falling into the ocean; and that Akṣaraṁāļ, though of the lowest birth, and Śāraṅgi, from their union with Vasisthā and Man đa pāla, respectively became honourable. If the female descendants of the daughter of a Brāhmaṇ by a Śūdra mother he always married to Brāhmaṇ husbands, their offspring in the seventh generation shall become Brāhmaṇs (x. 64).

And yet verses 14ff. of the third chapter go on to say that no instance is recorded in ancient tales of a Brāhmaṇ marrying a Śūdra woman, and, further, that men of the three highest classes who marry wives of the lowest caste soon sink to the level of Śūdras. According to some authors (ver. 16), a marriage with a Śūdra wife, or having children or grandchildren by her, tends to the husband’s degradation. Verses 17 ff. (compare ver. 155) threaten damnation to a Brāhmaṇ who takes a Śūdra woman to his bed; though the commentator understands this of taking her for his first wife,—a limitation of which the text says nothing. As may be supposed, children by mothers of the same caste with their fathers are alone regarded as of the same class with their fathers; while the children of mothers of the caste immediately below that of their fathers are regarded as only similar in class with their mothers (x. 5f.). A Brāhmaṇ’s son by a Śūdra mother is called a Nishāda or Pārasava (compare ix. 178, where he is contemptuously spoken of). The son of a Kshatriya father and a Śūdra mother is an Ugra. Vīdura, therefore, the half-brother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇču should be called either a Nishāda (or Pārasava), or an Ugra,—his mother being a Śūdra,—according as we look upon him as the son of the Brāhmaṇ sage Vyása, or of Vichitravirya, the Kshatriya king, to whom Vyása, his half-brother, raised up the son of a Śūdra father and a Kshatriya mother, according to verse 12 of this (tenth) chapter. The caste nomenclature of Manu and of the Mahābhārata would therefore appear to be different, or the definitions in Manu to be arbitrary or variable. The occupations assigned to Ugras and Kshatriyas are mentioned in verse 45 of this tenth chapter of Manu.

† A translation of this passage from the German of Professor Weber will be found in Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. I. p. 366, note 104, which contains other details showing the privileges accorded to the lower classes in ancient times.

§ I find a difficulty as to what is the sense of upadra-vah in this line; anirv-ayur astmi cha prajāhdyah upadra-vah | yajna evaṁ cha tāṁ sarva-pramāṇamu Bhārata. The commentator says it means one who runs (to his master), a slave, a Śūdra, who, though he is a stranger to the Veda, has Prajāpati for his deity, as Brāhmaṇs have Agni, and Kshatriyas have Indra for theirs; and that all castes may take part in a sacrifice which has a mental reference to a deity but is unaccompanied by offerings.

| Compare Mahābh. xiii. 2414ff., where a Brāhmaṇ marrying a Śūdra woman is declared liable to undergo penance; see also verses 2542-2547 and 3563-3574. |
The husband of a twice-married woman, or widow, is to be avoided (iii. 166, 181). Here Manu seems to come into conflict with the Veda, at least if we regard the Atharvanas one of the sacred and authoritative books; as that work (ix. 5, 27) declares that a punarbhû, or twice-married woman, shall not be separated from her second husband, but shall go to the same heaven with him, if they present the ojajapahauhana offering (see Sânkritis Texts, vol. V. p. 306).

Any actual discrepancies in the rules which have been noted above seem to proceed from writers of different schools and sentiments, or of different periods. As M. Barth considers, the more rigid provisions represent rather the ideals of strict and exclusive Brâhmanas than the current practice of the ages when they lived. It is quite clear, from the details presented above, that in their matrimonial connections the Brâhmanas were very far from confining themselves to their own class, and that they were not the exclusive teachers of the Vedas.

In the Mahâbhârata also we find both passages, in which the inherent virtue of Brâhmahood is strongly insisted upon; and other texts again in which mere priestly birth is represented as of little or no value unless accompanied by learning or moral goodness. Of the former class is the following quotation:—

Mahâbh. iii. 13435. "Whether ill or well read in the Vedas, whether uneducated or educated, Brâhmanas are not to be despised, like fires concealed beneath ashes. As a brightly beaming fire in a cemetery is not polluted, so, learned or unlearned, a Brâhman is a great divinity."

In the same book we have the following passage, in which both views are stated. The conversation is between a woman and a Brâhman mendicant, to whose wants she had not attended before those of her own husband, and who told her that even the god Indra bowed before the Brâhmanas, who could burn up the earth, v. 13673f. She replies that she did not despise the Brâhmanas, whose power and greatness she knew, and by whose anger the ocean was made salt and undrinkable (v. 13677). But she tells him in w. 13684ff. what qualities constituted a real Brâhman. "Anger is a foe which abides in the bodies of men. The gods call that man a Brâhman who abandons anger and illusion; who speaks truth; pleases his spiritual preceptor; who when injured does not retaliate; who conquers his senses; is devoted to righteousness, and to study of the scriptures; who is pure, and controls lust and wrath; who esteems all the world as himself; who knows his duty, and is intelligent; and is addicted to all righteous acts; who will teach, or who will study, who will offer sacrifice, or officiate at sacrifice for others, or will be liberal according to his power, who will lead a life of abstinence, and read the Vedas, and be alert in study."

She adds that duty is hard to understand, that it is declared by the ancients to be proved by the Veda, that it is manifold and difficult to determine with nicety; and that he whom she is addressing, though he has a knowledge of it, and is a zealous student, and pure in his life, does not, in her opinion, thoroughly comprehend duty (vv. 13892ff.). She concludes by telling him of a person, a huntsman, who would instruct him. The Brâhman takes this in good part, and follows her advice. This introduces the story of the Dharmavyadha, which will be given below.

In the following verses Brâhmanas are ranged in different classes, according to their manner of life and conduct:—

Mahâbh. xii. 2870. "Those men who are distinguished by knowledge, and are always impartial, being like Brahma, are known as Brâhmanas. Those of the Brâhmanas who are accomplished in the Pâsa Yajush and Sâmya Vedas, and are actively engaged in their proper works, are like to the gods. But those low, covetous Brâhmanas, who do not practise the works of their caste, resemble Sûdras. A righteous king should subject to taxes and to forced labour all those (Brâhmanas) who are ignorant of the Vedas, and have not kindled the sacred fire. Messengers, idol-priests, astrologers, and sacrificers in villages, with travellers, are the Chañjâlas among Brâhmanas. Sacrificing and domestic priests, kings' ministers, ambassadors, wâdânukarshakas,—such Brâhmanas resemble Kahatriyas. A king, when his


* Explained by the commentator to mean either travelers who cross the sea, or collectors of customs on the highway.

† This word is not explained by the commentator.
treasury is empty, should levy taxes from such persons, excepting those who resemble Brahma and the gods” (see above). Compare Prof. Haug’s note to his translation of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, p. 38, where six kinds of Brāhmaṇas are stated to be, according to the Smritis as referred to by Sāyaṇa, of a low order.

Mahābh. xiii. 1542. This passage insists on character. “All the Vedas, with their six appendages, the Sānkhya, the Purāṇas, birth in a good family, cannot help the Brāhmaṇa who is destitute of good character. The man who has read and thinks himself learned, but who, by his knowledge, seeks to discredit others, he sinks—he does not practise truth—his happiness in the next world is finite,” 1550f. Any one giving gifts to men who “traverse this earth praising righteousness but not practising it, and who are addicted to acts which infringe the rules of their caste,” goes to hell.

According to verses 1585ff. of the same chapter, the following classes of Brāhmaṇas are not to be invited to śrāddhas, viz. “physicians, idol-priests, men practising vain observances, sellers of the Soma-plant, singers, dancers, jugglers, musicians, story-tellers, soldiers, those who act as hotṛi priests for, or who instruct, Śūdras, or are the pupils of Śūdras, and those who are salaried to teach, with their pupils, these being sellers (or buyers) of sacred learning,” &c. &c. In v. 1644, among the men who go to hell are mentioned those who sell the Vedas, or corrupt [or revile] them, or commit them to writing. This punishment seems more deserved by those who are doomed to it in v. 1656, viz. those who deceive a female who is an orphan, or young, or old, or timid, or an ascetic. In vv. 1665f. among persons who get to heaven are mentioned those who obey their fathers and mothers, and are affectionate towards their brothers; and those who, though rich, and strong, and young, are self-restrained and sober. In vv. 430ff. of the same book (xiii.), among the Brāhmaṇas who elevate their class are named the ascetic, who knows the course of life which leads to final emancipation, those who recite legends (itihāsas) to Brāhmaṇas, who are acquainted with grammars and commentaries, who peruse the Purāṇas, and books prescribing legal duties, and who properly, and in due form, practise what they read.”

The following passages also occur in the Mahābhārata.—xii. 8751 ff. “He who discerns the imperceptible supreme (One) in all mortal bodies is, when he dies, fitted for absorption into Brahma. Wise men look with an equal eye on a Brāhmaṇa who is distinguished for knowledge and high birth, on an ox, on an elephant, on a dog, and on a man out of the pale of caste. For in all beings, both those which move and those which cannot, dwells the one great Soul whereby this universe is stretched out. When the embodied spirit beholds itself in all creatures, and all creatures in itself, then Brahma is attained.”

Mahābh. iii. 17392. Yudhishṭhīra says, in answer to a Yaksha’s question on what Brāhmaṇahood depends:—“It is neither birth, nor study, nor Vedic learning which makes a man a Brāhmaṇa; it is good conduct alone which does so. Good conduct must be earnestly maintained, especially by a Brāhmaṇa. He does not decline, whose good conduct does not decline; but he whose virtue is destroyed is (really) destroyed. Students, teachers, and others who reflect on the scriptures are all zealous fools; the man who acts is the real pañqīt. A man who knows the four Vedas, if his conduct be bad, is worse than a Śūdra (sa śūrdā atirīchya: perhaps we should read sa instead of sa, ‘is no better than a Śūdra’). He who assiduously practises the agnihoṭra sacrifice, and is of subdued mind, is called a Brāhmaṇa.”

Mahābh. iii, 14075. “A Brāhmaṇa living in evil deeds which cause him to fall, hypocritical, wise to do evil (dusḥkṛta-prājñāḥ, according to Dr. Böhtlingk’s correction), is on the same level as a Śūdra. But regard as a Brāhmaṇa that Śūdra who always practises calmness, truth, and righteousness, for in conduct he is a twice-born man.”

Mahābh. v. 1492. “The man who, whether of humble or of high birth, does not transgress the rules of virtue, who seeks after righteousness, is mild and modest, is better than a hundred well-born men.”

Mahābh. xii. 8925. “The gods call him a Brāhmaṇa by whom alone the tether is, as it were, hied; and by whom (by whose absence?) it is rendered empty though crowded with (other) men, who is clothed in anything, and fed by anything, who sleeps anywhere; who dreads a crowd as if it were a serpent, ease (or
satiety) as if it were hell, women as if they were corpses; who, whether honoured or dishonoured, will neither be angry nor pleased; who fills all creatures with a sense of security; who will not welcome death nor delight in life, but will await his time, as a servant (his master's) command... 8936. The gods call that man a Brahman who is free from all attachments, who is a sage, existing like the aether, who has nothing of his own, who lives alone, who is tranquil, who lives for the sake of virtue, and practises virtue for the sake of Hari (Vishnu), whose days and nights exist for the sake of holiness, who has no desires, makes no exertions, neither salutes nor praises any one, and who is free from all bonds."

Mahābh. xii. 9068. "When a man does not feel fear or inspire others with fear, when he neither desires nor hates, then he attains to Brahma. When a man does not behave sinfully towards any creature, either in act, thought, or word, then he attains to Brahma. The bond of desire is the one sole bond; there is here no other: he who is freed from it is fit for union with Brahma."

Mahābh. xii. 9081. "He who knows that whereby one who does not eat is satisfied, whereby a man without riches is satisfied, and whereby a man free from affection gains strength—he knows the Veda."

Mahābh. xiii. 2610. "Let no one honour a well-born man (jyādānom) who is destitute of virtue; but even a Sudra who understands duty and whose conduct is good should be honoured."

Illustration from the case of Vidura.

It appears from the following account of Vidura, from the Mahābhārata, that the old Indian traditions did not represent the rules confining the study of the Vedas to the three twice-born classes as having been strictly or invariably observed.

King Vičitravīra having died childless, his mother Satyavati desired the sage Vyāsa, her son by a previous marriage,† "to raise up seed to his brother," and Vyāsa consents, as this was according to rule (Mahābh., i. 4256ff.); two sons, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu, were in consequence born to him by the two widows of Vičitravīra, and a third son Viḍura, by a Śūdra slave-girl, whom one of the queens substituted for herself when Satyavati desired that a third son should be raised up to the deceased Vičitravīra; Mahābh. i. 4297ff. and 4308.

Viḍura was an incarnation of the personal Dharma or Righteousness, who for some cause had been doomed by a Rishi's curse to take a human form (vv. 4302, 4335). The three brothers were, we are told (vv. 4353ff.), from their birth cherished by Bhīṣma like sons. They were trained in various accomplishments—reading, in athletic exercises, in archery, in the Veda, in fighting with clubs, in sword exercises; they were taught morals and politics, legendary lore (itiḥsas and purānas), and various disciplines, were instructed in the Vedas and their appendages. Pāṇḍu excelled in handling the bow, Dhṛtarāṣṭra in strength; but no one in the world was equal to Viḍura, who was steadfast, and had attained to perfection in righteousness. In consequence, however, of his birth as the son of a Śūdra mother, he was not eligible as king. He is introduced as giving good advice to Dhṛtarāṣṭra (ii. 1777ff.), who highly appreciates his counsel, and praises his wisdom (ii. 1790ff.). See also verses 1789, 2002, 2111, 2187ff., 2307ff. In the fifth or Udyoga parvan of the Mahābhārata, Viḍura is introduced as delivering a long series of maxims moral and prudential, in conversation with his elder brother Dhṛtarāṣṭra, vv. 986-1180, 1221-1560. When, however, he is invited by Dhṛtarāṣṭra to proceed yet further with his discourse, he says that as he himself was the son of a Śūdra mother he could not say more, but refers him to sage Sanātana, the son of a Brāhman female (vv. 1569ff.), who, by being summoned in thought, arrives. He is again a speaker in vv. 2438, 2455, 4405ff., 5020ff.

In i. 2245 it is said of Viḍura that "as Indra in Svarga confers happiness on all living creatures, so Viḍura was a constant source of happiness to the Pāṇḍavas."

We have thus in Viḍura an instance of a man not belonging to any of the twice-born classes being instructed in the Veda. It is true that he is represented as being an incarnation of Dharma or Righteousness; but this may be a subsequent addition to the original story, and so also to Brāhmans, i. 4677ff., i. 4736ff., and what intervenes. This, however, is a different case from Vyāsa's.
may be the section above referred to, in which, as we have seen, he states his opinion (vv. 1569f.) that he had not the right of teaching all the esoteric doctrines that the son of a Brāhmaṇ mother, as well as father, was empowered to teach. But it seems nearly as much opposed to the recognized rules, that he should have been taught, as that he should teach the Veda. The case of Vidura is treated along with that of Dharmavyādha by Śaṅkara in his commentary on the Vedaṅga Śūtras; 1, 3, 34, 38. It is there decided that the knowledge they possessed was continued to them from a former birth, and that from its transcendent character they could never lose its results. See Orig. Sākṣīkīrī Texts, vol. III. (2nd edition), pp. 295 and 300. The same explanation of Rāma's friendship with the Nāshāda king Guha, mentioned in the Bhāgavata, and referred to above in a note, is given by the commentator on the passage of that poem. See Orig. Sākṣīkīrī Texts, vol. II. pp. 407, footnote.

Stories of the Dharmavyādha, of Tulādhāra, of the Dasyu Kāyasya, and of the ascetic who unlawfully instructed a Śūdra.

The story of the Dharmavyādha, or pious huntsman, here referred to by Śaṅkara, is (as already noticed above), narrated in the Mahābhārata, 1369ff.). A Brāhmaṇ (as we have seen), was told by a woman, with whom he had been conversing, that he would find a person of that description in Mithila, from whom he might learn a lesson in regard to duty. He goes thither accordingly and sees the Vyādha selling flesh (13710). This the Brāhmaṇ regards as a shocking occupation. The Vyādha explains that it is his ancestral profession (13720). He says he does not kill the animal himself, but buys the flesh of boars and buffaloes from others (13732 ff.), and sells it, but does not eat any. He proceeds to expatiate on duty at great length. His present occupation, he explains, is the result of his sin in a former birth (13802 ff.); but it has now become his duty to pursue it (13819). He goes on to say that even those who till the earth necessarily kill many living creatures; that animals slay and eat each other; and that it is impossible to avoid destroying life. The Brāhmaṇ remarks that there is nothing which he (the Vyādha) does not know (14001). Such knowledge, he afterwards says (14049), is difficult for a Śūdra to possess, adding that he cannot look upon him as such, and asking how he fell into that condition. The Vyādha answers (14052) that in a former birth he was a Brāhmaṇ, had read the Veda, and gone through all its appendages (Vedāṅgas), and had come into his present condition by his own fault. He had gone out to hunt in company with a king, who was his friend, and had wounded a Rishi by accident with an arrow, and had been doomed by his curse to be born again as a huntsman (14062), in a Śūdra family. He had implored the Rishi's forgiveness, but he was told that the curse could not be recalled, but that though he became a Śūdra, he should be acquainted with duty, should remember his former birth, and should go to heaven, and after the effects of the curse were exhausted, he should be born again as a Brāhmaṇ (14065 ff.).

In this case, final emancipation is not attained, but only heaven, after which only a return to earth as a Brāhmaṇ is promised.

It is worthy of remark that, in another story also (Mahābhārata, xii. 9277ff.), that of Tulādhāra and Jájāli, an ascetical Brāhmaṇ is represented as being instructed by a person of a lower class than himself. As, however, the latter was a Vaiśya (v. 9342), he possessed the prerogative of reading the Veda, as well as the Brāhmaṇ. Jájāli, the Brāhmaṇ, had by his austerities acquired a supernatural power of locomotion, and considered that in this respect there was no one like him (9278ff.); and that he was perfect in virtue (9317); but he was told by a voice from the sky that he was not equal in this respect to Tulādhāra (9318). He, in consequence, conceives a desire to see the latter, and after a time goes to Banāras, where he finds the merchant in his shop (9321), selling a variety of vegetable products, but no spirituous liquor (9346ff.); and asks how he who is following such a mode of life has attained to transcendental knowledge (9340ff.). In answer, Tulādhāra explains his own just, righteous, passionless, innocent, merciful character and conduct (9348ff.). He goes on to condemn all cruelty to animals, and even agriculture, by which living creatures are killed, and in which oxen are yoked to the plough, and denounces the
slaughter of kine (9377ff.). Jájali remarks in reply, that if the course proposed by Tulādhāra were adopted, no subsistence would remain for men, no sacrifice could be performed, the door of heaven would be closed, and that men would cease to exist; and that this was infidel doctrine (9387ff.). Tulādhāra answers (9399ff.): “I shall tell you how men may subsist; I am no infidel; nor do I find fault with sacrifice; but one who understands it is rarely to be found. Honour be to the Brāhmaṇical sacrifice, and to those men who understand sacrifice! but Brāhmaṇa abandon their own sacrifice, and practise that of the Kāshāṇiyas. Falsehood, having the semblance of truth, has been introduced by greedy infidels, eager for gain, and ignorant of the declarations of the Vedas, (crying) ‘give us this, give us that;’ (and such a man, or sacrifice) is applauded. Hence theft and evil practices prevail. The gods are pleased with any oblation which is duly offered. They may be worshipped by prostrations, with butter, by sacred study, with plants, according to the prescriptions of the scriptures.” After some further matter (the sense of which is not always very clear), the following verses occur (9420ff.): “They who possess the character of goodness (aditvādhā) attain to that abode of Brahma; they do not desire heaven, nor offer costly sacrifices ensuring renown (na yajanti yaśo dhananiḥ).” § They follow the path of good men; they sacrifice without destruction of animal life; they regard (the produce of) trees and plants, fruits and roots (as the proper oblations). Their sacrifices are not performed by covetous priests seeking for reward. Brāhmaṇas having in view their own good, and well skilled in rites, have performed sacrifice, desiring to show kindness to other men. Hence avaricious priests offer sacrifice for those men who are evil.” The story ends with a passage in praise of faith (9447ff.), and the announcement that the merchant and the Brāhmaṇa both went to heaven (9462).

In both the preceding stories it is noticeable how Brāhmaṇas are represented as receiving instruction from men of a lower class, and are so far made to occupy an inferior position. The next story also declares the perfection attained by a man of very low class. It is told in the Mahābāha, xii. 4852ff., and relates to Kāyavva, a Nīshāda woman’s son. Here an ancient legend is related how a virtuous Dāsya does not forfeit happiness in a future life. A man named Kāyavva, the son of a Kṣatrya, by a Nīshāda female, a heroic, intelligent warrior, acquainted with the scriptures (or learned, śrutavādā), free from cruelty, fulfilling the duty of men in the four āravanas (or stages of life), devout, respectful to his teacher (or elders), (rising) from the state of a Dāsya, attained to perfection (siddhi). After a statement of his merits as a hunter and warrior, the text goes on, v. 4857, “He tended in the forest his parents, who were blind and deaf; and he fed with honey, flesh, roots, and fruits, those who were deserving of respect; and went about paying honour to the Brāhmaṇas who had left their homes and lived in the forest; and he continually killed deer and brought them to them; and for those who would not receive them from this Dāsya, from the fear of (evil report from) men, he placed the deer in their houses, and departed in the morning. Many lawless thousands of pitiless Dāsyus chose him for their chief. They said to him . . . ‘We will do whatever thou biddest; protect us in a fitting manner, like a father and like a mother.’ He replied, ‘Kill not a timid woman, a child, or a devotee, nor a man who is not fighting against you; and do not carry off women; . . . always salute a Brāhmaṇ and fight for him; never be hostile to truth, or frustrate what is good.’” Benevolence to Brāhmaṇas is then enjoined, and their great power is celebrated, &c. In verses 4873ff. it is said: “Those Dāsyus who act in conformity with the laws of scripture (dharmastrā), shall soon, notwithstanding their low origin, attain to perfection (siddhi). The Dāsyus acted according to Kāyavva’s injunctions, and enjoyed prosperity, ceasing from their wickedness. By so acting Kāyavva attained to high perfection (mahatvā siddham), by promoting the welfare of the good, and putting a stop to the evil deeds of the Dāsyus.”

I cite yet another story, in which a Śūdra is not worship Brahma with costly rites.” (“Dasya nāma mahād yosāḥ iti bruter yaśa Brahma dhanaśādhyaṁ karmabhāñ.” § These difficult words are otherwise rendered by the commentator. He separates ya-a-h (renown) from dhananiḥ (riches), and regards it, in accordance with a Vedic text, as a title of Brahma; and explains the latter word (dhananiḥ) as equivalent to ceremonies which can be performed by means of wealth. He thus makes the sense to be: “They do not worship Brahma with costly rites.” “Dasya nāma mahād yosāḥ iti bruter yaśo Brahma dhanaśādhyaṁ karmabhāñ.” § This is otherwise explained by the commentator.

Dr Bohtlingk thinks the reading should be anūśān-savān, not suśrīrān-savān, as the Cal. edition reads.
described as practising austerity, and gaining thereby the privilege of being re-born as a Kshatriya; while the Brāhmaṇa, who had given him instruction which he ought not to have given to a low-caste man, is punished for doing so, by being re-born in a lower position than he had formerly occupied.

In Mahābh. xiii. 435ff., in answer to a question of Yudhishthira, Bhishma informs him that instruction should not be given to a person of low caste, and that a teacher errs in communicating it; and in illustration of this principle, tells a tale of a Śūdra who came (v. 443) to a retreat of devotees in a forest, and became desirous of practising austerities (445). He tells the head of the establishment that he wishes to wander forth as a teacher of righteousness, (v. 447). He is told he may act as a servant, by doing which he may attain to a higher world (vv. 448ff.). After thereupon reflecting what he should do (as he felt himself earnestly devoted to righteousness), he went and constructed for himself a hut of leaves, with a sacrificial enclosure, and receptacles for the gods, and began to perform the ceremonies of religion, and to lead the life of an ascetic (vv. 451ff.). After many days a holy sage comes to the spot, and at the Śūdra's request promises to instruct him in the proper mode of carrying out a rite which he wishes to perform; and after fulfilling the promise he departs (vv. 455ff.). The result of the Śūdra's long asceticism is that, after his death, he is born again in a royal family; while the former sage is installed as his family priest (vv. 455C). After many days a holy sage comes to him, the latter takes an opportunity of asking the reason of his laughing. He then (v. 492) advises the priest to abandon his priestly office and strive after another birth, so that he may not again be born in one lower than that in which he had before existed. The priest accordingly (vv. 494ff.) commences a course of austerities, visits places of pilgrimage, gives presents to Brāhmaṇas, and attains the highest perfection. The moral which the story was intended to point is then repeated, that instruction is to be given by a Brāhmaṇa to men of the three upper twice-born castes alone, and not to a man of an inferior caste (vv. 498ff.).

Here two points may be noted: First, that the instruction given to the Śūdra, though unlawfully given, was yet efficacious towards the end in view; and, again, that the office of a family priest (purohita) was not held in much esteem. This appears also from other texts. See Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. I. (2nd ed.) p. 128, note 238.

A story of a different tenor is told in the Uśāva Kānda of the Raṇḍyana (sections 75 and 76), where it is related that a Śūdra, who was presumptuous enough to perform austerities, had his head cut off by Rāma (see Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. I. p. 120).

In the following verse no objection is made to Śūdras practising austerities. Mahābh. xiii. 2844. "These and many other kings rich in austerity, attained the highest perfection through truth, and gifts of wealth righteously obtained. Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyās, and Śūdras who have practised austerities, purified by the fire of liberality, go to heaven."

In the following passage it would seem as if even final emancipation were regarded as attainable by low-caste men.

Mahābh. xiv. 591. "The world of the gods is filled with men who have practised works: but the recurrence of human forms is not desired by the gods. For the highest state is that of the eternal Brahma, in which the body is abandoned, and immortality and constant blessedness are attained. Entering on : is course of virtuous life (dharma), even those who are of base birth, women, Vaiśyās, and Śūdras arrive at the highest condition; how much more Brāhmaṇas or Kshatriyas, versed in the scriptures, constantly devoted to their duties, and seeking after the world of Brahma."

And the same would also appear from the following verses, Mahābh. xii. 8799 ff., where,
after having described the practice of yoga, or abstraction, the writer proceeds: "To a good man thus self-concentrated, impartial in regard to all objects, and constantly abstracted for six months, the verbal Brahma (Śabda-brahman) passes away. Beholding creatures distressed by pain, but regarding with an equal eye clods, stones, and gold, let him (proceeding) on this path cease (from desire), and be free from illusion. Even a man of a low caste, and a woman, seeking after righteousness, may by this road attain to the highest goal. Then the spiritual man beholds through the soul that unborn, ancient, undecaying, eternal (essence), which he can discern when his senses are still, and which is minuter than the minutest, and greater than the greatest."

In Mahābh. xii. 4835 ff., a Chāṇḍâla asks how he may be delivered out of his low condition; and is informed, in reply, that he may obtain final liberation by giving his life for a Brāhmaṇ, but in no other way.

**Polyandry in ancient India.**

The story of Draupadi leads to the conclusion that polyandry was at one time practised in Hindustan,† as it is still in the Himalayas, and in one district on the south-west coast of India. I give the following particulars of this story from the first book of the Mahābhārata. In verses 2731ff. it is said that this princess was a blameless damsel, born in the family of Drupada, but that she sprang from the midst of the sacrificial hearth, and was a portion of Śachi (the wife of Indra). She was of the middle height, fragrant as a blue lotus, with long lotus-like eyes, a handsome figure, and very black and curly hair. Draupadī was her patronymic, and her proper name was Kṛiṣhnā (‘the black’).

In verses 6322ff. it is related that a Brāhmaṇ who came to the house where the Pāṇḍavas were living, told them of Kṛiṣhnā’s wonderful birth, and of her projected svayānvara (selection of a husband from an assemblage of suitors). The sage Bṛhadāvāja, it appears (6331ff.), had a son called Drona, who studied the Vedas, and a friend in king Pṛishāta, whose son Drupada used to frequent the sage’s hermitage, and play as well as study with Drona. Drupada succeeds his father as king, and Drona, who, though a Brāhmaṇ, had received instruction in arms‡ from Parasurāma (who happened to come to the spot), offers his friendship to Drupada. The latter, however, repels the advances of the friend of his boyhood by saying that none but a Vedic scholar can be the friend of such a scholar, none but a charioteer the friend of a charioteer, and none but a king the friend of a king (6342). Drona then goes to the city of the Kurus, and Bhishma appoints him to instruct the Pāṇḍavas, his grandsons (they were really grand-nephews), in the use of arms. When he has taught them, he asks as his fee the kingdom of Drupada (6348). They accordingly conquer Drupada, and deliver him bound to Drona. The latter again asks his friendship, and says they shall divide the kingdom (6350). Drupada agrees to be his friend. He does not, however, forget the injury which he has received, and seeks for Brāhmaṇs to perform a ceremony whereby he should get a son, who should slay Droṇa (6355ff.). He succeeds in finding a priest, and a ceremony is performed (6390), and a son, in the accoutrements of a warrior, issues from the sacrificial fire (6391 and 6393ff.), and a daughter of unparalleled beauty rises from the altar (6398ff.). Strange to say, Droṇa, thinking that destiny could not be eluded, and having regard to his own reputation as a teacher of martial accomplishments, undertakes to train Drupada’s son Bhīṣmaṭdyumna in them (6408). When the Pāṇḍavas have heard the Brāhmaṇ’s story (nothing further is here said about the svayānvara), their mother Kunti proposes that they should go to the country of Drupada, as they had already stayed long enough where they were (6412). While they are living in disguise in the country of Drupada, their relative, the sage Vyāsa, comes to see them (6421), and tells them (6426ff.) a story of a certain sage’s elegant daughter, who was so unfortunate as not to have got a husband, and who consequently, in order to gain one, practises austerities, by which she pleases the god Śiva, who offers to confer on her the boon which she desires. She asks again and again for a husband endowed with all virtues. The god says she shall have five. She replies that she only wants...
one. Siva rejoins that she has made the request five times; and that when she should be born in another body she should obtain what she had asked (6433f.). She has accordingly, Vyasa adds, been born in Drupada's family, and is the destined bride of the Pandava whom he was addressing (6434). He therefore, recommends them to stay where they were, and tells them that they should be rendered happy by obtaining her as their wife (6435). They eventually proceed with a multitude of other people to the svayamvara (6925ff.). On their arrival in the city, they were disguised as Brahmanas, and lived by mendicancy (6951). It appears that Drupada had wished to give his daughter to Arjuna, one of the Pandavas, although he did not disclose this (6952). He had had a bow made which was exceedingly difficult to bend; and he proclaimed that the man who should bend and string it, and pierce a mark which he had suspended in the air, should gain his daughter's hand (6953ff.). This intimation was repeated afterwards by his son, Dhrishtadyumna (6978ff.) who then named all the suitors to his sister Draupadi (6980ff.).

Great excitement ensued among the suitors (7005ff.). Those who first tried all failed to string the bow (7022ff.). Earna, the half-brother of the Pandavas, had no difficulty in doing so, and in fitting an arrow on the string; but he was at once rejected by Draupadi, and threw down the bow (7027). Si supala, Jarasandha, and Salya next successively failed (7029ff.). Arjuna then rose out of the midst of the Brahmanas (7034ff.), which caused a sensation among that class, some being displeased and others glad. Some feared that this youth by his failure might make their caste ridiculous; others said that nothing was beyond a Brahman's power. "Eating nothing," they said (vv. 7045ff.), "or eating air, eating fruits, practising austerities, the Brahmanas, though weak, are most powerful through their own might. Whether he practices good or evil, a Brahman is not to be contemned, whatever task may arrive, easy or difficult, great or small. The Kshatriyas were vanquished in battle by Rama the son of Jamadagni. Agastya, by his Brähmanical energy, drank up the fathomless ocean." Arjuna, bowing down to Siva, and calling Krishna to mind, seized the bow, strung it, took the arrows, and pierced the mark, which fell to the ground (7050ff.). Loud shouts were heard in the sky, and from the assembly; and flowers were showered from the heavens. Draupadi then advanced to Arjuna, smiling, and holding a garland; and he leaves the assembly accompanied by her (7059). The royal suitors, however, were incensed that her father should have wished to give her to a Brahman, after their desire to possess her had been kindled; and that the tree whose fruits they had hoped to enjoy had been cut down (7061ff.); as, in such a case the princess's choice should have been limited to Kshatriyas (7067). They therefore rushed at Drupada with the intention of killing him (7072); but he took refuge among the Brahmanas, and two of the Pandavas, Arjuna and Bhima, came to the rescue (7073ff.). A fight ensues; Arjuna and Bhima triumph over Karna and Salrya; and the Kshatriya kings become alarmed, and propose that the combat should cease for the present. Krishna then comes forward and declares to them that Draupadi's hand had been properly awarded by her father (7075-7121). Arjuna and Bhima go with Draupadi to the house where their mother was anxiously awaiting the event, and, in allusion to their being at present in the habit of soliciting alms, they said to her that they had brought something home with them. She, being indoors, and not seeing what it was that they had brought, replied, "Enjoy it all together!" but afterwards, on seeing Draupadi, she exclaimed that she had spoken wrongly (7131ff.); and informs Yudhishthira that she had done so inadvertently, and asks his opinion. Yudishthira (7187ff.) addresses Arjuna, and says that he who had gained her must take her as his wife. Arjuna, however, replies that Yudhishthira must first wed her, and then the other brothers successively. They then all became enamoured of her (7151ff.). Yudhishthira then recollects what Vyasa had formerly said to them (see verse 6434 quoted above), that Draupadi was destined to be the wife of all the five—which Yudhishthira declared she should become (7146). Dhrishtadyumna, we are next told, then goes to visit the Pandavas in the house where they were living, and makes a report of his visit to his father (7168, 7174), who sends his family priest to them (7182), and then a messenger with provisions, &c. and chariots, in which they were to proceed to the royal residence;
which they accordingly do (7203ff.). Drupada asks Yudhishtihira how he is to know whether they are Kshatriyas, or Brāhmaṇas, or Vaiśyas, or Śudras (7219ff.). Yudhishtihira assures him that they are Kshatriyas, sons of Pāṇḍu; and that his daughter was like a lotus, which should be transplanted from one pond to another (7225 and 7228). Drupada then proposes that the marriage of his daughter to Arjuna should proceed (7237). Yudhishtihira, however, informs him that she was to be the wife of all the five brothers, and tells how their mother's word had determined this; and that they had all agreed upon it (7240). Drupada replies that it was quite legitimate that one king should have many wives, § but not that one queen should have more than one husband; and urges that Yudhishtihira should not do an immoral act, contrary to custom and the Veda (7244).

Yudhishtihira rejoins that the question was one of a delicate or difficult nature (sukshma dharma); that they could not judge of its character, but followed the path trodden by a succession of ancestors; and adds that their mother had enjoined it (7246ff.). Vyāsa now opportunely arrives (7251). Drupada asks him how one woman can become the lawful wife of several husbands. Vyāsa invites all present to express their opinions (7257). Drupada pronounces such a marriage to be contrary to custom and the Veda, not practised by former generations, and of doubtful propriety. Dhrishtadyumna too (7261) will not allow that the question can be settled by calling it a nice point, or that an act can be both right and wrong. Yudhishtihira, on the contrary (7264), says the practice is lawful, and instances the cases of Jātiḥ, the daughter of Gotama, and Vārkshi, the daughter of a sage (muni), both virtuous women, who were the wives of seven, and ten husbands respectively. He also urges the duty of obeying his mother's command above referred to (7131) as a ground for all the five brothers having Draupādi for their wife; and his view is supported by his mother. Vyāsa also says that the custom is lawful; and that it dated from time immemorial, and promises to explain how.

He tells two stories, which, however, do not prove that the practice was an ordinary one. The first (7275—7318) is to the effect (see verses 7310ff.) that the five Pāṇḍavas were, in a former state, five Indras, Arjuna being a portion of the real Indra; and that Śrī, or Lakṣmī, who had been assigned to them as their earthly wife, had taken the form of Draupādi (7303ff., 7309ff.). For how, asks Vyāsa,—unless by divine appointment,—could such a woman as Draupādi issue from the earth at the end of a sacrifice? Vyāsa then imparted to Drupada a divine insight whereby he beheld the five Pāṇḍavas and Draupādi in their previous celestial forms (7312ff.). He then goes on (7319ff.) to repeat the other story, which he formerly told to the Pāṇḍavas (see above, vv. 6425ff.), about the sage's daughter who had got no husband, and in order to obtain one, had propitiated Śiva, and had gained from him a promise that she should have five in a subsequent state of existence; and adds that she had now accordingly been born anew at the sacrifice as Draupādi, the destined wife of the five Pāṇḍavas. After this, Drupada can, of course, no longer hold out. He says (7331ff.) that as his daughter had formerly asked, and Śiva had promised her, a plurality of husbands, the god must know what is right: and as he had so ordained it, whether the polyandry was lawful or unlawful, he himself was not in fault. Yudhishtihira was then first married by the family priest to Draupādi, and afterwards the other brothers were united with her (7339ff.); and she received the benediction of her mother-in-law (7350ff.).

From a perusal of the above narrative, it appears that although Kūnti, the mother of three of the Pāṇḍavas, is represented as having at first sanctioned the union of the five brothers with Draupādi only by a mistake, and although supernatural occurrences are introduced to explain and justify the transaction, its lawfulness as a recognized usage, practised from time immemorial, is also affirmed both by Yudhishtihira and Vyāsa. At the time when the Mahābhārata, as we now have it, was composed or revised, the practice must have so far fallen into disuse, or have become discredited, as to require that special divine authority should be shown in order to render its occurrence among respectable persons conceivable even in earlier ages.

§ See Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 4. 1. 6, "wherefore also there are many wives of one man."
Difficulty of comprehending what is duty; an illustration of this from the case of Kausîka.

With reference to the expression sākṣhma dharma, which is noted above, I have to remark that in the Mahâbhârata several passages occur in which the nicety of duty, the difficulty of correctly apprehending it, is insisted on. Thus in iii. 13843; "It is the teaching of the ancients that duty is proved by Scripture (śrutī); for the system of duty is abstruse; it has many branches, and is infinite. In matters of life and death, in regard to marriage, falsehood should be spoken; in such cases, falsehood will serve the purpose of truth, and truth of falsehood. Whatever powerfully conduces to the good of living creatures is to be held as truth; thus righteousness arises from its opposite; such is the nicety of duty." Again: xii. 8640ff. "One who can distinguish between duty and what is not duty (righteousness and unrighteousness), overpasses all difficulties. 8642. A man who acts when he possesses knowledge, succeeds universally. For the unskilful man, though seeking righteousness, practises unrighteousness, or practises to his loss what has only a semblance of righteousness. Desiring to practise duty, he thinks he does so, when he does the opposite, while another man, loving righteousness, and again, a superior person is seen to practise unrighteousness in the guise of righteousness. Desiring to practise righteousness, practises unrighteousness." This does not seem a good moral doctrine.

In xii. 9259ff., Yudhishthira, who generally confines himself to putting short questions, remarks at some length as follows:—

"Duty cannot be completely known. A man has one duty in prosperity, and another in adversity; but how can all states of misfortune be fully known? Duty is considered to be virtuous practice, and virtuous men are marked out by their conduct. But how can what is to be done or not to be done (be known)? for virtuous conduct has no characteristic mark. A common man is seen to practise unrighteousness in the guise of righteousness, and again, a superior person is seen to practise righteousness in the garb of unrighteousness. Again, the standard of righteousness is defined by men who are versed in the scriptures; and we have heard that the doctrines of the Vedas decline in every age. The duties in the Krita, Treta, Dvâpara, and Kali Yugas (ages), respectively are different, as if ordained according to men's powers. The words of sacred tradition (âmnâya) are true; such is the popular understanding (lokâ-sangreha). From these traditions again the all-sided Vedas have sprung. If they are the standard of everything, we have a standard here; but if this (so-called) standard be vitiated by error, what becomes of its authoritative character (prâmâna 'by aprâmâna viruddhe śâsırāt kutaḥ)? When violent and wicked men practise any duty, and while doing so pervert any of its settled rules (saṁśâdha), they too are destroyed. Do we know so and, or do we not? can it, or can it not, be known? it is minuter than the edge of a razor, and greater than a mountain. The form of the Gandharvas' city is at first perceived, but when so seen by poets, it again becomes invisible." It seems, however, to be intended that these doubts should be overruled, as the speaker then proceeds thus:—"As cisterns for cattle, as streamlets in a field, the Smriti (law-code), is the eternal law of duty, and is never found to fail. But some men, from wilful desire of other things (?), and many others for other reasons, follow evil practices." After some other verses, the speaker concludes (v. 9276) by saying that "duty has long been ascertained and declared by wise men of old, and that such practice forms the eternal rule" (saṁśâdha bhavati śâsirât).

In the eighth Book of the Mahâbhârata, vv. 3439ff., a story is told in illustration of the principle that knowledge is necessary for the successful practice of righteousness. "How strange," it is said, "that a man who is unwise and stupid, though a lover of righteousness, should fall into great sin like Kausîka." He, it seems, was a devotee well read, and who had determined always to speak the truth (verse 3449). In pursuance of this principle, he pointed out to certain robbers the road which some persons, of whom they were in pursuit, had taken, and whom they thus succeeded in killing (vv. 3450ff.). "In consequence of this great sin (vv. 3454ff.), and wicked speech, Kausîka went to a hell of suffering, as he was ignorant of the niceties of duty (vâkṣhma-dharma vâkvidah). So a fool, who has read little, and does not know the distinctions of duty, and who does not ask a solution of his doubts from ancients, deserves to fall into the deep abyss. . . . The highest knowledge is hard to attain for him who seeks it by reasoning. Many say that duty is known from the Veda.

In verse 3560, dharma (duty) is said to be
derived from the root dhar, because it supports mankind.

In another, Book iii. 13777, dharma is declared to be defined in the Smritis, (the class of works to which the law-books belong) as just and proper action, and its opposite, adharma, to be defined by well-instructed men as the absence of right conduct.||

Prevalence of Nástitya or Infidelity.

It is evident from the frequent mention of nástitya, or infidelity, in Manu and the Mahábhárata, that disbelief in the Vedas was not uncommon in India in ancient times.|| The following passage occurs in the Mahábhárata, xiii. 2194: "Rejection of the authority of the Vedas, transgression of the precepts of the Sástras, and an universal lawlessness, lead to a man's own destruction. The Bráhman who regards himself as a Pándit, who reviles the Vedas, and is devoted to useless logic, the science of reasoning, who states arguments among virtuous men, defeats them by his syllogisms, who is a constant assailant and abuser of the Bráhma, an universal doubter and a fool, such a man, though sharp in his language, is to be regarded as a child; people regard that man as a dog. Just as a dog assails, to bark and to kill, so such men set to to wrangle and to overthrow the sacred books."

A similar character is described in Mahábh. xii. 6786ff., of which a translation will be found in this Journal for November of last year, vol. V. p. 618.

Here is an answer given (Mahábh. iii. 17402) by Yudhishthira to a Yaksha who had asked him what was the path to walk in: "Reasoning has no firm basis; Vedic texts are mutually at variance; there is not one sage whose doctrine is authoritative; the essence of virtue is enveloped in mystery; the (right) path is that which the many follow."

Here is the advice given to doubters (Mahábh. iii. 13461b): "Neither this world nor the next, nor happiness, (is the portion) of the doubter. The ancients who possess knowledge have said that faith is the sign of final emancipation. . . . 13463b. Abandoning fruitless reasonings, resort to the Veda and the Smritis."

The three Vedas not eternal.

In the next passage the eternity of the text of the three Vedas is denied. Mahábh. xii. 7497: "Greater than Time is the divine Viṣṇu, of whom is this entire universe; that god has no beginning, nor middle, nor end. From his having neither beginning, nor middle, nor end, he is imperishable, and overpasses all sufferings, for suffering is finite. That is declared to be the highest Brahma; that is the highest abode and stage. Attaining to that, men are freed from the condition of Time, and gain final emancipation. . . . 7501. The Rūk, Yajus, and Sáman verses, dwelling in bodies, exist on the tips of the tongue, are to be acquired by effort, and are perishable. But Brahma is not regarded as having his dwelling or origin in a body; nor is Brahma attainable by effort, nor has he a beginning, a middle, or an end. Rūk, Sáman, and Yajush verses are said to have a beginning; and things that begin are observed to have an end, but Brahma has no beginning."

---

From Dr. Bühler's Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS. made in Kashmir, Rajputana, and Central India.**

As regards Kālhaṇa's great Kavya, the Rājatarangini, which, after all, will probably remain the only Kashmirian work interesting a larger circle of readers, the Śrāda MS. in the Government collection, together with my collation of Gāgākā's MS., Sāhēbrām's explanatory speculations in ancient India.

* For the opinions of the different Indian philosophical schools for and against the eternity of the Vedas, the 3rd vol. of my Original Sanskrit Texts (2nd ed.), pp. 79-149, may be consulted.

** Published as an extra Number of the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. No. xxxiv. September, 1877.
Some years later Mr. A. Troyer began a critical edition of the text, and in 1840 issued the first six cantos together with a translation of the whole eight cantos, which was completed in 1852. Further, Professor Lassen gave, in his great encyclopedia of Indian antiquities, the Indische Alterthümer, a complete analysis of the work; and last, not least, General Cunningham treated its chronology in an admirable article in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1848. It may seem scarcely credible that a book which has engaged the attention of so many Sanskritists, and of some of the first rank, is, after all the labour expended, not in a satisfactory condition, and that its explanation leaves a great deal to desire. Still this is the case, and if it is taken into consideration how bad the materials were on which the European and Indian scholars have worked, it is not wonderful that a great deal remains to be done. When Professor Wilson wrote, he possessed three bad and incomplete Devanāgāri MSS., which were so inaccurate that a close translation of them, if desirable, would have been impracticable.† The Calcutta edition was made, as Mr. Troyer‡ states, according to a Devanāgāri transcript sent by Mr. Moorcroft from Kaśmir, and Prof. Wilson’s MSS. Mr. Troyer’s own edition, finally, was prepared from the same materials and two Devanāgāri copies which Mr. Colebrooke had presented to the library of the India House.§ For the last two books he also used a Devanāgāri transcript procured by Major Broom.¶ Professor Lassen had nothing to work upon but the printed texts.

Both editions are therefore prepared from Devanāgāri copies, made either in India or in Kaśmir. Not one of the scholars who have written on the book ever saw a MS. in Śārada characters, in which Kalhana’s original copy and all MSS. in Kaśmir were written. Besides, for cantos vii. and viii., which are wanting in the MSS. acquired by Mr. Colebrooke and Professor Wilson, the Calcutta paññitaḥ had a single MS., Mr. Moorcroft’s transcript. After what I have said above on Kaśmirian Devanāgāri MSS. and the difficulty Kaśmirian paññitaḥ have in reading Devanāgāri, it is not wonderful that the published text, especially of the last two cantos, should contain many corrupt passages. I must say that I think it wonderful that the changes required are not more numerous. In the first two cantos there are, if obvious misprints and the faulty forms Gonanda for Gonanda, Edāmirāḥ for Kaśmirāḥ, are not taken into account, only between forty and fifty corruptions which seriously affect the sense, i.e. one in every eleven or twelve verses. Most of these cases are, however, very serious. The ratio of mistakes does not increase much in the following four tarangas. Nearly all the corruptions in these six books have been caused by a faulty transcription of single Śārada letters or groups. But in the viiith and viiiith tarangas the case becomes different. The corrupt passages are much more numerous, and some verses as given in the Calcutta edition bear only a faint resemblance to the readings of the Śārada MSS. It seems to me that Moorcroft’s transcript of these two cantos must have been very bad, or have shown lacunae, and that the Calcutta paññitaḥ have corrected the text in a very unscrupulous manner.

The new materials which I have procured will enable us to restore the text to a much greater degree of purity than could ever be done with the help of Devanāgāri MSS. But I fear that a small number of doubtful passages will remain, because all Śārada MSS. known to exist at present in Kaśmir are derived from a single copy which is 100 to 150 years old. This is the MS. of Paññita Kesavrām, which is regarded in Kaśmir as the codex archetypus. It is an ancient Śārada paper MS. written by an ancestor of the present owner. It bears no date, but its appearance shows that it must be more than a hundred years old. The paññitaḥ assert that it is the MS. from which Moorcroft’s transcript was made, and from which all now existing copies have been derived. I do not feel certain that the first statement is correct, as Moorcroft’s copy is said to have been made from a birch-bark volume.¶ The second statement is, I think, true, as all the copies which I have used and seen, half-a-dozen, are new, and agree in all decisive passages with Kesavrām’s copy. My friends made great efforts to find for me a birch-bark MS., for the loan of which I offered a considerable sum. But they possessed none, and were unable to procure one. P. Chandrām told me with a sorrowful face that some years ago he had found remnants of a birch-bark MS. among his father’s books, and that he had thrown them into the Jhelum, as he had thought that they were of no value. This is the only news of a Bhūja MS. of the Ṛṣita-taranginī which I received, and I fear that there is very little chance of any being found hereafter. The possibility of such an event can, however, not be denied as long

† As. Res. vol. XV. p. 5.
‡ Bājāt. vol. I. p. iv.
§ Ibid. pp. vii. and viii.
¶ Ibid. vol. III. p. iii.
|| Troyer, Bājāt. vol. I. p. iii.
The necessity of one alteration in the date of Lalitaditya and his predecessors, whose reigns Kalhana has antedated by thirty years, has been recognized by General Cunningham himself: compare above, p. 43, note, Anc. Geog. p. 91, and Ind. Ant. vol. II. pp. 102 seqq.

As regards the third argument, Mr. Troyer has overlooked the fact that Kalhana states that he began to write his poem in Saptarshi Samvat 24. It contains more than 8000 slokas, and it cannot be supposed that the author completed it in the same year. The fact that he mentions in the viiith book events which happened nine years later, in Saptarshi Samvat 33, merely proves that the poem was not completed until after that time.

Professor Lassen's additional arguments are not more conclusive. Neither myself nor the
Kasmirians have been able to detect any difference in the style of the two parts. The incorrect Calcutta text is hardly a fair basis for the argument. The MSS., finally, in which the last books are wanting are secondary sources, modern transcripts, which prove nothing.

While it is thus not difficult to meet the objections against Kalhana's authorship of cantos vii. and viii., there are some important facts in favour of it. The first is that the viii. canto ends too abruptly to be considered the real conclusion of a mahakavya. Secondly, the obscurity of the narrative in the viiith canto, of which Mr. T royer justly complains, is such as might easily be caused in a contemporary history by the chronicler's omitting, as superfluous, details which were so notorious that he might presume them to be known to his readers, or, to speak more accurately, to his hearers. Thirdly, and this is the really conclusive argument, Jonaraja, who wrote, about two hundred years after Kalhana, a continuation of the history of Kasmir, states distinctly that his predecessor's work ended with the reign of Jayasinh, which is described in the viiith canto of the Rajatarangini. He says in the beginning of his poem,

...karyakramakshyapt bhupair apdli gnaatdibhik ||

teshdm abhyakramanvandtamasi tishtathi |

...usiva kaavikid apasyat tds| kavydaknayaydhoch

...chirdm || 5 ||

rasamayyd girv virddhm niyadtrumyam dipat |

atha srtyajasinvhastam takterin kalanavdvijah || 6 ||

(4) "From the beginning of the Kaliyuga, righteous kings, endowed with (great) qualities, the first among whom is the illustrious Gonanda, protected Kasmir-land, the daughter of Kasysapa.

(5) "As long as the darkness of night (caused) by the winter of their misfortune lasted, nobody perceived them. For late it was ere the sun of poetry rose.

(6) "Then the Brhman Kalhana gave, by the nectar of his song, eternal yonth to the ancient fame of these (princes), the last among whom was the illustrious Jayasinha."*

I think we may trust Jonaraja's word and accept it as a fact that Kalhana wrote the whole of the eight cantos which go under his name.

A new attempt to translate and to explain the Rajatarangini, and to use its contents for the history of India, ought to be made. But it is a work of very considerable difficulty, and will require much time and patience. As no commentary on the book exists, it is firstly necessary to study all the Kasmirian poets and writers on

Alankara who immediately preceded and followed Kalhana, especially the Haravijaya, the Srtyashtakacharita, Bilhana's Vikramukhadeva-charita, Jonaraja's and Srtyara's Rajataranginis, &c. A close attention to their style, similes, and turns of expression will solve most of the difficulties which arise from Kalhana's style. Next the ancient geography of Kasmir must be minutely studied. Nearly all the localities mentioned can be identified with more or less precision by means of the Nilamatapuran'a, the Mihitmayas, the late Rajataranginis, Sabebram's Tirthasangraha, the set of native maps procured by me, the large map of the Trigonometrical Survey, and the works and articles of modern travellers and archaeologists. But some of the geographical questions will probably require a final re-examination in Kasmir.

As regards the use of the contents of the Rajatarangini for the history of Kasmir and of India, a great deal remains to be done for the earlier portion, up to the beginning of the Karkota dynasty. Kalhana's chronology of the Gonandiya dynasties is, as Professor Wilson, Professor Lassen, and General Cunningham have pointed out, valueless. An author who connects the history of his country with the imaginary date of a legendary event, like the coronation of Yudhish-thira, and boasts that "his narrative resembles a medicine, and is useful for increasing and diminishing the (statements of previous writers regarding) kings, place, and time," must always be sharply controlled, and deserves no credit whatever in those portions of his work where his narrative shows any suspicious figures or facts. The improbabilities and absurdities in the first three cantos are so numerous that I think the Rajatarangini ought to be consulted much less for the period comprised therein than has been done by the illustrious Orientalists named above. I would not fill the intervals between the historically certain dates of Asoka, Kanishka, and Durshabaka by cutting down the years of the kings placed between them by Kalhana. But I would altogether ignore all Kasmirian kings for whose existence we have no evidence from other sources, be it through Indian or foreign writers, or through coins, buildings, and inscriptions. If Kalhana had merely given the stories reported by Sunyata and other predecessors, there might be a hope that we could re-arrange them. But we do not know what materials he had, nor how he treated them, if in any particular case he lengthened or shortened the reigns, and if he displaced or added kings or not. General Cunningham's constant search for Kasmirian coins, which,

---

* Tds instead of tds is the reading of the Skanda MSS.
* In the text the adjective translated by 'last of whom,' refers to fame. But the general sense of the passage is the same.
* Ed. 1. 21.
The correctness of his statement is confirmed by a passage in P. Śāhābrām's Rājatarangini in which the author says that the Śaka year 1786 (A.D. 1864), in which he writes, corresponds to Kali 4965 and to Saptarshi or Laosikā Samvat 4940. One of the copyists, too, who copied the Dheusapālokā for me in September 1875, gives in the colophon, as the date of his copy, the Saptarshi year 4051. These facts are sufficient to prove that P. Dayārām's statement regarding the beginning of the Saptarshi era is not an invention of his own, but based on the general tradition of the country. I do not doubt for a moment that the calculation which throws the beginning of the Saptarshi era back to 3076 B.C. is worth no more than that which fixes the beginning of the Kaliyuga in 3101 B.C. But it seems to me certain that it is much older than Kaliyuga's time, because his equation 24 = 1078 agrees with it."

It may thenceforth be safely used for reducing with exactness the Saptarshi years, months, and days mentioned in his work to years of the Christian era. The results which will be thus obtained will always closely agree with those gained by General Cunningham, who did use the right key.

In concluding this long discussion on the Rājatarangini, I will add that the specimen of a new translation given below is merely intended to show some of the results which may be obtained by means of the new materials brought by me from Kashmir. I do not pretend that all the difficulties requiring consideration have been brought to a final solution.

**Specimen of a translation of the Rājatarangini.**


'**Reverence to Hara, who (grants his worshippers' desires)** like the tree of Paradise, who is beautified by a beam of light emitted by the jewels that are concealed in the heads of the serpents adorning him, and in whom those freed (from the circle of births) find eternal rest. **May both the halves of the body of the god, whose cognizance is the bull, saptarshi, not sālokā.** This verse, it seems to me, is an imitation of Bāna's Siddhaarkhārta i. 1.

A translation of this verse being impossible, I have given a paraphrase. Almost the whole of its first three pādas is made up of a succession of puns. Siva is invoked in his form of Ardhanārī, in union with Pārvatī. The words describing the appearance of the two halves are chosen in such a manner that they apply to the female form and its dress as well as to the male. *Kundalinī, lit. * containing a ring,* must be taken as, I think, in the sense of *earing* or *necklace* when it refers to Pārvatī. *Jalaśūdhīchāhādāchāhā* if referred to Pārvatī must be dissolved into *jalaśūdhīchāhādāchāhā*; if referred to Siva it dissolves into *jalaśūdhīchāhādāchāhā* civa or *dchchhā = dchchhā.* In the description of Siva, *abāna* must be dissolved into *ahābdvāna,* *the lord of all snakes,* Vasuki, who serves Siva instead of the ādvarat. *Near the ear* may also be referred to the sentence beginning with *dādhat.* The ocean-born poison is the Hālkhāla which Siva swallowed.
and who is united with his spouse, give you glory,—the left, whose forehead bears an abhisheka tilaka, the colour of whose throat near the ear is fair like the splendour of the ocean-born (moona), and is enhanced by numerous tremulous earrings, and whose breast bears a faultless boddice;—the right, whose forehead carries a flame of fire, the colour of whose throat near the ear is concealed by the ocean-born (poison) and enhanced by numerous playfully moving snakes, and whose chest is encircled by the lord of snakes as by a boddice.

3 Worthy of praise is that quality of true poets, whatever it may be, which enables them to sprinkle with the nectar (of their song), and thereby to preserve, their own bodies of glory as well as those of others.

Who else but poets resembling the Prajapatis (in creative power), and able to bring forth lovely productions, can place the past times before the eyes of men? If the poet did not see in his mind's eye the existences with which he is to reveal to men, what other indication would there be that he is a divine seer? Though for its length the story does not show much variety, still there will be something in it that will gladden the virtuous. That virtuous poet alone is worthy of praise who, free from love or hatred, restricts his muse to the exposition of facts. If I narrate again the subject-matter of tales of which others have treated, still the virtuous ought not to turn their faces from me without hearing my reasons.

10 How great a cleverness is required in order that men of modern times may complete the account given in the books of those who died after composing each the history of those kings whose contemporary he was! Hence in this narrative of past events, which is difficult in many respects, my endeavour will be to connect.

11 The oldest extensive works, containing the royal chronicles (of Kashmir) have been lost in consequence of (the appearance) of Surata's composition, who condensed them in order that (their substance) might be easily remembered.

12 Surata's poem, though extensive, does not easily reveal its meaning, since it is made difficult by misplaced learning.

13 Owing to a certain want of care, there is not a single part in Kshemendra's 'List of Kings' free from mistakes, though it is the work of a poet.

14 Eleven works of former scholars which contain the chronicles of the kings, I have inspected, as well as the (Pürña containing the) opinions of the sage Nila.

15 By looking at the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples and grants, at the laudatory in the Kalavikalas. Conf. Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 302 seqq., vol. V. p. 29. Kshemendra wrote also, as Kahiha asserts, a Rājvistara, or history of the Kasmirian kings. The work exists now in Kashmir. But the hope that it would soon come into my hands, which I expressed in my preliminary Report, has hitherto not been fulfilled. I do not, however, yet despair of ultimately obtaining it.—Dr. Bühler's Report, pp. 46, 48.

16 The Nilamattapuranā is supposed to have been narrated by Vasumāpya, a poet of Yāṣa, to King Bhumāyana. It opens with a question of the king inquiring why no ruler of Kashmir took part in the great war between the Kurus and Pándus. The sage's answer is nearer the greater part lost, but from the fragments remaining it is clear that it contained the account of the expedition of Gandata to Mathurā in aid of Jărāsandha, in which he was slain, and of the attempt by his son Dismodara to avenge his father's death, when Krishna came to a swarāyana in the Gandhara country, just as these events are told in the Rājaśtaparyana, i. 57-66. A few verses have been saved, which mention the evansiveness and the destruction of Dismodara by Krishna, as well as the coronation of Dismodara's pregnant queen and the birth of Gandata II. They prove that Kahiha took over some portions of his narrative almost literally from the Purāṇa. Janamejaya's next question is why Krishna considered Kashmir so important as to secure for it a king by the coronation of a woman. Vasumāpya's answer is in the Purāṇa, and describes its various excellencies, adding that it was formerly a lake called Satīsaras. This statement gives an opportunity to introduce the story of the creation of Kashmir by Dismodara. The Purāṇa then goes on to narrate the 'rites proclaimed by Nila,' which occupy two-thirds of the work; and it concludes with some miscellaneous Māhāmyas. From this it will appear that it is an attempt to connect such Kasmirian legends with those of India proper, and especially with the Mahābhārata, as well as to supply a sufficient authority for the rites prevalent in Kashmir.

According to my interpretation of this passage, Kahiha used four kinds of records:—(1) the Bṛhādāraṇyāk edicts, i.e. inscriptions recording the erection and consecration of temples or other buildings and monuments, such
inscriptions, and at the manuscripts, the worry arising from many errors has been overcome.

16 Four among the fifty-two rulers whom they do not mention, on account of the loss of the records, viz. Gona da and (his successors), have been taken from the Nilamata (Purāṇa).

17.18 Having read the opinion of the Pāṇḍava Brāhmaṇa Harādāja, who formerly composed a ‘List of Kings’ in twelve thousand ślokas, Padmāmihira entered in his work the eight kings, beginning with Lava, who preceded Āśoka and his successors.

19 Those five kings also, among whom Āśoka is the first, Śrīchārvilākara declared (to have been taken) from the fifty-two (lost ones). For his verse is as follows:—

20 The five princes from Āśoka to Abhimanu who have been enumerated have been obtained by the ancients out of the fifty-two (lost ones)."

21 This narrative (of mine), which is arranged (in proper order) and resembles a medicine, is useful for increasing as well as diminishing the (statements of previous writers regarding) kings, place, and time. What intelligent man does not rejoice at such a compilation, which treats of the numberless events of ancient times? When (the hearer) has well pondered over the sudden appearance of created beings that lasts for a moment only, then

as are to be found on almost all temples, religious or even profane buildings (such as palaces), on images, funeral monuments, and so forth; (2) the vāstuśāstras editors, i.e. inscriptions recording grants of things, chiefly of land, and perhaps also of allowances, such as are found engraved on copper-plates; (3) grautipātika, tablets containing laudatory inscriptions of persons or places, such as now are found sometimes in temples or other public buildings, e.g. the Aruddaprasāasti in Vimalāśikā’s temple at Cheluravas; (4) the ēkāsūtra, the works on the various sciences, or, to use a short expression, the MSS. of Sanskrit books, which in Kāśmir mostly give at the end some information regarding the author, and the king under which the book was composed, together with the date. This interpretation comes nearest to Professor Lassen’s,—vide Ind. Alt. 2nd ed. II. 20,—from which I differ in the interpretation of śūkra only. He gives too narrow an explanation, considering it to mean ‘law-books.’

22 Gona da is the reading of all Śrāvaṇa MSS. Regarding the meaning of gona da, ‘tradition, records,’ see below, i. 45, and the Pet. Dict. e. v. The four rulers intended are Gona da I, Dāmodara I, Dāmodara’s queen, and Gona da II.: see above, note to ll. 14.

23 Mahāratin, which I have translated by Pāda-pata, has been usually taken to mean simply ‘ascetic.’ I should think that a particular sect of ascetics is intended. A Harādāja, a Kāśi, who was born and lived probably in the 9th or 10th century, has written a commentary on the Vākypadāyana, of which fragments are still extant; see Kielhorn in the Ind. Ant. vol. III. p. 353. This and the following verses show that Kalhana believed that altogether seventeen kings out of the number of the fifty-two forgotten ones had been rescued.

24 Bāhulgita, arranged in proper order, may possibly mean purimātī, ‘of limited extent.’ The verse gives the key to Kalhana’s method.

25 Śrīda is one of the nine Beras, ‘flavours or sentiments,’ which ought to underlie poetic compositions. Kalhana, who has to tell many commonplace events, and go through endless repetitions, is anxious to prove, in order to guard his character as a poet, that his composition is not işūra.

let him consider how this (work) is hallowed by the prevalence of the Sentiment of Quietism. ‘Imbibe, therefore, straight with your ears this ‘River of Kings,’ which is made agreeable by an undercurrent of powerful sentiment.

26 Formerly, from the beginning of the Kalpa, the land in the womb of Himālaya was filled with water during the periods of six Manus, (and constituted) the Lake of Sāth. 26-27 Afterwards, when the period of the present Manus Vaivaśa vata had arrived, the Prajapati Kaśyapa caused Drāvīḍa, Upendra, Radra, and other gods to descend, caused (the demon) Jaloabhava, who dwelt in that lake, to be killed, and changed it into a country, known as Kāśmir.

27 Nila, the lord of all Nāgas, whose regal parasol is formed by the circular pond (filled with) the stream of the Viśātā’s newly rising water, protects it. There Gauri, though rising water, protects it. Therefore straight with your ears this ‘River of Kings’ which is made agreeable by an undercurrent of powerful sentiment.

28 The correct reading in the last pāta is that given by Ch. and G: spākṣam ango vājāryavamini. G has spākṣhama. Ango to be construed with niṣpāta.

29 The legend of the Śatīśāra, of its dedication, and of the destruction of the demon Jalōdhava (Waterborn), who had made it his dwelling and devastated the surrounding countries, is told at considerable length by the Nilamata-purāṇa,—see the Report. The gods who assisted Kaśyapa were Brahma, Vishnu, and Śiva, as stated in the text.

30 The annotator of G: says: vitrūvīrmāyasthiṃ tān nāgāṇa vīramāṇa iti purāṇāḥ. Conventionally the Viśātā is said to take its origin from the circular pond called Virnā or jVirnā, situated about fifteen miles to the south-east of Iaśamadjet, at the foot of the Bānīhāl. Kalhana calls this pond Īdapravo, ‘the royal parasol,’ of Nila-nāga, who is supposed to reside in or under it. The circular form is the tertium comparationis, which suggested the far-fetched simile. Regarding the Viśātā compare Vigne, Travels, vol. I. p. 382.

31 The annotator of G: says: yuṅhaṅkāraḥ kumāraḥ śākā or kumāraḥ candraḥ kumārakaṁ kandarākṣhaṁ khaṭaḥ; nāgāṅkūha lāhākṣhaṁ khaṭaṁ. In the latter being supposed to be the residence of the nāgāṅ and the small ones nāgīṇi, the latter being supposed to be the residence of the females of the Nāga. The Nāga Mahāpādāna is the tutelary deity of the Vālī river. The Vālī lake, which is frequently simply called Māhāpādana; vide, e.g., Sṛkaṇṭhacharitra III. 9, and Ārāhādyā thereon. Sākhāṅgāra resides, according to Śakabhrā’s Paṇṭhāśāṣṭrikaḥ, in a lake near Dharinā in the Lār pargāṇa.
Nāgas gleaming with the splendour of various jewels, chief among whom are Śāṅkha and Paśma, and thus resembles the town of Kuvera, the depository of the nine treasures (chief among which are Śāṅkha and Paśma). To shelter, forsooth, the Nāga, who came afraid of Garuda, it stretched its arms behind its back in the guise of a wall of mountains. 37There (worshippers) touching the wooden image of the husband of Umā at the Tirtha called Pāpasūdana obtain heavenly bliss and final liberation as their rewards. 38There the goddess Sāndhyā bhyit, and by Śiva-Vijayesa and other deities, does not fiercely shine, during summer even, in that (country) which has been created by his father, as he knows that it ought not to be tormented.

"... Things that elsewhere in the three worlds are difficult to find, viz. lofty halls of learning, saffron, icy water, and grapes, are common there. 39In these three worlds the jewel-producing region of Kuvera is (chiefly) worthy of praise; (next) in that (region) the mountain range, the father of Gauri; and (thirdly) the country which is enclosed by that (mountain).

40Fifty-two princes, beginning with Gounanda, who in the Kaliyugé were contemporaries of the Karus and of the sons of Kumti, have not been recorded. 41In consequence of the demerit of those rulers of the land of Kindlepa, no poets of creative power, who produced their bodies of glory, existed in those times. 42We pay reverence to that naturally sublime craft of poets, without whose favour powerful princes are not remembered, although the earth that is girdled by the oceans was sheltered under the protection of their arms as in the shade of a forest. 43Without thee, O brother composer of true poetry, this world does not even dream of the existence of its chiefs, though they rested their feet on the temples of elephants, though they won prosperity, though maidens, moons of the day, dwelt in their palaces,—without thee the universe is blind: why (praise) thee with a hundred hymns?

58Some (authors) have given this (following) calculation of the years wrongly, as they were deceived by the statement that Gounanda and his successors protected Kaśmir during twenty-two hundred and sixty-eight years in the Kaliyugé, (and) that the Bāhruti (near) took place at the end of the Dravāpara yuga. 59If the years of the kings, which it is not, as the opinion of the some, has been created by his father, as he knows that it ought not to be tormented.

32Kasmir is here personified and supposed to face Garuđa, who chased the Nāgas through the ‘Gate of the Valley at Bāramūla. Under this supposition it becomes intelligible how the mountain-chain surrounding the country can be likened to ‘arms stretched out behind the back.’ The story of the Nāgas’ flight to Kasmir occurs in the Nāgadeśa Mahāpurāṇa (iii. 14), where the Nāga, who came afraid of Garuđa, it stretched its arms behind its back in the guise of a wall of mountains. There, after looking on the goddess Śālanda, (the worshipper) at once reaches the river Madhumati and (the worshipper) after looking on the goddess Sāfradd, which has not its Tirtha.

"... If the years of the kings, which it is not, as the opinion of the some, has been created by his father, as he knows that it ought not to be tormented.

37Śrīlāla harat iti prastādhe sthale dāraddesasamāpya kartvā tāntisām prasiddah, G1. Gōriśa found on the Survey map in the pargāna Khuyaham, to the north of the Vollur lake, into which latter the Madhumati falls, as marked on the native map. Śahbāţh (Tirthasamgraha) places these tirthas in Lolāb. Chakrabhiṭ śeṣānā kachāndhāra iti prastādah; viyajasa tāna bijagard iti prastādah; G1. The ancient fanes of Vishnu-Chakrādha lay on a low hill, situated about a mile below Bijbāţh, on the left bank of the Virāṣat, and is now called Chādhan. For Bijbāţh for Bijbāţh is too well known to need any further notice. But compare Vignes, vol. II. p. 28.

38The father of Gauri, i.e. the Himalaya. Kāvera is the regent of the North, and the possessor of the nine treasures.

45In the text read Kāiramra, Kāiramra: not Kārimra is the form which the Śāradā MSS. give everywhere. The two verses form a yugākāra for yugama, and v. 48 must therefore be taken as depending on the words of v. 47. Sūktiyād vimśadhi, which occur in the second half of v. 49.

50I am unable to make anything of this verse, except by taking Ṝkṣvarṣyaśāyyā to refer to bhūrastam in v. 48. For with any other explanation the figures must come wrong, and the verse must be taken as part of the pūrvaspatka, which it is not, as the opinion of the ‘some’ has been done with in the preceding verses.
the length of whose reigns is known, are added together (and deducted) from the past period of the Kaliyuga diminished by that (time which elapsed between the beginning of the Kaliyuga and the Ebdhata war), no rest remains. When sixty and fifty-three years of the Kaliyuga had passed away, the Kurus and Pândavas lived on the earth. At present, in the twenty-fourth year (of) the Laukika (era), one thousand and seventy years of the Saka era have passed. On the whole, at that (time) two thousand three hundred and thirty years have elapsed since (the times of) Gonanda II. [82] Twelve hundred and sixty-six years are supposed (to be comprised) in the sum of the reigns of those fifty-two kings.

Since the Great Bear moves in a hundred years from one Nakshatra to the other, the author of the (Brihat) Svarûpabha has thus given his decision regarding its motion in this (verse): —

53 "When king Yuddhishthira ruled the earth, the Munis (the Great Bear) stood in (the Nakshatra) Magha. His reign fell 2326 years (before) the Saka era." [83] The proper reading, instead of the of the Calcutta and Paris editions, is सृणां, which is found in all Ścandra MSS. The mistake has been caused by the resemblance of Sûmâna to sâna.

54 The verse is found Brihat Svarûpabha xiii. 5. Jour. R. A. S. N. S. vol. v. p. 79. From v. 48-55, which give 'the' chronological basis of the Taranjînt, it would appear that the statement of the Nâtanaka, which makes Gonanda II. contemporary with the Kuru and Pândava, was the starting-point common to Kalhana and other chronicists. But while others placed Gonanda in the beginning of the Kaliyuga, guided by the tradition that the Great War occurred at the end of the Drâcala-yuga, Kalhana used Vârshâmihira's date of Yuddhishthira, 2326 before Śaka, or 655 Kali, to determine the beginning of the Gonandas.

55 Then cut down or lengthened (vide above, v. 21) the reigns of the Kâraśâra kings until their sum total plus 653 agreed with the time which had elapsed between the year in which he began to write, viz. 1070, and the beginning of the Kaliyuga. His equation, as has been shown by Wilson, Troyer, and others, is —

Years of the Kaliyuga 1070

lost kings of Kâraśâra- From Gonanda III. 1 979

1266 (v. 54) 4249

2330 (v. 53) 4249

653 (v. 51) 4249

The expression prâyâh, 'on the whole' (v. 53), and mûttâk (v. 54), seem to me further proof (in addition to the direct statement, v. 21) that Kalhana did make alterations in the

56 When he pitched his camp on the banks of the Kâlinandi, the fame of (the hostile) warriors vanished together with the smiles of the females of Yadvâ's race. Once (Balarama), whose enmity is the plough, engaged that warrior in battle in order to protect his entirely shattered forces. The bridal wreath of the goddess of victory faded, since it remained long in her hands, while those warriors of equal strength were combating each other and the result was doubtful. Finally, with limbs wounded by each other's weapons, the king of Kâśî graced embraced the earth, and the scion of Yadvâ the goddess of victory.

57 When that brave warrior travelled the road which great heroes easily find, his son, the illustrious Dâmodara, protected the earth. That proud prince, though he had obtained a kingdom which was distinguished by affording the means of enjoyment, found no peace because he brooked over the death of his father. Then that (hero), whose arm, (strong) like a tree, was burning with pride, heard that the Vrishnis had been invited by the Gandhâras on the banks of the Indus to an approaching senayinwara, and that they had come. Then, (impelled) by excessive fury, he undertook on their approach an expedition against them, obscuring the sky with the dust that the horses of his army raised.

58 In the battle with those (foes), the bride, who was about to choose a husband and was impatient for the wedding, was slain. Then the celestial maidens chose husbands in Gandhârâland. Then the valiant ruler of the earth-disc, attacking, in the battle with the god whose weal-length of the reigns. Another circumstance shows with what levity Kalhana worked. The period of 1296 years begins with the reign of Gonanda I., and Gonanda II., his grandson, was, according to the Purânas, the infant king when the Great War began. Nevertheless he assumes that the coronation of Yuddhishthira occurred in the first year of Gonanda I., as he places the whole of the 1296 years after Kali 653, in which Yuddhishthira was installed on the throne, according to Vârshâmihira.

59 This as well as the subsequent stories regarding Dûmodara and Gonanda II. down to v. 82 are taken from the Nîtakamagadura.

60 The jewel sacred to Garuda, the destroyer of the Serpents, is the emerald. Read with the $&r. MSS. instead of the nonsensical of the editions.

61 The road to Svarga is meant.

62 Read here and elsewhere with the Śrâdey MSS., कार्तिक: instead of कार्तिकीः.

63 Regarding the Gândhâras on the Sindhu see Cunningham, Anc. Geog. pp. 47 seqq. Vrishni is another name of the Yâdavas. In the text read वर्षकिरी.

64 The editions read निविद्ययय, a corruption of which is also found in Ch.; G reads नवनीद्ययय. The former reading gives no sense. Nîhâyâya is apparently intended for nhâyâyayâ, and it is just possible that Kalhana used this incorrect form on account of the metre.

65 The numerous puns on the word chakrā, 'disc,' make this verse dear to the pandit. Chakrâ Doddâlandâ, 'by the road of the edge of the battle-disc,' may also be dis-
pon is the war-disc, the disc-like array of his enemies, went to heaven by the road of the edge of the battle-disc.

Then Krishiha, the descendant of Yudha, ordered the Brāhmaṇas to install the (king's) pregnant widow Yasovati on the throne. When the servants of the slayer of Madhu at that time became angry, he, reciting this stanza from the Purāṇa, reproved them:—

Kāsmīr-land is Pārvati; know that its king is a portion of Śiva. Though he be wicked, a wise man who desirers (his own) welfare will not despise him."

The eyes of men, who formerly regarded with contempt (the country and the queen) as two females and objects of enjoyment, looked (after this speech was uttered) upon (Yasovati) as the mother of her subjects, and (upon the country) as a goddess. Then in the proper month that queen bore a son endowed with divine marks, a new sprout of the family tree which had been consumed by fire. The Brāhmaṇas performed the coronation and kindred rites for him together with his jātakarma and other sacraments.

The infant king received afterwards, together with the regal dignity, the name of his grandfather, Gōnanda. Two nurses were engaged in rearing him, the one gave her milk, the other complete prosperity. The ministers of his father, who were careful that his being pleased should not remain without results, bestowed wealth upon his attendants even when he smiled without cause.

When his officers, unable to understand his infant stammering, did not fulfil his orders, they attended even when he smiled without cause.

Perhaps Kalhana intended it to be taken both ways.

When his officers, unable to understand his infant stammering, did not fulfil his orders, they attended even when he smiled without cause.

It is to be understood that everybody, all the king's subjects, are meant. The verse is intended to furnish another clue to the meaning of a word or a phrase in a context.

The second nurse is the Ksiras, or the country, which gave him entire prosperity.

It is the custom and the duty of kings to give presents whenever they are pleased. The ministers watched lest the custom should be neglected in the case of the infant king, and gave presents whenever he smiled.

Read Vīr with the Śāradā MSS. instead of Vīra, the desire for the footstool, means the desire to use the footstool for its legitimate purposes, i.e. for touching it with the forehead. The persons from whom this desire was not taken are not named. Hence it must be understood that everybody, all the king's subjects, are meant. The verse is intended to furnish another proof that this infant king was respected quite as much as any grown-up ruler could have been.

prostrate themselves) before his footstool. When the ministers decided the legal and religious disputes of the subjects, they listened to (the opinion of the child) whose locks were moved by the wind from the chauris. Thus (it happened that) the king of Kāsmīr, being an infant, was taken neither by Krūra nor Pāṇḍava to assist them in the Great War.

Thirty-five kings who followed him, and whose names and deeds have perished in consequence of the loss of the records, have been immersed in the ocean of oblivion.

After them Lāva, an ornament of the earth, a favourite of Victory that is clothed in a flowing robe of fame, became king. The roar of his array, which roused the universe from its slumber, sent—O wonder!—his enemies to their long slumber.

Constructing eighty-four lākhs of stone buildings, he founded the town of Lōla. After giving to a community of Brāhmaṇas the agrahāra of Lōlāra on the Līda, the valiant (king) endowed with blameless heroism and splendour ascended to heaven.

He was succeeded by his son Kūśa, an expert in (deeds of) prowess and lotus-eyed, who gave the agrahāra of Kurūhāra.

After him the illustrious Khaγu-γa, the destroyer of his foes' elephants, the first (among men), an abode of valour, obtained the throne. He settled the two principal agrahāras (of Ksmār), Khaγi and Khoγa-muγa, and afterwards he ascended to that world which he had bought by deeds brilliant like (the glitter of) Śiva's (teeth) smiling.

After him came his son Sūrendeγa, possessed of priceless greatness, who was an entire stranger to guilt, who far surpassed Indra's state, and whose deeds astonished the world. Sūrendeγa.

Lōloara is situated in the pargāṇā of Lolāh.

The Ledar, now called Līlar or Ledā, is the principal northern tributary of the Vinaśṭā, which it joins near Bīḷār. An agrahāra is an exδa village given to a Brāhmaṇa, or to a community of Brāhmaṇas. See the Pet. Dīct. s. v. Lvrāna is said to exist now.

According to the annotator of Gī, Kurūhāra is now called Kulār, and Pandit Dayārāna places it in the Dachhin-pāra pargāṇā.

Khāgi is said to be the modern Kākhāpur (Wilson and Troyer), and Khonamusha is Khonmoh, as was first recognized by General Cunningham. See also above Report, pp. 4 seqq. The Śāradā MSS. read Khonamusha.

Ksmār was changed to Khoγa by Khonamusha, and to this form points also the name of Khonmuhau of Bīḷānā. As there is hardly any difference between the pronunciation of a and u in Ksmār the spelling does not matter much.

Dhrγaγa-mahāhauvattāvarṣhikγhīrγh, of which a double translation has been given, may be taken as two words, Dhrγaγa and aγhaγuvaγtāvarṣhikγhīrγh, or as a compound, Dhrγaγa-mahāhauvattā-varṣhikγhīrγh. The author, like a good Kavi, loves his pun dearly, and intends to be taken both ways.
the lord of the gods, could not be compared to this Suraṇa, since he is called Sūtāmanya, 'the harbours of a hundred grudges,' and goṇrabhit, 'the destroyer of the goṇa,' while (Suraṇa of Kaśmīr) deserveth the surname Sūtāmanya, 'he whose anger is appeased,' and goṇrabhit, 'the protector of the goṇa.'

That illustrious ruler founded on the frontiers of Dardistān a town called Sauraka, and a vihāra called Narendrabhavana. In his own kingdom that prince of great fame and of holy works founded a vihāra, called Saurasa, which became famous for piety.

After this king had died without issue, Goḍhāra, a scion of a different family, protected the earth, together with the best of mountains.

His son Suvanaka after him distributed gold (Suvanaka) to the needy, who enclosed the earth, in the district of Karīkā, the brook Suvanmāṇi.

His son Janaṅka, comparable to a father, of his subjects, founded the vihāra and ograṅdra called Jālora.

After him the illustrious Sāchinara, whose disposition was forgiving, protected the earth as ruler, his commands gaining obedience (from all).

That king founded the two ograṅdoras Śāmanjasa and Aśanāra. Without male issue he obtained half of Indra's seat (after death).

Next, the son of that king's grand-uncle, and great-grandson of Sakuṇi, the veracious Aśoka, ruled the earth. That king, cleansed from sin and converted to the teaching of Jina, covered Suskaletra and Vītastātra with numerous stūpas.

Within the precincts of the Dharmanāra Vihāra in Vītastātrapura stood a chaitya, built by him, the height of which the eye was unable to measure.

That illustrious prince built the town of Sṛṅgāra, which is most important on account of its nine million and six hundred thousand houses. This virtuous (prince) removed the old brick enclosure of the temple of Viṇayaśvara, and built a new one of stone. He whose dejection had been overcome built within the enclosure of Viṇayaśvara, and near it, two (other) temples, which were styled Aśokeśvara.

As the country was overrun by Mlechhas, the pious prince built the town of Sṛṅgāra, which is most important on account of its nine million and six hundred thousand houses. This virtuous (prince) removed the old brick enclosure of the temple of Viṇayaśvara, and built a new one of stone. He whose dejection had been overcome built within the enclosure of Viṇayaśvara, and near it, two (other) temples, which were styled Aśokeśvara.

As the country was overrun by Mlechhas, the pious prince built the town of Sṛṅgāra, which is most important on account of its nine million and six hundred thousand houses. This virtuous (prince) removed the old brick enclosure of the temple of Viṇayaśvara, and built a new one of stone. He whose dejection had been overcome built within the enclosure of Viṇayaśvara, and near it, two (other) temples, which were styled Aśokeśvara.

As the country was overrun by Mlechhas, the pious prince built the town of Sṛṅgāra, which is most important on account of its nine million and six hundred thousand houses. This virtuous (prince) removed the old brick enclosure of the temple of Viṇayaśvara, and built a new one of stone. He whose dejection had been overcome built within the enclosure of Viṇayaśvara, and near it, two (other) temples, which were styled Aśokeśvara.

As the country was overrun by Mlechhas, the pious prince built the town of Sṛṅgāra, which is most important on account of its nine million and six hundred thousand houses. This virtuous (prince) removed the old brick enclosure of the temple of Viṇayaśvara, and built a new one of stone. He whose dejection had been overcome built within the enclosure of Viṇayaśvara, and near it, two (other) temples, which were styled Aśokeśvara.
through your columns, to all those who may happen to possess specimens of any of the types enumerated below, for their contributions to the publication in question.

The plates for Sir W. Elliot's article will be delayed, pending a reasonable interval, to test the result of this application, or will otherwise be supplemented by woodcuts illustrating the more tardy arrivals.

I have been permitted to examine and avail myself of the information I have obtained from the Kolhàpur collection, which has already formed the subject of an article for the Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society by Bhagvânúlal Indrájí. I have expressly reserved myself from any inspection of his paper, which is in the hands of Dr. Codrington, in order that I might give you my free and independent interpretation of the legends on the coins themselves, and the inductions I have arrived at in regard to their bearing upon an important social question in India of olden time.

I allude to the ascendancy of women. Some indication of such a state of things was to be gathered from the inscriptions in the Nasik caves, so ably translated by Professor Bhágâlúkar in the Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists in London. The coins, however, very materially extend and confirm the references to the acknowledged supremacy of the female line in royal houses, and lead up to a much more extended inquiry as to the parallel practices of other cognate or associate nations.

Our earliest intimation of the existence of such customs is derived from Herodotus, who testifies to its exceptional currency with the Lycians, but it is clear that similar ideas prevailed among (perhaps extended to) the Etruscans.* Herodotus' statement is as follows:—

"The Lycians are, in good truth, actually from Crete; which island, in former days, was wholly peopled with barbarians . . . . Milýas was the ancient name of the country now inhabi-

* The mention of the mother's name after the father is a genuine Etruscanism. It is general in Etruscan epitaphs, and was retained even under Roman domination, for some sarcophagi bear similar epitaphs in Latin with notus affixed to the mother's name. (Dennis's Etruria, vol. I. p. 133.) Her grave was honoured with even more splendour than that of her lord" (p. xix.; conf. also vol. II. p. 170.) This custom the Etruscans must have derived from the East as it was not practised by the Greeks or Romans; but the Lycians always traced their descent through the maternal line, to the total exclusion of the paternal — a fact recorded by Herodotus, and verified by modern researches—Pallova's Lycia, p. 276. The Etruscans, being less purely Oriental, made use of both methods;—ib. vol. I. p. 183; see also vol. I. pp. 181, 182; "Tuscul. Ana. 1. 29":—Seneca, vi. 3; Hor. Sat. 6, 4c.

† Our earliest intimation of the existence of such customs is derived from Herodotus, who testifies to its exceptional currency with the Lycians, but it is clear that similar ideas prevailed among (perhaps extended to) the Etruscans. Herodotus' statement is as follows:—

"The Lycians are, in good truth, actually from Crete; which island, in former days, was wholly peopled with barbarians . . . . Milýas was the ancient name of the country now inhabi-


†* Bechofen and McLellan, two of the most recent authors who have studied this subject, both agree that the primitive condition of man, socially, was one of pure Hetairism, when marriage did not exist; or, as we may perhaps for convenience call it, communal marriage, where every man and woman in a small community were regarded as equally married to one another. Bechofen considers that after a while the woman, shocked and scandalized by this state of things, revolted against it, and established a system of marriage with female supremacy, the husband being subject to the wife, property and descent being considered to go in the female line; and women enjoying the principal share of political power. The first period he calls that of Hetairism; the second of Mistresshood; or mother-right. (See J. Lubbock's Origins of Civilization, p. 67.)

There is another most important point disclosed by the legends of coins Nos. 1-4, in the termination "Kurn," or Kula as I read it,|| which is rendered as 'a race, a family, tribe, caste,' &c. In the present instances it seems to refer to some joint brotherhood, descendants of the ancestral female by different fathers. These communities in process of time may have grouped themselves into small republics, and the title of Rājā which heads the legends may per chance refer to the senior or anonymous president for the time being.†

The subjoined list of the Western coins which I have now seen for the first time has been restricted to a technical description of the types, and an avowedly tentative effort at the decipherment of the legends. The time has not yet arrived for any consecutive arrangement of the coins, either in the numismatic or historical sense. I trust that the future contributions of local collectors will enable me to make it more perfect hereafter.

List of Coins.

No. 1. Copper mixed with lead. Size, full 9 of Mionnet's scale. Weight 220 grains. 4 specimens. 2 Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., 2 Hon'ble Mr. Gibbs.

Obverse—A crude figure of a bow and broadly barbed arrow.*

Reverse—Chaitya with four rows of inverted semicircles surmounted by a half-moon (as in the Sāh coins), to the right a tree with seven leaves or branches, at the foot an oblong pedestal with serpent in a wavy line, and dots.

Legend—राजा मादरी पुलस विचार कुरस
Rājo Madārī-putasa Śivālī-kurasa.

No. 2. Copper and lead. Size 7 of Mionnet's scale. Weight 228 grains. 3 specimens. 1 Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., 2 the Hon'ble Mr. Gibbs.

Obverse—Device a crude strung bow, and broadly barbed arrow set for use.

Legend—राजा वासी भुलस विचार कुरस
Rājo Vāsī-putasa Vīdāvāya-kurasa.

Reverse—A chaitya consisting of three layers of inverted semicircles with dots, surmounted by a chakra (or figure of the sun ?). To the left a tree with seven broad leaves. At the foot, an oblong square pedestal, in which is figured a serpent, with the wavy intervals filled in with dots.

I place the children of the daughter, V & aśti hī,||

* It is remarkable how apparently complete an organisation of corporate bodies and trade guilds is seen to have existed in Western India when the Mālik cave inscriptions were put upon record. I myself long ago suggested that some such explanation might apply to the Sāh series in a republican system of rotation, which should account for the overfull list of the kings whose names occur on the coins.

† See Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. vol. III. (1869) p. 264. It may be as well to add that the occurrence of such a letter on the local coinage need not necessarily reduce the age of the pieces so inscribed to the modern limits assigned to extant Pehlvi inscriptions. The letters of these alphabets are found on very early specimens of the Pahlen coinage.

‡ The same typical form of bow and arrow occurs frequently on the earliest specimens of the ancient stumped coins. See my Indian Weights, Numismata Orientales, Part I. Plate, figs. 13, 14. 

§ It is remarkable how apparently complete an organisation of corporate bodies and trade guilds is seen to have existed in Western India when the Mālik cave inscriptions were put upon record. I myself long ago suggested that some such explanation earlier than the children of the mother, Gautamī, on numismatic grounds. It is possible that the greater glories and ancestral 'status of the grandmother eclipsed, in process of time, the subdued claims of the memory of the mother.

No. 3. Copper and lead. Size 9 of Mionnet's scale. Weights range from 180 grains to 196. The execution of the dies is inferior. Numerous specimens.

Obverse—The usual crude bow and arrow.

Legend—राजा गाँटमी पुलस विचार कुरस
Rājo Gauntamī-putasa Vīdāvāya-kurasa.

Reverse—Chaitya device as above, but the tree is attached to the main device and rises directly from the end of the pedestal.

Many of those coins are what is technically termed 'double-struck,' i.e. the dies of a successor or adverse contemporary have been repeated over the original impression, without any re-fashioning of the piece itself.

These indications are often of much value in determining the relative priority of the con joint rulers. In the present instance they authorize us to place the children of Mādārī before those of Gautamī.

In one case a coin of the Gauntamī-putras has had the identical legends of the original obverse repeated over the surface of the old reverse.

No. 4. Copper. Size 4 of Mionnet's scale. Weight 28 grains. 2 specimens, Hon'ble Mr. Gibbs.

Obverse—Bow and arrow.

Legend—राजा बालस "तथाविचार कुरस"
Rājo Balas "tathā-vichāra-kurasa.

Reverse—Chaitya, with tree growing on the summit.

In the field of one specimen, a monogram possibly composed of the letters तन्त तच्छी or तन्त तच्छी; on the other example, a letter exactly like a Chaldean-Pehlvi a (a).†


Obverse—Device similar in some respects to No. 1, but the Chaitya is solid, surmounted with the usual half-moon, while the tree is replaced by a couch-shell, balanced on the other side of the field by a flower. Serpent at foot.
CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

September, 1877.]

Legend.—Rana Gomati-putasa Saraya.

Reverse—Four circles, each composed of a central dot and two concentric circles, joined together by cross-lines—conventionally termed the Ujjain symbol.


Obverse—Small Chaitya, with three inverted semicircles, and serpent at the foot.

Legend—Rana Vatsy-putasa Siri Yastasa.

(Perhaps Saraya)

Reverse—The Ujjain symbol.

No. 7. Similar coins, variants.

Legend—Rana Vatsit-putasa Sirivasa.

One coin has $Sivasa.

Obverse—A well-executed figure of an elephant, to the left.

Legend—Rana Vatsit-putasa Siri Yastasa.

Reverse—Four double rings joined by a cross—the conventional symbol of Ujjain.


Obverse—A boldly sunk die bearing a well designed figure of a horse to the left.

Legend—UjaT S. U. UK* * *

Rana Gotami-putasa Sari Y . . . .

Reverse—Device indistinguishable.

No. 10. Copper or bronze. Size 4. Weight (average) 35 grains.

Obverse—A well-outlined figure of an elephant free, with trunk erect; no trappings.

Legend—Yahanasataka.

Yabasataka.

N.B.—The forms of the letters of the legends would indicate that these coins belong to a later date than the specimens previously described.


Obverse—A well-executed figure of a horse to the right, with a half-moon in the field.

Legend—Yahanasataka.

Sattañkara?

Reverse—Four single circles joined by cross-lines.

No. 11. Variant. The elephant is decorated with rich head-gear.

Legend—Yahanasataka.

Yabasataka.

HEMAD PANT AND THE GAULI RAJAS.

Who and what was “Hemad Pant,” who shares with the Gauli Rajas the credit of ancient buildings in the Northern Dekhan and Konkan? One story is that he was a Rakshasa; another that he was a physician, and imported the Modi or current Marathi alphabet from Ceylon; a third that he was the Brahman minister of a Musalman Sultan in Bidar or Golkonda.

Professor Weber, in his paper on the Krishna-janmasthami (Ind. Ant. vol. VI. p. 161 and notes) mentions three “Hemadrus”:

No. 1. Son of Chardeva, and minister of a king Mahadeva [king of where?]; composed by his command the Chatusvarga-chintamani, “perhaps at the end of the 13th century.”

No. 2. Patron of Vopadeva, and minister to king Ramachandra of Devagiri, ergo belonging to the same period; this is, I presume, the Raja plundered in A.D. 1295 by Ala’uddin the Parricide, and perhaps identical with Dnyanesvara’s patron, Ramachandra-Yadvana of Newasa (Ind. Ant. vol. IV. p. 354).

No. 3 was “a commentator on Vopadeva at the court of a king Ramaraja.” The locus in quo is not given, not being, indeed, necessary to Prof. Weber’s argument, but I think there are only two Ramarajas available in this instance—the one just mentioned, and the unfortunate ruler of Vijayanagara, overborne by the Moslem confederacy of the Dekhan three centuries later.

If Hemad Pant were a minister of the Devagiri Yadavas, it would go far to confirm the conjecture already hazarded by Mr. Šrīkrishna Šastrī Talekar and myself, that they were the Gauli Rajas of tradition, as the same building is often ascribed to both him and them, and even where one monopolizes the credit the style is the same. It may be well seen in the lower part of the fort of Devagiri itself; and that fort is almost in the centre of the country over which the names of Hemad Pant and the Gauli Rajas are known.*


* Mr. Shankar Pañjursang Puriti (Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 209) says the Rākhra Kñatas of Mankher were Yadavas, but gives no authority. The Hoisala Belas certainly were, as they state it in their inscriptions, but their dominions lie south of the range of the Gaul tradition.
Dr. Haug's Oriental MSS.

The collection of Oriental MSS. chiefly in Zend, Pahlavi, Pazynd, Persian, and Sanskrit, made by the late Dr. Haug when Professor of Sanskrit at Puna, has been purchased from his widow for the Royal Library at Munich, for 17,000 marks. It will be remembered that Dr. Haug acknowledged, in a public lecture, that he had obtained many valuable if not unique MSS. from Pārsis, during a tour he made in Gujarāt to collect MSS. for Government. His right, as a paid Government servant, to collect on his own account, under any pretext whatever, was strongly protested against in the Bombay newspapers in June 1863, and especially in June and July 1864, when Government was urged to investigate Dr. Haug's conduct in the matter, but no public notice was taken of it.

HEMACHANDRA'S PRĀKRIT GRAMMAR.

The first part of Hemachandra's Prākrit Grammar, edited by Professor Pischel of Kiel, has been published. It is the eighth section of Hemachandra's large work on Sanskrit grammar, and is the most complete treatise on the earlier Āryan Indian dialects as yet published. An edition of the text, but quite uncritical, appeared in Bombay in 1873, edited by Mahābala Krishnā.

Prof. Th. Benfey has published under the title Vedicá und Verwandtes, a series of papers treating mainly of a number of very nice and subtle questions of verbal criticism and explanation of difficult terms in the Vedas. Most of the papers are reprints from the Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen.

Mr. Murray has in the press—A Discursive Glossary of peculiar Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases, Etymological, Historical, and Geographical,' by Col. H. Yule, C.B., and Dr. A. Burnell,—a work the appearance of which will be looked for with considerable interest.

BOOK NOTICES.

UBER DEN URSPRUNG DES LINGAKULTUS IN INDIEN, v. F. KITTEL. (Mangalore, Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository, 1876.)

In this pamphlet of 48 pages 8vo. the Rev. F. Kittel starts a theory in opposition to that pronounced by Lassen, and supported, though with reserve, by Dr. J. Muir, that Liṅga-worship is of early Drāviḍan origin. He contends that it formed no part of the Drāviḍan religion before the influence of Brāhmaṇism in the south, and in proof of this points out that, formerly at least, Saiva-Liṅgālakism counted more famous shrines in Northern India than in the south; that the pretended abstention of Brāhmaṇas from its officiating priesthood is to be explained, where it really exists, by local causes alone; that the Brāhmaṇical legends make no allusion to any reception of its worship from another race; that most of the legends relative to the Liṅga point to the north; and, most important of all, that in the south Liṅga-worship is not met with except among the populations more or less influenced by Hinduism, while those unaffected by its extraneous influence are quite ignorant of it. The suggestion, however (pp. 46-7), that Liṅga-worship reached India from Greece seems almost entirely without foundation. This little brochure is full of the most interesting information on the actual position of Liṅgalism in the south, its divisions, the origin of its various sects, and on the archaeology, literature, and ethnography of the Canarese portion of the Peninsula. It is to be hoped our able contributor will be induced to give us a second edition of it in an English dress.

TRAVELS IN INDIA in the Seventeenth Century; by Sir Thomas Roe and Dr. John Fryer. (Reprinted from the Calcutta Weekly Englishman.) London: Trübner & Co.

The title of this work fully explains what it is: a good while ago Mr. Talboys Wheeler had The Journal of his Voyage to the East Indies, and Observations there during his residence at the Mogul's Court as Ambassador from England, by Sir Thomas Roe, Knt., and Dr. John Fryer's Account of India, reprinted in the Calcutta Weekly Englishman. At the same time a few copies were struck off in octavo form for separate publication. The impression, however, was overlooked for some time before it was issued. The two works are printed on thin paper and form a volume of 474 pages, but are put forth without note or comment, index or table of contents, and of course without the illustrations of the original editions. From its size this reprint may be found convenient by the general reader, but it will not supersede the earlier editions, copies of which are not scarce.
SOUTH INDIAN SEPULCHRAL URNS.

No. 1

No. 2

No. 3

No. 4

Scale of 1 2 3 4 5 6 Inches
I am anxious to obtain some information as to the extent of the area within which sepulchral urns, like those to which I am about to refer, are found, and I trust that some readers of the Antiquary will be so kind as to help me to obtain the information of which I am in search.

The urns I refer to are large earthenware jars containing fragments of human bones, generally in a very decayed state. They are of various sizes, corresponding with the age of the person whose remains were to be disposed of. The largest I have found was eleven feet in circumference, and the smallest have been between four and five. The shape varies a little within certain limits, so that I have not found any two perfectly alike, but the type generally adhered to is that of the large earthen jars (in Tamil kāṇai) with which the people in this neighbourhood draw water for their cultivation. The urn is without handles, feet, rim, or cover. It swells out towards the middle and terminates in a point, so that it is only when it is surrounded with earth that it keeps an upright position. The urns do much credit to the workmanship of the people by whom they were made, being made of better-tempered clay, better burnt, and much stronger than any of the pottery made in these times in this part of India. They would contain a human body easily enough if it could be got inside, but the mouth is generally so narrow that it would admit only the skull, and one is tempted to conjecture that the body must have been cut into pieces before it was put into the urn, or that the bones must have been collected and put in after the body had decayed. Generally decay is found to have advanced so far that these theories can neither be verified nor disproved. Fragments only of the harder bones remain, and the urn seems to contain little more than a mass of earth. In one instance I found the bones partially petrified, and therefore almost perfect, though they had fallen asunder; but this was the large eleven-feet urn referred to above, discovered at Korkei, so that in this instance it was conceivable that the body had been placed in it entire. At Ilanji, near Kortalum, on opening an urn some traces of the shape of a skeleton were discovered. The skull was found resting on the sternum, and on each side of the sternal was a tibia. It appeared, therefore, as if the body had been doubled up and forced in head foremost, though it was not clear how the shoulders could have got in. The bones were of the consistence of ochre, and crumbled to pieces when they were taken out. Nothing could be preserved but a piece of the skull and the teeth, which were those of an adult. Dr. Fry, Surgeon to the Resident of Travancore, who was present at the find, pointed out that the molars had been worn down by eating grain, and that the edges of the front teeth also had been worn down by biting some kind of parched pulse. Afterwards, on examining the mouths of some natives, I found their front teeth worn down a little in the same manner, and, as they admitted, from the same cause. I have not noticed any distinct trace of the bones in these urns having been calcined.

In addition to human bones a few small earthen vessels are found in most of the jars. Sometimes such vessels are arranged outside, instead of being placed inside. These vessels are of various shapes, all more or less elegant, and all appear to have been highly polished. At first I supposed they had been glazed, but I have been informed by Dr. Hunter, late of the Madras School of Arts, that what I noticed was a polish, not a true glaze. Whatever it be, I have not noticed anything of the kind in the native pottery of these parts and these times. In some cases the polish or glaze is black, and the decay of these blackened vessels seems to have given rise to the supposition that the bones had sometimes been calcined.

On the accompanying plate are sketches of five of these little vessels. When these have been shown to natives, they say that No. 4 appears to have been an oil vessel, and No. 5 a spittoon. The use of No. 2, the vessel with the lid, is unknown. In these times such vessels would be made of bell-metal, not of pottery. We may conclude that the object in view in placing these vessels in the urn was that the ghost of the departed might be supplied with the ghosts of suitable vessels for eating and drinking out...
of in the other world! Small stones about the size of a coconut are generally found heaped round the mouth of the urn, and the discovery of such stones ranged in a circle, corresponding to the circular mouth of the urn, will be found to be a reason for suspecting the existence of an urn underneath.

The natives of these times know nothing whatever of the people by whom this singular mode of sepulture was practised, nor of the time when they lived. They do not identify them with the Samanās, that is, the Jainas and Buddhists lumped together, about whom tolerably distinct traditions survive, nor does there appear to be anything in or about the jars distinctively Jaina or Buddhist. There is a myth current amongst the natives, it is true, respecting the people who were buried in these jars, but this myth seems to me merely a confession of their ignorance. They say that in the Tretā yuga—that is, about a million of years ago—people used to live to a great age, but that however old they were they did not die, but the older they grew the smaller they became. They got so small at length that to keep them out of the way of harm it was necessary to place them in the little triangular niche in the wall of a native house in which the lamp is kept. At length, when the younger people could no longer bear the trouble of looking after their dwarf ancestors they placed them in earthen jars, put with them in the jars a number of little vessels containing rice, water, oil, &c., and buried them near the village.

The name by which these urns are called in the Tamil country does not throw much light on their origin. This name assumes three forms. In the Tamil dictionary it is madamadakkattdli. A more common form of this word is madamadakkan-dali, the meaning of both which forms is the idli, or large jar, which boils over. The meaning attributed to this by some natives is rather far-fetched, viz. that the little people who were placed in them used sometimes to come out of the jars and sit about, as if they had boiled over out of them. The form of this word in use amongst the common people seems capable of a more rational interpretation. This is madomattan-dali, or more properly madommatan-dali. Madommatta (Sansk.) means 'insane,' but it is sometimes used in Tamil to mean 'very large,' as in the Tamil version of the Panchatantra, where it is used to denote a very large jungle. The great size of the urn being its principal characteristic, it would seem that the name in use amongst the common people is, after all, better warranted than that which is used by those who are regarded as correct speakers.

Who the people were who buried their dead in these urns is a problem yet unsolved. The only points that can be regarded as certain are those which have been ascertained by the internal evidence of the urns and their contents themselves. From this it is clear that the people buried in them were not pygmies, but of the same size as people of the present time. How they were put in may be mysterious, but there is no doubt about the size of their bones. The skulls were similar to those of the present time. The teeth also were worn down, like those of the existing race of natives, by eating grain. In a jar opened by Dr. Jäger, of Berlin, a head of millet was found. The grain had disappeared, but the husks remained. The unknown people must have lived in villages, the jars being found, not one here and another there, but arranged side by side in considerable numbers, as would naturally be done in a burial-ground. They were also a comparatively civilized people, as is evident from the excellence of their pottery, and the traces of iron implements or weapons which have sometimes been found in the jars. The conclusion from all this which seems to me most probable is that they were the ancestors of the people now living in the same neighbourhood. If this were the true explanation, it is singular that no relic, trace, or tradition of such a mode of sepulture has survived to the present day. And yet, if we were to adopt the supposition that they were an alien race, it would be still more difficult to conjecture who they were, where they came from, and why they disappeared.

I have myself seen those urns both in the Tinnevelly and Madura districts and in northern and southern Travancore,—that is, on both sides of the Southern Ghats, and the object I have in view in sending these particulars to the Antiquary is to ascertain in what other districts of India they are found. If the area within which they are found can be accurately traced, some light may be thrown thereby on their history.

Idaiyangudi, Tinnevelly District.
ON THE KRISHNAJANMASHTAMI, OR KRISHNA'S BIRTH-FESTIVAL.

BY PROF. A. WEBER, BERLIN.

(Continued from p. 180.)

(Translated from the German by Miss Tweedie.)

§ 2.

We come now to the representation of the celebration of the festival itself. On the intricate questions of a calendic sort which belong to it, we do not enter further here, as they have been sufficiently discussed already. One point, however, in this respect appears of importance: the dividing of the celebration into two forms, one a simple form which consists only in the observance of a strict fast (see above, p. 163); while the other, depending on the coincidence of the date with a particular star, appears as the original celebration of the festival, with which alone we have to do here. We have seen already that in it also two forms are to be kept separate from each other; one of which keeps the god in view together with his mother, while the other presents him alone; in the former case the celebration is combined with the preparation of a shed intended for the reception of a woman about to give birth to a child, adorned with pictures from the history of the holy nativity, and in which the mother of the god, with her son drinking at her breast, is represented resting on a couch, and receiving the worship consecrated to her; in the second case the picture of the god is worshipped over a jug. As the sources for this last form of the worship are scarce, we have only the secondary texts to refer to, while the rites and formulae peculiar to them.

After the necessary cleansing of the teeth on the previous day (N) the vow of fasting is taken in a solemn manner on the morning of the feast-day. This is done, according to A N, after previous calling on the gods as witnesses (with the words—

\[ sārjaraḥ soma yamāḥ kālaḥ sarvākalya bhūtānya ahaḥ koṣapitaḥ | pavano dhipatār bhūtānya akālaḥ khaṭkar-\]

\[ amārdāḥ ('rd vārdh, NŚ.) | brāhmaṇī (brāhmaṇ, NŚ.) kṣaṇanam āśṭāya kalpadāvam (kalpantām yṛ) | iha evānīśāmāmi | ]

amid sprinkling of water out of a copper vessel filled with fruits, flowers, and roasted barley, and with water, while reciting, according to C 24, Śb 54b, 55a, D. Ms. Ud., the following sentence, asking for the god’s assistance:

\[ adya sthitā vibhāvāraṁ svarūptā hareṇaṁ paramesvara (tu pare 'honi, Śb.) | bhokṣyāya 'ham pūṇḍarikākāsa saranam me bhāvā 'chytas (eyya, Śb.) \]

"Remaining without nourishment to-day, I shall feast to-morrow, O high lord, O lotus-eyed one, be a defence to me, thou unsunken one!"

Ms. D. reads the second hemistich thus:

bhokṣyāya Devakīputra asmin jannāhaṁ tamaratvate (the last pāda as in Ca also), and Ud. has—

kariṣyāya pāraṇaṁ tatra bhāklim me bhāhāni kuru |

Ca adds other three half-slokas to this:

sūrajātiśambhāya pranamno bhāvā keṣava |

śādāṁ vratam mayāṁ daṇāṁ gṛhiṣṭham puratā saha |

nirvighnena śiddhim ādyāya pranante tvayi keṣava |

"Be gracious to me, O Keśava! to the blotting out of all my sins."

Let this vow which I have now taken before thee, O god! be accomplished without hindrance, through thy grace, O Keśava!"

B 24 has the following sentence:

adyāṁ ham pūṇḍarikākāsa braddhaṁ yukto jñānārīyaḥ |

upavāsāṁ karīṣyāṁ varajaṁ jannāhaṁ tamaratām (prate ?) |

O. Sa. Sa. give no sentence at all: Lastly B. (p. 26) quotes from the Sāvatvaśramapadā the four following impressive verses, in the use of which N (fol. 30b) Ś. Vā. and Śk. join with him. (Ka. has only vv. 1 and 4):

in the Paśupatī ritual. In the Jainist form of the Jñanāsāmakā (fol. 25a), treated of separately in Ms. (see p. 170), the sentence runs nearly as above, with the readings Jayantaṁ tu nityārasmi bhokṣyāyaṁ pūṇḍarikākāsa saranam āśīravaṁ tava |
Vásudeva's samuddādhyāya (samabhārya, N. fol. 26b) sarvapuprapḍantayo upacārayān karisyāmi kriṣṇasūdākamyaṁ nābāsy avam [[1]] adya kriṣṇaśaktamāṁ devāṁ (chaiva Vṛ.) nābhāś-chandra-sarosīṁ (sic! so N both times, thus also Ś. Sū. K. and R. p. 33, where v. 2 recurs; only Vṛ. has chandraṁ) arṣhayātvasvārāṃ bhokṣyaḥ harm āparaṁ ḫam [[2]] enasa (eva ca Vṛ.) mokṣabādo āmi yad govinda triyogīsūm (tripojaṇam Ś., niṣyogīm Vṛ.) | tan me mūncīha tu māṁ śrī ki ṣāmī yātītanā kācaśāgar [[3]] āṣeṣamanaṁ rṣyān yadā yoni mayad duṣṣkritāṁ kriṭam | tat prāṇāṇāya govinda prakṛti prasūkṛtamama | [[4]]

“To the honour of Vāsudeva I will fast now for the expiation of all sins!”

To-day, as the eighth day of the black half of the Nabhaś moon.

Celebrating by fasting to-day the Kriṣṇaśaktamāṁ, the Nabhaś month and the moon.

Together with Rokhi, then to-morrow I shall eat again.

I wish, O Govinda! to atone for the sins of three births.

Blot them out to me, and save me who fell into a sea of trouble.

From birth to death, whatever evil deed I have done!

Cancel it, O Govinda! be gracious, Puruśottama![[1]]

From this specimen we may form an idea of the variations of the several representations, even in those cases where substantially the same subject is treated of, and draw from it a further conclusion as to cases where real differences are dealt with.

At midday of the day of the festival a bath is to be taken in clean river—or other water (O. C. B. N.), making use of sesamum Śā. N. K. D. (white sesamum), Mś. (oil of black sesamum), carrying a myrobalan fruit on the head (dhārīṭhakalāṁ hirviś dārīṇā, J.). In Śā. the bath is placed before the taking of the vow of fasting; thus also in Vṛ. (devītyādīne brākme mṛkarte utthāya tāṇḍāmalakamāṇaṁ).

After this the setting up on an auspicious spot of a sūtikāgrīha (house for a woman in childbirth) takes place. Thus according to O. Śa. C. B. K. N. (Ś. Vṛ.) D. Mś. In R. Śk. indeed this subject is not specially mentioned, but “the house” simply is described as the scene of the ensuing celebration (gṛīha upakramya): probably, however, the same thing is meant by it. For the preparing of such a separate shed intended for the purpose of being occupied while passing safely through the period of lying in, is a constant Indian custom, which appears to have come down from pretty early times. The reason of it was probably, on the one hand the wish to keep the impurity connected with childbirth at a distance from the other members of the family as well as from the dwelling-house proper, and on the other the better opportunity thereby offered of defending and guarding the mother and child from all bad demoniacal influences. After the quotations in K. iii. 1 fol. 6a,b, but especially in Aṇanta-deva's Saundarya-lakṣaṇātubhā (fol. 56a,b), the sūtikāgrīha is, according to a text of Vasisthaṁ, sūtikādveśanam (sic), as well as special texts from the Paddma respecting the erection itself, &c. § According to him, it is to be made well defended on all sides, to be erected on a good situation, firm and secure, by people skilled in building, and to be provided with a door to the east, and one to the north. After the worship of the gods, Brahmaḥs, and cows has taken place, the enceinte one enters, calling on the Brahmaḥs for blessings, amid conch sounds and other music. Only kindred and trustworthy women afterwards enter. (Meal of vicīnas roots mixed with gāth serves to facilitate the birth.) According to the Vishnuḥārma, it is to be inhabited for ten days (precisely on the tenth the in-lying woman gets up again, see Pār. I. 17 Śaṅkh. g. i. 24) and

† See Vishnuḥārṣa in M, vide ante, p. 164.

‡ inādre tvu vikramastambham, āgrasya mohanālayaḥ | vārūnyaṁ bhogasāgariṇāṁ nairīrthīm sūtikāgrīhām iti ||

§ Prāścet sūtikābhajanaṁ kītasrakṣanaṁ samantaṁ | sūtikābhajanaṁ sāmayaṁ vāstuvidyāvāyaṁ ||

prāścet samudrāvadānaṁ śahec sūtikābhajanaṁ | devānaṁ brahmaṁśaṁ cha gavāṁ krītāṁ cha pājanam ||

vīpra-punyāyāsādheṇa saśikāhyadūryavenu cha | praścetataḥ bhavas tatāra tathā kramamādaya | hṛidyā bhavasāṣṭayaṁ cha praviveṣyatiḥ strīya ca tat |

erambaḥdūryavenu bhagṣrṇaṁ tathāvaṁ tām (lacuna ?) ||

sūtikāgravaṇo vimukhamātraṇyāt prācetāh kāryo ca tāt kāhipet iti ||

Compare Kālid. iii. 1 fol. 189; sūtikāgraveto goiviprada- vāpyanānāṁ kṛita mantravāyogabhena āsatantrikabhiken sakā kāryoḥ ||

[October, 1877.]

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.
during the time is to be provided with arms, fire, links, full jugs, lights, with a pestle, and with pictures painted in water-colours (probably for protection against bad demons).]

Śk. contains other accounts of the sūtikāgra, under the word itself, and words of similar signification sūtikāgṛha, sūtikāśāsna, sūtikāhāvana, sūtikāgra, and sūtikāgra. According to it, arishtā in Amara (&c. see Pet. W., s. v.) is also to be taken as a synonym for it (so indeed Ragh. III. 15). According to the Bhāvaprakāśa it is to be made eight hands long and four wide (that would be a very narrow measurement!). According to the Valmikipurāṇa, chap. praśvāpatiśarga, bad demons surround it, but good spirits stay there too, who then, on the sixth (the specially critical) day after the birth, are to be worshipped with offerings. The night of that day is to be passed waking,—so according to the Viśāyadharmaśāstra.

The accounts in this place of the setting up of the sūtikāgra agree with these statements, at the same time they also show some special peculiarities.

The pillars (N) made of plantain stems are to be covered with lotus-coloured (ruby red), variegated (OC), with white, yellow, red, striped or green (Sa. D.) cloths. It is to be decorated with wreaths of sandalwood, pearls and jewels (O, with amulets O. &c.). It is to be made eight hands long and four wide (that would be a very narrow measurement!). According to the Mtihāvaprakāśa it is also to be accompanied by the following:—

The following is the wording of the texts belonging to this:

First of all, OC. (the first śloka also in B. v. 69b, 70):

$tataḥ śnātadv ca madhyḍhvye nādydudy vīnañc jal |
edvah sukhhavanāh karyadā evधवयध sūtikāgra- |
hām || 25 ||
Now, beside this representation of the locality of the festival as a śūlīkāḍīrīka, there stands firstly—a second in which it is described not with this special name, but with the general name *mandapa*; that is to say as an “open (?) pavilion sort of hall” (*Pāt. Worp*.). Thus Ms. it already (see p. 163), where, unfortunately, nothing further is remarked. And thus further also Šb. Sc. *V. 2* (V. 1 abstains from any remark upon the locality). Šb it is true, has only the short notice that the *mandapa* is to be decorated with fruits and flowers (with wreaths of flowers, Sv. 2). According to Sc. it is to be built of plantain stems, over a consecrated circle, which itself forms the centre of a space measured off with a cow’s skin; it is to be provided with four doors, to be decorated with fruits and flowers, and a beautiful variegated awning is to be spread over it. In the same way proceeds *V. 2*, only that here, instead of the space measured off with the cow’s skin, it is to be provided with three doors, to be decorated with flowers and fruits, and a beautiful variegated awning is to be spread over it. In this same way proceeds *V. 2*, only that here, instead of the space measured off with the cow's skin, it is to be provided with four doors, to be decorated with fruits and flowers, and a beautiful variegated awning is to be spread over it. In the same way proceeds *V. 2*, only that here, instead of the space measured off with the cow's skin, it is to be provided with three doors, to be decorated with flowers and fruits, and a beautiful variegated awning is to be spread over it. In this same way proceeds *V. 2*, only that here, instead of the space measured off with the cow's skin, it is to be provided with four doors, to be decorated with fruits and flowers, and a beautiful variegated awning is to be spread over it.
The texts run as follows:—Śb., in the first place, has only—

... sampādyā 'vrahanasādhāvanam
|| 55 ||

manḍapaṁ sūbhānam kritaḥ phalapyaḍḍābhīḥ
(puskhamāda Yr.) yatam ||

Ś.: suuvaryā pratiṇā kāryā pāḍāryaḥkāryām
|| 56 ||
pārdhet (paṭrvin Yr.) sampādyā vi-

vibhāvā pāḍāryaḥkāryām (Yr. jyō Śa) tathā || 6 ||

gochanānarātraṇaḥ sanālīpya madhyā manḍalam
dharet [brāhmadhyā devadāsī tatra sthūpaitacī
drāpyagatī] || 7 ||

manḍapaṁ ruciṇayat tatra kadaśāśambhamanitā
|| 8 ||

| chaturādvraṇasamopetam (sic!) phalapyaḍḍābhī-
sūbhānam || 8 ||

| vitātra tatra vadhnicīd vichitrām chaiva sobhīna*
|| 14 ||

V 2.: svetam deśā tu sanāśāpya gomayena
| vīcakṣoṇo vāraṇena sūbhānom || 14 ||

| uṣṇādāḥaṁ sūtra-vādīnām sarvaadhārā-sūtha-
| nam || 15 ||

svetatālāvapākeṣṭaḥ vāraṇena bhāpate ||

| manḍapaṁ kārayat tatra sūtraṇāsantaḥ
|| 15 ||

| vādadraśdramopetam (sic!) phalapyaḍḍābhī-
sūbhānam || 14 ||

| chaturādvraṇaṁ bhikṣayaḥ etat sthūpaitaḥ
|| 16 ||

pratikṣamādvedadāvā ṛva raṇaṁ sthūpitaṁ tataḥ
|| 17 ||

("Kuvera at the second, Devendra at the third,
| Ganāndäyaḥ at the fourth door:" Yv. 18-20) Uḍ. sarvaadhārāmandalāṇā kārtaṇyaṁ.

After the erecting and decorating of the sūthi-
| kṛdgraṅga, in the manner described above, the

placing of the pictures of the gods to be

worshipped at the approaching festival is to be

taken in hand. In the first place a picture of

Devakī, made of gold, silver, copper,
| brass, clay, wood, or jewels, or only painted

with colours, is to be placed in the middle of

the sūthikṛdgraṅga. This represents Devakī as
endowed with all the characteristics of beauty,

as half asleep, as radiant as burnished gold; more-

over in company with her son,—as having in fact

just given birth to him, and being rejoiced in con-

sequence of this moment (of the pain overcome?)

while the sleeping child, lying at her side, is

drinking at her breast, his own breast furnished-

with the holy śrīvatsa sign, and the colour of his

skin like the leaves of the blue lotus.

Here again is something very surprising

about this representation. For while the legend

throughout informs us that at Kṛṣṇā's birth

there was danger in delay, that his father Vasudeva
|

had to carry the newly-born child immediately away, to escape the dangers that

threatened him, the above representation, which

shows us the mother and child (the former, too,

"joyfully moved") slumbering beside each other

on a couch, presents a picture of undisturbed

repose, and stands therefore in such direct

contrast to the legend that it is difficult to sup-

pose that both representations have grown up

on the same ground. The representation in this

place appears as foreign as the difference dis-

cussed above (p. 288) in reference to the locality of

| Kṛṣṇā's birth.

Now the texts relating to this now are—First

in ŌŚ Śa K, as follows:—

| tmaṇadhye pratiṇā sthūpitaḥ (kādyā B) § at kha 'py

| vaḥsūvāsuvaḥ sūmaita (kauśikādiveśāṅkitaṁ B.) || 29 ||

| kauśikā vinādita tāvaraṁ paitālai simanāt
| tathā || 29 ||

| dāndra maṇīnayai chaiva varṣidhabhīdhi pi urṣiñ || 30 ||

| sarvalakṣaṇaṁ sampanṇaṁ (sampūrtam O. Ša K) par-
| yānike cha viśayikṛdād || 30 ||

| pratikṣamādvedadāvā mahā bhaṭāvā navandbham
| sāra ṛvaciṣṭhāna-śaṃjñiṣtra-śaṃjñiṣtra ¥v. || 31 ||

| prastutā cha prastutā cha | tathātānayo cha praśrav-
| niṣṭhā ♠ || saṁjña cha ('tatra Ša K) līkārān sup-

* A marginal note has only—

† According to Śk. by śrīvatsa is to be understood a
row of white hair (vahakṣata-suklaśiva-dakṣaśivas-
| tālāvālañc) found on the breast, towards the right
| side, which is regarded as the characteristics of a
| mahā gauravaha; Kṛṣṇadāsānā understands by it an
| anuṣṭ (kṛṣṭaśravānāvānāvāsah) to be worn on the heart after
| the manner of the kaustubha. Mālinākṛta in Gāndh.
| xvii. 29 explains śrīvatsa by gauravaha (k). Might not
| perhaps the other form of the word be śrīyāvatsa? Compare
| Varāhsmith, xxi. 10 in Kṛma (who puts śrīvatsaḥ as
| the original form: compare however Śk.: śrīvaśikakakatuha,
| gauravaha śrīvaśikakakatuha, etc.) Śrīvaśikakakatuha,
| as well as Wilson, sub voce, and my treatise on the
| Bhagavata, II. 312). The employing of śrīvatsa as a sign of happiness
| comes down from early times, probably from the Buddhists
| and Jains (see again Burnouf, Abhavati, II. 863-9, 617); after all,
| the proper meaning of it, as well as its most
| ancient form and date, is still undetermined: a reference
| to the sign of the Cross, and to the Agnis Des, as I have
| conjecuted in the Zeitung der Deut. Morgml. Gesellschaft,
| VI. 96, does not appear to be contained in it.
B. has, according to O 29b, 30, the following
verse—

Devakṣa-pratima kāryā bāhlī ṅaṇṭhāvanādānā \( | 72 | \) nīdiṣṭaṁ saṣṭhitamathasya krīṣṇasya (Kṛṣṇasya) stanapādyatāḥ \( | \) from 72b as ordinarily pratima kāryā is to be supplied.

N. (S. Vr.), sātikādvyajamādyān prachadapādāvyālān (prachadapādāvyālān, S., prachadapādāvyālān, Vr.) maṇi-
chakānā pāyaptāvī (got Vr.) madhyādhyā naṇḍā-
dījaṁ ālaṁ sūlōd, “vāhānārāṇī riparivāra. ॥ ॥ krīṣṇapādānā karikāya” iti saṁkalpya, “kaññacā-
ḥi...itiñkṛthi tathā”-ty uktātāyamana pratidmān
vidhāya... ॥

Kā. tatah svāmārjavaśātyāmaya mṛṇmamaya vā bhūtyādūdūkhiṁ vā pratidmā yathākulaχ-dvāraṁ kāryāṁ tā yālā, paṛyāṅka prasūrya-Devakṣaḥ sātanām
pībadānā Īrī-Kṛṣṇapratidmānam viṛdhiṁ... ॥

Independently altogether of the fact that Sa. is described as borrowed directly from him, we see distinctly from the following statement of Bhād. that this same representation is also found already in Hemādri—

ārī-krīṣṇa-Devākt-vasudeva-yaśoddh-nandā-ḥ-
pratimānādya-tatpāyanandāprakārdvākaṁ vrata-Hemā-
dravā spastānā.

As we saw above (pp. 175, 178, 177 ff. 281), another representation, which makes the image of the god to be worshipped over a jug, comes alongside of the one just described of the mother lying on a couch (pāryāṅka) with her child drinking at her breast. It comes alongside of the one just described at the same time, as the further details show, represented in the middle of it, and the picture of Kṛṣṇa drinking at his mother's breast is to be laid directly on the jug. Ms. besides, leaves optional instead of it, the worship of the two asleep on a maṇḍākana (couch). Lastly, on occasion of the Jayanti festival, treated of separately in Ms. = J. (see above, p. 179), no mention at all is made of the last mode; Kṛṣṇa's picture, further, is not laid directly on the jug, but a "new red" jug, "filled with consecrated water, provided with the so-called five jewels," and adorned with perfumes and wreaths of flowers," is in the first place to be covered by another vessel, of gold, silver, copper, or reeds (according to circumstances), filled with sesame, and it is then on this vessel that the golden picture of the god comes to lie; which moreover is to represent him as a suckling infant looking up into his mother's face,—In all these points, then, D agrees completely, only it adds that the child presses the point of the breast with his hands, and looks up repeatedly and lovingly into the face of the mother: after this only, according to D, is the sātikādvyajam to be prepared.

Quite the same representation as in D, or at the Jayanti form in Ms., is found in Ud., only that it is added that the jug is to be placed in the octagon-shaped middle of the sarvatoṣhadramandala; the Kṛṣṇa in the picture moreover is described here as four-armed, obviously to mark especially Kṛṣṇa's identity with Viṣṇu. Lastly, Vi. 1-2, Sc. make no mention at all of the relation of Kṛṣṇa to his mother. A golden figure of Kṛṣṇa covered with a cloth is to be worshipped over a jug, Vi. 1 says quite shortly, while Vi. 2 (as well as a marginal note on it of a different wording) and Sc. in agreement with D. (Vr.), cover the jug in the first place with a vessel, and the image is only to be placed on the latter. Vi. has all kinds of specialities in regard to it; gives, among other things, the measure—

that is, the value—of the golden Kṛṣṇa-image at eight mānḍaka, which does not seem

also as newly born.

१ श्रवणसाक्षाद्धर्मस्मिः

२ 'तथाश्च' गोदाम, दासकोटिस, उत्तर, नारायण स्वप्न-स्वरूपं

३ 'तथाश्च' गोदाम, दासकोटिस, उत्तर, नारायण स्वप्न-स्वरूपं

४ 'तथाश्च' गोदाम, दासकोटिस, उत्तर, नारायण स्वप्न-स्वरूपं

५ 'तथाश्च' गोदाम, दासकोटिस, उत्तर, नारायण स्वप्न-स्वरूपं
very high (according to *Mauu* viii. 134 this would be only a half-sanaurpa, 40 *krishnku*). The addition (see p. 296 n.) made by *Vr*. describes only the preparing of the *kulaśa*, and its being set up in a *saraṭobhadranmanyala*, both quite as *D. Vi*. 2 and Sc.; regarding the use to be made of it for the worship of the image of *Krīśṇā* *Vr*. is altogether silent: as the author cannot well set himself too much in opposition to the other texts quoted by him, as well as to his sources *Ś.*; he borrows, however, in the course of the discussion two more additions from the *kulaśa*-ritual, namely the 16 *upachāras* and the *anga-pujā* (see below, p. 291).

Now this worship over the jug is a highly peculiar feature, the cause of which, as well as the object of it, is still not quite clear to me. I have first met with it in that festival-cycle which (see p. 179) the *Varāha-prāṇa* consecrates to the ten or eleven *avatar* as in the course of the discussion two more additions from the *kulaśa*-ritual, namely the 16 *upachāras* and the *anga-pujā* (see below, p. 291).

From the accounts in *Ms.* of the festivals of the *Vaishnava* ritual it further follows with certainty that this same type recurs in them throughout, and this harmony after all is not confined merely to the worship over the jug, but extends itself to the whole habitus of the celebration, viz. to the *aṅga-pajā", that is, the worship of the separate members of the idol's body,—to the watch kept through the night, and to the giving away of the idol to the *dehārya* on the next morning at the breaking of the fast. In *Ms.*, it is true, several further specialities appear,

as the placing of the jug in the *saraṭobhadranmanyala*, the detached explanation of the *aṅga-pujā*, &c., and the coincidence of *Vt*. *Śc*. also in them shows that their representation, while it keeps aloof from the special peculiarities of the *Janma-daśamī* celebration, is founded on an adaptation to the general forms of the *Vaishnava* ritual. The connected texts ran thus:—

Now this worship over the jug is a highly peculiar feature, the cause of which, as well as the object of it, is still not quite clear to me. I have first met with it in that festival-cycle which (see p. 179) the *Varāha-prāṇa* consecrates to the ten or eleven *avatar* as in the course of the discussion two more additions from the *kulaśa*-ritual, namely the 16 *upachāras* and the *anga-pujā* (see below, p. 291).

From the accounts in *Ms.* of the festivals of the *Vaishnava* ritual it further follows with certainty that this same type recurs in them throughout, and this harmony after all is not confined merely to the worship over the jug, but extends itself to the whole habitus of the celebration, viz. to the *aṅga-pajā", that is, the worship of the separate members of the idol’s body,—to the watch kept through the night, and to the giving away of the idol to the *dehārya* on the next morning at the breaking of the fast. In *Ms.*, it is true, several further specialities appear,

as the placing of the jug in the *saraṭobhadranmanyala*, the detached explanation of the *aṅga-pujā*, &c., and the coincidence of *Vt*. *Śc*. also in them shows that their representation, while it keeps aloof from the special peculiarities of the *Janma-daśamī* celebration, is founded on an adaptation to the general forms of the *Vaishnava* ritual. The connected texts ran thus:—

Now this worship over the jug is a highly peculiar feature, the cause of which, as well as the object of it, is still not quite clear to me. I have first met with it in that festival-cycle which (see p. 179) the *Varāha-prāṇa* consecrates to the ten or eleven *avatar* as in the course of the discussion two more additions from the *kulaśa*-ritual, namely the 16 *upachāras* and the *anga-pujā* (see below, p. 291).

From the accounts in *Ms.* of the festivals of the *Vaishnava* ritual it further follows with certainty that this same type recurs in them throughout, and this harmony after all is not confined merely to the worship over the jug, but extends itself to the whole habitus of the celebration, viz. to the *aṅga-pajā", that is, the worship of the separate members of the idol’s body,—to the watch kept through the night, and to the giving away of the idol to the *dehārya* on the next morning at the breaking of the fast. In *Ms.*, it is true, several further specialities appear,

as the placing of the jug in the *saraṭobhadranmanyala*, the detached explanation of the *aṅga-pujā*, &c., and the coincidence of *Vt*. *Śc*. also in them shows that their representation, while it keeps aloof from the special peculiarities of the *Janma-daśamī* celebration, is founded on an adaptation to the general forms of the *Vaishnava* ritual. The connected texts ran thus:—

Now this worship over the jug is a highly peculiar feature, the cause of which, as well as the object of it, is still not quite clear to me. I have first met with it in that festival-cycle which (see p. 179) the *Varāha-prāṇa* consecrates to the ten or eleven *avatar* as in the course of the discussion two more additions from the *kulaśa*-ritual, namely the 16 *upachāras* and the *anga-pujā* (see below, p. 291).

From the accounts in *Ms.* of the festivals of the *Vaishnava* ritual it further follows with certainty that this same type recurs in them throughout, and this harmony after all is not confined merely to the worship over the jug, but extends itself to the whole habitus of the celebration, viz. to the *aṅga-pajā", that is, the worship of the separate members of the idol’s body,—to the watch kept through the night, and to the giving away of the idol to the *dehārya* on the next morning at the breaking of the fast. In *Ms.*, it is true, several further specialities appear,
their pictures is not clear.

shepherds, and Y Ashodha to be honoured: but whether this

d k, 

a,

rang avalMsanidyukte sarmto bhet dr

avra-

.. .

. .

... }

and singing Gan-

wise dancing, happy Apsaras and singing Ga-

dhavas. The serpent-prince Kaliya in his Yamuna-bed is also to be painted there. Thus‡ OC. Sa.; while C. Sa add besides some verses according to which Kaśiṣa's servants, Devaki's prison-guards, are to be represented in armour, 

bu. asleep, overcome by the magic slumber; likewise all kinds of armed Dānavas-demons,§ especially such as Kṛishṇa when a child.

† According to Vi. 1, pictures of the ten avatāras of V iṣhṇu are to be put up, and also Devakī, the shepherdess, and Yaśodā, to be honoured: but whether this "also" (śaśaśā) cha really refers to the putting up of their pictures is not clear.

‡ In a subsequent passage (O 58, see in the sequel) Kṛishṇa himself, the two pairs of parents, and his brother Baladeva are described as "to be set up" (to these a picture of the moon also, and its favourite star

and singing

**THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.**

[October, 1877.}
overcame, namely Pralamba, Dhenuka, Arishta, and the two wrestlers Chanuraja and Mushika. Indeed, whatever else, says Sa, is anyhow connected with Krishna's deeds (as a child), it is all to be painted there and worshipped devoutly. —According to B. particularly of the cowherds and the gokulam are also to be made, as well as, according to D and Sa 22a, the whole history of the Hari race and the gokulam to be painted. In Sa an image of Rohini (second wife of Vasudeva) with her son Valadova is especially required, as well as images of the milkmaids, cowherds, and cows, of the gokulam, of Yamuna, and of the magical girl (the incarnation of yogamayla) whom Yasoda has just given birth to; all these images are either to be made of gold, silver, copper, metal, clay, wood, stone, or only where another hemistich 'Vahbhagabah vayogamayid gandharvagita tatraksana' is in Sa, but describes them as to be put up (avasthapyaya),—therefore, not as paintings; it adds besides, to Yasoda (with the child), Rohini, Nanda, Valabhada, Vasudeva, and the cows, also Kaissa (see above, p. 176), asses and such like. According to Kd. Vasudeva and Nanda, the milkmaids and cowherds, are to be painted on the walls (of the sutilidgriha), &c.; upon another part of it Yasoda on a couch with her child; and again, on another stand, seven more images are to be put up, namely the two pairs of parents, Krishna himself, his brother Rama, and Chandikà.|| Whose cannot make so many images, let him at least be careful to put up the last-named seven, according to custom and ability; the others let him contemplate devoutly.

The related texts are as follows:—In the first place OC. Sa. (33b, 35b, 36; also in K. 33b, 35a, 36b; also in R.)

Yasodànà chàpi tatràva pàrabàdibhà varàtanyakàm|| 33 ||

tatra devà grahà nàdà yasavahigrasavà varàhà*|| 34 ||

sañchārastà śvādike prakrayàní udvidhātābhà || 34 ||

Vasudevo 'pi tatrāvā ca khyajyacarmahàbharà sikhàta ||

Ksidyapa Vasudevo 'yam|| 35 ||
añchārastà dviṣā Chàpi Devakà ||

Yasoda dàya jayata**|| 36 ||

Nandà prajāpàtìr Dakshe, Gargà chàpi chaturmukhà|| 36 ||

writanyayà 'prarsao krishna++ gandharvagita stattaparàbhà ||

lekhanyayà cha tatràva Kālitośya|| 37 ||

C. inserts three more verses between 36 and 37 (40 in C.—)

eho vadāro devānàh Kaño 'yañ Kālañemèjaḥ||

tatà Kālañiyuktà ye dàvatà viśvāhàbhà|| 37 ||

te cha prakhàrayà aterrà supûta viśvāhàbhàbhà||

Godhunàh Kūṭyaro 'teva cha Dàvatà śastra

pànàyàbhà|| 38 ||

Pralamdeo Dhenuko 'rishto mallau Chōnurā-Mūhikàvam||

angaye 'pi dàvatà tattà madhyaprayahàbhàdà|| 39 ||

Sa. has instead of it the following verses (of which 36b is in K. also):—

gopaya òchà 'pathasañ saràda ('śhainà Śa 1) gopañ chà 'pi dīvañkaràbhà|| 34 ||

eho vadārò rojñendrà Kaño 'yañ Kālanèmējaḥ||

tatà Kālañiyuktà cha mohita yoganiyadàyà|| Śy 1, roga Śa|| 35 ||

Go-dhenu-kūṭyaro|| 38 ||

chaiva dàvatà śastra

pànàyàbhà||

and inserts after v. 37 (== 36 in Sa.) the following

verse in addition (which is also quoted in K):—

ity evam dài yat kinnichid riyàte* charitam

mana || lekhayüt pratyajnena prajyajà bhaktitapàbhà|| 37 ||

|| tathàvama mana pravisvatì bhratijalpañà nirà|| 30 ||

dera grahà tathà nàgà yasavahigrasavàbhàsanàbhà||

prakrayàni pushpanālgrahàcaturbhàsatà śrīvàyàbhà|| 81 ||

Chàpàñà udvidhà C, prakrayàni udvidhà C, prakrayàni udvidhà C.|| 37 ||

Sa. K read (and rightly, as a verb is wanting to govern the accusative in 32b 33): Yasodànà tattà chaikarmàn pradeśe sutilidgriha|| 39 ||

tadàvâna cha kalyàyat Pāthà prastàdàt varàtanyakàm (prastàvaram K.)

* yasakhravigrasavàbhàsà, C, where another hemistich:—prastàdàt pushpanālgrahàcaturbhàsatà śrīvàyàbhà, sàrvàbhà.|| 33a. has three hemistichs:

|| By Chandikà here must surely be meant Balarama's mother Rohini, for the usual meaning of the word Durgà does not suit at all. In R. p. 38, indeed, Rohini and Chandikà are named beside each other (...Yasodà-Nanda-Rohint-Chandikàd. Valadevoñ prajyayà)—probably however, only by mistake, as some such occur also elsewhere in Sa. (see above, p. 167). Perhaps a different name than the usual one has been given here to the mother of Balarâma, because later still another rohini, namely the star which the wife for the sake of the Moon, comes in for adoration (see note t. p. 385, and below, p. 258).

|| prastàvànàt C, prakrayàni udvidhà C, prakrayàni udvidhà C.|| 37 ||

Sa. K read (and rightly, as a verb is wanting to govern the accusative in 32b 33): Yasodànà tattà chaikarmàn pradeśe sutilidgriha|| 39 ||

tadàvâna cha kalyàyat Pāthà prastàdàt varàtanyakàm (prastàvaram K.)

* yasakhravigrasavàbhàsà, C, where another hemistich:—prastàdàt pushpanālgrahàcaturbhàsatà śrīvàyàbhà, sàrvàbhà.|| 33a. has three hemistichs:
After the sūlīkāyātiham is put up and decorated in this manner, when night begins to come on (Kā. 'in the night,' D) the adoration of the holy family takes place in it. First of all Devakī is worshipped. Perfumes, incense, roasted barley, and beautiful fruits, as cucumbers, coconuts, dates, pomegranates (C.), and citrons, betel-nuts, oranges, bread-fruit, or as time and place afford, are offered to her, and after (the whole history of the) incarnation as above (see note on p. 288) given has been devoutly meditated upon, the following prayer, composed in the artificial measure sragaḥdāra, is addressed to Devakī:

"Hail to the goddess, mother of the god, to Devakī of the beautiful countenance and lovely form, who with her son, highly rejoiced at heart, sits here on a couch in sweet slumber, constantly surrounded by troops of singing kūnāra who sound flutes and lutes, and taken care of by servants who carry golden jars of consecrated water, looking-glasses, jugs, and garments in their hands."

A short salutation is also addressed to Śrī, Viṣhūnā's wife, whom we have to think of as sitting on a lotus and diligently rubbing her feet of as putting a lotus under her feet. And now follow more such short salutations to Devakī herself and to the other members of the holy family, namely to Vasudeva, Valadeva, Kṛṣṇa himself, Nanda, and Yaśodā, C adds also Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadra, Cā. Rohiṇī and Śrī, nūhū's wife, whom we have to think of as sitting on a lotus and diligently rubbing the feet of Devakī. And now follow more such short salutations to Devakī herself and to the other members of the holy family, namely to Vasudeva, Valadeva, Kṛṣṇa himself, Nanda, and Yaśodā; C adds also Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadra, Cā. Rohiṇī

† Namely, pratītā kāryāt is to be suppressed from 273 (see above, p. 286).

‡ To Vasudeva, MS.

§ This hemistich is evidently transposed.

¶ A blank! For on what do these accusatives depend?

* So Sv. 2, "uṣayā 6b.

†† So sv. 2, guṇavarīh 6b.

†‡ aṣaya, mṛtasthitī 6b, rūṇaya 6v 2.

‡‡ vāṣṭhā 6b, sv. 2, pratītā śrīnā mādhī ca naro yajet 6v 2.

|| By women and by Śūdras—that is when they prepare the festival—the prayers are omitted. According to O 16 the festival is appointed expressly for all castes, including Śūdras and other pious people;

punar janaṁkṣanām lokāḥ kurvantā brahmaṇādayāḥ |

sañāt vā yathākṣakāt vā kṛtved, anyāḥ sarvaḥ yathāgatam dhīyeyat |

Vi 1. mattahyā kārnō t'a vṛdhāh udraśāṇo 'tha vādinaḥ 1125

Rādhā Rāmānī cha Kṛṣṇānā ma Bākādyahā Kailā cha to ihā 1126 a tājīghyo deśa roiṣyā, Devakīnī (an aksharam vyantak) a新手na cha 1126

gopyāhā cha Yaśodinā cha pṛjñeyo cha prayatnaḥ |


3. 4. Kā. desire (see above, p. 288) a figurative representation of her also.
instead of these two N. Kā have Chaṇḍiṅkā alone. The idols are, according to Sa. Kā. (where in detail), to be bathed with milk and such like, and to be anointed with sandalwood. Ms. knows only of a distribution of flowers to Devakī (with the above prayer) and to Kṛiṣhṇa. N. (Ś. Vr.) adds here already the verses given at the presenting of water for bathing, &c., which follow in O. below (see pp. 293, 295), and Vr. particularly brings in sixteen such offerings of gifts (vyāchāra) to Kṛiṣhṇa (see above, pp. 176, 287) inserting between them moreover the worship of the members of his body (vīgāpya). Both these latter proceedings are mentioned also in a second account in Kā., which for this purpose makes special use of the 16 verses of the puruṣasūkta, as well as in Śc.,* where, however, the aṁgaṁtājā only is found in Śc. 3. In Śc. there follow then more name-prayers to some persons of the holy family, viz. Devakī and Vasudēva, Bhojīṇ and Bājā; after them similar ones to Śāt yākī, Uddhava, Akrūra, Ugrasena, and other Yādava heroes, further to Nānda, to the newly-delivered Yaśodā, to the cowherds and milkmaids, to Kālindī, that is Yaśuṅa, and to Kālyāna (the serpent prince). Vi. 1 mentions quite shortly (see above, pp. 288, 290), that, along with the ten avatāras, images of whom are to be set up, Devakī and the cowherds, and Yaśodā shall also be worshipped. Likewise Śb. (see p. 290). Vi. 2 has nothing at all relating to this, and brings in only prayers and gifts referring to Kṛiṣhṇa alone.—Thus also B., according to which flowers, all kinds of ointments and perfumes, tapers, and beautiful fruits are to be offered to him.—Ud. among a large crowd of invocations and offerings addressed partly to Kṛiṣhṇa alone, partly also to the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu, has at least twice a Devakīṁḍājā also, among which, in others, she is worshipped also by the names which belong to the wife of Śi vā. A prominent rôle, on the other hand, is played by Devakī again in D. Ca. J., where some beautiful prayers are addressed only to her and her son. And according to Ca., the members of the holy family are previously to be called on by name-prayers; D. J. however, have nothing about this. According to D., Hārī (that is Viṣṇu. Kṛiṣhṇa) is previously to be honoured with flowers and fruits, &c. amid reciting of the puruṣasūkta (Ṛik. x. 90), &c.; an armour is to be put up, singing, music and dancing to be indulged in, and all sort of legends of Kṛiṣhṇa, and Viṣṇu, especially of his avatāras, are to be related (see above, p. 176). The prayer to Devakī begins with the sṛgāharē verse just translated, (p. 290) which is here described as paurāṇika, and then proceeds in the usual ślokā measure thus:

Honour to thee, to Devakī, who hast borne Kṛiṣhṇa to us ! The goddess blotting out sins be appeased, be worshipped by me ||

The mother† of gods Adīti, art thou, annihilating all guilt. ||

Therefore I will honour thee now,—be gracious, lovely-countenanced one!—||

As only the gods honour thee. Show kindness to me, gracious one. ||

Even as thou attainedst highest happiness when thou gottest Hārī for a son ||

Just that happiness, O thou goddess, let me see—the beautiful son! ||

And now follow the prayers to Kṛiṣhṇa himself:

A thousand incarnations makes thou indeed, O Madhusūdana! ||

No one anywhere on the earth knows the number of thy incarnations ||

The gods themselves, Brahma at their head, know not thy real nature. ||

Therefore will I honour thee now as thou restest on thy mother's lap. ||

Fulfil my wishes, God! cancel my wickedness. ||

Make purification for me, O God, blotter-out of the fear of earthly pain! ||

The following are the passages belonging to this. First from O.† C. Śa.:—

ramyāṁ evaśivādhiṁ krīḍā Devakīṁ navasati-kām,§ tām Pārtha pājayaṁ bhaktaye gacchhatāthaṁ phalecith† || 38 ||

||

* Śb., too, has the 18 ugačāras: see above, p. 297. These, along with the aṁgāpyā, probably belong to the kālōsa ritual.
† devamātār is probably to be so understood here: see above, p. 290 n.
‡ 40 also in DNK Ms. 389, 41 in R, 41 also in K.
§ Śa. joins Śb. and Śa. as follows.—ramyāṁ (ramyāṁ, Śv.) evam ojāpyāṁ gacchitām dīnāyatā │ probably there is a blank here after ramiyāṁ evam:—39b in Śa. stands before 38b.

† pājayaṁ bhaktaye pājaye. Śv. evam sampājaye. R p. 25, pājaṁtyā tiṁā R p. 25,

§ ganadhānākāh CŚa. R. (both times).

†† nāma-śāna Śv. 1, "tair jalalā R p. 25.—C. adds to this: kṣanāmāṅkāraṁ nālikcāna cha kharjūrārī dīnāyatā │
vijaydaraḥ pūgphalādārś nāraṁgālaḥ† panasaśi tathā§ | kāladeśādhaśa vriśchikā puṣṭaḥiḥ jāhpī yudhīśhākritāḥ | dhyañcād vataśāṁ prākūtāṁ mantram tānena maṇtrayeyi || 39 ||

gāyadhīśaṁ kīmnarasyaśiḥ vartapārīcārtī|| venu

ādīṁīdānavrīṁ dhūṁrdarāsakumānākauravavrīka

raiv kīmnarasya senamandii|| paryānike sa uṣṇuptat

madhataranandabhatrī|| putrīṁ satye se dev

dvamāndāt jayati|| svadānda|| Devakī kāntarāgadv|| 40 ||
pādadv abhayajayanti śrīdevakāturānaṃ charaṇa-

ātike|| mānchakopari vṛtī|| ity evam

dvamāndā nāma|| semunadhāryat prāthit prāthit || 42 ||
pājyeyur dvīṇī stavo, stīrṣādrīr dām amantrākam |

Instead of 42.43a, Sa. has the following verses: devapattanaśa nama teṣa, kṛṣṇavatpānatarpaṇa || 42 ||
pūdakasakarau (vr 1) dev tāṁśānāṁ yātum namaṃ
cārdit pranavād name'ntaṁ cha prāthitaṁ nāmā

kuritāṁ pādānāṁ vidhi'nāṁ cha sarvapāpāmātāye | 41 |

Devakī Vasudevā yvasundarā chaiva hī || 44 ||

Valadevā Nandāya Yasodāya prāthitaḥ prāthitāḥ | 28 ||
kāśhādrāśnapaṇāṁ kṛṣṇaḥ caḥanandaṃ 'nulepayet|| 45 ||

N. aṅguttāraṇamāṁ kṛṣṇaṁ pratiṁmākapāpaṁ kṛṣṇaḥ
taddvedvādādāmāmālāmānam (vṛt, ṛāṇāṁ mālā N in

śrūmāntāya pranavādāntarhāvyāntaḥ nāma va, cemāi (1) devatvasaṁśāyttāhāya (Ś, kṛṣṇayā N) 
dvāhitā cha (cāh omitted) vṛtām in mantram pathānaḥ prāṇapra-

itṛhāṁ kuritāṁ | asma ity asaḥ śāke tattade-

vātāvānāma kṛṣṇayāḥ | 45 ||

gayādhīḥ || Devakī devāryāḥ || iti Devākīnāṁ
cānti (N., maṁchakopari Ś, vrā) vādakām 

. . . . . nilotpaladalairhavim iti Ś, evam Devakī 

[ṣiṣ] saha vṛt. ārīkṛṣṇaḥ cha (pravartitām in vṛtām) 
dhvādāḥ, oṁ nāma devārya śrīyā (śrīyā śrīyā nāma Ś) iti Śrīyām, Devaśākāśaṁ Vasudevām, 

Yasodāsaṁānaḥ Nandām, ārīkṛṣṇaṁānaḥ Valadevām, Ānandaḥam ca, nama'ntaṁ māmāntrāhi
pājyeyat | Śr. vawāsadhāyāya Kaumāyā pājyeyat tatra nāmā

budakām || 10 ||

upachāraḥ shodālabh ... . . . . . these sixteen

upachāraḥ follow, to which in Śr. 3, another aṅgāpūrṇā is

added, after which the text proceeds :) atha para-

vārdevaśaṁpālīyāḥ: Devakīnāṁ Vasudevāṁ ca Rohiṇīṁ sa-Baladevaḥ tathaḥ |

Śītyākūṭiḥ cha 'dāhavāśrāvṛte Ugraśendrā-Śādalān || 37 ||

Namaś Vasodāṁ tattale prastārāṁ gopagopākāh | 28 |

Kālindīnāṁ Kālīyāṁ chaiva pājyeyu māmāntrā-

āham || 28 ||

Ms. . . . . . Devakīyā pūjṣājīvinaḥ ādayat | tatra man-

traḥ: | gayādhīḥ . . . . . kāntarāgadv iti || 

viśvāsvāya viśvāya tathā viśvāsvāya ca | viśvāya (vīsaṁsa MS.) pataye tadbhavaṁ Govindāya nāma namaḥ iti 

Kṛṣṇaṁ pūjṣājīvinaḥ ādayat ||

K. niśhadanapārkālā śuddha 'ṣtrī Kṛṣṇaprītyahāravāpiśāvabhrīyaḥ'īti

sākhalpāya vādaḥ (with u'ṛāma) ānākhāḍi pājā-

ntaṁ niśvāvat kritvā ||

paryānākāthāṁ kinnarāryā yūtāṁ ādayet tu Deva-

kīnāṁ 'ṣtrī Kṛṣṇaṁ bālakāṁ ādayet paryānāṁ stana-

pājñānam ||

pravāsatanvāsahārināṁ kāntāṁ nilotpalaladācchāvam | 

sāvavedvāntyāntaḥ Devaśāyā pādayā ādayetvāhyānāḥ ca 

tāṁ Śrīyām ||

evam ādayotā 'Devakīyā nama'ḥ iti Devākīm āday-

bhyā, mālamānte puruṣasahasrātikāṛāḥ vā 'ṣtrī 

Kṛṣṇadāya namāḥ, 'ṣtrī Kṛṣṇadāya adhvaṁyāmā'ḥ 

dhāhya, Lakṣmiṁ ca 'rāvaḥ, 'Devaśāyā Vasu-

devāya Vasudevāya Nandāya 'ṣtrī Kṛṣṇadāya Rāmdāya 

Chāndākīmāya' iti nāmnāṁ 'rāvaḥ ityādhipādayāvā 

'sakalapādayāvādābhōya nama'ḥ ity dhāhya mūl-

ena sākta-ṛīcāḥ vā 'trīdāhāta-Devaśādāpiādāpi-

rāsvadāsakatā-ṣtrī Kṛṣṇadāya nama ity upapādayāvā 

dhyāmānābhyādhyāmābhyādhyāmābhyādhyāmābhyādhyām 

ādayaḥ ca . . . . . ādayat || . . . . .

atha vādayo pānāprākārakarikośavidhā pājī | śa 

yathā | uktapraśākumāṇādāhāvānā mātṛtvā, D 1176 

114 (see p. 293) 'puruṣa evamāvadō' (Rū. X, 90,2)

dosanām | D 1116 1177' etadvān asyeta (Rū. X, 90,3)

pādayā | D 1296 130,131 (see p. 295) 'тридādārāmā' (R. X, 90,4) ity arghyām ||

in the same way follow also śuddhaṃ, puruṣādhyātmaṃ, 

vstrām, yajo-vpratam, pāhamaṃ, pāhama ... 

each introduced by a verse of the puruṣasahasrā 

and another verse, then an aṅgāpūrṇā, after that again in

§ śrī O, sa sv. 1, pādayā (1) abhyājantestu śrī, pādayā sarvādhaḥśrīyāt K. pādayā omāḥśrīyāt śrī (p. 89).

§ So K. X, Devaśāy O, devasvāya O, śrīdevāya śrī.

§ charaṇānām O.

§ niśthe śr. 1.

§ śr. inserts here devapānapāmanadānacārīdānacārī pājāye | śā 

tāāmākārākoṣaṁ vedāranganaḥ | pānākāraś | 

pānākāraḥ (pānākāra sv. 1) pājāye pādāyā |

§ śrīyā O, śrīyā cha O, śrīyā iti śr. K. X.

§ oḥ is wanting in O throughout. After Valadevāya 

namaḥ O. has: 'ṣtrī Kṛṣṇadāya namaḥ, Subhadāya namāḥ, 

Nandagopāya namaḥ, Yodādāya namaḥ, 'ṣtrī Kṛṣṇa

namāḥ || ity evam dādā O, vasudevadānandānām O.

§ uchāḥdhyāyaścānām. |)

§ So sv. 1, vādayo pādayā O.

§ Neither Ud. nor śr. is meant by this, for both differ.
the same manner dhupa, depa, naivedya, acharanam and karodvaratnam, tamthila, nirjala, pushpyajali.

Dvayya jagnamatsitayatra! sukhadvayayatra vartvayatra kumbhini! (1) Ganapatiya vyad
denyaatra! Yamundaya sarvasvaabhyayatra! (2) Jagnakya, Umadya sarvasvaatyaatra! putradaayatra! (3) revayatra! bhrm
advaya mahakalaya!

"Some wish here still another rite" with these words O C Sa introduce the statement about a gift of honour (arghya, argham, arghyan) to be addressed to the moon at its rising. It is to be preceded by a similar one to Kriishna himself, in which he is first invoked by forty of the names of V i s h n u, whereupon amid reciting of prayers prepared in a peculiarly solemn form, water for bathing, gifts of honour, sandalwood, incense, and a couch are offered to him. The prayer to the moon invokes it to accept the arghya-gifts in company with rohini and by this is meant here not B a l a
ram a's mother, but that star, the favourite station of the moon, Aldebaran, whose coinciding with the date of the festival itself gives to the latter, as we have already seen, the J ayan
ti-form. After this Kriishna himself, rohini and the moon, Kriishna's two pairs of parents, and his brother V a l a d e v a—that is, probably, images of all of them,—are to be put up on a place prepared and suitable for offerings (see above, p. 174), and to be worshipped.

What is put down here as only the opinion of some is, according to M (f. 83b: av a J a
yantya chandrahrdayayat va yogi kartarvatvatat) necessary; and the rest of the texts also, as far as they mention at all this gift of honour to the moon (Ca. S 5. V 7 1, V 7 2, U d. J have nothing regarding the celebration. They differ, however, from O C Sa, first of all in this, that as far as they all recognize the birth-ritual (see imme-
pitaya tvay, 'si J. yathay deva pramanatvata varadvijata
ma maya (metathay J.) bhaktya prasadat kur suvrate. In J. however, the half-verse as tvaym, 'si jayiya samita tdi ('si J.) yathay devaih prasanndtvat kur svrat.

ti n段um aartha prasattvam ma J. adds to this necessary; and the rest of the texts also, as far as they mention at all this gift of honour to the moon (Ca. S 5. V 7 1, V 7 2, U d. J have nothing regarding the celebration. They differ, however, from O C Sa, first of all in this, that as far as they all recognize the birth-ritual (see imme-
pitaya tvay, 'si J. yathay deva pramanatvata varadvijata
ma maya (metathay J.) bhaktya prasadat kur suvrate. In J. however, the half-verse as tvaym, 'si jayiya samita tdi ('si J.) yathay devaih prasanndtvat kur svrat. In J. however, the half-verse as tvaym, 'si jayiya samita tdi ('si J.) yathay devaih prasanndtvat kur svrat. In J. however, the half-verse as tvaym, 'si jayiya samita tdi ('si J.) yathay devaih prasanndtvat kur svrat. In J. however, the half-verse as tvaym, 'si jayiya samita tdi ('si J.) yathay devaih prasanndtvat kur svrat. In J. however, the half-verse as tvaym, 'si jayiya samita tdi ('si J.) yathay devaih prasanndtvat kur svrat. In J. however, the half-verse as tvaym, 'si jayiya samita tdi ('si J.) yathay devaih prasanndtvat kur svrat. In J. however, the half-verse as tvaym, 'si jayiya samita tdi ('si J.) yathay devaih prasanndtvat kur svrat. In J. however, the half-vers
diately; D. Ca. Sa. VI. 1, VI. 2, J. Kd. leave it quite out of view) they make it precede this celebration addressed to the moon (Ms. Ud. take up a peculiar position in regard to this); and also distribute somewhat differently the prayers given by O C Sa., giving them not here, but at an earlier stage (see p. 292), and introduce other prayers instead of them.

According to D, a coconut in a shell is first of all to be offered as *arya-gift* to *Kriṣṇa* in company with D e v a k i, with the following prayer:—

Hail to thee, O son of Devaki, who givest desired fruits. |

Thou wast born for K a u r a v a s’s death, for the lightening of the earth’s burden,|

For the destruction of the K a u r a v a s, for the annihilation also of the D a i t y a s,|

And for the (welfare) of the Pānḍa v a s, for the re-establishing of the right,|

For the destruction of the Dānavas, thou scion of V a s u d e v a’s stem! |

Take, H a r i, thou with D e v a k i, the gift offered thee by me.||

After this, water is poured into the shell, they put flowers, roasted barley, and sandalwood into it, kneel down on the earth, and offer this as *arya* to the moon. Also according to B. (quite briefly) the *arya-gift* to Kriṣṇa precedes that to the moon. According to E N K Ms. Kd. however, the *arya-gift* (water in the shell, &c.) to the moon is offered first. Moreover K. makes a similar one to Devaki alone to come after this one, with the prayer (see p. 291), “Even as thou attainest highest happiness . . .”; and her worship is repeated at each watch through the night. According to Ms. the *arya-gift* to the moon, which is to be solemnized outside, is to be followed directly by a birth-celebration, (see immediately below) inside (that is, in the house), after that an *arya-gift* to Kriṣṇa with the prayers, “Thou wast born for Kauśiṇa’s death . . .”, then offerings of perfumes and such-like to Devaki in the same prayer as Kriṣṇa, and then new prayers to Kriṣṇa conclude, “A thousand incarnations indeed . . .” (see p. 291, D. 116bff). In Kd. after the *arya-gift* to the moon a similar one follows to Kriṣṇa with the prayers, “Thou wast born. . .” (as above), and thereafter an ardent prayer to him for deliverance from sin and need. Lastly, K N do not make any more such gifts follow the *arya-gift* to the moon, but only prayers to Kriṣṇa,—in the first place, namely, those prayers with the forty names of V iṣṇu (along with a finale specially belonging to it), and then the same beautiful prayer, as Kd. It runs thus:

Save me, Lord of all the worlds! H a r i! (from) out of the s a n a ś d a r a -saé! |

Snatch me away, blotter-out of all guilt, from the flood of pain and grief, O Lord!||

Lord of all worlds! save me, who fell into the stream of life, |

O son of Devak! Lord of salvation! H a r i! out of the s a n a ś d a r a -saé! |

Snatch me away, blotter-out all pain, from the flood of sickness and trouble, H a r i!|

Thou V iṣṇu, helpest the miserable if they think only of thee. |

I, God, am very miserable. Save me out of the sea of trouble!|

Lotus-eyed one! I am sunk in the sea of delusion and folly. |

Save me, God, Lord of gods! Besides thee there is indeed no protector!||

As child, or as young man, or as old man, what good (deed) |

I may have done, bring it to perfection now |

Blot out my faults, H a l a y u d h a! |

The texts belonging to this are as follows in O. C. *Sa.*

1. vihāryautaram+ a p i c h a n u s k o c h i a t r o d e i j ot t a m a t h i |

[43]| | |

2. chaudrardayi śaśadāya arghaih dadyad dāharih, | smaranam || *na* | anagha vihāryautaram+ padmanābhanārāyah*|

[44]| | |

3. vānudevaih ṭrīṣkēlāi maddhanāvām mađhānapađhānam | vartāham || | |

[45]| | |

4. pariṣṭhitah pradānānām rītīśkei rājā nam | dāmodaram+ padmaṇābhanā kēkaṇām garījādava jām |±±§§ |

† This verse is, according to B. from the Si vā r h a s a y a ; M. has a similar one from the Viṣṇudharmottara (see above, p. 163).

* Where, however, 445-52 are wanting; they are found again in C. 469-51, with important variant readings. In D are also found further 450-57a, 52; in R. (pp. 25, 29) 445-58, N. 52 in 8c. K. Bhād.

† *vṛṭyāryautaram O.

1 So C *tamāh O 1, *tamāh O 2, ataraiva śrayāya, Sz. |

6 Sz Sa B, smaret O. |

2 so ana vhasm 0 2, ana vhasm 0 1, anamatān so 1. |

* saumān. |

† vārāhān 0 Sa D; this hemistich is wanting in C. |

2 46 is wanting in Sz. |

§§ tvā “iyavi, D.}
\[\text{ovindam achyutam kramam}^\text{||} \text{anantam apardjitam} \]
\[\text{\text{||} 46 \text{|| \text{anantam apardjitam}} \text{\text{||} mindam achyutam krishnatn} \]
\[\text{pitdmvaradhararib nityario^ vanamdldvibhushanam® yogasambhavdya yogapa,taye%% govin-} \]
\[\text{yogesvardya ff yajnesvardya yajnasambhavdyayajnapataye govinddya} \]
\[\text{sndnamantrah } \]
\[\text{ddyanamoh§§ namah } \]
\[\text{v esv ardyaviMi as am h h av t tya* mump at aye govi nddya} \]
\[\text{ntirdyana-rib chaturvdhum taaukhachakragaddhararii} \]
\[\text{ksM.ro ddr n av as am bhut a A tri netra§-s amudbhav a [ gn-} \]
\[\text{dharmesvardya dharmasambhavdyaf dharmapataye g.} \]
\[\text{naivedyamantrah} \]
\[\text{It} \]
\[\text{anda na-dhup am a ntrah^ \ vis-} \]
\[\text{II 48 ||} \]
\[\text{mddinidhanarib vtevariv	railokye&am% trivikramam} \]
\[\text{ro hini rii)idile* * st hdp ay} \]
\[\text{|| 52 ||} \]
\[\text{rgharii\% sadmkesa rohinyd sahito mama} \]
\[\text{idhoksliajmh jag a dm jam* sargasthityantakdranam} \]
\[\text{tathd§§ DevaM'rii Vasudevarih cha YasoddriiNandarii} \]
\[\text{|| 51} \]
\[\text{I 47 ||} \]
\[\text{ya naivedyam kdrayet tatra p'hjdih kritvd vidhdnatah} \]
\[\text{milrtaufla-Krifcyaehintlimauidlirita.ui, yathji: tarn evopavaset by the words Garuda-Bhavishyottara-vachanam liaQa-} \]
\[\text{jagatpathn | trAhi mAm (leva devesa hare} \]
\[\text{pathitvA varadam Krishnam vandeta bhaktitah II 1 ||} \]
\[\text{rtAni samktrtya gatyartham prArthayen narah II 2 |l} \]
\[\text{trAhi mam sarvapApaghna duhkhasokArnavAt prabho [|} \]
\[\text{mavAd dhare | durgatAns trAyase vishno ye smaranti saknt-} \]
\[\text{aakpt ^5J| 'tidurvrittas trAhi mAm sokasAgarAt [\} \]
\[\text{KA] pushkaraksha nimagno ham} \]
\[\text{Ilso in } \]
\[\text{N D. 1196.122a. in B. (p. 28). m} \]
\[\text{rvi, 17-21, with special reference,} \]
\[\text{to the W4r««o-} \]
\[\text{iue?} \]
\[\text{Vv » T—T , Aw 0} \]
\[\text{0; the above} \]
\[\text{reading is borrowed from} \]
\[\text{XX fr&ya, yogesanh} \]
\[\text{Qa R. N.} \]
\[\text{§§} \]
\[\text{namo is wanting.} \]
\[\text{arglovya-O.} \]
\[\text{vishnulok-O.} \]
\[\text{Vevom vdpayu do dharmasambhavaya is wanting in} \]
\[\text{O} \]
\[\text{|| 58 ||} \]
\[\text{|| \text{This verse is evidently a gloss).} \]
\[\text{Vevom vdpayu do dharmasambhavaya is wanting in} \]
\[\text{O} \]
\[\text{|| \text{This verse is evidently a gloss).} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{Ms. KA.} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
\[\text{This hemistich stands in} \]
\[\text{KA} \]
And now midnight has come, the time at which, according to the legend (see Vishnu-āharmottara in M., above, p. 164.), Kṛṣṇa’s birth took place; now therefore the celebration of the solemn birth-ritual follows. First of all the gift (see p. 173 above) called “a pouring out of riches,” made of melted butter mixed with sugar according to taste, is to be offered in the fire, and thereupon the whole ritual connected with a birth, vārddhāpanam, or jāta karma, is to be performed, especially the cutting of the navel, the worship of the goddess Śaṅkhaḥtiḥ, and the ceremonial of giving the name, etc.: all this and one after the other, “immediately” (tattah sadā) still in that night. Under other circumstances the Śaṅkhāṭhī celebration is accomplished precisely on the sixth day; the nāmakarman, on the other hand, not before the tenth day (various other dates besides are given for it, see K. iii, 1 ff. 10b, Saṅkha-Kavu-stubha 25b, 96a). Both days, the sixth as well as the tenth, are, moreover, according to the customary ritual, specially celebrated by watching during the whole night and by the repeated offering of gifts to the tutelary deities of the birth (see pp. 174, 283 above); the men, indeed, are to keep themselves armed during the night (perhaps in the event of bad demons to be able to repulse them); the women, on the other hand, dance and sing: thus K. iii, 1 ff. 9a, according to Markandeya in the Mārkandeya: raksanvātya tathā shashtraṁ niḥa tatra viśkhetah, rātra jāgaranān kāryam jāmadāndānām tathā balīḥ paruṣah śastraḥastāḥ cha yasya yētah cha yatra jāgaranān kuryur dosmaṁ daṁ cha sātāke. Thus, then it may be explained how O Īśa do...
not mention anything about this; for them this watching through the night, with its accom¬
paniment of dancing and singing, is probably just an integral part of the birth¬ritual; still their complete silence regarding this point is somewhat surprising, inasmuch as there are added here some special peculiarities (see im¬
mEDIATELY below). The more specially all this is treated of in the other texts. In the first place M. himself (see f. 806, p. 163 above) mentions the jāgara churn as an integral part of the celebration; he also brings in a special passage regarding it (see p. 164.) from the Nāradeśayatanhana: uposhyā jaoma (to be read jāma) kuryā vilāvā jāgara churna tu yah.—R too, quotes similar passages from the Gāruda and Brahmāvivarta¬Purañnas (see p. 1676 above), as well as from an unnamed work of the same kind (see p. 298 below) according to which Vāsudeva is now to be praised with all sorts of songs of praise,* and then the night to be further spent in singing, music and dancing. N says shortly the listening to old legends, &c. as belonging to it. Thus also Śb, in bringing into prominence the festive character of the whole celebration. B appoints that, in particular, legends of Krīṣiha's nativity shall be listened to, and shell-music accompany the dancing; also now at midnight rich presents, among others, a cow with her calf, are to be given. The remaining texts leave the birth-ritual quite out of view, but they dwell the more specially on the festive watching through the night. Only Vi. 1. Ca have nothing at all about it. Ms. likewise; but this probably only because the manuscript lying before us breaks off in the middle; if we are allowed to supply the omission from J—and this appears quite allowable. The jāgara churn takes place also according to Ms., and it does so with listening to the description of the games of young Krīṣiha. Hereby probably the Bhāgavata-Purañna is specially to be thought of, as Ms. indeed desires, also in the immediately preceding phase of the festival (see p. 296 above), that walking within (in the house) amid shouts of victory and sound of bells, one “should imagine to himself mentally Krīṣiha's birth while reciting of the following verses referring to it;—tāmu adhibātman bālākara.” Now these verses are described† in Ud. as borrowed directly from the Bhāgavata, where in fact they are really found (X, 3, 9-13); according to Ud. they are to be recited at the very moment at which the birth of Krīṣiha is fixed; and the watch through the night is to be spent in reciting hymns against the Śātakaśanas, &c.—D too denotes the reciting of legends about Krīṣiha's life, as they are found in the Bhāgavata and in the Harivāhas, as forming an integral part of the festive watching through the night, and extols with full tones the merit of such recitals for readers and hearers. To singing, music, and dancing, which, along with the listening to legends, also Śc. Vi. 2. bring into special prominence, are to be added according to D also other amusements, incense, lamps, selected meats, &c.—In Kā. first a passage from the Agnīpurāṇa is produced, which adds other pretty tales (“in the local dialects,” Kā. explains), as well as spectacles in general (“dancing and such-like” explains Kā.) to the Purañna legends, singing, and music as the enjoyments of the night. After listening to the legends of the nativity and childhood, those who take part in the festival shall pour milk on each other, and sprinkle each other with it, for which pastime a passage from the Bhāga¬vata (which I cannot verify) is quoted. In this form the festival is said to bear now in the Marāthā country the name of Gopālakālid (“lid’). The texts belonging to this are as follows, first of all in O C Śa. (also in R p. 26. K.)—

the Bhāgavata, places it before the Rāmaśrya and the Bhārata (the Krīṣiha-adibātman is, however, brought forward there along with these three works as a separate text). The passage runs thus: devapujām sarvaṃ... sarvabhūḥ prabhavya sarvargaya sarvākṣaraṃ stotāsri jaurya, svābhāgavya Rāsameya-Bhāratakeśhāthin Krīṣiha-vālikānām dhruvacharitraṃ cha stotā, amsaikṣitaṃ mahārājan ca āryaṃ... śaśaṃputraṃ ṣaśasāmīn ugraṃ, tātu, net tu (sa tu mś.) nivārayev upaheṣe v [ēvaḥ rātriṃ aśvāminaḥ prabhūte kośamāh?] gṛyāt ।

† I stayed gudacaripā C. R. K., I stayed drāvyacaripā Śa.
B. (after the iśvīpāja with O r. 41)
guqophitstra uasordhāndhā nīcıīsordhāndhā sahakārop
prajana nīmadakāndhīkēn cha kuryat | pījeyya | (O 43a) amantraka chandra
dayā . . . (see p. 296)
prārthana kuryat |
tato stotraḥ stutiḥ kriyād vaeyecha janārdanaṃ |
gitaudāranyātiṣaya ে cha ēśāna kālaya gathāvakham |
nyāt iṣ kē sah

N. tato guqophitstra nyāna uasordhāndhā (rāḍa Vr.),
kaushik guqophitstra | nīta jātakam sahakārupa
dhāsakāhopi-udnakarmādaḥ saṅskepeṇa kūḍatya |
tato chandra
dayā . . . (see p. 296), iś mantraka prār-
thayat | tato stotrapaḥanapurānabandhā jāda-
rajaḥ kriyād |

MS. (see above, p. 296) tato ’ntar ēgatyā jaya-
ghāyaṇādīn ērīkṛṣṇājaya janībhaya ’tam ab-
buatā vālakam iṭa ēta jāmālokāṇā paśthitād ērīkṛṣṇa
hāyā ṛghaṇā dādayat . . .

J. (preceding is a pījā to D evaṅkī d with D. 114-116a, goes before, and to Kṛṣṇa with D. 116-119a):
evaṃ samphāja ērīghaṇā dādayat, tattva mantraḥ : jāta
Kauśika” (D. 129 130= 131d) sahito haret (i) | tato dhāpa-ṛgpyatrapakādaye ṛnakāṇavādaye-kaśmāñcā
dēcphātalāvān ēni ēmaraya Kṛṣṇāyaḍaṃ varṇa-
rājanāprakāndhā jīgavadānajaya kriyāva . . .

Uṛ ērīkṛṣṇājayaṁasaṁya Bhāgavatakārēna (X. 3, 113b)
atāḥ bhūtaṁ bālakaṁ ādukeṣaḥ paṁ, chaturbhujāni,
ākārayāpādāvadhāyānām | ērvatsalaksanam gauta-
sobhikastuḥkam, pitāmvarāni, sāndrapāyadāshā̄ḥ
jaṃ (X. 3, 113b)
atāḥ bhūtaṁ bālakaṁ ādukeṣaḥ paṁ, chaturbhujāni,
ākārayāpādāvadhāyānām | ērvatsalaksanam gauta-
sobhikastuḥkam, pitāmvarāni, sāndrapāyadāshā̄ḥ
jaṃ (X. 3, 113b)
mahākāyastī samāyako ēkānanālā, trīkṣā parīśhva-
atanaḥsāvatutuḥ, uddāmnāśhīchāntakekānandā-
bhīr, vyrocmāṇāni Vasudevā aṅkataḥ | 10 |
swaminayophala-lochano Harīṁ suvāgī śīlākāy
"nāmadabihī sadā | Kṛṣṇāvataṃśurasamabhṛā
duśṣūlaṁ " | 10 1877
ON THE KRISHNAJANMASHTAMI.

Now then, when the morning breaks, a festival, as great as that which has (just) been held to

"Hail to him, the god whom the goddess

For the protection of the earthly B r a h m a n a -

Good luck be to V a s u d e v a, for the good

Peace be! Promise of happiness be!"

Thus O C S a., with addition of all sorts of promises of reward for those who thus cele-

It is surprising that this direction should be wanting in O C S a., for M. recognizes it also (see above, p. 163) as an integral part of the J ay ant i celebration. According to Vi. 2, J, it is the a d h a r y a , ' teacher,' to whom the image, along with numerous other presents, regarding which particularly Vi. 2, treats very much in detail, is to be given. The accounts in M a. on occasion of the R á m a nav a m a n i etc. show, too, that a similar giving away of the image of the gods worshipped at the festival to the teacher, is in fact a universal custom of the V a i s h n a-

The texts belonging to this are as follows, first of all in O C S a.

morning-ritual is to be accomplished; thereupon the god, in company with D e v a k i, is to be worshipped once more, quite as before, and then, "all this" (obviously all that had been made use of at the festival, the images included) is to be given to a B r a h m a n a who is an inmate of the house; after this only the other B r a h m a n a s too—are to be fed, and to have presents given them, and then may he, the giver of the feast, himself eat too. N (C. V r.) does not in this case make any special mention at all of D e v a k i, but appoints quite generally that "the worship"—or if we prefer C. V r.'s way of reading, specially only "the worship of the god," that is of K r i s h n a, shall take place "as before." E. makes the b h a g a v a n t (by which obviously K r i s h n a is meant) be worshipped first of all in the regular way, and after that, by a misunderstanding, as we saw already, (see p. 167) makes a festival to D u r g ā follow!—Sū. has nothing about a festival to D e v a k i; but gives several specialities regarding the worship of the 'Lord of the Universe,' with various distributions and prayers, among them a hundred and eight distributions of ghee, along with reciting of the p u r u n a s i k t a. Quite like this, only more in detail, Vi. 2. J. K. Kā. leave the worship of K r i s h n a or of D e v a k i quite out of view, only making mention of the feasting and giving presents to the B r a h-

Lastly, B. Vi. 1. Ud. have nothing at all about what has to be done on the morning after the festival.

† O. 60, Bh a g a v a t i in O. 56, what R. erroneously understands as D u r g ā ; see above, p. 167 (299. 299).
‡ v. 55-61, 66, also in R. Sk., 55, 57 in M. Sk., 55, 59 in N., 55, 59 in D., 69 in X.
§ k a r y o , Sk. 1. R. Sk., k d r y o n O C Sk.
† b r a h m a n a n i , O 2.

masya brahmasya* guptaya tasmai brahmrivanam nanka|| 58 || 
svayam bhunjita v&gyatah  || 67 || 
susftaya, udvdsya (Sr. Vr., uddhdsya N.) tdm' brdhmandya 58)  ||  
yam devam (0. 7 sujanma (namas te Vr,) strddi daitvd Vr.) tebhyah suwrnadMmmstrddi (sndnddi Vr.) nityam kritvd purvavad eva (devam Sr. Vr.) pujayitvd brdhmandn bhojayitvd (°ijet Vr.) stv ity uktvd pratimdm 3 Hmm chd (0.59)  |

Krishna me priyatdm" iti dattvd pdranam kritvd vratrnh smndpmjet. sarvdya svasc&vsga sarvapate (svarsham pataye namah Vr.) surusamabhnya gatiiltva (namo namo ili pitrdydh (Sr. "nivydr N, nam Vr.) bhaktiyam bhdsat-  
pateya (Sr. Vr., bh&opathy N) ity-idh samijnke che (wanting in Sr.) mantaah (bhaktpateya nama ili namaskara ili pitrivdhihr Vr.) udipunam anukutavah nisti (nitya) is wanting in Sr. Vr. which contains rather a piece described in Sr. Sv. 3 directly as an udipunam).  

K. probhite brhamanydn sokty bhajoyat bhaktimdn navah | oma name Vasu' (O. 59)  ||  
D. tatuk probhitisongaye bhddum vinaile krity | kritye puruvragna karma prayatn Tatekhahy "mitrath " 146 || 
prvanat pujyay demend Devaks&kham mutdi | yani devani (O. 58, 51) ili devmi visarjiyey | 
kalumbe brhamanydagiyayj paryay sarum eva tat || 49 ||  
brhamanyd bhajoyat pach&it tebhyo dayl&haya cha 
daksindn | tata tu svayam asviyij Joyantamsam- 
poeshah || 150 ||  

Sb. svabh&te paryayu kuryd dayjil ' (Sr. 2.) sam- 
bhajyo yatnathah |  
Sr. pratdnse vinaile sudtt pujyaytd jugad- 
garum | pujyaye tatiltiya cha mambimatareya bahk-
tita || 45 ||  
ashottaranatah latvi tataj parushashakatakata | idaiv 
visurbh iti praktd (prakon) for prcey) jhumad 
val ghriffhutih || 46 ||  

komaleshwar samipdy 'tha purnikhtin atab poram | deharyam pujyay bhaktyy ba(byahantvedindudd 
abhi || 47 ||  
gdm ekdm kardis abhu... | kardis abhve tu gaur anay 'pi pradyate || 50 ||  
tata dayl&haya cha viverghy 'nyelbhyaya chaitya yath-
akhidi | brhamanyd bhajoyat pach&it ashum tebhyo 
cha daksindn || 51 ||  
kala&dhi (1) tata sampurhy (1) dayl&hay choica sam-
dhitah | dhuiyae cha karnayay chaiv yath&harm 
pratiyajitay || 52 ||  
prpiyud naihyai tathd tebhyo bhujitya sakabhan- 
ubhih |...  

Vi 2. tatuk probhitisamoye sudtt vaddhay k&ythay 
khalaika | pravayat pujyayt devam pach&it dhonawin 
sambdhat || 43 ||  
sayojnyoktivakdhamana pratisdhpdihy 'nalinotot- 
tal | aevattha samidhih cha asiyaai che charubh 
tadhah || 44 ||  
... aho mak&yayahirtay hopamamntr prakr&itih ||45||

* bhaktya, O. R. S. Vr.  
** bhaktapa, O. E. S. Vr., prabhate Bh. Sk. om naana K.  
† vasudevya O. D. 2.  
§ C, maha Sk. K, tata devam.  
* vaddhayat, O. s. svadaya, D. Vr.  
** akted pratidma suddhaya, N. (svadaya, S. Vr.)  
† † karastra bhakti, Vr. (teen devam S., pahavay S. Sk., chin K.  
† † † bhaktapay, O. E. E. Sk., cha naya O., svadhnamana Sk.  
|| 35 a bhakti Sk., maddhaya S., maddhaktya Sk.  

---

* This is a verse from the Bhagavata Purana, specifically from the Chandidasa section. The text is in Sanskrit, and the translation or interpretation may vary depending on the context and translation method. The text discusses various aspects of devotion and worship, including the importance of personal devotion, the role of devotion in spiritual growth, and the significance of remembering the name of the divine.
CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

PROF. WEBER ON THE MAHĀBHĀSHYA.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

I have read with intense interest Professor Kielhorn's article on the Mahābhāshya in vol. V. pp. 241 et seq. But, with all respect for the scholarship which we are wont to find in Professor Kielhorn's writings, I am sorry to say that I felt rather disappointed with the result of my perusal of this deduction of his. For instead of giving us positive proofs for his decided opinion that "we are bound to regard the text of the Mahābhāshya as given by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about two thousand years ago," he has not even tried to do so, but proceeds merely in a negative way, and his exhortions only tend to show (1) that the statements in the Vākyapādaśāstra and the Rājaśāstra are not to be interpreted in such a way as to impeach the authenticity of that text; (2) that the external evidence brought forward for it is not sufficient to impeach it. Now, even if he had succeeded thus far (as in my opinion he has not), what would be won for the position he himself maintains? Two thousand years is rather a long time, and to warrant for such a period the sameness of a Sanskrit text which has meanwhile had to undergo so many extraordinary vicissitudes, if it were only the constant change of the copies, and the characters in which they were written, is really a piece of some boldness and audacity. But in this instance we know also of some extraordinary vicissitudes. For, whatever interpretation Professor Kielhorn may give to the statements of Harī (or as he is also called Bhartṛhari) and Kalhana,—whether he refers the vādyāvādāgama of the former not to the text of the Bhāshyā, but only to the traditional knowledge of its meaning, or whether he explains his śīpdaśīya by 'perverted' instead of 'devastated,' and Kalhana's vāyaḥkāshāya by 'interpreter' instead of 'reciting,' 'knowing by heart,' as well as his vichīmāna by vīchānasampradāya instead of 'split into pieces, incomplete,'—even under adoption of all that, two facts remain: (1) that Hari testifies to hostilities practised against the "ārśaka grāntha," as well as to a break in its traditional interpretation for a certain indeterminate space of time during which its text existed only in Dakhan MSS., and it was only by the (superhuman! see Ind. Stud. vol. V. pp. 165-166) intermediation of Parvata that "Chandrachārya and others" reformed that "traditional knowledge;" and (2) that Kalhana testifies to two introductions of the Bhāshyā into Kashmir,—the one by the said "Chandrachārya and others" under Abhimanyu; the second, after it had been meanwhile vichīmāna under Jayāpiṭa. It is seldom enough in India that we have so many critical criteria for the history of a literary work at hand. Are we really entitled, in the face of them, to cling to the unchanged condition of a text which would be a wonder in itself, even if we did not know anything of these its various fates?

Of course, I am far from swearing to the exact correctness of those dates as given by both authors (the presence of Parvata alone, if he is to be taken as the helpmate of Nārada, at once forbids such a proceeding); but, on the other hand, such particulars as those given by Hari must have some real foundation, cannot well be wholly sucked out of the fingers. Now, it is true Professor Kielhorn too does not deny this, but he certainly, on the one hand, does not take them into full account, and he tries on the other to explain away their critical purport. If there should have been (and I will not deny that there may be some truth in that) some exaggeration of this purport on the part of those who have previously treated on

AND MISCELLANEA.

Table: | 1 | Sic! evidently the half of which the dāchārya has received. | 2

---

Observation on the Mahābhāshya.
Nor do I think that Professor Kielhorn has been more successful in his polemic against the internal evidence brought forward broadly by Dr. Burnell, and before him, but more diffidently, by myself, as to the (so to speak) conglomerate character of the Bhāṣṭya. It is a pity that he had not been able, at the time he wrote, to weigh also the arguments of a third scholar going nearly in the same line with us, viz. of Böhtlingk, who in the second of his two papers on this subject (Journ. Germ. Or. Soc. vol. XXXIX. pp. 185 ff. 483 ff.) arrives at the following conclusion (p. 490):—"The form of the dialogue brings us again close to the supposition that the redaction of the Mahābhāṣṭya does not come at all from Patanjali himself (gar nicht von Patanjali selbstd hervorgerufen)."

The question as to the different component parts of the Bhāṣṭya is indeed a very intricate one. Professor Kielhorn has devoted to it great care and study, and his opinions are entitled to all consideration and respect, but I may be allowed to state here my impression that he appears to me rather too much inclined in favour of the entire oneness of the work; and, in order to put your readers into a position to judge more freely on the merits of the case, I beg to subjoin a translation of what I have said on this part of the question in my paper on the Bhāṣṭya in vol. XIII. of the Ind. Stud. pp. 314-330. But before I proceed to do so I have to examine some statements made by Professor Kielhorn, in the course of his deduction, which require some rectification.

(1) Professor Kielhorn accuses me of "two slight inaccuracies" in my remarks concerning the history of the Bhāṣṭya, in so far as, firstly, I had spoken repeatedly of three different occasions on which it had received the epithets vipldvita, bhraṣṭa, and vichinnam, whereas in reality there were but two; and as, secondly, the epithet bhraṣṭa had been applied in the Vākyapadīya not to the text of the Bhāṣṭya, as maintained by me, but to the vydkarandgama—the traditional knowledge of grammar. I do not think that the word 'inaccuracies' has been well chosen by Professor Kielhorn in this instance, as it would be correct only under the condition that I interpreted the passage in the Vākyapadīya in the same way as he does. But the fact is that our interpretations differ, and what he calls 'inaccuracies' is simply to be laid to the account of this difference. Of course he is fully entitled to criticize and rectify my interpretation, but not to charge me with 'inaccuracy' for drawing conclusions in harmony with my conception of the sense of the passage. Now in my translation of it the word vydkarandgama is given by Grammatik-Text as referring to Patanjali's work itself, and I have also explained in extenso this my translation of āgama by 'text, doctrinal system (Lehrsystem), doctrine (Lehre)' as in opposition to that given by Professor Goldstücker, who takes it as 'document or manuscript of the Mahābhāṣṭya' see Ind. Stud. vol. V. pp. 162-165. Moreover, the word pratikāśeṅchāra, purposely omitted by Professor Kielhorn on account of its reading and meaning being as yet uncertain, is not left out by me, as the dots in Professor Kielhorn's quotation on p. 244 would seem to imply, but is translated (in harmony with Punyāraja) by 'adversary (widersacher). In consequence of both these differences in my translation of the two verses in question, the words vipldvita and bhraṣṭa in them, though relating to the same work, still do not relate to one fact, but to two—firstly, to its devastation ('destruction, destroyed,' versört, as Professor Kielhorn has, is rather too strong : 'verwünscht' is my expression) by the adversaries of its author; secondly, to its having been lost to its pupils, very probably indeed on account of these assaults. If we now add to these two facts the statement of Kalhaṇa about the vichinnatva of the Bhāṣṭya in Kāśmir in Jayāpiṣṭa's time, I think I was right when I spoke of 'three different occasions....' But I am at present quite willing to reconsider my translation itself; and I concede,
before all, that Professor Kielhorn's explanation of vyakaranadharma as not relating to the very text of the Bhashya, but only to its traditional interpretation, deserves as full attention as the one given by myself.

(2) Professor Kielhorn states (p. 246) that the views of Dr. Burnell on the Bhashya have been somewhat misrepresented by myself in my review of his work. Now here the simple fact is that in my short quotation from Dr. Burnell's essay the final s of the word works has been dropped, it may be by a clerical blunder, or perhaps (!) only by a misprint overlooked by me in my revision of the proofs. What I there say on this subject is (see Jenaer Literatur Zeitung, 1876, p. 265), "In Burnell's opinion this work is indeed 'rather a skilful compilation of the views of Panini's critics, and of their refutation by Patanjali, than the real text of the original work,' not works, as Dr. Burnell has. It was not my intention to enter there more fully on his particular views on the subject, and if I hope he will acquit me of having really 'misrepresented' them by that unlucky oversight with regard to the end of the last word in the sentence.—On the other hand, I cannot acknowledge it as a quite correct representation of my views on the Bhashya when Professor Kielhorn says, "According to Professor Weber, some such work as the Mahabhashya which we possess was actually composed by Patanjali." For, as your readers will see below (and I beg to refer them also to the earlier statements of my views contained in vol. II. of the Ind. Ant. pp. 64, 209), my opinions as to this very point are not yet settled in quite distinct form, for there are to be weighed and put aside before such a decision several items which speak rather forcibly for a composition of the work rather by the school of Patanjali than by Patanjali himself.

(3) With regard to my statement that "the South-Indian MSS. of the text, according to Burnell's testimony (see preface to the Vasishabr., p. xxii. note), appear to differ considerably," Professor Kielhorn remarks (p. 43) that all he finds Dr. Burnell to have stated regarding such differences is this, that in the introductory dhvāka the South-Indian MSS. omit the quotation from the Atharvaveda; whereas in one of his later works Dr. Burnell too states that "the Northern and Southern MSS. of the Bhashya differ to no great extent, though various reading: "var"; and Professor Kielhorn himself, moreover, can add, from his own perusal of such MSS., that he has "not been able to discover any traces of the existence of several recensions of the work". Of course, both these latter (and later) testimonies are of great value; but on the other hand I think I was fully justified at that time in my supposition, as given above: for the omission in the South-Indian MSS. of the quotation from the Atharvaveda in the introductory dhvāka is indeed a matter of some importance. The Atharvaveda is quoted twice (fol. 3b and fol. 10a), and both times in a very peculiar position, viz. at the head of the four Vedas and as their chief representatives: see Ind. Ant. vol. XIII. p. 431. If such passages are omitted in one group of MSS., I think we have a right to say that the MSS. appear to differ considerably. (It would be interesting to know how the matter really stands in this case.)

(4) Professor Kielhorn is very desirous (p. 23) to exculpate Nāgēśa from having made a wrong statement as to the meaning of the word dōḍhya in the Bhashya. And after having examined for himself the remark in question, he found indeed that it admitted of a very different interpretation: for according to him the sentence नागेश आध्यायाय वाक्यादिको सर्वकुद्र्निविदित िन्दिति: would relate only to that particular passage of the Bhashya to which Nāgēśa has attached it, and which begins ते य एवं भाष्यातः, and it would imply that in this passage above "dōḍhya denotes exceptionally the author of the Bhashya himself, and not those whom it denotes generally (Panini or Katyāyana)." But I am afraid such an interpretation cannot well be grafted on the words as they stand above: for, in order to convey that meaning, which Professor Kielhorn intimates them to convey, they ought to be नागेश अल्पार्यायेन वाक्यादिको नामवृद्धितिः: but there is no atra 'va, or even only atra, in the text, and the eva stands distinctly after नामवृद्धितिः, so that the sentence cannot well, according to common usage, be translated otherwise than by "in the Bhashya by the word dōḍhya is meant only the author of the Bhashya, the teacher of the वाक्य (compare Ballantyne's translation, p. 35). Moreover, the very addition of this otherwise somewhat superfluous epithet शास्त्रादिक... appears to imply that Nāgēśa wished to give a general and formal rule; it contains at the same time his own explanation for the fact he states—because Patanjali is the teacher of the एद्ध्य, therefore he called it in the title dōḍhya, नाम एद्ध्यः. Finally also the phrase आचार्यः श्रीमान्तायोऽ्रेण is not restricted to this particular passage, of which it forms a part, but is a solemn one, which recurs rather frequently in the course of the work: see below.

I proceed now to the promised translation:—

"... On account of all this, we must be content at present to lay the time of the composition of the Bhashya between the two limits;
Menandros-Pushyamitra on one side, Abhimanyu on the other,—or, in round numbers, between 140 B.C. and 60 A.D. The statements about Pushyamitra's sacrifices would lead us nearer to the first term, whereas those on the 'Yavana'—if Kanishka is to be understood—nearer to the second; or if, after all, a Greek prince is to be sought under the 'Yavana,' we are drawn of course quite near to the first term. But all this only under one condition, viz. that these statements are certainly not to be subjected to the possibility that they also represent examples found by Patanjali in previous works! Even in this very indistinctness this result is still a very important one, if we consider the unhappy state of the chronology of Indian literature in general; and the other statements contained in the various examples thus acquire also a prominent value."

"It is true that here also the critic must still for the present raise his warning voice and ask, What guarantee have we of the work, as we now have it, is really still the same as that which, according to the Vîdhyapadîya, was reconstructed (wieder hergestellt) by the efforts of Chandrâchûrya and others," after misfortunes of some duration by which it was vîpîdota,—what happened, according to the Râjâvartanâya, just under king Abhimanyu (see Ind. Studien, vol. V. pp. 159-160)? And if the assumption is decidedly not to be denied that already at this reconstruction there may have crept into the work secondary additions, originally foreign to it,* how is it further with regard to that second statement of the Râjâvartanâya, according to which in Jayâpîla's time, the end of the eighth century, the work was, in Kâsî, again vichhina, and was introduced there anew by skilled men, whom the king ordered to come from another country? Already, in treating of this question for the first time (Ind. Studien, vol. V. pp. 168-169), I have pointed out these difficulties, and called it "audacious to judge on the thorough authenticity of the present text of the Bhdshya already at this time, when we have before us only so small a piece of it." But even now, though we have the whole work before us, I must abide by the same opinion, and I feel obliged to single out the possibility that one or the other statement, which in the sequel we will draw out of the context of the work, does not testify for Patanjali's time, nor for that of Abhimanyu, but merely for that of Jayâpîla. On the other hand, we are allowed at present to speak also of an impression founded on the totality of the work, and that is decidedly favourable to its originality.

As Goldsticker has already stated it, and was the first to do so, the red thread going through the whole work is the polemic against the vîrtikakâra. Now one may ask indeed, Was this really so also originally? or may not rather the fact that we have in it, after all, not so much a commentary on Pâñini, as one to the vîrtikas of Kâtyâyana, be simply the consequence of the work being preserved to us only partially, in such fragments as were still procurable in the eighth century, when it was vichhina again? Such a question could not, indeed, be negatived directly; still there is one point against it which appears of considerable importance. And this is just the special restriction of the work essentially to those sūtras which had been assailed by Kâtyâyana. Its deductions thus attain a unitary character, viz. that of selection. In case the present text was really only a text of fragments, collected in the eighth century, of a commentary on the whole work of Pâñini, such a restriction would be very difficult to explain; we ought then to miss some books and chapters wholly, and have others complete, but we should not have something out of all of them, and moreover not those parts only which relate to the vîrtikas. Truly one may object here,—Well, how do we know that Kâtyâyana did not write vîrtikas to the other rules of Pâñini also? should he not rather have written such to all rules which gave anyhow occasion for it? and when there are preserved only those we have, should this not be simply explained by the Bhdshya's having been preserved to us only in fragments? Now all this might really happen to be so; but the unitary character of the work would not suffer on account of that, as it would continue even then just in that special relation to Kâtyâyana; and it is this very restriction, after all, that appears to testify for its composition by one author, and thus also for its authenticity and originality.

"Truly, it might even thus, in its present form, be "more the work of his pupils than of Patanjali himself." Though one of the arguments which I brought forward in this respect (Ind. Studien, vol. V. pp. 155, 168), viz. that in the body of the work "Patanjali is spoken of only in the third person, and his opinion is introduced several times by the sūtra that is, by vachyam vachyam," no longer holds good. For on one hand we now find in it also many statements expressed in the first person, in the singular or the plural form, in the present or relating to the sequel in the future: thus for instance sastava IV. 66b, pratyakshavichya III. 13b, VIII. 7b, vachya very often, for 'I,' I. 84a, 122a, 150a; III. 7a; IV. 20a; V. 3b; VI. 4 f. 11a; VIII. 2b; anuamsha: I. 113a; sārya IV. VII. 49b,
other hand, according to Bhadraloka, in such sentences as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| VIII. 37b | 1185 | of the work is not disparaged so far that it would not still serve us as a warrant for its authenticity as being in its essential context the work of one author,—with all reserve, of course, for any modifications of this assumption which may possibly still become necessary on the basis of a further and more careful study of the work than I have yet been able to devote to it. With regard, for instance, to the rather numerous cases where we find a sort of self-commentary following a sentence just quoted before, I refer to my remarks in Ind. Studia, vol. V. p. 169; there we might indeed be induced, before all, to seek secondary glosses of the school; here we may add, for instance, also the case mentioned above, at p. 315 (viz. the gloss to द्वियसहिलिकविद्वस्तु). On the other hand, we must still, however, emphasize that, even from the mere formal view, the very manner and style of proceeding in the Bhdahyayana, the connexion and annexion of all those manifold corrections, objections, explanations, memorias (bhadhyas) of the work, is quite manifest and apparent. The real state of things in this respect wants at present a special inquiry still. But, in spite of these two corrections, this much certainly remains of my previous assertion, that on the whole cases where the opinions of the bhadhyayana are presented to us in the first person are relatively rare, and that generally his assertions are given in the third person. Sometimes in such cases he is called even by name directly, though not as Bhadraloka,—a name which, as far as I can see, is not mentioned at all in the work,—but (and this four times) as Gocarna, explained by Kâtyâ as 'bhadhyayana,' and once, according to Nâgâsa, as Goldstãcker informs us, also under the metronymic name Gopikâputra (see I. 4. 511. 2901), against which latter identification, however, I have some real doubts (see these Studies, vol. V. p. 150).† Now whether this quotation of the author in the third person should be taken in a similar way as with Caesar, or whether, like other self-quotations in Sanskrit texts, it should rather be ascribed to the tradition of the work by the school he founded,† see my Academic Lectures on Indian Literature, p. 216 (2nd ed. p. 258),—even by the latter supposition the unitary character

† To my remarks on both names in this passage I add here that Mallinâtha quotes in his schol. of Kâmarü, VII. 90 (see Stenitzer's note in his edition) a passage from the Artha Saṁhitâ of Gauardha.

‡ Rather odd in the mouth of the author, but quite in order, indeed, in the mouth of his school, is the fact that we find in several passages in the Bhdahyayana the work itself quoted by the very name, whether it refer to a passage in the foregoing sthâtriksas, or to one in the sequel, as for instance दैविकात्मक Westermann Prakârits I. 4. 611. 1065 (साधक-तुक्ते श्रवण भावानुभवानाय संस्कृत संस्कृत: Kâtyâsa—see III. 1. 671. 466 et seq.).

§ Here it is that Nâgâsa remarks that under आचार्य always the bhadhyayana is to be understood, and indeed here this explanation suits remarkably, for though the चारण alone might very well refer also to grammar in general, that is to Pâñini, there still follow here after आचार्य the words समासंप्रदायर्यायमा अवकलितम्, which go back to the words in the beginning of the deduction (fol. 60a)—समासंप्रदायर्यायमा अवकलितम्, च. See also similarly, namely, in the large number of the other passages where this formula recurs.
for instance, निदर्शणम्: निरिदर्शणम्: the statement about the punishment of the Garząśas by the kings; on the preeminence of the Pātaiḷ puṭракās over the Sāṅkṣyayakās; on the circuit of the Āryavarta; the comparison of the wealth in corn of the Mādās with that of the Uśīnās; the similar सखुःकारा: सखुःकारा:...; the conclusions साधन ग्रिःस्थति मुहुर्यात्मद्भवन्तं सर्वं ग्रिःस्थति ग्राम्यवर्तये: and similar examples taken from common life, as पुराकाल एतस्तात्... ग्राम्यवर्तये: the same are not indeed no stags, they are no mendicant friars."

The learned (!) translates this as just quoted. Both sentences are, moreover, to be found also in Vīṣṇavya’s Kāmasūhtrā and are quoted there directly by हति वास्यायन: see and in the same sense we find used सुह्रुपदातारायण: VI. 3. 109f. 1046. The words निदर्शन: and निरिदर्शन: ‘to be taught,’ and ‘not to be taught,’ (i.e. ‘superfluous’), are particular indeed, though derived more properly, as it seems, from the vdrīttika style: thus, for instance, गोभ्रापपश्यतः: I. 1.50f. 124b, अद्वैत: एकायन: एकायनसायन: I. 2. 64f. 220a;—the same is to be said of हति ‘dictum of an authority’ (Petersburg Dictionary) in श्रेयस, अनिदर्शन: ‘familiar with the use of speaking,’ II. 4. 56f. 405a; VIII. 2. 106f. 46b,—and of सर्वव्याप: ‘self-evident’; for instance, I. 1. 16f. 46a, III. 2. 123f. 77a. On the solemn juxtaposition of श्रेयस: and अनिदर्शन: see the sequel. Further, the peculiar use of the word तत्ततुत्तु is to be mentioned, which is used as in the dramas as a compound, though specially as a sort of honorific title, ‘master’ as it were, and this in allocation as well as in the third person, thus:—सत्ततुत्तुः एव तत्ततुः: Introd. f. 70: तत्ततुत्तुः ग्राम्यवर्तये: अनहोनो साधनान्तः: IV. 1. 138f. 55b: तत्ततुत्तुः: सर्वव्याप: IV. 1. 104f. 53a: पार्यक्रमितः तत्ततुत्तुः: Introd. f. 31a; I. 1. 48f. 120f; तत्ततुत्तुः बववयो तात्ततुत्तुः: IV. 1. 79f. 33b: तत्ततुत्तुः: श्रेयस: VI. 3. 109f. 104b; compare V. 3. 14 वद्धतः f. 54b, 55a, according to which rule तव and तत्ततु may thus be composed not only with अभस्तः, but also with स्वपणोः। देशोऽविषय: अनिदर्शन:; but examples of these latter compounds are not to hand. Finally, श्रेयस for तत्ततु: V. 3. 55f. 59a, श्रेयस as relating to the genus, and साधन: as relating to grammatical number, II. 2. 24f. 360b, are peculiar words; but I have at present no other passages to adduce for their use.

“When I am now going to single out from the statements contained in the Bhdshya those that appear to me of particular interest, I do so under a double reservation, viz. that (1) all those reserves and doubts adduced in the foregoing are as to their absolute cogency for the time of Patanjali himself may be kept always in sight, and (2) that I do not attempt to give a complete image of all that may be elicited from the contents of the work. Such a task is to be left as yet to the future, and would be best connected with a general Pāyānī glossary, which ought to combine the whole copia verborum to be found in Pāyānī himself and in Madras, Catalogue, f. 312b. One comes here involuntarily to the supposition whether they may not have stood already in Gonaedry’s (i.e. Patanjali’s) Kāmasūhtrā...

* Both theses sentences recur too in the Sūrindaracaritāṇya:

† One ought to expect निदर्शन: Pāyānī’s ग्रिःस्थति: in विद्या and अनिदर्शन: independently of a motive—Ballantyne. [The words निदर्शन: परस्पर: to be taken as a parenthesis.]
the literature immediately connected, and in which the authority for the single words,—that is to say, if they are taken from Panini, from the \textit{vārttikas}, from the \textit{Bhāṣya}, from the \textit{Ganopaṭha}, &c.,—ought to be signalized by certain marks. For such a task there are indeed still required some previous operations of wide extent, viz. besides an exact working through of the whole \textit{Bhāṣya} generally, also special inquiries on the \textit{ganas}. According to \textit{Bhāṭīya} (Intro. p. xxxix.) the \textit{ganas} of the \textit{Kāśīdā} differ from those of the Calcutta edition to such a degree (and both the MSS. at his disposal were, moreover, sometimes so incorrect) that he preferred not to give the various readings at all. Still undoubtedly just in this case such a comparison and verification is very particularly desirable. I venture therefore to express here in prose the present edition of the \textit{Bhāṣya}, may publish also the \textit{Kāśīdā}, which takes its name from their celebrated ancient city, if not on the model of the Calcutta edition of \textit{Pāṇini}, which of course would be preferable, yet at least in the same way as they have published the \textit{Bhāṣya}. According to Colebrooke's testimony (\textit{Miscell. Essay}, vol. II. pp. 9, 40) the \textit{Kāśīdā} is "a perpetual commentary, and explicatur in persuasive language the meaning and application of each rule," adding examples, and quoting in their proper places the necessary emendations from the \textit{Vārttikas} and the \textit{Bhāṣya}. He calls it, \textit{disertis verbis}, the best of all extant commentaries on \textit{Pāṇini}, a judgment in which \textit{Bhāṭīya} also (p. liv.) concurs. An additional advantage is its relatively great age, as it may eventually belong (\textit{Ind. Stud.} V. 67) to the very time when, according to the \textit{Kājataranginī}, the \textit{Mahābhāṣya} was re-introduced into \textit{Kāśmir}, after being for a while incinnam there (ib. V. 167)."

\textit{Berlin.}

\textbf{THE BARIṢĀL GUNS} (ante, p. 214).

While at one time a resident of Barisal, I shared the general curiosity on the subject of the singular gun-reports heard there, and frequently took occasion to make inquiries of the natives concerning them. Though they professed ignorance as to the cause of the more distant explosions, they invariably attributed the nearer ones to the firing of guns at native weddings, which they said was a custom of the district, and they could sometimes supply the name of the person in whose honour the firing in question was proceeding. There seems no reason to doubt that the same explanation applies to the more distant sounds also.

The statement in your last number that the sounds are heard not only from the southerly and south-westerly directions, but also from the north, corresponds with the statement I have met with, that the sounds are heard even as far north as \textit{Dhākkā}. I never myself, however, heard them from any other directions than the south and south-west.

I do not remember to have heard the sounds at any period of the year excepting at the beginning of the rainy season. During the whole of the rainy season a very large extent of the low-lying country there is under water, and the people pass from village to village in boats over the flooded rice-fields,—the southern portion of the district being the portion more especially inundated. Now, we have on record some most remarkable instances of the sound-conducting power of large surfaces of water; as, for example, the mysterious sounds of guns, and other noises, heard sometimes by men becalmed at sea when far away from the ordinary possibilities of hearing.

Now, what the Shabi-barā is to Muhammadans the month \textit{Āṣghāḥa} is to Hindus—the period when marriages are most frequent. This month is the first month of the rainy season, and the weddings are celebrated chiefly during the \textit{Krīṣṇapakṣa} half of the month. Not only in Eastern Bengal, but also in other parts of Hindustān, gun-firing is quite common at Hindu weddings at this season of the year. No mystery appears to exist in connexion with the reports excepting in that part of India which is so generally submerged at this season.

\textit{Query:}—Is it not at least possible that 'the Barisal guns' may be simply the reports of guns fired on the occasion of weddings in distant parts, conveyed to hearing by means of the vast expanse of water which floods the entire Sundarban at the period mentioned?

Could not some of the enlightened Bangāl gentlemen, whose minds are unfettered by fables about the gigantic gates of \textit{Rāvana's} palace, help us in our endeavours to trace the phenomenon to some rational cause?

\textit{Allahabad.}

\textbf{J. D. BATE.}

\textbf{HINDU SACRIFICE.}

"Sacrifice is described as a ship, boat, or ark, pretty much in the same way as 'the Church' in the baptismal service— that they, being delivered from Thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ's Church, and may so pass the wares of this troublesome world, that they may finally come to the land of everlasting life,' &c. In \textit{Rigveda} x. 113, 10, there is a mantra to this effect:
'Give us, O Indra, multitudes of good horses, with which we may offer our oblations by the repetition of the proper sentences—by the prospering of which we may escape all sins. Do thou now accept our service with much regard.' Do thou now lead us safe through all sins by the way of sacrifice.' And we have, in viii. 42, 3, 'O illustrious Varuna, do thou quicken our understanding—we that are practising this ceremony—that we may embark on the good ferrying boat by which we may escape all sins.' On this the Alitareya Brhadartha remarks:—Sacrifice is the good ferrying boat. The black skin is the good ferrying boat. The Word is the good ferrying boat. Having embarked on the Word, one crosses over to the heavenly world.' Alitareya Brhadartha, p. 10. The commentator of the Taittiriya Samhitd remarks thus on the same passage:—'May we also embark on that safe and good ferrying boat of black skin, by which we may at once get over all sins that beset us.' It was not unusual in those days for ferry boats to be made of leather.

Another reason for assimilating the saving boat with the 'Word' is that there was actually a hymn which was called plava, 'raft' or 'boat,' and it was to be used daily. The plava is used daily. Those who complete the sahakshara sacrifices have to dip in the Sea [so called from the excessive depth of the Sacrifice, according to the commentator.] He who dips in the Sea [so called from the black skin, by which we at once get over all sins.] It leads to the attainment of the celestial raft never gets out of it. Where there is the sacrifice the good ferrying boat of the Word, one crosses over to the heavenly world.' Alitareya Brhadartha, p. 293. Sacrifice has accordingly been held in all Vedic treatises as the great remedy for sins and trespasses. It is at the same time both a satisfaction for heinous and moral offences, and an atonement for trivial mistakes and transgressions. Kātyāyana says that sacrifice procures heaven, and 'heaven' is a word which stands for the highest happiness. The commentator of the Taittiriya Samhitd tells us that it is Nirriti, or the Sin deity, that is a disturber of sacrifices.

'It is manifest that the sacrificial ritual did not tranquillize the Brāhmaṇical mind. It still brooded over theories of many kinds, it bestowed itself to philosophy, and even submitted to accept lessons from its hated rival, Buddhism, but without any tranquillizing result. They seem to have had an idea that there must be a really saving sacrifice, and that their own ritual was but its distant reflection. We repeat an expression we have already cited above, that 'Prajapati, or the Lord of creatures, is Sacrifice, for he made it a reflection (pratima) of himself. And he is further called 'atmāda,' or giver of self, whose shadow, whose death, is immortality (to us).']—Bauerjes's Aryan Witness.

NĀMAMĀLĪ AND PĀLĪ GRAMMARS.

Suālātī Uṇāṇa, the Buddhist priest of Waskawuwa in Ceylon, is already well known as the careful editor of the Abbhādha-pāṇḍya-jāk, a native Pālī gossary, which, until the appearance of Children's great work, was the only lexicographical help available to Pālī students. He has now published a work entitled Nāmamālī, or "The Garland of Nouns," a treatise in Sinhalese on the grammar of Pālī nouns and adverbs. The introduction—extending to more than a hundred pages—contains a most valuable summary of all that is known to the native pandits concerning the history of Pālī grammar, and gives the author's name and date, the length in stanzas or cantus, and quotations of the first and last verses of no less than sixty-four Pālī grammars still known in Ceylon.—The Academy.

Prof. P. Wüstefeld has completed his auto-lithographic edition of El-Bekry's Geographical Dictionary, in 864 pages. The work of writing it for the lithographic press must have been a severe labour, and it must be admitted that, the edition is a marvel of clearness, and far pleasanter to the eye than a printed Arabic book. Prof. Wüstefeld has added an excellent index, which will obviate the trouble caused by the author having arranged the articles in the order of the Maghraby alphabet.—The Academy.

NOTES.

The Spanish Government has founded a Chair for Sanskrit in the University of Madrid, to which the first Professor appointed is Francisco Maria Rívero, a gentleman who has studied Sanskrit in Germany, France, and England, and is at present engaged in preparing a Sanskrit Grammar for his Spanish pupils, and is editing the Hitopadeśa, with Spanish notes and a Glossary for the same.

Mr. Redhouse has issued a pamphlet in "Vindication of the Ottoman Sultan's title of 'Khalif,' showing its antiquity, validity, and universal acceptance." In it the author holds recent assertions to the contrary to be erroneous, "from the title being no new assumption, but dating from A.D. 1517, and gradually and generally admitted by the orthodox world of Islam since; and futile, even were the legal argument solid, because, after 300 years of possession, it would be too late to question the right." (Vide ante, p. 231.)

Mr. A. Giles, of H. M. China Consular Service, has published at Shanghai a translation from the Chinese, entitled Records of the Buddhistic Kingdoms.

Last year the author of this volume contributed a specimen episode of his translation of the Rámâyana of Tulsi Dás to the pages of this journal (sec vol. V. pp. 213-221), with a few introductory remarks, and we gladly welcome this first installment of an excellent version of the most popular of Hindi poems. A handsome edition of the text, we are told, was issued by the Baptist Mission Press of Calcutta many years ago, but it has long been out of print, and the original is now only to be read in lithograph or hand-written type. Though the subject is the same as that of the great epic of Vālmikī, it is, as Mr. Growse remarks, “in no sense a translation of the earlier work; the general plan and the management of the incidents are necessarily much the same, but there is a difference in the touch in every detail; and the two poems vary as widely as any two dramas on the same mythological subject by two different Greek tragedians. Even the coincidence of names is an accident; for Tulsi Dás himself called his poem the Rám-chart-mána, and the shorter name, corresponding in form to the Itihaš or Hitavīd, was only substituted by his admirers as a handler designation for a popular favourite.” Further, “in both, the first book brings the narrative precisely to the same point, viz., the marriage of Rāma and Sītā. But with Tulsi Dás it is much the longest book of the seven, and forms all but a third of the complete work, while in the Saṅskṛīti it is the shortest but one.” (Introductory pp. i. ii.) The two “agree only in the broadest outline. The episodes so freely introduced by both poets are for the most part entirely dissimilar; and even in the main narrative some of the most important incidents, such as the breaking of the bow and the contention with Parasurām, are differently placed and assume a very altered complexion.” (p. iv.) Of Tulsi Dás himself little is known, but what information is available has been collected by Mr. Growse in his introduction. The earliest notice of him is in the Bhakt-mdld, usually ascribed to Nābha Jī, “himself one of the leaders of the [Vaishnava] reform, which had its centre at Brindābān; but the poem as we now have it, was awariously edited, if not entirely written, by one of his disciples named Nārāyaṇ Dás, who lived during the reign of Shahjahān. A single stanza is all that is ordinarily devoted to each personage, who is panegyrized with reference to his most salient characteristics in a style that might be described as of unparalleled obscurity, were it not that each such separate portion of the text is followed by a tīkā or gloss, written by one Priya Dás in the Sambat year 1769 (1713 A.D.), in which confusion is still worse confounded by a series of the most disjointed and inexplicit allusions to different legendary events in the saint's life.” Mr. Growse then gives the text both of Nābha Jī’s stanza and of Priya Dás’s tīkā—the latter in 44 slokas,—with translations, and Prof. H. H. Wilson’s notice of Tulsi Dás, founded apparently on a prose rendition of the Bhakt-mdld. We quote the translation of the first of these:

“For the redemption of mankind in this perverse Kali Yuga, Vālmikī has been born again as Tulsi. The verses of the Rámâyana composed in the Treta Yuga are a hundred coves in number; but a single letter has redeeming power, and would work the salvation of one who had even committed the murder of a Brāhmaṇ. Now again as a blessing to the faithful he has taken birth and published the sportive actions of the god. Intoxicated with his passion for Rāma’s feet, he perseveres day and night in the accomplishment of his vow, and has supplied as it were a boat for the easy passage of the boundless ocean of existence. For the redemption of man in this perverse Kali Yuga, Vālmikī has been born again as Tulsi.”

From his own works and from tradition, Mr. Growse gathers that he commenced the composition of his Rámâyana at Ayodhyā in 1575 A.D., and that he studied for some time at Soron. He was a Kanaujīya Brāhmaṇ; and in the Bhakt-Sūr-dūs—“a modern poem of no great authority”—it is said “that his father’s name was Atmā Rām, and that he was born at Hastinapur. Others make Hājīpur, near Chitrakūṭ, the place of his birth. The greater part of his life was certainly spent at Banaras, though he also passed some years in visits to Soron, Ayodhyā, Chitrakūṭ, Allahabad, and Brindābān. He died in the Sambat year 1680 (1624 A.D.).” Two MSS of his great work are said to exist in his own handwriting—one at Rājapur, and the other in the temple of Sītā Rāma which he founded at Banaras. Besides the Rámâyana he wrote at least six other poems, all with the object of popularizing the worship of Rāma. They are the Rāmdgītāvali (used as a textbook in the Government examinations in Hindi), Dohāvali, the Kaśīvānadwīthi, the Bīnay Patrikā (printed for the college of Fort William in 1828), the Pañ Rámâyana, and the Chhandāvali. To these are sometimes added “the following minor works, as to the genuineness of which there is considerable doubt, viz. the Rdm-Śālākā, the Hanumāna Bāhuka, the Jānaki Māngal, the Pārvati Māngal, the Frānuk Māngal,
the Karkā Chhand, the Rori Chhand, and the Ḣubād Chhand." (pp. xii., xiii.)

The translation of this Hindi epic appears to be executed in a scholarly style, and is carefully edited throughout with footnotes explanatory of the mythological allusions. While thanking the translator for this instalment of so important a work, we trust he will be encouraged to hasten the completion of it.


The great Warren Hastings was a statesman far ahead of his age, able to appreciate heartily, and willing to encourage to the extent of his powers, whatever tended to increase the reputation and influence of his country, or add to human knowledge and comfort. When the Teshu Lama, therefore, in 1774, sent to intercede on behalf of the Bhutanese, whom he had found it necessary to chastise for their raids upon our north-eastern frontier, he lost no time in sending a return mission under George Bogle, a young Scot, whose energy and capacity he well knew, and, with his instructions, gave him a quantity of potatoes that he might plant a few at each favourable halting-place, in the hope of introducing the cultivation of this useful article of food into Central Asia. We shall probably never learn whether it was from this experiment or not that the Tibetans did come to use the vegetable as they now do. Mr. Bogle resided for a considerable while with the Teshu Lama, who became warmly attached to him. Warren Hastings was greatly pleased with his success, and, had he been allowed, would have followed it up, but when Bogle returned in 1775 he found a sad change at Calcutta: the great statesman was deprived of all power by the malignant opposition of Philip Francis and the other members of Council, whom he made tools of to frustrate the designs of the Governor-General, and nothing more was done.

Bogle died early in 1781. The only account of his journey is contained in the hasty and desultory jottings made from day to day in his note-book, of which Mr. Markham has made the best. "Good or bad," he remarks, "it stands alone. No other countryman of ours has ever followed Manning's footsteps. And, to those who know how to find it, there is much wheat to be gathered from amongst Mr. Manning's chaff."

The long introduction, extending over 110 pages, is not the least important part of the work; as preliminary to the narratives it gives a comprehensive geographical sketch of Tibet, Bhutan, and Nepal, followed by accounts of the religion, tribes, Lamas, and Romish missions, the surveys of the Chinese and their interference, our relations to Bhutan and Nepal, the explorations in Tibet made by the 'Pañjila' sent out by the Great Trigonometrical Survey, and the maps. Early and later, of the Himalayan countries. This is followed by well-written short biographical sketches of Bogle and Manning, occupying some 30 more pages. At the end, an Appendix of 46 pages contains—1, an account of the travels of Johann Gruber, Jesuit, 1656, from Astley's Voyages; 2, a letter from Father I. Desideri, 1716, from Du Halde's Lettres Eclairantes; and 3, an account of Tibet by Fr. F. O. della Penna di Billi, 1730, from Klaproth in the Journal Asiatique (Lime Sér. t. XIV. p. 177).

The work is illustrated by good maps, a portrait of Warren Hastings, and a number of woodcuts. A full index and the editing of Mr. Markham, which is a model of excellence, render the book invaluable to all requiring information connected with the commerce, government, ethnology, and religions of the countries to the north of India, and must make it a favourite with the lover of books of travel and rare adventure.
OBSErvant European travellers when they first arrive at Bombay cannot fail to be struck with the interesting contrasts which everywhere meet the eye. Perhaps the most remarkable of such contrasts is that afforded by the different methods adopted by the adherents of different creeds for the disposal of their dead.

There in Bombay one may see, within a short distance of each other, the Christian cemetery, the Muhammadan graveyard, the Hindu burning-ground, and the Parsi Dakhmas, or Towers of Silence. The latter, five in number, with a sixth—which is square instead of circular—used for criminals, are, as most Anglo-Indians know, at the summit of Malabar Hill, in a beautiful garden, amid tropical trees swarming with vultures. I obtained leave to visit these towers in the autumn of 1875, and again shortly after my second arrival in India last year.

A correct model of the principal tower was then kindly presented to me by order of Sir Jamsetji Jijibhai, and a careful examination of its structures enables me to describe its dimensions with accuracy. Towers they have certainly no right to be called, for their height is out of all proportion to their diameter. The chief tower may be described as an upright cylindrical stone structure, in shape and solidity not unlike a gigantic millstone, about fourteen feet high and ninety feet in diameter, resting on the ground in the centre of the garden. It is built throughout of solid granite, except in the centre, where a well, ten feet deep and about fifteen across, leads down to an excavation under the masonry, containing four drains at right angles to each other, terminated by holes filled with charcoal. Round the upper and outer edge of this solid cylinder, and completely hiding the interior surface from view, is a high stone parapet. This is constructed so as to seem to form one piece with the solid stone work, and being, like it, covered with chunam, gives the whole erection, when viewed from the outside, the appearance of a low tower. Clearly one great object aimed at by the builders simply because they contained almost invisible veins of quartz, through which it was possible that impure particles might find their way, and be carried, in the course of centuries, by percolating moisture, into the soil.

Earth, water, and fire are, according to Zoroaster, sacred symbols of the wisdom, goodness, and omnipotence of the Deity, and ought never, under any circumstances, to be defiled. Especially ought every effort to be made to protect Mother Earth from the pollution which would result if putrefying corpses were allowed to accumulate in the ground. (Yan.vidâdâ iii. 27.) Hence the disciples of Zoroaster spare neither trouble nor expense in erecting solid and impervious stone platforms fourteen feet thick for the reception of their dead. The cost of erection is greatly increased by the circumstance that the towers ought always to be placed on high hills, or in the highest situations available. (Vand. vi. 93.) I was informed by the Secretary that the largest of the five towers was constructed at an outlay of three lakhs of rupees.

The upper surface of the massive granite column is divided into compartments by narrow grooved ridges of stone, radiating like the spokes of a wheel from the central well. These stone ridges form the sides of seventy-two shallow open receptacles or coffins, arranged in three concentric rings. The ridges are grooved—that is, they have narrow channels running down their whole length, which channels are connected by side ducts with the open coffins, so as to convey all moisture to the central well and into the lower drains. The number three is emblematical of Zoroaster’s three moral precepts, ‘ Good thoughts, good words, and good deeds,’ (Vand. v. 67), and the seventy-two open stone receptacles represent the seventy-two chapters of his Yasna, a portion of the Zend-Avesta.

Each concentric circle of open stone coffins has a pathway surrounding it, the object of which is to make each receptacle accessible to the corpse-bearers. Hence there are three concentric circular pathways, the outermost of which is immediately below the parapet, and these three pathways are crossed by another conducting from the solitary door which admits...
the corpse-bearers from the exterior, and which must face the east, to catch the rays of the rising sun. In the outermost circle of the stone coffins, which stands for 'good deeds,' are placed the bodies of males; in the middle, symbolizing 'good words,' those of females; in the inner and smallest circle, nearest the well, representing 'good thoughts,' those of children. Each tower is consecrated with solemn religious ceremonies, and after its consecration no one, except the corpse-bearers—not even a high-priest—is allowed to enter.

On the occasion of my second visit I was accompanied, as before, by the courteous Secretary of the Parsi Panchâyat, and was permitted to witness the funeral of a Môbed, or one of the second order of priests, whose flowing white costumes (supposed to be emblematical of purity) are everywhere conspicuous in the Bombay streets. I may here mention parenthetically that I believe the word Mobed is merely a corruption of a Zend word equivalent to Sanskrit Maga-pati, 'chief of the Magians.' Dâstûr, the name of the high-priest, is a modern Persian word, the best equivalent for which would perhaps be 'chief ruler.' The lowest order of priests, named Her-bad, are little better than menials, and are not allowed to officiate at ceremonies. In the Zand-Avastâ the whole priestly class are called Athravan (in Pazand Athen). In the present day the rest of the community—the laymen in fact, who are neither Dasturs nor Mobeds nor Her-bads—are styled Behadin or Behdin, that is, 'followers of the best religion.'

I reached the garden surrounding the towers about half an hour before sunset. At that time the funeral procession was already winding up the hill. The deceased man had died early in the morning, and a rule of the Parsi religion requires that no corpse shall be exposed on the platform of the towers, to be consumed by birds of prey, unless the rays of the sun can first fall on it. Foremost in the procession walked a man carrying a loaf or two of bread wrapped up in a cloth. Then came the bier, which was flat and made of iron bars, having the body of the deceased stretched out upon it, covered only with a white sheet, and borne by four bearers, followed, by two assistants. These corpse-bearers are called Nasasadâr. They are, of course, Parsis, but from the nature of their occupation are supposed to contract impurity, and are not associated with the rest of the community. They are, however, well cared for and well paid.

After the bearers, at an interval of a few yards, followed a man leading a white dog, and behind him a long procession of at least a hundred priests in their long robes of spotless white, besides relations of the deceased, also in white garments, walking in pairs, each couple following closely on the other, and each man connected with his fellow by a handkerchief held between them in token of sympathy and fellow-feeling. The procession advanced to a point about thirty yards distant from the portal of the largest tower. There it stood still for a minute while the dog was brought towards the corpse, made to look at the features of the dead man, and then fed with bread. This part of the ceremony is called sugdâd. Meanwhile all who followed the bier turned round, and walked back to the sagrâ, or house of prayer containing a fire-sanctuary, which is erected near the entrance to the garden. There they chanted prayers while the corpse-bearers entered the tower with the dead body, and exposed it naked in one of the receptacles on the stone platform. Their appointed task being then completed, they instantly quitted the tower, and were seen to repair to a reservoir of water near at hand, where they went through a process of thorough ablution, changing all their clothes, and depositing the cast-off garments in an open stone pit, almost hidden from view, on one side of the garden.

It is noteworthy that the fire-sanctuary of the sagrâ has a window or aperture so arranged that when the sacred fire is fed with sandal-wood fuel by the veiled priest, just before the corpse-bearers enter the tower, a ray from the flame may be projected over the dead body at the moment of its exposure. The theory is that the light of the sun and the light of the sacred fire ought to consecrate the mortal remains of the deceased before they are consumed by the birds. There is, at any rate, some poetical if not true religious sentiment in this hypothesis, and the bereaved relations appear to derive consolation from it; but whether the position of the sun and fire made this double consecration possible is doubtful. To us spectators on the
occasion I am recording, it was evident that a beam from the setting sun and a ray from the sacred fire had barely opportunity to fall on the corpse at all; for scarcely had the bearers left the tower and closed the portal ere forty or fifty vultures, before seated motionless on the stone parapet, swooped down on their prey. In ten minutes they all flew back again—they had finished their work. The body was reduced to a skeleton before the mourners in the 4ayri had finished their prayers. It should be mentioned that in three or four weeks after the funeral the bones are removed from the open coffin and reverently placed in the central well, where the dust of the dead, whether of high or low degree, is left to commingle undisturbed for centuries.

When I inquired about the meaning of the dog, I was told that, according to the teaching of Zoroaster, dogs as well as birds are regarded as sacred animals,† and were formerly allowed to consume the dead bodies of Parsis. In the present day a representative dog kept for the purpose accompanies the corpse, and is fed with bread as a substitute for the flesh of the dead body. Moreover, dogs are supposed to possess some mysterious power in preserving the spirits of men from the attacks of demons‡; and if the funeral dog is not fed, and made to look at the corpse, the soul of the deceased will assuredly be assailed by evil spirits during the three days which intervene between death and judgment.

I should state here that in the belief of the Parsis the soul of the deceased man is supposed to hover about in a restless state for the three days immediately succeeding death, in the neighbourhood of the Dakhmas, where also swarms of evil spirits congregate. On the morning of the fourth day the soul is taken to judgment, which is passed on it by Mithra and the angels. It has then to pass a narrow bridge called Chinvat-peretum, 'the bridge where decision is pronounced.' The souls of the sinful, being unable to pass this bridge, imagined to be sharp as a razor, fell into hell on endeavouring to cross over. The Zand-Austad even gives the names of certain dogs believed to protect the souls of men from the assaults of evil demons before crossing the bridge. The Vasideudd (viii. 41, 42), moreover, states that the devil called Nasus is frightened away by a yellow dog with four eyes, and that such a dog is to be led along the road of a funeral procession three times.

It is on this account, as was explained to me by a learned Parsi, that the funeral dog is supposed to be four-eyed—that is to say, it is supposed to have two real eyes and two round spots like eyes, just above the actual eyes. I was told, too, that many yellowish-white dogs in India have this peculiarity, and that the Parsis try to procure such dogs, and keep them for their funeral processions. I observed nothing of the kind in the funeral dog on the occasion of the particular funeral I have here recorded; but it struck me (before I knew that the same idea had occurred to German scholars) that the singular practice of leading a white dog at the head of the procession points to the common origin of the Parsi and Hindu religions; for in the latter system the god of death, Yama, has two four-eyed brindled watchdogs, children of Saram,§ who guard the road to his abode, and whose favour and protection against evil spirits are invoked every day by pious Hindus when they perform the kākak-bali, or offering of rice to crows, dogs, and animals at the end of the vaivasvatā ceremony before the midday meal. The mantra recited is as follows:—Dhūn śāyātnā yajama-bhalaṃ Vaiśnavatā-kulodhavan te bhūyāṇ pinḍaṃ mayā datto rakshatām pathi mām saadd,—"May the two dogs, dark and brindled, born in this family of Yama, protect me ever on the road! To them I present an offering of food."

Having thus attempted to give some idea of the nature of a Parsi funeral, and of the unique arrangements by which the Parsis endeavour to carry out the precepts of their prophet Zoroaster in the disposal of their dead, it will not be inappropriate if I close this paper with a brief account of the initiatory ceremonies performed on admission of young Parsis to the Zoroastrian religion, and their incorporation as members of the Parsi society.

I may first mention that according to the pure form of the Zoroastrian faith—as proposed X. 14. 10 as the mother of Yama's dogs, called in the Mādhavārata, Adi-parvan 671, Derāsūrī. In the Rīg-veda this dog is said to have tracked and recovered the cows stolen by the Pans. Saram is even said to be the author of part of the Rīg-veda, X. 108.
pounded by learned Parsis of the present day—Ormazd (sometimes written Hormazd, contracted from the full expression Ahura Mazda) is the name of the Supreme Being, to whom there is no equal, and who has no opponent. It is a mistake to suppose that Ormazd is opposed to a being called Ahriman, commonly regarded as the spirit of evil. The true doctrine is that Ormazd has created two forces in nature, not necessarily antagonistic, but simply alternating with each other—the one a force of creation, construction, and preservation; the other a force of decay, dissolution, and destruction. The first of these forces is named Spenta-mainyus, while the second or destructive power is commonly called Ahriman, or Hariman, for Anhraman (or Anhro-malmjus Anhro~), corresponds to Ormazd. In later times the purity of the original doctrine became corrupted, and Ahriman was personified as a spirit of evil. In fact, all the evils in the world, whether moral or physical, are now attributed to Ahriman, while Ormazd is erroneously held to be the antagonistic principle of good. It is contended, too, that the Parsi religion is properly pure Monotheism, in spite of its apparent dualism, and that the elements and all the phenomena of Nature are merely revered as creations of the one God, and symbolic of his power.

There can be little doubt, however, that with the majority of Parsis the elements are regarded as simple manifestations or emanations of the Deity, and that which is called Monotheism is really a kind of Pantheism very similar to that of Brahmanism. The absence of all image-worship, however, is very refreshing after the hideous idolatry of the Hindu system.

So much for the Parsi creed; and now for a few words as to the form of admission into the charmed circle of the Parsi community.

It is a controverted point whether if any outsider wished to become a Parsi it would be possible, even in theory, to entertain the question of his being admitted to membership by his making public confession of his faith in the Zoroastrian system. As a matter of fact no one is at present allowed to become a Parsi unless he is born a Parsi. No provision seems to exist for the reception of converts, and the only form of admission is for the children of Parsis, though occasionally the children of non-Parsi mothers by Parsi fathers are permitted to become members of that community. Nevertheless it is certain, from a particular form of prayer still used by Parsi priests, that Zaroster himself enjoined on his disciples the duty of making proselytes, and had in view a constant accession of fresh adherents, who were all to be received as converts, provided they were willing to go through certain prescribed ceremonies.

With regard to the children of Parsi parents, every boy is admitted to membership as a disciple of the Zoroastrian religion some time between the age of seven and nine, but more usually at seven years of age, in the following manner. He is first taken to one of the fire-temples, and in a room outside the sanctuary made to undergo a kind of baptism—that is to say, he is placed nearly naked on a stone seat, and water is poured over his head from a lota by a Mobed appointed to perform the rite. Next, the child is taken out into an open area, made to sit on another stone seat, and required to eat one or two leaves of the pomegranate tree—a tree held very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at very sacred by the Parsis, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (Yusna viii. 4.)
wards whenever the girdle is taken off or put on again. (Kurdah-Avesta iv.) The sacred shirt and girdle are the two most important outward signs and symbols of Parsiisin, and an impostor laying claim to the privileges of the Zoroastrian religion would be instantly detected by the absence of those signs, or by his wrong use of them. But they are far more than outward signs,—they are supposed to serve as a kind of spiritual panoply. Unprotected by this armour a man would be perpetually exposed to the assaults of evil spirits and demons, and even be liable to become a demon himself. The shirt is made of the finest white linen or cambric. It has a peculiar form at the neck, and has a little empty bag in front to show that the wearer holds the faith of Zoroaster, which is supposed to he entirely spiritual, and to have nothing material about it. The second shirt has also two stripes at the bottom, one on each side, and each of these stripes is separated into three, to represent the six divisions of each half-year.

It has also a heart, symbolical of true faith, embroidered in front. The kusli or girdle is made of seventy-two interwoven woollen threads, to denote the seventy-two chapters of the Yasna, but has the appearance of a long flat cord of pure white wool, which is wound round the body in three coils. Each end of the girdle is divided into three, and these three ends again into two parts. Every Parsi ought to take off this girdle and restore it to its proper position round the body at least five times a day. He has to hold it in a particular manner with both hands; and touching his forehead with it to repeat a prayer in Zand invoking the aid of Ormazd (Ahura-Mazda) for the destruction of all evil beings, evil doers, especially tyrannical rulers, and imploring pardon for evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds. The girdle must then be coiled round the body three times and fastened with two particular knots (said to represent the sun and moon), which none but a Parsi can tie in a proper manner. Every Parsi boy is taught the whole process with great solemnity at his first initiation. When the ceremony is concluded the high-priest pronounces a benediction, and the young Parsi is from that moment admitted to all the rights and privileges of perhaps one of the most flourishing and united communities in the world.

Oxford, June 1877.

ON THE QUESTION WHETHER POLYANDRY EVER EXISTED IN NORTHERN HINDUSTAN.

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D., EDINBURGH.

In reference to the conclusion which in a former article* I have drawn from the story of Drangapadi, that, though polyandry had died out in the plains of northern Hindustan at the period when the Mahabharata was compiled, it yet appears to have existed there at a remoter period, a learned friend has stated to me that he doubts whether polyandry ever was an Aryan custom, and can be sanctioned by texts or inferences from the Vedas. I do not pretend to have examined the Vedic hymns and Brahmanas with a view to discover whether they contain allusions to any practices connected with the relations of the sexes which were disapproved, or had fallen into disuse, at a later period. I am only aware of one custom which appears to have existed in the Vedic age, although under what conditions does not appear, while it is only recognized by Manu under certain restrictions. I allude to the practice of a widow cohabiting with a brother-in-law, which seems to be referred to in Rigveda, x. 40. 2. (See my Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. V. p. 459.) Manu allows such unions of a widow with a brother-in-law, or other relative of her deceased husband, to continue only till one, or at most two, sons have been begotten, and declares that they must then cease (ix. 59-62). In the verses which follow (64-69), he either restricts such temporary unions to classes below the twice-born, or (in contradiction with what precedes) condemns them altogether.

But the question arises whether the compilers of the Vedas and Brahmanas would be likely to bring forward anything found among the materials at their disposal which had become obsolete, or which clashed with their own ideas of what was proper or laudable. We do,

* In the September part of this journal, ante, p. 2604, and p. 2625.
no doubt, find a reference to a fact which the Brāhmaṇas of later times would perhaps have preferred to ignore, viz., that in former times men of their caste had received instruction from Kṛṣṇaṇīyasa. For Manu allows a student to learn the Veda from one who is not a Brāhmaṇa only in cases of calamity or necessity.† (See my former article, p. 252a, at the bottom.) But would they be likely to refer to antiquated practices often, and especially in the case of such as they had come decidedly to disapprove, like polyandry?

The particular question to be now settled is whether the Pāṇḍu and their relatives are represented to us in the Mahābhārata as altogether belonging to tribes whose entire practices were of such a character as harmonized with pure Hindu ideas of later ages.

Pāṇḍu, the father of the five brothers, is related in that poem to have had two wives, Pṛithā or Kuntī (Mahābhārata, 4415ff.), and Mādri (Mahāb. i. 4429ff.). Pāṇḍu, however, having been doomed by the curse of a sage to die in the embraces of his wife (vv. 4588ff.), resolves to relinquish family life and become an ascetic (vv. 4597ff.), and goes to the forest (4615), but accompanied by his wives (4630). The two wives, however, bear sons to different gods: Kuntī three sons to Dharma, Vāyu, and Indra respectively (vv. 4765ff., 4772, and 4791), and Mādri two sons to the Śāvis (vv. 4850ff.).‡

Mādri was the sister of Śalya, king of the Madras. In two passages (Sêtapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 6. 3. 1, and xiv. 6. 7. 1—Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad, pp. 569 and 611 of the Calcutta text, and pp. 194 and 199 of the English translation) mention is made of Kāpya Patañjala, a Brāhmaṇical teacher, as living in their country, and nothing is said against the manners of the people. Again, in the third book of the Mahābhārata (vv. 6620ff.) Aśvapati, a king of the same country, is praised as righteous and pious. Yet in two speeches in the eighth book (or Karṇaparvan, vv. 1836ff. and 2028ff., addressed by Karṇa to Śalya), the Bāhikas, Madras, Gandharas, and other tribes of the Panjáb, are strongly censured for the dissoluteness of their manners. Some extracts on this subject have been adduced from the latter passage in Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. II. pp. 482f.§

The tribes in question are there described as the lowest of men, unfit to be associated with, as faithless to their friends, liars, dishonest, as assembling males and females and slaves promiscuously, and eating fish and the flesh of kine, drinking spirits, screaming, laughing, the women as dancing undressed and drunk, and as unrestrained in their sexual intercourse (vv. 1836-1851). An old Brāhmaṇa, who had lived in the country, gives a long account in a similar strain, depicting the people as shameless in their cohabitation, as having no Vedas, or religious knowledge, or sacrifices, &c. (vv. 2038ff.). In v. 2081ff., we have the following important statement:—"A certain virtuous woman, having been formerly carried away from the Ārāṇṭa (country), and violated by robbers, uttered this curse: 'Because ye violate me, a young female, who have relatives, the women of your tribe shall become licentious. Never, vilest of men, shall ye be freed from this dreadful sin.' Wherefore their sisters' sons, and not their 'own' sons, (are) the heirs of their property."[||]

† See also the translations of Prof. H. H. Wilson and Masson. Troyer and Fauche referred to in a note below.

‡ This line has, I find, been translated by Professor H. H. Wilson, in his Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir (Aristic Researches, vol. XV. p. 101), as follows:—"On this account their heirs are their sisters' children, not their own." The entire verse has been rendered by M. Troyer in the appendix to his Rādīqatangīt, vol. I. p. 507, thus,—."Oui, vous, derniers des hommes, purifiiez-vous de ces crimes atroces. Sinon, ce ne seront pas vos fils, mais ceux de vos sœurs, qui seront vos héritiers." The original, however, has nothing answering to sinon, nor has it any substantive verb in the future tense. Troyer adds this note, which I translate from the French:—"This custom of succession (i.e., of sisters' sons being a man's heirs) is found among the Nairs, and other tribes in which polyandry reigns." In M. Fauche's translation of the verse, which runs as follows:—"Ne vouliez pas exposer ce crime abominable; et pour cette impéritence n'ayez ni fils, ni neveu qui soient les héritiers de vos biens," the concluding words do express the true sense.\n
† Compare Kumārīka Bhaṭṭa's censures of Buddha, who was a Kaliṣṭrīya, for assuming the office of a teacher, and thereby encroaching on the province of the Brāhmaṇas: Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. I. pp. 506f.

§ See Prof. Monier Williams's Indian Epic Poetry, pp. 94, 980.
rule which prevails where polyandry exists, that
sisters' sons, and not sons of his own, are a
man's heirs, because, of course, in the peculiar
circumstances, it cannot be determined by whom
the latter were really begotten. On this subject
I quote a passage from Mr. Walter Hamilton's
Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description
of Hindostan, &c., vol. II. p. 290 (edition
of 1820). "The Nair's marry before they are
ten years of age, but the husband never cohabits
with his wife. He allows her oil, clothing,
ornaments, and food, but she remains in her
mother's house, or after her parent's death with
her brothers, and cohabits with any person she
chooses of an equal or higher rank than her
own. In consequence of this strange arrange-
ment, no Nair knows his own father, and every
man considers his sisters' children as his heirs.
His mother manages the family, and after her
death the eldest sister assumes the direction. A
Nair's moveable property on his decease is
equally divided among the sons and daughters
of all his sisters." See also Mr. J. F. McLennan's
Studies in Ancient History, pp. 149f.

I do not go the length of asserting categori-
cally that the words last quoted from the Mahá-
bháráta, as to a man's sisters' sons being his
heirs among the tribes referred to, prove his-
torically the existence of polyandry in the Panjab
at, or before, the period when they were written.
But it is certainly remarkable, if not indeed 'un-
accountable, that such words should be found
in that book if they do not owe their existence
to the fact of such a custom being actually pre-
valent at the time when they were penned, or
not long previously.

Sálya makes (v. 2112ff.) but a brief reply
to Karça's denunciation; is silent as to the
truth of the charges made, but alleges that in
Añgá, the country of which his assailant is
king, it is the custom to abandon the sick, and
for men to sell their own wives and children.
He says that there are everywhere Bráhmañas,
Kehatris, Vaśiyás, and Súdras, and virtuous
and devoted women, with righteous kings, who
control the wicked; and, at the same time, most
vicious men. People are, he remarks, quick
in detecting the faults of others, but do not
observe, or delude themselves in respect of,
their own, and urges that no man is neces-
sarily bad from being the native of a particular
country, but is such in consequence of his own
nature.

In regard to the differences in manners be-
tween the peoples of the Panjab and those of
Hindustán further to the eastward, I repeat here
the words of Professor Weber, freely translated
in Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. II. p. 354, from
the Indische Studien, vol. I. p. 220, and said by
him to be founded on data furnished by Páníni:

"The north-western tribes retained their an-
cient customs, which the other tribes who
migrated to the east had at one time shared.
The former kept themselves free from the in-
fuences of the hierarchy and of caste, which
arose among the latter as a necessary conse-
quence of their residence among people of alien
origin (the aborigines). But the later orthodox
feelings of the more eastern Aryans obliterated
the recollection of their own earlier freedom,
and caused them to detest the kinsred tribes to
the westward as renegades, instead of looking
on themselves as men who had abandoned their
own original institutions."[7]

P.S.—The learned friend who is referred to
at the commencement of this paper has, after
becoming acquainted with its contents, stated
to me his opinion that, although the passage
which I have quoted in it from the Kárṣa-
pavran of the Mahábháráta goes far to prove
that polyandry existed among the tribes of the
Panjab, yet that this is a different thing from
admitting it to have ever been an established
institution; and remarks that the polyandry
alluded to in that passage was of a purely
licentious character. As this custom is not
known to have been practised in the Panjab
for a long time past, it will perhaps be the
safest conclusion to draw provisionally from
the premises furnished in this and in my pre-
ceding paper, that though polyandry, or a
promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, may
have prevailed more or less there in early
times, yet that the former practice could not
have been widely spread or recognized as a
national institution. I shall be glad, however,
if an; student of Indian antiquity is able to
throw further light on the subject.

† In my former article, p. 251c, last line, I observe an
erratum, rajas for rajas. In regard to note 5, page 280, I
am informed by Dr. Büttner that he would understand
upadras there in the usual sense of 'calamity,' and would
render the line in which it occurs thus: "a man without
Rich, Yajus, or Sáman is a calamity created by Prajapati."
REPORT UPON INSCRIPTIONS IN THE NORTH-CENTRAL PROVINCE AND THE HAMBANTOTA DISTRICT OF CEYLON.

BY THE LATE P. GOLDSCHMIDT, PH.D.

I have until lately confined my examinations to the rich mines of the North-Central Province; and even there only the numerous inscriptions at Anuradhapura, Mihintala, Polonnaruwa, and at some other places, as Dambulla, Miner, Maradikadawala, have been photographed. In the month of June I have been travelling through the Hambantota District of the Southern Province, with a view of taking first a general survey of the material to be found there.*

I propose to open my report with an account of the most ancient inscriptions belonging to a time anterior to the Christian era, and mostly found in caves.

I.—From the Introduction of Buddhism to the beginning of the Christian Era.

The caves of Vessagiri, near Anuradhapura, have yielded an additional number of six short inscriptions to those two I had copied previously. I have met with several cave inscriptions, hitherto unknown to me, at Mihintala, both on the hill now alone inhabited by priests, and in a cave called Rājagiriya lemn on the opposite hill, which abounds in ruins indicative of former habitations. Other inscriptions of the same kind were found on Dunumandalakanda, at Gatalavi-hāra (three miles from Galkulam, Central road), on Elagamu-kanda, on Maradikadawalakanda, at Dambulina (also there a great number of them on the bare rock close to the famous temple), on the rock at Panikkankulam (two miles from Kekiriwā on the Western minor road), on the rock at Mōrga gollawā (near Eligamuwa), in a cave at Murungahiti-kanda (between Eligamuwa and Dambulla), and several in the district of Hambantotā, viz., at the ancient vidāra of Muligirigala and in the jungle between Kiriwine and Palatupāna. Reference is made in the Government archaeological returns to an inscription at Mādawehera, a very ancient temple in the jungle three miles beyond Palatupāna, but I failed to find anything in the extensive ruins of it.

The inscriptions of this period, a considerable number of which is now collected by me, furnish little new information, after having seen the first important specimens; their contents are essentially the same throughout, viz., brief dedications to the priesthood, if they are not merely indicative of the ownership of the cave. They are written, as I have formerly stated, in the well-known Southern alphabet of the Indian emperor Dhamarāśoka, with slight modifications, and in some cases already in more recent forms, not very different from those of king Gajabahu’s time (2nd century A.D.). The proper names of the donors or proprie tors often are not without interest, and there are some ancient words, as paramaka or barumaka, ‘Brāhmaṇa’ (in later times assumed as a title by kings), jita, ‘daughter,’ and a few besides, which will prove of value to the student of the Sinhalese language.

There is one very important grammatical form (which, however, we find to be in existence even at a later period), the nominative singular masculine and neuter in e, inasmuch as this is generally looked upon by European Orientalists as peculiar to the different dialects of Māgadha: and if so, we would meet here with a significant corroboration of the Sinhalese historical tradition according to which a district of Māgadha (or one bordering on this kingdom) was the native country of the early Aryan colonizers of Ceylon. There are some remarkable instances besides in which special the Māgāual employed in Asoka’s inscriptions and Sinhalese coincide, while both stand aloof from Pāli and all the other Prākrits. Such are—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Māgadhi</th>
<th>Sinhalese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| sīt              | hi             | (termination of the loc. sing.)
| mudisa           | minad          | (= ‘man’)
| tephe            | topi           | (‘you,’ ‘ye’)
| puliwe (‘former’) | para (‘former’), pura (‘the light half of the lunar month’)

(Saṁskṛit pāruṇa, Pāli pubbo, Prākrit pūvā.)

A graphical particularity of the most ancient inscriptions is the use of two forms of s (one the common s of Asoka’s inscriptions, the other resembling in shape a Greek Digamma, F, a form unknown in India), which it would be difficult to

* “Dr. Paul Goldschmidt, who died at Galle on May 7th, was born at Dantzig in 1850, and pursued his university studies at the universities of Heidelberg, Berlin, Tübingen, and Göttingen, at the last of which he took his degree in 1872. In 1873 and 1874 he resided in London, devoting his whole attention to the study of Prākrit MSS., especially those relating to the Jainas. At the end of 1874 he left for Ceylon, where the Colonial Government had offered him an appointment to collect all the ancient inscriptions found in that island. The term for which he had been engaged having nearly expired, he intended to return to Europe for a short time, proposing to return to Ceylon again and investigate the language of the Veddae, when he died.”—Prof. S. Goldschmidt, in the Allgemeine Zeitung.

† But this also occasionally in the sacred writings of the Jaina sect.

account for without the supposition that the pronunciation of s in Ceylon must have struck the Hindu introducers of the art of writing as somewhat different from their own, although it is true the two letters were used indifferently. Now, Prākrit grammarians record a peculiar pronunciation of s in the dialect of Magadha, which appears in the dramatic works of the Hindus; perhaps (though of course we can ascertain nothing in these matters) early Sinhalese partook of the same distinction.

The following two cave inscriptions may serve as specimens of the most ancient Sinhalese preserved to us (by I have transcribed the second referred to above):—

(1.) Inscription in a cave at Vessagiri Anurâdhapura:—

Parumaka Palikadasa bariya parumaka Tirakita jila upâsika Chitâya lege sâgaâsa chaturâdiâs a:—

"The cave of the lay-devotee Chita (Chitirâ), wife of the Brahman Palikada, daughter of the Brahman Tirakita, [is given] to the priesthood of the four quarters of the world."

(2.) Inscription near Nettukanda (about thirteen miles from Mihintala, in the jungle, six miles off the Trinkamall road):—

Parumaka Welu putana lege agata anagata chaturâdiâs saâgaâsa:—

"The cave of the sons of the Brahman Welu [is given] to the priesthood in the four quarters of the world, present and absent."

II.—From the beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourth Century A.D.

We have in this period a fixed date to start from in the numerous Inscriptions of King Gâjabhâ Gâmaâ (113-125 A.D.), referred to in my former reports, as this king, though not generally mentioned under the distinguishing appellation of Gâjabhâ, has been mindul of preserving to posterity the names of his father (Tissa) and his grandfather (Vasabho). Thus he opens his inscription on the Ruwanweli Dagaba, Anurâdhapura (now in the Museum, Colombo) —

Wahaba rajaha manumaraka T[i]sâ maharajaha puti maharaja Gayabhah Gamini Abaya: i.e. "King Gâyabhâ Gamini Abaya, son of king Tissa, grandson of king Wahaba."

Manumaraka is the ancient form of the modern word muanurâ, 'grandson,' derived, by inversion of syllables, from Sanskrit manumarâ, 'mind-delighting,' as nandâna, 'the delighter,' i.e. 'the son'.

Some smaller inscriptions of this period, formerly unknown to me, I found at Mihintala. A very well preserved inscription of considerable length is engraved on Hâbarânâ rock. Palaeographically it differs little from the inscriptions of the second century, but occasionally the angular characters appear intermingled with the more graceful forms of a later period, which fact, in conformity with observations I have made on other inscriptions, proves that an older stage of the alphabet was for some time retained for engraving on the rock, after a more current form had come to be employed in ordinary life. The language shows some decided instances of development from the second century, but it is still very far removed from what is considered the classical form of Elu literature. The contents are rather more valuable than generally of inscriptions of the same period, as they record some particulars concerning the construction of the tank of Habaranâ, which was effectuated by utilizing two natural lakes. Like most ancient inscriptions, this also abounds in clerical errors. The following is the text of the whole, transcribed in Roman characters, to which I beg leave to annex a literal translation, as I have made it out.

Inscription on Habaranâ rock.

Siddham.

1. Mujita gamana keriyahi ameta Chasayaha puti Abayaha at! | Walamanwâ wawiya
2. kati wawiya daiki gaâqa kana atâla wawiya kota awitakita eta eta gana saro
3. atâli koâta me Agichalamana wawiya Mula sara cha Pacuchaliwâ sara cha
4. 'do karihi | sahasa cha chaka chatalisa kârihe (karihâna?) cha Sarima parumaka maharaji me Agimalamana
5. wawiya bojiya pati Sene puta Abalayaha cha mnhalaka balaâtaka rakâra Kapâka gaya mânumaraka cha samanaya Hamâ
6. ra tara (tera) . . .kata ka (?) riya | dukâpa-tiyo kala amaâqa da . . .rakâta saga salahe liya-waya bojiya patyâ Karakâla-waya (wawiya)
7. Chetagiri wiharâbhi Abatalahi silachetabi tumaha akâla koâta kari witaâra Gapa chetuhi tola huta mala koâta cha | jiña palisatari kama karunâ karoqto Chopawaliwâ. Giniya Megaha ch[e]kihi Jagasaka hâmânânâtaâya parawaâtahi
8. cha-ka koâta cha bojiya petiya Karakala wawiya dini [ki?] me chetihi wi[hera?] bojiya patiya ri-karihi | sahasi cha wisiti karihi
9. do pata cha | ametâha cha Wahabayahaputana (or to ?) ya duti[ya] . . . puchayasâ awâqaka wasahi majimodini chada puâga masi sata paka
10. diwasa[â].

Literal Translation.

"Hail! Concerning the inundated villages (this) is (the saying) of Abaya, son of the minister Cha-
saya,§ He saw the Walamani tank and the Kati (i.e. the royal) tank; having built several villages near lakes without furnishing the fields with a tank between embankments for the flowing down (of the water), he constructed Agigalama tank out of the Mula lake and the Pacachaliwa lake. And his majesty the King, after having made serve this Agigalama tank 1,640 karis,† having given it in charge to Abalaya, son of Sena, an aged overseer, to watch, and to the therọ, the monk Hambara, grandson of Kanakaya—afterwards, for the preservation of.........., having caused this to be written on a stone belonging to the priesthood, after assigning it, having constructed the Karakula tank and having performed deeds not (formerly) done (even) by himself at Abatula (i.e. Ambasthala) at the vihăra of Chaityagiri (i.e. Mihintale); having made offerings of oil and flowers at the Gapa chaitya, (which is) in extent a kari [8 acres] (?), having made reparitions of the decayed (buildings) at the chaityas of Chopavaliya, Giniya, Magaha, he handed them over to the monks of the Lord of the world [Buddha], and having made .........., after having assigned, he gave (them ?) the Karakula tank—after having assigned ........... at the chaitya ..........and from 1020 karis (?)... and to the sons of the minister Wahabaya..... the second..........in the Pachayasa awanaka [coloured?] year, on the seventh day in the light half of the month Majimodini [March-April]."

I have not been able as yet to ascertain what year is meant by the designation of Pachayasa Awanaka, but I suspect the king mentioned to be Srimeghavanño (302-330) who, according to the Mahāvamsa, made great offerings at Ambasthala.

Two inscriptions engraved on the rock at Dumarandalakanda record the construction of chaityas, and other grants to the priesthood; one of them is of particular interest, as it exhibits not only a mixture of ancient and modern characters, but also of forms of words.

Other rock inscriptions with the usual contents I have met with at Panikkankulam (near Kekeriawa) and two on Elagamukandã. At Andaramawewa (about two miles from Kekeriawa) there is a stone slab containing a short inscription of king ‘Wahaba’ (Vasabho, 66-110), imperfectly preserved, which records a grant to the priesthood. But the pious munificence of the ancient kings did not stop short at endowing places situated near the principal seat of government, Anurâdhapura. The district of Hambantota, Southern Province, is rich in similar dedications.

A fine stone slab found at Tissamahârâma, at present kept in the Assistant Government Agent’s compound at Hambantota, contains an enormous grant of land to the priesthood of the Tissamahârâma Vihâra (or, as it is styled in the inscription itself, “the great vihâra [called after] the king of Mágamâ’). It runs as follows:—

1 Siddham || Budadasa Mahida Mahâ-se tawaka bayâ Abhaya maharaja
dis mahâwirahâi tara pali mahâmanî Padana
dana galida dinika | pacha sahasaka kiri che ma di ada.

2 gâliâ ka warahata [?] pawatara [?i?] na uyuta (uwayuta) koṭu sa |
3 padinaka | chatakara sahasaka kiri che [ka?] ri che me di ada.

4 nani | nawa sahasaka kiri yaha ugu wa ma (?) . . .
5 charita niyamina | rajakolihî bha (?i?) nana . .
6 mini | mowa baka kari (?) di-i | cha (?)
7 tara [?] amaqa be (?) da (ya?) . . .
8 baka cha sesika.....tawa
9 Padana gâlihî buka saga hamiyana cha[ta]
10 ra pachayada uwayutu karawani koṭu | apa chu
11 di purumukaha dina niyamina | me cha sali
12 hi liyawaya dinamaha.

I have attempted a literal translation, which, however, I am aware, may be open to many objections:—

“Hail! Budhadaso, Mahindo, Maha-seño, three brothers, his majesty king Abhaya, and our uncle (?) the Brahman Buddhasa, a venerable, reverend therọ [these are the persons concerned]: King Jettha Tissa, our sire, bought the kiriyas (of land) belonging to the village Toda; having remitted the taxes (?), as much as 9000 kiriyas (about 90,000 acres) (beginning) from Padanagala were given to the reverend, the venerable therọ in the great vihâra ‘king of Mágamâ’; and 5000 kiriyas (beginning) from this Padanagala, furnished with.............., have been given over, and 4000 kiriyas shall be...........; the taxes (?) of the 9000 kiriyas shall be remitted (?); the rules shall be kept; in the royal family preaching (?) shall be...........; this portion of the kiriyas now is given (?): four (?) amunas......; and the remaining portion.............; the
ords of the Bhikhu congregation shall be
caused to be furnished with the four pratyayas,
having done this* in order that what is given to
our uncle (?) the Brahmans may be kept, causing
it to be written on this stone slab, we have it
given.”

It is difficult to ascertain who were the kings
here alluded to; for neither of the two kings
mentioned in the Mahāvamśa under the name of
Jetta-thingo was succeeded by a son of the
name of Abhaya; besides we do not know if
these are kings of Ceylon or only of Māgamā.
Judging, however, from the characters as well as
from the language, I have no doubt that this
inscription is to be attributed to the fourth cen-
tury A.D. It is worth noticing that even at that
time some period some difference between the north-
ern and southern dialects appears to have ex-
tisted. The king of Māgamā here alluded to as
the eponymous person of the vihāra was king
Kāka-vāna Tissa, the father of Dutṭhagā-
amāṇī, who, according to the Mahāvamśa (pp.
131, 150 in Turnour’s edition), founded the Tis-
samalūvihāra or Tissamahārāmo (about 180 B.C.).

An inscription engraved on a high rock at Ki-
rināda, though not remarkable for its contents, is
peculiarly interesting by its language. The whole
is a grant to the priesthood as usual, and the
signs of sun and moon cut in the rock indicate
that this donation shall last as long as sun and
moon endure; but it opens with a praise of Bud-

half a Tissa was succeeded by a son of the
name of Abhayya; besides we do not know if
these are kings of Ceylon or only of Māgamā.
Judging, however, from the characters as well as
from the language, I have no doubt that this
inscription is to be attributed to the fourth cen-
tury A.D. It is worth noticing that even at that
time some period some difference between the north-
ern and southern dialects appears to have ex-
tisted. The king of Māgamā here alluded to as
the eponymous person of the vihāra was king
Kāka-vāna Tissa, the father of Dutṭhagā-
amāṇī, who, according to the Mahāvamśa (pp.
131, 150 in Turnour’s edition), founded the Tis-
samalūvihāra or Tissamahārāmo (about 180 B.C.).

An inscription engraved on a high rock at Ki-
rināda, though not remarkable for its contents, is
peculiarly interesting by its language. The whole
is a grant to the priesthood as usual, and the
signs of sun and moon cut in the rock indicate
that this donation shall last as long as sun and
moon endure; but it opens with a praise of Bud-

}

1 Siddhāna | Aparimita-lokehi Budha-same na-
ti | atthāne parimāṇḍale
2 savanyutopete anuttare saṅhe (saṅhe) mahe-
saṅhe laki-chake Budha-nimi
3 sayamūḥu.

Put into classical Pāli :
Aparimitalokamhi Buddhassamo natthi | atthāno
parimāṇḍale.......sabbaññutopete anuttaro sat-
thā mahāsaṅhe lakkhičalekkaṁ Buddhānami sa-
yamūḥu.

“i.e. Hail! In the boundless world there is no
equal to Buddha; spaceless, all-extending......en-
dowed with omniscience, incomparable, the Teach-
er, the great Refuge, the wheel of prosperity—is
Buddha, the self-produced one.”

It is very unfortunate that we are not able to
determine the exact date of this inscription. The
characters are essentially the same as in the in-
scriptions of king Gajabahu (second century A.D.)
and his grandfather Vasabho (66-110 A.D.) (see
above). There is no doubt that it is subsequent

to Dutṭhagāmanī (161-137 B.C.); for in an in-
scription at Tonigalat in which this king is re-
ferred to as reigning, we find only slight modifica-
tions of the earliest characters.” Again, the alpha-
bet here employed so closely resembles the one
used in the Indian caves, which has been attribut-
ed to the first century B.C. and the first and se-
cond centuries A.D., that we cannot doubt it was
introduced from India. The earliest date, there-
fore, assignable to this inscription would be the
first century before the Christian era. Now it was
in 90 B.C., under the reign of king Vaṭṭa-ga-
māṇī, that, according to Simhalese tradition,
the doctrines of Buddhism were first reduced to
writing in Pāli. It is possible that this inscrip-
tion belongs to a time prior to the year 90 B.C.,
though not very probable. I am rather inclined
to attribute it to the first century of the Christian
era; at any rate there is no instance of another
inscription in the same characters belonging ne-
necessarily to the pre-Christian time. If, however,
we are to suppose the Pāli language at that time
to have been fixed by writing in the same gram-
matical and lexical forms in which we find it
now, and which it certainly has exhibited since
the time of B u d d h a h o a h a, we should expect
Pāli words occurring in inscriptions subsequent to
Vaṭṭa-gāmanī to wear their genuine shape, pro-
vided they are not thoroughly transformed into
Simhalese. Here we have, except in the word laki
(for nati is Simhalese), the Pāli aspirates, as well
as a compound sign for ṅ in parimāṇḍale, and an
Anusvāra or Bindu in sayamāḥu—all letters un-
known to ancient Simhalese. On the other hand,
double consonants are expressed by single ones,
as likewise in the case of the Pāli word bhikkhu,
which several times in inscriptions of the same
period appears in the form bhikkhu alongside of
its Simhalese transformations bīka, bīki, bīka.
The word siddham, usually the first word in these
inscriptions, which apparently had been borrowed
from Sanskrit, here as elsewhere is written with
ddh (in one compound letter); nevertheless the
same well-known sign is not used in the name of
Buddhā, which occurs twice in this inscription.
It may be out of deference to Simhalese grammar
that the nom. sing. masc. and neu. (also used as
plural forms) was made to terminate in ū, though
this ū is already employed sparingly in Dutṭhagā-
māṇī’s inscription. It is interesting that the
syllable ū (in savamyu=sabbāniū) is not expressed
by its proper sign, but by ū with a small ū below
the line (ū), conformably to the pronunciation
still heard in Ceylon (and in some parts of India).
Still more remarkable is the use of ṹ instead of

* Literally, ‘having done, i.e. ordered the keeping of
the rules,’ &c.

+ Published in the Jour. Cey. As. Soc. for 1853, p. 81.
In the word savamjutopete, as we can perceive here no influence of Sinhalese, the latter language applicable; it is probably a mistake of the engraver for lokahi, the regular loc. sing. in Sinhalese. The words nati and kiwi are Sinhalese.

Leaving it undecided whether the Kirindé inscription is subsequent to the time when the sacred Buddhist canon is supposed to have been committed to writing, or prior to it,—in which case of course some of the peculiarities here noticed could be more easily accounted for,—there still remains enough in this passage, I believe, to throw doubt on the alleged antiquity of the Pali language in its present form.

The remaining inscriptions of this period contain nothing remarkable, except occasionally interesting words. A number of fragments are found on the rock at Ka h a g a l i v ë h â r a (between Ramnâ and Wiraksetiya); other rock inscriptions at Ny i g a l i v ë h â r a, at Mulligirâla, one long one at Wâd i g a l a (two miles from Ranné, on the road to Taângalla), one at Angu k o l a v ë h â r a (not far from Kirindé), and two at Wîg a m u wâ (near Ranné). A long inscription engraved on the rock at Ba â gi r i yâ (nine miles from Hambantota) by its defaced state has resisted my first effort, but may be hoped to be decipherable after a renewed examination.

III.—Down to the Eleventh Century.

I have seen, unfortunately, very few specimens of inscriptions between the 4th and 9th centuries, although this must have been a time of vigorous development, in the course of which by degrees Sinhalese was moulded into its classical shape.

There is an inscription of about the 6th or 7th century on a pillar near Tîs s a m a h â r â m o (according to tradition the post to which the royal tuskier was tied); some lines are pretty well preserved, the greater part is defaced; I have not, however, as yet come to examine this sufficiently.

I will mention here, first of all, an inscription in the Hambantota district, because it has been of great help to me for fixing the dates of a number of other inscriptions. The pillar I am referring to was discovered by Mr. J. H. Dawson, the Irrigation Officer at Mai y a g a s t o tâ. It is inscribed on three sides, but partly effaced. The purport of the whole is again, as so often, a grant to a vîhâra, to which is added an enumeration of the privileges usually connected with such a donation, viz., that the land should be exempt from râjakriya and the like.

The donor is Mîhîn dâ, odp or viceroy. He calls himself a son of a king Abhâ Sa l a m e w a n and queen G o n. Now the identical two persons are mentioned as the parents of a king Sîrî Sâng b o y Abhâ h a y in the inscription on those well-known stone tablets at Mihintâla (translated in Turnour's Epitome, and the beginning in J. D'Alwis's Sîlkhàngàryâva, intr. pp. xxxvi. xxxvii.), which present such an interesting account of the well-to-do life of the priesthood in a large vîhâra. There the king says that he had been odp before being made king, and as the date of the inscription he gives the 16th year of his reign.

King Abhâ Sâlamewâ, the father of Mihindé, has left us an inscription at Ñyawringollaâwa (N. C. P., eleven miles from Madawachêliyâ), and another one beginning almost with the same words, at Elawewa Pânsula (c. eleven miles from Mihintâla towards Trimbâkânil). In the latter, however, he calls himself Abhâ Sâlamewân Dä p u l u. Both bear as their date the 14th year of his reign; in both he alludes to a victorious campaign of his father, Abhâ Sîrî Sâng b o, in India against the kingdom of Pâpl. Of king Abhâ Sîrî Sâng b o a fine pillar inscription is extant in the jungle on the foot of Mihintâla hill, in which, however, his parentage is not mentioned. (He simply begins: Abhây Sîrî sâng b o boyi ma pûmsuk nauwane ne Hima te maâ sî daa dâwa dâwa: i.e. ["We"] king Abhây Sîrî sâng b o, in the 9th year [of our reign], on the 10th day in the month Himanta [November"]).

Alphabet as little as language leaves any doubt about the general period to which these inscriptions belong; it must be the time between the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 11th century. In all of them most of the characters used approach the forms of the present alphabet so closely as to be legible to any educated native; and as for the language, though widely distant from the present conversational, it differs little from that of the inscriptions of the 12th century, if we except the then new-fangled manner of putting back Sinhalese words into their Sanskrit originals, and the wholesale introduction of Sanskrit words besides. Again, as the name Sîrî sâng b o had come to be used as a mere title, assumed by many kings (for instance, Vijayabâhu I., Parâkramabâhu I., Nîsâkâ Mulla), we have to look upon Mîhîn dâ (Mahîndo) as the proper name of the inscribed of Mayilaga-sto and Mihintâla.

After these preliminary remarks, we may look in the Mahâvamsâ for an identification of the three kings (father, son, and grandson) to whom we owe the inscriptions in question.

Mahîndo III. (997-1013), according to the Mahâvamsâ (ch. 54), had been made dîpâdî to the accession to the throne of Seno III. (994-997). It is recorded of him (Mahâc. ch. liv. 28) that he put up inscribed stone slabs "to prevent future kings..."
from seizing on the property of the priesthood." Kassapo VI. (954-964) sent his army to India (Mahāvīra, ch. iii.). He was succeeded, according to the Mahāvīravāsa, by his son Dappulo IV. (who reigned six months); and he again by Dappulo V. (964-974); the next was Dappulo V.'s brother, Udayo III. (974-977), who was followed by several short-reigned kings. A king Udoyo is said (Mahāvīra, ch. iv.) to have been the uncle of Mahindo III.

Examining the rest of Sinhalese history in this period, we have no choice but to identify the three kings met with in the inscriptions above referred to (Abhā Siri saṅgō bo, Abhā Salamewan Dāpuḷu, Mihindo or Siri saṅg boy Abahay) with Kassapo VI., Dappulo V., Mahindo III., of the Mahāvīravāsa, respectively. With regard to Dappulo IV., who is called a son of Kassapo VI., we must doubt the correctness of the Mahāvīravāsa.

As I have stated, Mahindo was āciṭṭā ṣāhā or āpā 994-997; to this interval, therefore, the inscription at Mayilagastota is to be attributed. The Mihintala inscription is dated from the 16th year of his sovereignty, i.e. 1012 or 1013.

To the same period as these belongs the fine pillar inscription of Mahākāla tātā sposa (now in the Museum, Colombo), which in a former report I had attributed to king Siri saṁgī bo III. (702-718). A king called Siri saṅg boy in it grants the usual privileges to a village belonging to a nunnery built by the Chief Secretary Sen in honour of his mother. Now a chief secretary Seno is mentioned (Mahāvīra, ch. iii.) as one who built and endowed vihāras under the reign of king Kassapo V. (937-954), the father-in-law and immediate predecessor of Kassapo VI. or Abhā Siri saṅg bo of the inscriptions. Although the name Sena is common enough, this coincidence, I believe, is too remarkable for us to hesitate to recognize in him the same person just mentioned, provided that the language and palaeography of the inscription speak in favour of this identification, as they do indeed. As therefore Siri saṅg boy, the king referred to, cannot have lived before Kassapo V., and the successors of Kassapo V. are mentioned under different names in the inscriptions, this Siri saṅg boy must be Kassapo V. himself. It is therefore between 937 and 954 that the inscription at Maha Kalattāwa (the Kulatthavapi of Mahāvīra, where the decisive battle between Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Elāra was fought) must have been written. There are some other inscriptions of king Siri saṅg boy (or bo) (at Mihintala, Anurādhapura, and Gomkkolawe near Madawachchiya, the latter now in the Museum, Colombo) which begin with precisely the same words, but, as the characters in which they are written are of a somewhat more ancient form, I am not confident that these kings and the inscriber of Maha Kalattāwa are identical. In the inscription at Anurādhapura (see in a former report) we find the king reigning in his 10th year, while Kassapo V. according to the Mahāvīravāsa, only reigned seventeen years.

These are the names of the four kings I have spoken about, with those given to the same in the Mahāvīravāsa:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inscriptions</th>
<th>Mahāvīravāsa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Siri saṅg boy</td>
<td>Kassapo (V.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Abhā (or Abhay)</td>
<td>Kassapo (VI.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siri saṅg bo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Abhā Salamewan</td>
<td>Dappulo (V.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāpuḷu</td>
<td>(brother Udayo III.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Mihindo or Siri saṅg boy Abahay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are extracts from the inscriptions above referred to:

I.—Inscription of King Siri saṅg boy (Kassapo V.) at Maha Kalattawo (complete).

A.—(First side of the Pillar):

Siri saṅg boy ma purmukā pānakşawwan ne naywaney pura dasa wak dawas Pāḍī rad Dāpuḷu ware me kāp par ha kureli senim īsā nawa ture saṃgim īsā mahale Dāpuḷu arak samaṇan ware kuḍa saḷā dāḷ swiṃ īsā kulpatri saṅgā ētaḷu we se me tūvāk denamo ek seve wadāleyin Sen mahā

B.

lepan tuman mēniyan nēmin nam di kot karana la Nāl-aram mehepi-warhi tuman tubu wat siriti/hī se dawaspatā mahawhere mahaboyi dīy wadā wādī mehepi wat hembu wat satdenak/hāt satar pasa wayuṭu karana koṭ wadāḷa kēmaṇa bimhi ā wū Gitelgamo gamaṭ attāṭi pēraṣeher de rawanse we gadāna koṭ īsā de kaṃṭen no wara

C.

nā koṭ īsā maṅg-giya piya-giya no wadānā koṭ īsā dūnumanḍul mēlāt ēri rad kol kēmiyan no wadāna koṭ īsā wēriyan gam gen geri no gāna īsā ēg miwun no wadāna koṭ wadāleyin ā me kāp par ha kureli senim īsā me kāp par nava ture saṃgīm īsā kuḍa saḷā dāḷ swiṃ īsā kulpattrā saṅgā ētaḷu we se me tūvāk dena

D.

mo ek seve awud me Gitelgamo gamaṭ attāṭi pēraṣeher denu ladi.

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

"His majesty Siri saṅg boy, in the 15th..."
II. — Incription of King Abhā Sāla mewa n Dāpu li (Dampuru V.), at Elawtragollamwa.

Sīrī Sīri-ba ka tā kuta kōt Okā — was rad para puren bāt Lak diw pōlyon para puren hīmi wū Abhā Sīrī saṅ bo mahārad/hu tūmā sat laṅgū nava wan havu rudayeyi Pāṇḍi rat pāhace jaya ḍakarttī lad ḍūpati, ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍū ḍु
of the Kshatrapa caste, the sage who has comprehended (?) the Doctrine—"

V.—Inscription of the same on King Sivi sañg boy Abhay (Mahindo III.) at Ambathala, Mihintala.

Sirihar kata kula hota osa was Abhay y Sahaewan maharaja

jath one kuler samajay dw Gom bisew rajna kunku pohe apni mahaya sirin windo piliwelo

Sey raj wa tamii sirin lalw diw phalayamint siri Sivi sañg boy Abhay y Sahaewan maharaja tamii sat

laengu sawoawenaw awarmuyelik wap sand pun mashi dasa pak dawas Seygiri wohelhi isa A-

baliy girf wohelhi isa wasana ma bik sañg hiniyanu mahusenwe karay tamii bso wat hiniyam-

Se Seygiri wohelhi perc tubi sirih uta Abhay girf wohelhi sirih uta ruswa geno we-

herat me sirih tubi wawati nisijan ha saasend me wohel wasana mulha bik sañg hiniyanat is-

kaminyanat is dasanat is kate yuta is tabana diyu yuta so is wiwaramen ek se ko mse-

sirih tabana ladii.

Lateral translation.

Ho who, having been born unto king Abhay y

Salamewan, an eminent Kshatrapa (literally, a bull among the Kshatrapa), who is descended from an unbroken line of kings of the Iskhakhavo family, which is the pinnacle of the glorious Kshatrapa caste, in the womb of the anointed queen, Queen Go on, descended from the same caste—having enjoyed the power of tax and ... having, according to (the rule of) succession, become king, irradiates the island of Lanka by his splendour, his majesty king Sivi sañg boy Abhay y, in the 16th year after he raised the royal umbrella, on the 19th day in the bright half of the month Wap (Sept.—Oct.)—having assembled (literally, having made become a large host), the lords of the great Bihisku congregation dwelling both in the vihara of Chaitayagiri and in the vihara of Abhayagiri, being pleased with those rules which his royal brother formerly established at Chaitayagiri vihara, as well as with the rules of Abhayagiri vihara, in order to (?) establish the same rule for this vihara, having put it together ......—this rule together with a comment has been established for the Lords of the great Bihisku congregation who dwell in this vihara, as well as for the officers and for the slaves, for their duties as well as for receipts and expenditures.]

I have found little worth mentioning in other inscriptions of this period examined since my last report. There are such at Wanamaduwa (near Tirappana), in the jungle three miles from Galkum, at Elandamuw, at Muligigala. A fragmentary pillar inscription at Atdya vihara (two miles from Wirakatya

between the beginning of the 11th and the middle of the 12th century we have to look upon as having originated the modern mixed speech. It was in this period, too, that the Sinhalese began to pronounce the aspirates of the Saksri and Pali languages,—at least as far as their common in the inscriptions of the 12th century words formerly in adopted words they were, as a rule, either expressed by the corresponding unaspirated sounds, as in kihana (Pali adhitthanaus) (Mahindo III.'s inscription at Mihintala), or divided into two by inserting a vowel between the explosive sound and the aspirant, as in askam (Pali adhikama), Abhay (Abhayih), or ek was written and pronounced, as in vihara (vihara), (Mahindo III.'s inscription at Mihintala), (the modern vahara, 'faulk' or corrupted from Saksri and Pali aprakrihi, the genuine Sinhalese word derived from aprakrihi being awum), a lie); even to the present day the common people say A oura japa for Anuradhapura.

Shortly after that time Sinhalese literature, as far as it now extant, must have commenced, its language carrying with it the spells of many foregoing centuries. To these the poets and pandits added their own inventions: Saksri (and Pali) words artificially, but often with great skill, turned into Sinhalese, and modern Sinhalese words put back into what were supposed to be the ancient forms of them. Hence the present Sinhalese style has come to be a strange medley of Sinhalese forms at all ages, of thoroughly Sinhaleised Saksri and Pali words, of the same semi-Sinhaleised, of unchanged Saksri and Pali words, and of the random inventions of poets and pandits. It is this variety of forms of the same words that furnish to their style elegant, although this custom very little accords with what European readers would consider good taste.
mentions one of those numerous kings called Sri saññ bo as the father of the reigning king (about the 11th century).

IV.—Inscriptions at Polonnaruwa, Minor, Dambulla.

On the bank of the famous tank of Mineri (Pāli Manihira; Inscr. Minihiriya) there is an inscription of the 10th or 11th century on two sides of a large stone pillar, which contains a grant of privileges to the place; unfortunately about forty-four lines on both sides are completely effaced, and nine only left. Close to this pillar there are some ancient statues of Hindu deities which impress the native mind with so much awe that no inhabitant of the village can be prevailed upon to approach the spot.

Polonnaruwa (Palastinagara), the capital of Ceylon after the decline of Anuradhapura, contains, as might be expected, for the most part inscriptions of a comparatively modern date. Near Galvihāra, constructed by Parakrama-bāhu the Great, I found a few huge letters cut in the rock, the remnants of an inscription of considerable length, which, belonging to the earlier centuries of our era, owes its destruction to the mysterious charm attributed by the natives to the ancient Nagara characters: it had been, as I was told, defaced this very year by the barbarous inhabitants of Tópawewa.

The two inscriptions coming nearest in age to the one just mentioned are to be attributed to the 9th or 10th century. The one is engraved on the four sides of a pillar close to the site of Niśāñika Malla’s Audience Hall, on the spot whence that king’s lion-seat was taken to Colombo. The name of a king Agrabhūdi is legible, but a great portion of it is effaced. Another pillar I had dug out of the ground not far from Jetavanārāma. The inscription is very well preserved, and refers to a privilege granted by a king [. . . Solan jayamena] to a village Galutawa, which belonged to a high officer of state called Wadurag. The king, I suspect, is Śena Silāmegho (893-858), and Wadurag, his minister Vajiro, who is mentioned Mahāv. l. 83. The natives say that the pillars near the place where the inscription was found formed part of the ancient Lowa mahādāya, ‘the great brazen palace’ (evidently built in imitation of the one at Anuradhapura). The place itself is now called Birige vimāna,

The two kings whose reigns have left most marked traces in the extensive ruins of Polonnaruwa are Parākrama-bāhu the Great and one of his next successors, Niśāñika Malla. Yet of the former we find only one inscription, though a very long one; while the latter, who could not feel so confident as his famous predecessor, of his memory not becoming lost to posterity, has laid down all the events of his life in numerous inscriptions, some of them of stupendous length. Parākrama-bāhu’s inscription is engraved on the wall of Galvihāra, which he had founded. Unfortunately this is not an historical inscription, but a religious one, which contains the rules given for the priesthood of the vihāra. It is tolerably well preserved, and belongs to the earlier part of Parākrama-bāhu’s reign, being dated a. s. 1708—i.e. 1165 A.D. The first six of fifty-one lines run thus:

1. Apa Budun kalipātasathasāradhika cintu(?) rasa[thi]khyparimitakilayan (yen) sāma (sama) tisa param (parān) parā Māraśa[ṇ]jgrama-bāhu wo mahābodhi pa[r]yānārājuddha wo (we) durrvāra sapa-

2. rvāra Māra parājaya koṭeh sarvvañāpada prāpta wo pānśalis-hawuuddak dawas chaṭṭathī (?) pak mahā meghayak seyin weda sate ane

3. kakalpakotiṣatasahasrayehe kaḷasāsānān da se (?) wemin siṭa (sakya?) yan dharmamārk-

4. tavarshayen niwamia sakala Buddha-kṛtya nima-wā Kusinārā nuware abihes hi Ma-

5. āla rājyange sālabandeka (?) . . yehi (sāla-

6. vanodya[n]yahi) nirupadhiśehe nirvāṇa
dhūtwen divi niwi sāra-sīya-sūpa na-

7. sas wavudda kiyasakala Walagam Abhī
dawasas potan ek wā-dā-la-sus

8. swa hawudda kihna-nikāya wo

9. sāsanaya piriwemin siṭi kalhi Malāsanmatādi

10. paramparāyātya sūryuvahañōhi dhātuvirājīrāja
cakadigabhītyapātaṣaṃmuchiḥ (nuverchi) vi-

11. rijaṁ

12. na Śri Samgha-bodhi Parākrama-

13. bāhu mahārajājan sakala. Lākātekele ekā
rājyābhishhekayen abhishikta wo viyāmbhit-

14. puṇyaṛdhī seti wo rājyasukhānubhava koṭe

wādanuwan.

Literal translation.

“1254 years from the time of king Walagam Abhī (Vāṭṭatrayaṃ), when 456 years had elapsed since Our Buddha, having in a time limited by (avattayinga over) four asanikhyas 100,000 kalpas fulfilled all the thirty perfections, and having, on the Māra battle-ground, mounted on the divan of (i.e. sitting cross-legged in) thorough enlightenment, conquered the irresistible Māra together with his retinue, at
tained the state of omniscience, and forty-five years (after that), on the 4th day, having accomplished by quenching........... as a large cloud does by rain, so ho, in many hundred thousands of years of kalpas by the nectar of the law, [having thus accomplished] all the duties of a Buddha, extinguished (his) life by means of the sacred nirvana near the city of Kaushinagar, in the grove of still trees of the king of the Mallas—[125½+45½ years after that time] when, the congregations being broken up, religion was fading away, his majesty king Sri Sāgangobarhi Parākramabāhu, descended from the unbroken line of Mahāśāmanata and the others, born of the Solar race, the king over kings, re-
splendent through the rays of his glory which has penetrated many regions, anointed by the anoint-
ment of paramount dominion on Lankā's ground, enjoying the delight of dominion, with the treasure of his merits made patent, he, the very wise one—"

Shortly after Parākramabālu's death (1186) Nīśāṇaka Malla ascended the throne of Ceylon and reigned for nine years (1187-1196)—a king whose vainglory, as exhibited in his inscriptions, appears extraordinary, even making allowance for his being an Oriental prince, and who was anxious, more than any other Sinhalese monarch, not to allow the memory of his reign to fall into oblivion. The Mahādeva has nothing to record of him but that he erected dagobas and palaces, and by his zeal for Buddhism heaped up merits from day to day. He himself tells us of an expedition to India, and reigned for nine years (1187-1196) — a king but most of the other memorable actions he speaks of have regard to religion. His numerous inscriptions are amongst the longest in the island, carefully executed, and most of them excellently preserved. He describes his whole life—birth, parentage, his arrival in Ceylon, his dignities there, the solemnity of his installation as king, and the acts of his government. Many of the buildings of Polonnaruwa, still extant in their ruins, indeed owe their origin to his magnificence; it was he, too, who repaired and embellished the splendid cave temple at Dambulla, often referred to in his inscriptions. A fine stone slab on the Rawanweli Dāgaba at Anurādhapura records, besides his other actions, the costly works he executed for the embellishment of this dāgaba, and for the restoration of Mārācchavaṭṭi and the other vihāras. Another long inscription of his we find engraved on the rock at Dambulla close to the cave. The remainder are to be found in his capital, Pol-
nārūwa.

Going out from the modern village of Tōpā-
wewa or Tōpātē, we reach first his Audience Hall, where we find two series of pillars denoting the order in which the different dignitaries were seated, when Nīśāṇaka Malla was on his throne (the identical lion-seat now kept in the Colombo Museum, and itself covered, I have been told, with an inscription of this king). Near the Da-
ṣāmaṇīrāwa (the palace of the tooth-relic) there is a fine stone slab inscribed on two sides (see text and translation in the Jour. R. As. Soc. 1874). From there we proceed to Thūpārāmo and the surrounding buildings, where we find the enormous Galpota (stone book), an inscription in three portions like the pages of a book (each page twenty-four lines), containing the whole of Nīśāṇaka Malla's history; a number of broken pieces of stone forming a sort of frieze round the lower walls of a palace, and a stone seat, which both narrate the same events with few variations. At Rankot Dāgaba we have again a stone seat and four pillars, all four of them covered with the same inscription. At Jetavanāśīma there is a third stone seat of larger size than the two before mentioned, containing two inscriptions, one of which is the identical one seen on the four pillars at Rankot Dāgaba. The walls of a Hindu temple not far from Thūpārāmo are covered with a Tamil inscription, of which, however, a great portion is effaced; as Nīśāṇaka Malla mentions a Hindu temple built by him at Polonnaruwa, it is not unlikely that he is the author also of this inscription; but my want of acquaintance with ancient Tamil language and paleography prevent me from being able to assert here anything with confidence.

The principal events of Nīśāṇaka Malla's life, as gathered from his inscriptions, are these:—Nīśāṇaka Malla was born 1700 A.D. (i.e. 1157 a.d.) at Sinhapura as the son of king Śrī Jaya gopta of Kālinga and his queen Parvati. Having come to Ceylon, to which he claims to have had an hereditary right, he first obtained the dignity of vijaya, and afterwards was made king. As such he calls himself Śrī Saṅgabo Kālinga Parākramabāhu Vīraśāma Nīśāṇaka Malla Aparātimalla. His general character is thus described in the Galpota:—

Galpota I.

13 Udā-gal mundan pa-
14 tē biruba sā saturendra durulā bahujaraya-

māwa-piyum pubudu kote anat ra-sirin Cha-
kradevendrayā sē somi-γuṇen pun sandhun sē dhāra
15 tēyen Meruwa sē gēmburu-bëwin sūgaraya sē kehantigunen maha polowa sē lo-wassan pinin upan kap-rukak sē wēje sēte.

November, 1877.] INScriPtionS iN CeYlon. 327
In several inscriptions the people of Ceylon are admonished to choose their kings from the royal family of Kāliṅga, as it would not become kings of Choḍa or Pāṇḍu, who were adverse to Buddhism, to reign over the island:—

Kāliṅga-rāmāyaṇya kiṁ Loka-lāvan Buddhāsāntagyaṁ "pratīyakha abhavadho Choḍa Pāṇḍyeśi-rājyaṁ na pāṭhāya yatāyayānāṁ:

i.e. "As it is not right to establish un-Buddhistic kings, as those of Choḍa, Pāṇḍu, &c., who are enemies to the religion of Buddha, in the island of Lanka, which belongs to the dynasty of Kāliṅga." (Cūpānum, 111. 24-25).

I think we are justified in inferring from this that the princes of Kāliṅga themselves were Buddhists, and it is not without interest to learn that so late as at the close of the 12th century there was a Buddhistic dynasty reigning over a part of Southern India.

Of real benefit to his subjects seem to have been the changes Nissāṅka Malla made in the system of taxation: for five years he remitted all taxes, and some of the most obnoxious he abolished for ever.

Inscription of Lag Vijayasīṅgu Kit (on the three sides of a pillar found on the bank of Abhayanawwa or Bassava-ikkulam, now in the Museum of Colombo) (date about 1210).

A.

Śrīmat Okā-waṇ-rama-paranara a Abhā Sala-

mewaṇ Lilāvatī-avāmīṅga agrāmātiya wā Lag Vijayasīṅgu Kitsenewiyamunwaṇ nū Anurāḍha-

purehi paṭan bhūmiye taman kere wū ruwan-

pāyehi waḍe hun saṅgu

B.

ruwanṭa siwu-pasayen wana pāsu pinisye taman-

̃a bat giṇuwa yawin yālak hā mehi nu chai-

ṭrayaṭa yālak hā pīlimagutu yālakāh bhūmi-dāna koṭe hira-sanda pamaṇa wā pidū pāsyan-

pirimēnu mo lābhaya antarāya kaḷawi

C.

windinā narakādi-duk den hā matu matu wanā

nuwaneṭiyen lobha-dvēsha-māna duru koṭe lābha antarāya no koṭe nuvaṭėttaṇ (?) kaḷa

anumovanu menēvi.

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

"—having dissipated the enemies and ex-

batiated the faces of the multitude, as the sun,

when reaching the summit of the sunrise-mountain,

destroys darkness and expands the lotuses—like unto Śaṅkara, the king of gods, by his infinite royal splendour—like unto the full-moon by his gentle-

ness—like unto Mount Meru by his firmness—like the ocean by his profundity—like the great earth by his patience—like a kalpa-tree produced by

the merits of the inhabitants of the world—"

It was thought incumbent on a king who wish-

ed to show his zeal for the religion of Buddha to

issue edicts forbidding people to take away life.

Of course it was rather the life of birds, fish, wild

beasts, &c., which was meant to be spared; as for

man's life, often the most devoted of these kings

had made their way to the throne through mur-

dering their predecessors. In the second part of

the Mahāvamsa this is usually expressed by a cer-

tain fixed formula:—

Machchхӣvaṁ nīga-pakkhiṁaṁ kātubbaṁ sabbhaṁ

āchāri:

"As for his duties towards the fish, wild beasts,

and birds, he accomplished them all."

Nissāṅka Malla did not neglect these duties. In

his inscription at Anurāḍhapura he says that

he gave security to the fish in twelve great tanks,

and commanded the Kāmbodyans not to kill birds,

after having given them large presents. In his

inscription on the pillars at Ranot Kāgaba some

of these tanks are enumerated:—

Rau-Tisa-Mūhīhoru-Gāṅgatalawa-Parī-ntuva uṭa tūa

rajeyath no ek mukka wa tama aśeṣa prāyataja

abhaya dī:

"Having at the site of many great tanks, as

Raṇawwa Tisawwa (Tisawwa at Anurāḍhapura),

Mūhīhoru-wawwa (Mineri), Gaṅgatalawa (Kanhaleet),

Paṭiyawwa (Paṭiyela), and others in the three

kingsdoms, given security to all living beings."

On the other hand, the same king sent his gene-

ral Lāk Vijayasīṅgu Kit with an army over to

India, to invade the kingdom of Pāṇḍu; and pret-

ends to have received large tribute from his enemies.

An inscription of this identical Lāk Vijayasīṅgu Kit, who is frequently spoken of in connection with Nissāṅka Malla's victories, I have described

in a former report; I shall insert it below, as it

will be of interest to compare this later grant to

the priesthood with the more ancient dedicatory in-

scriptions above quoted. The several queens of

Hissanka Malla are also mentioned, as well as his son

Virabhāhu, who reigned after his father's death

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

(yirabahu, who reigned after his father's death

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundari

for one year, and his daughter Sarvāŋgasundari
himself built on ground from Anuradhapura, for their case, that it may serve for the four pratyayas, and one yāla to the chaitya here and one yāla to the image-house—the pain in hell, which those shall suffer who obstruct this merit acquired from the offered......which shall last as long as sun and moon endure (literally, sun and moon being the measure), shall be now and in all future, (but) wise men who, having renounced covetousness, hatred, pride, and not obstructing the merit, do......may be pleased to sharo (the merit)."

A grant made to the identical general Lak Vijayasingha Kit is the subject of a long inscription of king Sāhāsa Malla (1200-1202), engraved on the two sides of a fine stone slab and excellently preserved; the greatest portion, however, is historical, referring to events connected with the accession of the king to the throne of Ceylon. We learn from it that Sāhāsa Malla was a brother of Niśāsāka Malla, being the son of Śrī Jaya gopa of Kāligūpa, but by a different queen. This inscription, together with Niśāsāka Malla's inscription at Anuradhapura, has lately been published in the Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S. vol. VII. pp. 350ff.); but as, unfortunately, native copies only had been procurable, the text of both abounds in blunders.

I found one short and comparatively modern inscription besides at Polonnaruwa, on a post at the staircase leading to Kiriwēha, from which I have been unable to make out any sense.

The jungle covering the ancient streets of Polonnaruwa has been cleared to so small an extent that there is no doubt much more must be hidden than we have found as yet; new inscriptions, though probably pretty modern, will certainly be of great interest, for their language as well as more still, on account of the historical matter they are likely to contain; as for buildings, though at Polonnaruwa they are, as a rule, very inferior imitations of the Hindu style of art, their discovery may nevertheless prove valuable from more than one point of view.

I beg leave to add regarding the inscriptions inserted in this report that I have translated them into English as literally as possible, as they contain new matter, though being aware of the insufficiency of this kind of translation. Philological explanations it would have been out of place to give here.

Akuressa, 11th September 1876.

BOOK NOTICES.


This is the fourth instalment of what Mr. Wheeler calls the "History of India from the Earliest Ages." The first volume, as most are aware, contains an analysis or abridgment of English versions of parts of the Vedas and the Mahābhārata, and the second of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Institutes of Mumm. To call these volumes a History, however, we hold to be quite a misnomer; they have no claim to the title. The Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa are neither of them the work of a single age; and the events chronicled in them, so far as they may chronicle actual events, were perhaps of little more importance in the political history of the time than the feats of Robin Hood were in England. And until these works have been analyzed in a way they are not likely to be for years to come, and the portions belonging to different epochs, if possible, distinguished and separated, the pictures they present can have no claim to historical truthfulness as reflecting the character of any particular age. And when such analysis has been made, the result will only be such 'history' as might be extracted from any good novel—not a narrative of actual events which formed or

* It is well known that every Afghān claims to be one of the Bant-Iṣrāfi, or Children of Israel, and Mr. H. Vanseatert as long ago as 1784 addressed Sir W. Jones on the subject of their Hebrew descent. Jones thought there might be some basis of truth in the hypothesis, and suggested that the Arsamoth (2 Esdras xiii. 46) to which...
called. It extended from the 11th century to the 16th and 17th centuries,—during this period," he says, "Hinduism worked its strongest. It imbued Mussulman thinkers with a belief in the transmigrations of the soul; in the final union of the soul with the supreme spirit. It brought the worship of Allah and his two sons, as incarnations of God, into harmony with the worship of Rama and Krishna, as incarnations of Vishnu. But the movement failed to reconcile Mussulmans and Hindus. It drifted into indifference and scepticism, and was finally swamped in a religious revival." The last epoch, of that of the Sunni revival, coincides with "the culmination and decadence of the Moghul empire in the 17th and 18th centuries." And the Sunni reaction "was a revival of the orthodox religion in the 17th and 18th centuries." And the Sunni Musulman empire. The Sultans were mostly staunch Mussulmans. The Moghul period has been wrongly called Mussulman. It extended from the 16th century to the middle of the 17th.

Throughout this interval, of five centuries, the religion of Islam was dominant throughout the Mussulman Empire. The Sultan's were mostly staunch Mussulmans. The Moghul period has been wrongly called Mussulman. It extended from the 16th century to the middle of the 17th. Throughout this interval, the Koran was neglected or ignored; many of the so-called Mussulmans were Sufi heretics; many affected open infidelity. Akber, the greatest sovereign of the Moghul dynasty, threw off all pretense of being a Mussulman. He

persecuted Mussulmans; he destroyed mosques; he broke up the power of the Ulama, or Mussulman Church." Some of the statements above quoted will be so new to students of Indian history who have derived their ideas from Oriental sources, or even from Elphinstone, Orme, Dow, Mill, Marshman, and other respected writers, that we need not further challenge them. Nor, though so carefully defined in his preface, does the author himself in the work very markedly distinguish between "the Mussulman" and "the Moghul periods." The short space of 300 pages of large type, into which Mr. Wheeler compresses his account of six centuries and a half, does not give him the opportunity of entering into details either of campaigns or of policy, and the reader gets much less than is given in the compilation of Murray and other popular handbooks of the class. The whole is expressed in a series of very short sentences, all cast in one mould, and averaging from sixteen to nineteen on a page of 34 lines. The abruptness of the style may be judged from the quotations we make. Much new material for the history of India has been made available within the last few years, even to those, like Mr. Wheeler, unacquainted with any Oriental language: we need only mention the invaluable work on the Muhammadan period, embracing the translations of native histories, prepared by the Late Sir H. M. Elliot and continued by Professor Dowson, filling eight octavo volumes, containing about 4600 pages of matter, which the judicious and well-merited encouragement of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India has enabled the able editor to carry through the press. But Mr. Wheeler's opinion of native historians is not high. "The historians of the Mussulman period, properly so called," he says, "generally told the truth. Occasionally they may have praised had princes because they were good Mussulmans; otherwise they were honest and trustworthy. They were kept up to the mark by the influence of the Ulama. The Ulama comprised the collective body of doctors, lawyers, magistrates, and judges resident at the capital... Had the historians of the Mussulman period sacrificed truth to flattery, they would have exposed themselves to the scorn of..."
the Ulamā." Forishtāb he considers "a type of the truth telling historians of the Mussulman period." Yet Forishtāb does not belong to that period at all, but to the beginning of the 17th century, the culminating point of his "Moghul period," during which, he says—"History degenerated into flattery and falsehood. European historians of India have believed in the fulsome flattery of Persian parasites and party writers. They have ignored the authority of European contemporaries, who had no temptation to depart from the truth." Such are his somewhat startling dicta, and in proof he says—"Abul Fazl and Khāfī Khan are types of the flatterers who flourished during the Moghul period. This statement by no means diminishes the value of Mr. Blockmann's translation of the Āsa-i-Akbarī of Abul Fazl. Mr. Blockmann's* work is invaluable." Very different has been the estimate previously formed by Elphinston, Grant Duff, and Sir H. Elliot of these writers: the high character of Abūl Fazl's Akbar-nīma is well known,† and Khāfī Khan's Muntakhab-ī Lālab is regarded by Sir H. Elliot as "one of the best and most impartial Histories of Modern India;" and from the high and well-deserved repute of these authors among scholars, Mr. Wheeler's condemnation will be able to detract nothing.

Having thrown overboard the native historians, Mr. Wheeler adduces his favourite authorities, whose evidence "beyond all question" places "Moghul history" upon "a truthful footing." They are—William Hawkins, "who spent two years at Agra between 1608 and 1611"; Sir Thomas Roe, "who followed the court of Jehangir from 1616 to 1618"; Sir Thomas Herbert, "who travelled in India about 1627 and 1628"; John Albert de Mandelslo, who "travelled in India between 1638 and 1640"; Francis Bernier, "who lived in India from 1656 to 1668; John Baptist Tavernier, "an intelligent jeweller who travelled through India two or three times in the reigns of Shah Jehan and Aurungzeb"; Monsieur de Thevenot, "who travelled through India in the early years of Aurungzeb. Such are the authorities on which the historian has relied; they present a true picture of native rule." We do not question the value of their testimony: they were honourable men and told the truth, so far as they knew it; but the question is how much had they the opportunity of seeing and judging of for themselves, and what were their qualifications as impartial historians? But Mr. Wheeler has "other authorities:" Manouchi, a Venetian physician, resided forty-eight years in India. "He was in the service of Shah Jehan; afterwards in that of Aurungzeb." His memoirs fell into the hands of Father Catrou, a Jesuit priest, who wrote "a history of the Moghul empire" in French, which was translated into English and published in London in 1826. "It forms," says Mr. Wheeler, "the very best authority for the history of the reign of Shah Jehan." Catrou quotes letters which reveal the inner nature and disposition of the writers. The substance is given in the sixth chapter of the present volume" (pp. 251-320). "They impart a dramatic character to the history." But "Father Catrou's history is incomplete." He wrote a history of the reign of Aurungzeb, but it does not appear to have been published, and so Mr. Wheeler finds that his reign "is difficult and obscure," and "under these circumstances the present volume has been brought to a close with the reign of Shah Jehan."

Those who seek for history will scarcely find it among Mr. Wheeler's facts and fancies strung together in this volume, which adds nothing to our previous information, nor even utilizes to any satisfactory extent the results of recent research. We can only hope Mr. Wheeler will find better materials, and present a picture more in accordance with facts in the forthcoming Part of this volume, which is to be dealt with the Hindu history of the Peninsula.

**BOOK NOTICES.**

Nalopakhyānam, or the Tale of Nala; containing the Sanskrit text in roman characters, followed by a Vocabulary in which each word is placed under its root, with references to derived words in cognate languages, and a Sketch of Sanskrit Grammar. By the Rev. Thomas Jarrett, M.A. (Edited for the Syndics of the University Press.) London: Cambridge Warehouse, 1875.

In a short introductory note the editor states that this edition of the Nalopakhyānam is "intended for the benefit of those persons who are deterred from the study of Sanskrit in consequence of the complicated characters in which that language is usually printed." From the completeness of the aids and the ingenuity of their arrangement, however, the book seems well calculated to be of great use to the beginner in Sanskrit, quite independently of the character used. The text occupies 83 pages, or scarcely half the volume, and to each of the first eleven of the twenty-six sections or cantos into which the poem is divided is affixed a short list of roots alphabetically arranged and numbered. Each of these roots occurs in composition once or often in the section, and the numeral belonging to it in the list is written over each of these derivatives or compounds in that canto; in this way the learner is

* Mr. Blockmann's well-known name is uniformly thus mis-spelt by Mr. Wheeler.


‡ Conf. ante, p. 233.
enabled at once to refer to the vocabulary, where he finds the meaning of the root and all the derivatives from it that occur in the poem, together with occasional footnotes pointing out cognate words in Pāli, Hindustāni, Gothic, German, Persian, Latin, Greek, Russian, Welsh, &c. Then, an index is prefixed to the Vocabulary, in which the words are arranged in alphabetical order, the root of each being set against it. The ‘Sketch of Sanskrit Grammar’ is derived from Wilson’s Grammar, and is in the briefest form possible, consisting of eight pages of text and seven folding sheets of tables of declensions of nouns, numerals, pronouns, and conjugations of verbs,—arranged in such a form as to be most useful to the learner.

The system of transliteration differs from that commonly used in employing a dot over the letter to indicate the long sounds of a, i, and u, in representing the short i by ï, æ by ri, j by j, e by w, æ by s, q by s. We hardly think the additional simplicity of this is sufficient to justify a departure from the usual system.

Nārādāya Dharmāṣṭra, or the Institutes of Nārāda. Translated for the first time from the unpublished Sanskrit original by Dr. Julius Jolly. With a preface, notes chiefly critical, an index of quotations from Nārada in the principal Indian Digests, and a general Index. (pp. xxxv. and 144, 12mo.) London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

The title-page of this little volume very correctly describes its contents: the appendix, containing the index of quotations and critical notes, occupies 22 pages at the end of the translation. The preface is a very thoughtfully written introduction, containing, in the limited space of twenty-seven pages, a vast amount of condensed information and criticism.

The Nārādāya Dharmāṣṭra or Nārādasṛṣṭi, like other works of the sort, begins with a fabulous account of itself. Abridged it runs thus:—

“Maṇu Prajāpati composed, for the benefit of all beings, a book founded upon custom and law, which consisted of twenty-four divisions, viz. the creation of the world, a classification of beings, an enumeration of the countries assigned to them, the characteristics of a judicial assembly, &c. &c. . . . It contained a hundred thousand ślokas. Prajāpati having composed this book, which was arranged in a thousand chapters, delivered it to the divine sage Nārāda. He then read it and thought by himself: ‘This book cannot be easily studied by human beings on account of its length.’ Therefore he abridged it in twelve thousand ślokas and delivered it to Su-maṭi, the son of Brhigu. He too read it, and bethought himself, what human capacity had been brought to through the successive lessening of life; wherefore he reduced it to four thousand. It is this second abridgment by Su-maṭi which mortals read, whilst the gods, Gandharvas, &c. read the original code consisting of a hundred thousand ślokas, which begins with the śloka: ‘This universe was involved in darkness and could nowhere be discovered; then the holy self-existing spirit appeared with four faces.’ From this beginning, chapter follows chapter in regular succession. There the ninth chapter is headed: ‘Of Judicial Procedure.’ Of this chapter Nārāda, the divine sage, made a general abstract in form of short rules (sūtras).’ And this abstract is the work now translated. But of course, ‘the divine sage’ had nothing to do with its authorship, for even this epitome ascribed to him quotes Nārāda as well as Maṇu as authorities; who the real author of it may have been, it is impossible to say, but in all probability, as Dr. Jolly conjectures, the metrical version we now have is the work of some learned Brāhmaṇa, who perhaps reduced some older law-book into this shape. Its age he discusses at more length, and, in agreement with Auré Marcq and Scanzler, he comes to the conclusion that while the codes of Maṇu and Yājñavalkya must be placed among the earliest law-books, that of Nārāda cannot be attributed to an earlier date than the fifth or sixth century—and perhaps it belongs even to a somewhat later age.

The Nārādasṛṣṭi is perhaps, as described by Dr. Jolly, “the most luminous, complete and systematic” of Hindu law-books, conveying “a more correct and more favourable impression of native Hindu legislation than either the code of Maṇu or Jūgannātha’s Digest, the two most widely-spread works on Hindu law in general, could give,” and its translation must be welcome to all connected with Indian jurisprudence in any form, as well as to Sanskrit scholars. With the exception of an occasional stiffness and want of idiomatic expression, it is clearly rendered in a scholarly fashion. We trust the reception of this little volume will be such as to encourage the author to attempt some of the mediæval law treatises.

ATTIHASIKA ROHASAYA, by Rām Dās Sen.
Babu Rām Dās Sen of Berhampur is known to some of our native scholars as the author of essays on some of the principal Indian poets. This second volume of his, which he styles Historical Essays, treats on a variety of subjects, such as: ‘The Vedas,’ ‘Buddhism,’ ‘Jainism,’ the ‘Pāli language and literature,’ ‘the Era of Śālivāhana,’ ‘the Hindu Drama,’ &c. It is to be regretted he does not issue these interesting studies in an English dress, in which they would be welcomed.

* This verse corresponds with ślokas 5 and 6 of Maṇu, where the opening śloka 1-4 are apparently a later addition.
Of Elephants.

(Conf. Fragm. xxxvi. 10, xxxvii. 10.)

The elephant when feeding at large ordinarily drinks water, but when undergoing the fatigues of war is allowed wine,—not that sort, however, which comes from the grape, but another which is prepared from rice.* The attendants even go in advance of their elephants and gather them flowers; for they are very fond of sweet perfumes, and they are accordingly taken out to the meadows, there to be trained under the influence of the sweetest fragrance. The animal selects the flowers according to their smell, and throws them as they are gathered into a basket which is held out by the trainer. This being filled, and harvest-work, so to speak, completed, he then bathes, and enjoys his bath with all the zest of a consummate voluptuary. On returning from bathing he is impatient to have his flowers, and if there is delay in bringing them he begins roaring, and will not taste a morsel of food till all the flowers he gathered are placed before him. This done, he takes the flowers out of the basket with his trunk and scatters them over the edge of his manger, and makes by this device their fine scent be, as it were, a relish to his food. He strews also a good quantity of them as litter over his stall, for he loves to have his sleep made sweet and pleasant.

The Indian elephants were nine cubits in height and five in breadth. The largest elephants in all the land were those called the Praisian, and next to these the Taxilan.†

FRAGM. LIII.


Of a White Elephant.

(Conf. Fragm. xxxvi. 11, xxxvii. 11.)

An Indian elephant-trainer fell in with a white elephant-calf, which he brought home, where he reared it, and gradually made it quite tame and rode upon it. He became much attached to the creature, which loved him in return, and by its affection required him for its maintenance. Now the king of the Indians, having heard of this elephant, wanted to take it; but the owner, jealous of the love it had for him, and grieving much, no doubt, to think that another should become its master, refused to give it away, and made off at once to the desert mounted on his favourite. The king was enraged at this, and sent men in pursuit, with orders to seize the elephant, and at the same time to bring back the Indian for punishment. Overtaking the fugitive they attempted to execute their purpose, but he resisted and attacked his assailants from the back of the elephant, which in the affray fought on the side of its injured master. Such was the state of matters at the first, but afterwards, when the Indian on being wounded slipped down to the ground, the elephant, true to his salt, bestrides him as soldiers, in battle bestride a fallen comrade, whom they cover with their shields, kills many of the assailants, and puts the rest to flight. Then twining his trunk around his rearer he lifted him on to his back, and carried him home to the stall and remained with him like a faithful friend with his friend, and showed him every kind attention.‡ [O men! how base are ye! ever dancing merrily when ye hear the music of the frying-pan, ever revelling in the banquet, but traitors in the hour of danger, and vainly and for nought sullying the sacred name of friendship.]

FRAGM. LIV.


Of the Brâhmins and their Philosophy.

(Conf. Fragm. xli., xlv., xlv.)

Of the Brâhmins in India.

There is among the Brâhmins in India a sect of philosophers who adopt an independent life, young to his home, where he reared it, and gradually made it quite tame and rode upon it. He became much attached to the creature, which loved him in return, and by its affection required him for its maintenance. Now the king of the Indians, having heard of this elephant, wanted to take it; but the owner, jealous of the love it had for him, and grieving much, no doubt, to think that another should become its master, refused to give it away, and made off at once to the desert mounted on his favourite. The king was enraged at this, and sent men in pursuit, with orders to seize the elephant, and at the same time to bring back the Indian for punishment. Overtaking the fugitive they attempted to execute their purpose, but he resisted and attacked his assailants from the back of the elephant, which in the affray fought on the side of its injured master. Such was the state of matters at the first, but afterwards, when the Indian on being wounded slipped down to the ground, the elephant, true to his salt, bestrides him as soldiers, in battle bestride a fallen comrade, whom they cover with their shields, kills many of the assailants, and puts the rest to flight. Then twining his trunk around his rearer he lifted him on to his back, and carried him home to the stall and remained with him like a faithful friend with his friend, and showed him every kind attention.‡ [O men! how base are ye! ever dancing merrily when ye hear the music of the frying-pan, ever revelling in the banquet, but traitors in the hour of danger, and vainly and for nought sullying the sacred name of friendship.]

FRAGM. LIV.


Of the Brâhmins and their Philosophy.

(Conf. Fragm. xli., xlv., xlv.)

Of the Brâhmins in India.

There is among the Brâhmins in India a sect of philosophers who adopt an independent life, Alexander, of the elephant of Ptolemais—"This elephant during the whole battle gave extraordinary proofs of his sagacity and care of the king's person. As long as that prince was able to fight, he defended him with great courage, and repulsed all assailants; and when he perceived him ready to sink under the multitude of darts, and the wounds with which he was covered, to prevent his falling off he knelt down in the softest manner, and, with his proboscis gently drew every dart out of his body."
and abstain from animal food and all victuals cooked by fire, being content to subsist upon fruits, which they do not so much as gather from the trees, but pick up when they have dropped to the ground, and their drink is the water of the river T a g a b e n a. § Throughout life they go about naked, saying that the body has been given by the Deity as a covering for the soul. ‖ They hold that God is light, ‖ but not such light as we see with the eye, nor such as the sun or fire, but God is with them the Word,—by which term they do not mean articulate speech, but the discourse of reason, whereby the hidden mysteries of knowledge are discerned by the wise. This light, however, which they call the Word, and think to be God, is, they say, known only by the Brachhmans themselves, because they alone have discarded vanity, ‖ which is the outermost covering of the soul. The members of this sect regard death with contemptuous indifference, and, as we have seen already, they always pronounce the name of the Deity with a tone of peculiar reverence, and adore him with hymns. They neither have wives nor beget children. Persons who desire to lead a life like theirs cross over from the other side of the river, and remain with them for good, never returning to their own country. These also are called Brachhmans, although they do not follow the same mode of life, for there are women in the country, from whom the native inhabitants are sprung, and of these women they beget offspring. With regard to the Word, which they call God, they hold that it is corporeal, and that it wears the body as its external covering, just as sunshine as fish see it when they spring up out of the water into the air.

FRAGM. LV.

They (the Brachhmans) eat what they find on the ground, such as leaves of trees and wild herbs, like cattle.

Fragm. LV. B.


Of Calanous and Mandanis.

They (the Brachhmans) eat what they find on the

§ Probably the Sambhata Tunguvena, now the Tunga-kranda, a large affluent of the Kripa.

‖ Vide ante, vol. V. p. 128, note ‖ A doctrine of the Vedâtsa school of philosophy, according to which the soul is incased as in a sheath, or rather a succession of sheaths. The first or inner case is the intellectual one, composed of the sheer and simple elements uncombined, and consisting of the intellect joined with the five senses. The second is the mental sheath, in which mind is joined with the preceding, or, as some hold, with the organs of action. The third comprises these organs and the vital faculties, and is called the organic or vital case. These three sheaths (kâya) constitute the subtle frame which attends the soul in its transmigrations. The exterior case is composed of the coarse elements combined in certain proportions, and is called the gross body. See Colebrooke's Essay on the Philosophy of the Hindus, Cowell's ed. pp. 380-6.

* ἐγνώρισμα, which probably translates anekâsā, literally 'egotism,' and hence 'self-consciousness,' the peculiar and appropriate function of which is selfish conviction; that is, a belief that in perception and meditation I am concerned; that the objects of sense concern Me—in short that IAM. The knowledge, however, which comes from comprehending that Being which has self-existence completely destroys the ignorance which says 'I am.'

** Compare Plato, Phæd., cap. 32, where Sokrates speaks of the soul as at present confined in the body as in a species of prison. This was a doctrine of the Pythagoreans, whose philosophy, even in its most striking peculiarities, bears such a close resemblance to the Indian as greatly to favour the supposition that it was directly borrowed from it. There was even a tradition that Pythagoras had visited India.
Tyberoboas, yet crossed the river sucking, as it were, the pure breast of a mother. When everything which we trample under foot is an object of admiration to the lucre-loving Kalanos, your worthless friend, but no friend of ours,—a miserable creature, and more to be pitied than the unhappiest wretch, for by setting his heart on lucre he wrought the perdition of his soul! Hence he seemed neither worthy of us, nor worthy of the friendship of God, and hence he neither was content to revel away life in the woods beyond all reach of care, nor was he cheered with the hope of a blessed hereafter: for by his love of money he slew the very life of his miserable soul.

"We have, however, amongst us a sage called Dandamis, whose home is the woods, where he lies on a pallet of leaves, and where he has nigh at hand the fountain of peace, whereof he drinks, sucking, as it were, the pure breast of a mother."

King Alexander, accordingly, when he heard of all this, was desirous of learning the doctrines worshipped by you; but since he is of no importance he is rejected by us, and those things we certainly do not seek, please Calanus because of his greediness for money. But he was not ours, a man such as has miserably injured and lost his soul, on which account he is plainly unworthy to be a friend either of God or of ours, nor has he deserved security among the woods in this world, nor can he hope for the glory which is promised in the future.

When the emperor Alexander came to the forests, he was not able to see Dandamis as he passed through. . . .

When, therefore, the above-mentioned messenger came to Dandamis, he addressed him thus:—"The emperor Alexander, the son of the great Jupiter, who is lord of the human race, has ordered that you should hasting to him, for if you come, he will reward you with great and splendid gifts, but if you refuse will cut off your head."

Dandamis, with a complacent smile, heard him to the end, but did not so much as lift up his head from his couch of leaves, and while still retaining his recumbent attitude returned this scornful answer:—"God, the supreme king, is never the author of insolent wrong, but is the creator of light, of peace, of life, of water, of the body of man, and of souls, and these he receives when death sets them free, being in no way subject to evil desire. He alone is the god of my homage, who abhors slaughter and instigates no wars. But Alexander is not God, since he must taste of death; and how can such as he be the world's master, who has not yet reached the further shore of the river Tiberoboas zone of Gadæs, nor has beheld the course of the sun in the centre of the world? Therefore many nations do not yet even know his name. If, however, the country he possesses cannot contain him, let him cross our river and he will find a soil which is able to support men. All those things Alexander promises would be useless to me if he gave them: I have leaves for a house, live on the herbs at hand and water to drink; other things collected with labour, and which perish and yield nothing but sorrow to those seeking them or possessing them,—these I despise. I therefore now rest secure, and with closed eyes I care for nothing. If I wish to keep gold, I destroy my sleep; Earth supplies me with everything, as a mother does to her child. Wherever I wish to go, I proceed, and wherever I do not wish to be, no necessity of care can force me to go. And if he wish to cut off my head, he cannot take my soul; he will only take the fallen head, but the departing soul will leave the head like a portion of some garment, and will restore it to whence it received it, namely, to the earth. But when I shall have become a spirit I shall ascend to God, who has enclosed it within this flesh. When he did this he wished to try us, how, after leaving him, we would live in this world. And afterwards, when we shall have returned to him, he will demand from us an account of this life. Standing by him I shall see my injury, and shall contemplate his
and has not yet seated himself on a throne of universal dominion? Moreover, Alexander has neither as yet entered living into Hades, nor does he know the course of the sun through the central regions of the earth, while the nations on its boundaries have not so much as heard his name. If his present dominions are not capacious enough for his desire, let him cross the Ganges river, and he will find a region able to sustain men if the country on our side be too narrow to hold him. Know this, however, that what Alexander offers me, and the gifts he promises, are all things to me utterly useless; but the things which I prize, and find of real use and worth, are these leaves which are my house, these blooming plants which supply me with dainty food, and the water which is my drink, while all other possessions and things, which are amassed with anxious care, are wont to prove ruinous to those who amass them, and cause only sorrow and vexation, with which every poor mortal is fully fraught. But as for me, I lie upon the forest leaves, and, having nothing which requires guarding, close my eyes in tranquil slumber; whereas had I gold to guard, that would banish sleep. The earth supplies me alone, now silent, will remain, but the soul will go away to its Master, leaving the body like a torn garment upon the earth, whence also it was taken. Then, becoming spirit, shall ascend to my God, requires guarding, close my eyes in tranquil sorrow and vexation, with which every poor mortal is fully fraught. But as for me, I lie upon the forest leaves, and, having nothing which requires guarding, close my eyes in tranquil slumber; whereas had I gold to guard, that would banish sleep. The earth supplies me alone, now silent, will remain, but the soul will go away to its Master, leaving the body like a torn garment upon the earth, whence also it was taken. Then, becoming spirit, shall ascend to my God, who enclosed us in flesh, and left us upon the ground to prove whether when here below we shall live obedient to his ordinances, and who also will require of us, when we depart hence to his presence, an account of our life, since he is judge of all proud wrong-doing; for the groans of the oppressed become the punishments of the oppressors.

"Let Alexander, then, terrify with these threats those who wish for gold and for wealth, and who dread death, for against us these weapons are both alike powerless, since the Bragmanes neither love gold nor fear death. Go, then, and tell Alexander this: "Dandamis has no need of aught that is yours, and therefore will not go to you, but if you want anything from Dandamis come you to him.""

Alexander, on receiving from Onesikritus a report of the interview, felt a stronger desire than ever to see Dandamis, who, though old and naked, was the only antagonist in whom he, the conqueror of many nations, had found more than his match, &c.

**Fragm. LVI.**


**List of the Indian Races.**

The other journeys made thence (from the Hypphasis) for Seleukos Nikator are as follows:—168 miles to the Hesidrus, and to the river Jomanes as many (some copies add 5 miles); from thence to the Ganges 112 miles. 119 miles to Rhodopha (others give 325 miles for this distance). To the town Kalinipaxa 167—500. Others give 265 miles. Thence to the confluence of the Jomanes and Ganges 625 miles (many add 13 miles), and to the town Palimbothra 425. To the mouth of the Ganges 738 miles.

'The races which we may enumerate without mention of the Tolsonese, and all other races of the kind, which are not mentioned in this famous itinerary all lay on the Royal Road, which ran from the Indus to Palibothra. They have been thus identified. The Hesidrus is now the Satlji, and the point of departure lay immediately below its junction with the Hypphasis (now the Beas). The direct route the uca (old Lashtab, Sirhind, and Ambala) conducted the traveller to the ferry of the Jomanes, now the Jannas, in the neighbourhood of the present Barakah, whence the road led to the Ganges at a point which, to judge from the distance given (112 miles), must have been near the site of the far-famed Hastinapura. The next stage to be reached was Rhodopha, the position of which, both its name and its..."
The river Prinases and the Cainsas (which flows into the Ganges) are both navigable.|| The tribes called Calingae are nearest the sea, and higher up are the Mandei, and the Malli in whose country is Mount Mallus, the boundary of all that district being the Ganges.

(22.) This river, according to some, rises from uncertain sources, like the Nile, and inundates similarly the countries lying along its course; others say that it rises on the Skythian mountains, and has nineteen tributaries, of which, besides those already mentioned, the Condohates, Euanobos, Cosogus, and Sonus are navigable. Others again assert that it issues forth once with loud roar from its fountain, and after tumbling down a steep and rocky channel is received immediately on reaching the level plains into a lake, whence it flows out with a gentle current, being at the narrowest eight miles, and never of less depth than twenty paces (one hundred feet) in the final part of its course, which is through the country of the Gangarides. The royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot-soldiers, 1000‡ horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in "propect of war,"

The Gangarides or Gangaridas occupied the region corresponding roughly with that now called Lower Bengal, and consisted of various indigenous tribes, which in the course of time became more or less Ayrianized. As no word is found in Sanskrit to which their name corresponds, it has been supposed of Greek invention (Lassen, Ind. Alter. vol. 11. p. 201), but erroneously, for it must have been current at the period of the Macedonian invasion: since Alexander, in reply to inquiries regarding the south country, who was informed that the region of the Ganges was inhabited by two principal nations, the Pari and the Gangaridae, M. de St.-Martin thinks that their name has been preserved almost identically in that of the Gongbris of South Babar, whose traditions refer their origin to Tirhut; and he would identify their royal city Parthalis (or Portalis) with Vardhana (contraction of Vardhamana), now Bardwan. Others, however, place it, as has been elsewhere stated, at the Mahabli. In Poilomy their capital is Gangates, which must have been situated near where Oudhists now stand. The Gangaridas are mentioned by Virgil, Georg. III. 27—

"In foribus ruminae ex auro solidoque elephanto
Gangaridae simul, victoriosis arma Quirini.
"High are the gates in elephant and gold
The crowd shall Caesar's Indian war behold."

(Dryden's translation.)

† Pumas. The Prinases is probably the Ymsai or Tenas, which in the Purana is called the Paradis. The Cainsas, notwithstanding the objections of Schwabeck, must be identified with the Cane, which is a tributary of the Ganges.

|| For the identification of these and other affluents of the Ganges see Notes on Arrian, c. IV., Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 382.

‡ For an account of the different theories regarding the sources of the Ganges see Smith's Dict. of Asia, Gangaridades, Euanobos, v. L Cunningham (Varman, Vermamman.

† region—v. A. Cunningham (Vermamman.

† region. The common reading, however—

"Gangaridas Calingarum. Regia," &c., makes the Gangaridas a branch of the Kalingas. This is probably the correct reading, for, as General Cunningham states (Aene. Georg. of Int. vol. 5. p. 318-319), certain inscriptions speak of 'Tri-Kalingas,' or 'the Three Kalingas;' "The name of Tri-Kalingas," he adds, "is probably old, as Pliny mentions the Macco-Galingae and the Gangaridas-Calingae as separate peoples from the Calingae, while the Makkohadiatica names the Kalingas three separate times, and each time in conjunction with different names. When Garibaldi, in his work "Calcina Porches, 1st ed. pp. 155, 147 note, and 328."

As Tri-Kalingas thus corresponds with the great province of Telengana, it seems probable that the name of Telengana may be only a slightly contracted form of Tri-Kalingas, or 'the Three Kalingas'; (Porches.) vv. 11. Proctae, Portae. Vide ante, p. 130, note—20.

† Ltd. mile.—v. 1. LXX. mill.

† Lucian, in his satirical piece on the death of Heracleon (cap. 25), refers to this practice—"But what is the motive which prompts this man (Heracleon) to fling himself into the flames? God knows it is simply that he may show off how he can endure pain as do the Brachmans, to whom it pleased Thengas to liken him, just as if Ionia had not her own crop of fools and vain-glorying persons. But let him by all means imitate the Brachmans, for, as Xenocrates informs us, who was the pilot of Alexander's fleet and slew Kanvas, they do not immolate themselves by leaping into the flames, but when the pyre is made they stand beside it perfectly motionless, and suffer themselves to be gently broiled; then deviously ascending the pile they are burned to death, and never swerve, even ever so little, from their recumbent position."—vv. 11. modo Galgamin, Mogogalism.

† Citesius—v. 1. Achises.

* These tribes were chiefly located in the regions between the left bank of the Ganges and the Hindoos. Of the Galmodroësi, Preti, Calissas, Sasuri, Passale, Colubae, Oxularae, Abali, Talcutha. The king of the Ganges is called Pa ralingse. The common reading, however—

"Gangaridas Calingarum. Regia," &c., makes the Ganges...
these keeps under arms 50,000 foot-soldiers, 4000 cavalry, and 400 elephants. Next come the Andaræ; a still more powerful race, which possesses numerous villages, and thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and which supplies its king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 1000 elephants. Gold is very abundant among the Dardæ, and silver among the Sciri.

But the Prasii surpass in power and glory every other people, not only in this quarter, but one may say in all India, their capital being Palibothra, a very large and wealthy city, after which some call the people itself the Palibothri;—nay, even the whole tract along the Ganges. Their king has in his pay a standing army of 600,000 foot-soldiers, 30,000 cavalry, and 9000 elephants; whence may be formed some conjecture as to the vastness of his resources.

After these, but more inhand, are the Monedes folow war, and others trade. The noblest and richest manage public affairs, administer justice, and sit in council with the kings. There exists also a fifth class, consisting of those most eminent for their wisdom, who, when sated with life, seek death by mounting a burning funeral pile. Those, however, who have become the devotees of a stern sect, and pass their life in the woods, hunt elephants, which, when made quite tame and docile, they use for ploughing and for riding on.

In the Ganges there is an island extremely populous, occupied by a very powerful nation whose king keeps under arms 50,000 foot and 4000 horse. In fact no one invested with kingly power ever keeps on foot a military force without a very great number of elephants and foot and cavalry.

The Prasian nation, which is extremely powerful, inhabits a city called Palibothra, whence...
and Suari, in whose country is Mount Maleus, on which shadows fall towards the north in winter, and towards the south in summer, for six months alternately. Baetos asserts that the north pole in these parts is seen but once in the year, and only for fifteen days; while Megasthenes says that the same thing happens in many parts of India. The south pole is called by the Indians Dramasa. The river Jomae flows through the Pālibothri into the Ganges between the towns Methora and Carisobora.† In the parts which lie southward from the Ganges the inhabitants, already swarthy, are deeply coloured by the sun, though not scorched black like the Ethiopians. The nearer they approach the Indus the more plainly does their complexion betray the influence of the sun.

The Indus skirts the frontiers of the Prasii, whose mountain tracts are said to be inhabited by the Pāγmies.† Artemidoros sets down the distance between the two rivers at 121 miles.

(23.) The Indus, called by the inhabitants

same call the nation itself the Pālibothri. Their king keeps in his pay at all times 60,000 foot, 30,000 horse, and 8000 elephants.

Beyond Pālibothra is Mount Maleus,† on which shadows in winter fall towards the north, in summer towards the south, for six months alternately. In that region the Bears are seen but once a year, and not for more than fifteen days, as Boton

† The Moneides or Mandei are placed by Yule about Gaggar, on the upper waters of the Brahmani, S.W. of Chustia Nagar. Lassen places them S of the Mahahadi about Songar, where Yule has the Saari or Salarne, the Savara of Sanskrit authors, which Lassen places between Senghor and Singhum. See note §, p. 127.—Ed.

† This, of course, can only occur if the equator, from which the southern extremity of India is about 600 miles distant.

† Pālibothra must here denote the subject of the region of which Pālibothra was the capital, and not merely the inhabitants of that city, as Renou and others supposed, and so fixed its site at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamuna. Methora is easily identified with Mathurā. Carisobora—v.R. Chirychan, Ciarisobora. This is the Kissanora of Arrian (ente, vol. V. p. 39), which Yule places at Batesar, and Lassen at Agra, which makes the Sanskrit Krishnagur. Wilkins (As. Res. vol. V. p. 370) says Carisobora is now called "Nagpur or Nagar by the Musulman, and Kalispura by the Hindus." Vide ante, p. 245, note t.—Ed.

† See Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 330. Yule identifies the first of these with the area enclosed by the Nara from above Holli to Hardabad, and the delta of the Indus.—Ed.

†† Dandagula. Cape Kalinga is identified by Yule as Point Godavari.—Ed.

§ Both the distance and the name point to the great port town of Coringa, as the monument of Coringa, which is situated on a projecting point of land at the mouth of the Godavari river. The town of Dandagula or Dandapura, I take to be the Dandapura of the Buddhist chronicles, which as the capital of Kalinga may with much probability be identified with Pāli or Mahendri, which is only 30 miles to the north-east of Coringa. From the great similarity of the Greek Π and Ι, I think it not improbable that the Greek name may have been Dandapura, which is almost the same as Dandapura. But in this case the Danda or 'tooth-roots' of Buddha must have been enshrined in Kalinga as early as the time of Piyadasi, which is confirmed by the statement of the Buddhist chronicles that the 'left canine tooth' of Buddha was brought to Kalinga immediately after his death, whereas it was enshrined by the reigning sovereign, Brahmadatta."

Canningbouse, Geog. p. 513.

††† Tropina answers to Tripontari or Tripuranata, opposite Kohin.—Ed. The distance given is measured from the mouth of the Ganges, and not from Cape Coringa.

Possibly, as suggested by Yule, Mount Pālāvastu, near the Danumah, and not far from the Tropic; vide ante, p. 127 note §, and conf. vol. I. p. 445. The Mall (see above), in whose country it was, are not to be confounded with another tribe of the same name in the Panjab, mentioned by Arrian; see vol. V. pp. 87, 90, 355.—Ed.
D i c e m b e r , 1 8 7 7 .


3 4 1

s a t a , where there is the greatest emporium of trade in India, 750 miles; to the town in the island of P a t a l a mentioned above, 620 miles.

The hill-tribes between the Indus and the Jumna are the C e s i ; the G e t r i b o n i , who live in the woods; then the M e g a l l e , whose king is master of five hundred elephants and an army of horse and foot of unknown strength; the Ch r y s e i , the P a r a s a n g a , and the A s a n g a , where tigers abound, noted for their ferocity. The force under arms consists of 30,000 foot, 300 elephants, and 800 horse. These are shut in by the Indus, and are surrounded by a circle of mountains and deserts over a space of 625 miles. Below the deserts are the D a r i , the S u r a , then deserts again for 187 miles; these deserts encircling the fertile tracts just as the sea encircles islands. Below these deserts we find the M a l t e c c o r s , S i n g h a , M a r o h a , R a r u n g a , M o r u n i . These inhabit the hills which in an unbroken chain run parallel to the shores of the ocean. They are free and have no kings, and occupy the mountain heights, wherein they have built many cities. Next follow the N a r e s , enclosed by the loftiest of Indian mountains, C a p i t a l i a . The inhabitants on the other side of this mountain work extensive mines of gold and silver. Next are the O r a t u r e s , whose king has only ten elephants, though he has a very strong force of infantry. Next again are the V a r e t a t e s , subject to a king, who keep no elephants, but trust entirely to their horse and foot. Then the O d o m b a e r s ; the S a l a b a s t r e s , the H o r a t a , who have been the daughter of Hercules. The city N y a s a is assigned to this region, as is also the moun-

The P a n d e a n nation is governed by females, and their first queen is said to have been the daughter of Hercules. The city N y a s a is assigned to this region, as is also the moun-

The identification is, however, rejected by M. de S t. Martin. The S i n g h a r s are represented at the present day by the S a n g h u s of Omarak (called the Song by M a r h a s), descendants of an ancient R a p a t tribe called the S i n g h a r s . The M a r h a s are probably the Marathas of the list of the P e r d h u s a n h a d t h a l d , which was later than Pliny's time by four and a half centuries. In the interval they were displaced, but the replacement of tribes in those days. So the R o n g a , is perhaps be
d the ancestors of the R o n g a t h e R o n s a g a n g a n o w found on the banks of the S an d i in the neighbourhood of D i h a b i .

T he M o r u n a r e beyond doubt the sacred A r b o d h a , or Mount A r v a l i , which, attaining an elevation of 6000 feet, rises far above any other summit of the A r v a l i range. The name of the N i r o c a recalls that of the N a r i , which the R a p a t chronicles apply to the northern belt of the desert (A c s , A g i n , 211); so St. M a r i n .

T he A r v a l i inhabitants are represented in the M a r a h a s , who played a great part in the history of India before the M o r u n a r e conquest, and who, in the G a n g a t i c provinces, regard Ajm i r , at the eastern point of the A r v a l i , as their ancestral seat.

T he O d o m b a r o n , like a stone carved by the river, is a name supposed by the A r v a l i to have been the once sacred A r b o d h a , or Mount A r v a l i , which, attaining an elevation of 6000 feet, rises far above any other summit of the A r v a l i range. The name of the N i r o c a recalls that of the N a r i , which the R a p a t chronicles apply to the northern belt of the desert (A c s , A g i n , 211); so St. M a r i n .

T he O d o m b a r o n , like a stone carved by the river, is a name supposed by the A r v a l i to have been the once sacred A r b o d h a , or Mount A r v a l i , which, attaining an elevation of 6000 feet, rises far above any other summit of the A r v a l i range. The name of the N i r o c a recalls that of the N a r i , which the R a p a t chronicles apply to the northern belt of the desert (A c s , A g i n , 211); so St. M a r i n .

T he O d o m b a r o n , like a stone carved by the river, is a name supposed by the A r v a l i to have been the once sacred A r b o d h a , or Mount A r v a l i , which, attaining an elevation of 6000 feet, rises far above any other summit of the A r v a l i range. The name of the N i r o c a recalls that of the N a r i , which the R a p a t chronicles apply to the northern belt of the desert (A c s , A g i n , 211); so St. M a r i n .
a fine city, defended by marshes which serve as a ditch, wherein crocodiles are kept, which, having a great avidity for human flesh, prevent all access to the city except by a bridge. And another city of theirs is much admired, Autome-la,* which, being seated on the coast at the confluence of five rivers, is a noble emporium of trade. The king is master of 1600 elephants, 150,000 foot, and 5000 cavalry. The poorer king of the Charmae has but sixty elephants, and his force otherwise is insignificant. Next come the Pandæ, the only race in India ruled by women.† They say that Hercules having but one daughter, who was on that account all the more beloved, endowed her with a noble kingdom. Her descendants rule over 300 cities, and command an army of 150,000 foot and 5000 elephants. Next, with 300 cities, the Syrieni, Derrangae, Posinge, Buzæ, Gogiarei, Umbre, Nectar were sacred to Jupiter, Meros by name, in a cave on which the ancient Indians affirm Father Bacchus was nourished; while the name has given rise to the well-known fantastic story that Bacchus was born from the thigh of his father. Beyond the mouth of the Indus are two islands, Chrype and Argyre, which yield such an abundant supply of metals that many writers allege their soils consist of gold and of silver.

* v. 1. Antonula.
† The Syrieni have been identified with the inhabitants of Charmanmandales, a district of the west mentioned in the Maghabdrata and also in the Vishnus Purana under the form Charmarkandra. They are now represented by the Charmas or Chamases of Bundelkhand and the part adjacent to the basin of the Ganges. The Pandæ, who were their next neighbours, must have occupied a considerable portion of the basin of the river Chamal, called in Sanskrit geography the Charmanvati. They were a branch of the famous race of the going, which made for itself a name for the different parts of India.
‡ The names in this list lead us to the desert lying between the Indus and the Arval range. Most of the tribes enumerated are mentioned in the lists given in the Rajput chronicles, and have been identified by M. de St.-Martin as follows:—The Syrieni are the Suryiyans, who under that name have at all times occupied the country near the Indus in the neighbourhood of Baikarna. Darangae is the Latin transcription of the name of the great race of the Jhddæjas, a branch of the Rajputs which at the present day possesses Kachch. The Buzæ represent the Baddas, an ancient branch of the same Jhddæjas (Tod, Annals and Antiq. of the Ind. vol. I. p. 26). The Gogiarei (other readings Gogisarei, Gogarei) are the Kokarias, who are now settled on the banks of the Ghara or Lower Satlej. The Umbre are represented by the Ummanis, and the Nerei, perhaps by the Marnis, who, though belonging to Baluchistan, had their ancestral seats in the regions to the east of the Indus. The Nubeshe, who figure in the old Indian traditions of Sind, perhaps correspond to the Nambu, and the Gogarei are identical with the Gogis or more appropriately with the Gurguks, who adjoin the island Patala, from the furthest shore of which to the Caspian gates the distance is said to be 1925 miles.§

Then next to these towards the Indus come, in an order which is easy to follow, the Amatæ, Bolingae, Gallitalute, Dimuri, Megari, Ordabæ,| Mesæ; after these the Uri and Sileni.‡ Immediately beyond come deserts extending for 250 miles. These being passed, we come to the Organagæ, A baortæ, Sibræ, Suertæ, and after these to deserts as extensive as the former. Then come the Sarophages, Sorgæ, Baroomataæ, and the Umbritae, who consist of twelve tribes, each possessing two cities, and the Aseni, who possess three cities.† Their capital is Bucrephala, built where Alexander's famous horse

from the Median town of Rihagæ, now represented by the ruins called Alia, found a mile or two to the south of Tohera. This pass was one of the most important places in ancient geography, and from it many of the mendicants were measured. Strabo, who frequently mentions it, states that its distance from the extreme promontories of India (Capo Comorin, &c.) was 14,000 stadia.† J. v. 1. Archelaus.

In the grammatical apophthegms of Panini, the Uvraginæ is mentioned as a territory comprising part of the great tribe of the Silvæs (Lassen, Ind. lit. l. 1. p. 618, note, or 2nd ed. p. 790 n.), and from this indication M. de St.-Martin has been led to place the Bolingæ at the western declivity of the Arval range, on the mouth of the Indus, who adjoin the island Patala, from the furthest shore of which to the Caspian gates the distance is said to be 1925 miles.§

Then next to these towards the Indus come, in an order which is easy to follow, the Amatæ, Bolingae, Gallitalute, Dimuri, Megari, Ordabæ,| Mesæ; after these the Uri and Sileni.‡ Immediately beyond come deserts extending for 250 miles. These being passed, we come to the Organagæ, A baortæ, Sibræ, Suertæ, and after these to deserts as extensive as the former. Then come the Sarophages, Sorgæ, Baroomataæ, and the Umbritae, who consist of twelve tribes, each possessing two cities, and the Aseni, who possess three cities.† Their capital is Bucrephala, built where Alexander's famous horse

* v. II. Paragomatae, Umbritæ.—Baramaseni Gumbriengæ.

The tribes here enumerated must have occupied a tract of country lying above the confines of the Indus with the stream of the combined rivers of the Panjâb. They are obscure, and their names cannot with any certainty be identified if we except that of the Sibars, who are undoubtedly the Sauviris of the Maghabdrata, and who, as their name is almost invariably combined with that of the Indus, must have dwelt not far from its banks. The Afghan tribe of the Afritæ may perhaps represent the Absoræ, and the Sarakshins or Saravanis, of the same stock, the Sarchphæs. The Umbritæ and the Aseni take us to
of that name was buried.† Hillmen follow next, inhabiting the base of Caucasus, the Solgad, and the Sondra; and if we cross to the other side of the Indus and follow its course downward we meet the Sambel, Sanmuaee, Bisambrata, Osil, Antixeni, and the Taxilla‡ with a famous city. Then succeeds a level tract of country known by the general name of Amanda,§ whereas the tribes are four in number the Pencolita, Arazgilite, Gerete, Assad.

Many writers, however, do not give the river of the east. The former are perhaps identical with the Ambas of the third name of Alexander, and the Abraham of Sanskrit writings, who dwelt in the neighborhood of the lower Aras. Taxilla is the site of the great battle on the banks of the Hydaspes on which he defeated Peric, founded two cities, Bhopalha or Bhopalain, as named in honor of his celebrated charger, and which are still in honor of his victory called Taxilla, it is known for certain, was built on the field of battle, and its position was therefore on the left side of the Hydaspes, probably about where Mokeshah has been on the same side of the river in the interior of the country; whereas Strabo and all the other ancient authorities place it on the opposite side. Strabo again places it at the point where the Indus and the Hydaspes cross that river on the side of his camp. General Cunningham fixes it at Jalipur rather than at Jalandhar, 30 miles higher up on the river, which is favored by Burneo and General Court and Abbott. Jalipur is about ten miles distant from Dilkaway, where, according to Cunningham, the crossing of the river was most probably effected.

† Of Arazga.

‡ The Saldu are the same as the Sindri and cannot be identified, and of the tribes which were seated on the west of the Indus only the Taxilla are known. Their capital was the famous Taxila, which was visited by Alexander the Great. The position of this city, says Cunningham, is as hithe the place of meeting of two rivers, the Taxila or Indus, and the Jabor. This is the site of the ancient Taxila, as far as we can judge from the remains of the city described by Pliny, and partly to the want of information regarding the vast ruins which still exist in the vicinity of Shah-dheri. All the remains of Pliny agree in stating that the ruins of Taxila extend from 30 Roman, or 53 English miles, from Pencolita or Hashtnagar, which would fix its site somewhere on the Indus, or the west of Hasnabad, or just two days' march from the Indus. But the Itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims agree in placing it at three days' journey to the east of the Indus, or in the immediate neighborhood of Kala-ka-Naur. It therefore fixes its site near Shah-dheri (which is a mile to the north-east of that Saril, in the extensive ruins of a fortified city abounding with abbeys, monasteries, and temples. From this place to Hashtnagar the distance is at the most 74 English miles, or 49 in Pliny's estimate. Taxila represents the Sanskrit Talaksal, of which the Pali form is Talaksula, whence the Greek form was derived into the western or Sahakian, which is the usual, and is derived from a Sahak, a horse. The name is derived from a horse, signified merely 'the cavalry,' or 'severed head.'—Anc. (Eng.) of Ind. pp. 104-121.

§ As the name Amanda is entirely unknown, M. de St.-Martin proposes without hesitation the correction Gandhara, on the ground that the territory assigned to the Amanda corresponds exactly to Gandhara, of which the territory occupied by the Pencolita (Punjab), as we know from other grounds, do not others than the Gnares of Arii, and the Assi may perhaps be identical with the Assian, or, as Strabo gives the name, Hiranai or Paili. The Arasaguites are only mentioned by Pliny. Two tribes settled in the same locality are perhaps indicated by the name—the Arasaguites mentioned by Polyeor, as going to the Sanskrit Drav; and the Gunthi or Ghulat, the Tahalata of Sanskrit, formerly mentioned.

Indus as the western boundary of India, but including within it four satrapies,—the Gedrosi, Arachotae, Arii, Paropamisadae, making the river Cophas its furthest limit; though others prefer to consider all these as belonging to the Arii.

Many writers further include in India even the city of Nysa and Mount Meru, sacred to Father Bacchus, whence the origin of the fable that he sprang from the thigh of Jupiter. They include also the Astana, in whose country the vine grows abundantly, and the larch, and boxwood.

† Geodrosia comprehended probably nearly the same district which is now known by the name of Mekran. Alexander marched through it on returning from his invasion of the Indians. Arachotae extended from the chain of mountains which was called the Suleiman as far southward as Gedrosia. Its capital, Arachotan, was probably the spot on the side of Mount Kumtagh, the name of which, it has been thought, preserves that of Ghandhara. According to Colonel Rawlinson the name of Arachotan is derived from Harakwati (Sanskrit, Harakhwati), and is mentioned by Ptolemy among the names in the Arabic Hakdut. It is, as has already been noticed, the Hesamatas of the Buddhist inscription. Aria denoted the country lying between Medesia and Persis; Aridus, of which it formed a part, and of which it is sometimes used as the equivalent, was a wider district, which comprehended nearly the whole of ancient Persia. In the Persian name the Arachotan appears as Hariva, in the Babylonian part as Awaran. Regarding Paropamisades and the Cophas see vol. v. pp. 329 and 335.

¶ Other readings of the name are Aspagan and Aspago. M. de St.-Martin, whose work has so often been referred to, says:—"We have seen already that in an extract from old Holkadas preserved in Stephen of Byzantium the city of Kanagoryes is called a Gandhairia city, and that in Herodotus the name is attributed to the city of Kaspyros or Kaspishepa, and consequently in the designation mentioned by Herodotus the indigenous name of the Afghans, Pakita (in the plural Pakita-Num), the name which the greater part of the tribes among themselves, and in their dialects, give to their national dialect. We have here, then, as Lassen has noticed, a historical proof of the presence of the Afghans in their actual home at least five centuries bc, to judge from the name Mokeshah. Now, as the seat of the Aghan or Pakita nationality is chiefly in the basin of the Kophes, to the west of the Indus, which forms its eastern boundary, this further confirms what we have already seen, that it is to the west of the great river we must seek for the site of the city of Kanagoryes or Kasyaparyes, and consequently of the standard of Hesamatas. The employment of two different names to designate the very same country is easily explained by this double fact, that one of the names was the indigenous designation of the land, which the other was the indigenous name applied to its inhabitants. There was yet another name, of Sanskrit origin, used as a territorial appellation of Gandhara—that of Gandhara—is found in Herodotus, derived from a stava, a horse, signified merely the cavaliers; it was less an ethnic, in the rigorous acceptation of the word, than a general appellation applied by the Indians of the region of the Kophes, renowned from antiquity for the excellence of its horses. In the popular dialects the Sanskrit word took the usual form Assakasavar (Assakasovar) or Assakasvar (Assakasvar) in the Greek historians of the expedition of Alexander and subsequent writers. It is impossible not to recognize here the name of Aghan or Afghan. This term, which in its popular form Assakas was correctly rendered Assakas, is a contracted form of Assakas.,. Neither the Gandhara of Hesamatas nor the Paktyl of Herodotus are known. (Arian and other Greek and Latin writers of the history.)
and every kind of fruit-tree found in Greece. The remarkable and almost fabulous accounts which are current regarding the fertility of its soil, and the nature of its fruits and trees, its beasts and birds and other animals, will be set down each in its own place in other parts of this work. A little further on I shall speak of the satrapies, but the island of Tāprobane requires my immediate attention.

But before we come to this island there are others, one being Patala, which, as we have indicated, lies at the mouth of the Indus, triangular in shape, and 2200 miles in breadth. Beyond the mouth of the Indus are Chryse and Argyre, rich, as I believe, in metals. For I cannot readily believe, what is asserted by some writers, that their soil is impregnated with gold and silver. At a distance of twenty miles from these lies Crocala, from which, at a distance of twelve miles, is Bibaga, which abounds with oysters and other shell-fish. Next comes Toralliba, nine miles distant from the last-named island, beside many others unworthy of note.

Fragm. LVII.
Of Dionysos.
( Cf. Epit. 25. et seq.)

Dionysos, in his expedition against the Indians, in order that the cities might receive him willingly, disguised the arms with which he had equipped his troops, and made them wear soft raiment and fawn-skins. The spears were wrapped round with ivy, and the thyrsus had a sharp point. He gave the signal for battle by cymbals and drums instead of the trumpet, and by regaling the enemy with wine diverted their thoughts from war to dancing. These and all other Bacchic orgies were employed in the system of warfare by which he subjugated the Indians and all the rest of Asia.

Dionysos, in the course of his Indian campaign, seeing that his army could not endure the fiery heat of the air, took forcible possession of the three-peaked mountain of India. Of these peaks one is called Korbibé, another Kondaské, but to the third he himself gave the name of Meros, in remembrance of his birth. Thereon were many fountains of water sweet to drink, game in great plenty, tree-fruit in unsparing profusion, and snows which gave new vigour to the frame. The troops quartered there made a sudden descent upon the barbarians of the plain, whom they easily routed, since they attacked them with missiles from a commanding position on the heights above.

[Dionysos, after conquering the Indians, invaded Baktria, taking with him as auxiliaries the Indians and Amazons. That country has for its boundary the river Sarangés. The Baktrians seized the mountains overlooking that river with a view to attack Dionysos, in crossing it, from a post of advantage. He, however, having encamped along the river, ordered the Amazons and the Bakkhai to cross it, in order that the Baktrians, in their contempt for women, might be induced to come down from the heights. The women then assayed to cross the stream, and the enemy came down hill, and advancing to the river endeavoured to beat them back. The women then retreated, and the Baktrians pursued them as far as the bank; then Dionysos, coming to the rescue with his men, slew the Baktrians, who were impeded from fighting by the current, and he crossed the river in safety.

Fragm. LVIII.
Polyen. Strateg. 1. 3. 4.
Of Hercules and Pandæa.
(Cf. Fragm. L. 15.)

Heraclés begat a daughter in India whom he called Pandæa. To her he assigned that portion of India which lies to southward and extends to the sea, while he distributed the people subject to her rule into 365 villages, giving orders that one village should each day bring to the treasury the royal tribute, so that the queen might always have the assistance of those men whose turn it was to pay the tribute in coercing those who for the time being were defaulters in their payments.

|| CXXX.—v. l. CXXX.
† Burma and Arkan respectively, according to Yule.—Ed.
† This is called Bibakta by Arrian, Indika, cap. xxi.
§ V. l. Coralliba.
§ See ante, Notes to Arrian in vol. V. p. 332.
In India I learn that there are to be found the birds called parrots: and though I have, no doubt, already mentioned them, yet what I omitted to state previously regarding them may now with great propriety be here set down. There are, I am informed, three species of them, and all these, if taught to speak, as children are taught, become as talkative as children, and speak with a human voice; but in the woods they utter a bird-like scream, and neither send out any distinct and musical notes, nor being wild and untutored are able to talk. There are also peacocks in India, the largest anywhere met with, and pale-green ringdoves. One who is notversed in bird-lore, seeing these for the first time, would take them to be parrots, and not pigeons. In the colour of the bill and legs they resemble Greek partridges. There are also cocks, which are of extraordinary size, and have their crests not red as elsewhere, or at least in our country, but have the flower-like coronals of which the crest is formed variously coloured. Their rump feathers, again, are neither curved nor wreathed, but are of great breadth, and they trail them in the way peacocks trail their tails, when they neither straighten nor erect them: the feathers of these Indian cocks are in colour golden, and also dark-blue like the saragadus.

(3) There is found in India also another remarkable bird. This is of the size of a starling and is parti-coloured, and is trained to utter the sounds of human speech. It is even more talkative than the parrot, and of greater natural cleverness. So far is it from submitting with pleasure to be fed by man, that it rather has such a pining for freedom, and such a longing to worship at will in the society of its mates, that it prefers starvation to slavery with sumptuous fare. It is called by the Macedonians who settled among the Indians in the city of Bouchepala and its neighbourhood, and in the city called Kuponrapolis and others which Alexander the son of Philip built, the Kerkion. This name had, I believe, its ori-
It seems, accordingly, probable that the fable, though with a different bird for its subject, emanated from the Indians, and spread onward even to the Greeks. For the Brahmanes say that, a prodigious time has elapsed since the Indian hoopoe, then in human form and young in years, performed that act of piety to its parents.

(6.) In India there is an animal closely resembling in appearance the land crocodile, and somewhere about the size of a little Maltese dog. It is covered all over with a scaly skin so rough altogether and compact that when flayed off it is used by the Indians as a file. It cuts through brass and eats iron. They call it the phaltages (pangolin or scaly ant-eater).

(8.) The Indian sea breeds sea-snakes which have broad tails, and the lakes breed hydras of immense size, but these sea-snakes appear to inflict a bite more sharp than poisonous.

(9.) In India there are herds of wild horses, and also of wild asses. They say that the mares submit to be covered by the asses, and enjoy such coition, and breed mules, which are of a reddish colour and very fleet, but impatient of the yoke and otherwise skittish. They say that they catch these mules with foot-traps, and then take them to the king of the Prasians, and that if they are caught when two years old they do not refuse to be broken in, but if caught when beyond that age they differ in no respect from sharp-toothed and carnivorous animals.

(11.) There is found in India a graminivorous animal which is double the size of a horse, and which has a very bushy tail purely black in colour. The hair of this tail is finer than human hair, and its possession is a point on which Indian women set great store, for therewith they make a charming coiffure, by binding and braiding it with the locks of their own natural hair. The length of a hair is two cubits, and from a single root there sprout out, in the form of a fringe, somewhere about thirty hairs. The animal itself is the most timid that is known, for should it perceive that any one is looking at it, it starts off at its utmost speed, and runs right forward,—but its eagerness to escape is greater than the rapidity of its pace. It is hunted with horses and hounds good to run. When it sees that it is on the point of being caught, it hides its tail in some near thicket, while it stands at bay facing its pursuers, whom it watches narrowly. It even plucks up courage in a way, and thinks that since its tail is hid from view the hunters will not care to capture it, for it knows that its tail is the great object of attraction. But it finds this to be, of course, a vain delusion, for some one hits it with a poisoned dart, who then flays off the entire skin (for this is of value) and throws away the carcass, as the Indians make no use of any part of its flesh.

(12.) But further: whales are to be found in the Indian Sea, and these five times larger than the largest elephant. A rib of this monstrous fish measures as much as twenty cubits, and its lip fifteen cubits. The fins near the gills are each of them so much as seven cubits in breadth. The shell-fish called Kórikenes are also met with, and the purple-fish of a size that would admit it easily into a gallon measure, while on the other hand the shell of the sea-urchin is large enough to cover completely a measure of that size. But fish in India attain enormous dimensions, especially the sea-wolves, the thunnies, and the golden-eyebrows. I hear also that at the season when the rivers are swollen, and with their full and boisterous flood deluge all the land, the fish are carried into the fields, where they swim and wander to and fro, even in shallow water, and that when the rains which flood the rivers cease, and the waters retreating from the land resume their natural channels, then in the low-lying tracts and in flat and marshy grounds, where we may be sure the so-called Nine are wont to have some watery recesses (κλαυσεις), fish even of eight cubits' length.

"You're such a dull incurious lot, unread in Aesop's lore. Whose story says the lark was born first of the feathered quire, before the earth; then came a cold and carried off his sire: Earth was not: five days lay the old bird unembowed: at last the son buried the father in his head, since other grave was none."

Dr. Kennedy's translation.
are found, which the husbandmen themselves catch as they swim about languidly on the surface of the water, which is no longer of a depth they can freely move in, but in fact so very shallow that it is with the utmost difficulty they can live in it at all.

(13.) The following fish are also indigenous to India:—prickly roaches, which are never in any respect smaller than the asps of Argolis; and shrimps, which in India are even larger than crabs. These, I must mention, finding their way from the sea up the Ganges, have claws which pass from the Persian Gulf into the river Indus have their prickles smooth, and the feelers with which they are furnished elongated and curling, but this species has no claws.

(14.) The tortoise is found in India, where it lives in the rivers. It is of immense size, and it has a shell not smaller than a full-sized skiff (στῦβος), and which is capable of holding ten medimni (120 gallons) of pulse. There are, however, also land-tortoises which may be about as big as the largest clods turned up in a rich soil where the glebe is very yielding, and the plough sinks deep, and, elevating the furrows with ease, piles the clods up high. These are said to cast their shell. Husbandmen, and all the hands engaged in field labour, turn them up with their mattocks, and take them out just in the way one extracts wood-worms from the plants they have eaten into. They are fat things and their flesh is sweet, having nothing of the sharp flavour of the sea-tortoise.

(15.) Intelligent animals are to be met with among ourselves, but they are few, and not at all so common as they are in India. For there we find the elephant, which answers to this character, and the parrot, and apes of the sphinx kind, and the creatures called satyrs. Nor must we forget the Indian ant, which is so noted for its wisdom. The ants of our own country do, no doubt, dig for themselves subterranean holes and burrows, and by boring provide themselves with lurking-places, and wear out all their strength in what may be called mining operations, which are indescribably toilsome and conducted with secrecy; but the Indian ants construct for themselves a cluster of tiny dwelling-houses, seated not on sloping or level grounds where they could easily be inundated, but on steep and lofty eminences. And in these, by boring out with untold skill certain circuitous passages which remind one of the Egyptian burial-vaults or Cretan labyrinths, they so contrive the structure of their houses that none of the lines run straight, and it is difficult for anything to enter them or flow into them, the windings and perforations being so tortuous. On the outside they leave only a single aperture to admit themselves and the grain which they collect and carry to their store-chambers. Their object in selecting lofty sites for their mansions is, of course, to escape the high floods and inundations of the rivers; and they derive this advantage from their foresight, that they live as it were in so many watch-towers or islands when the parts around the heights become all a lake. Moreover, the mounds they live in, though placed in contiguity, so far from being loosened and torn asunder by the deluge, are rather strengthened, especially by the morning dew: for they put on, so to speak, a coat of ice formed from this dew—thin, no doubt, but still of strength; while at the same time they are made more compact at their base by weeds and bark of trees adhering, which the silt of the river has carried down. Let so much about Indian ants be said by me now, as it was said by Iobas long ago.

(16) In the country of the Indian Areiano there is a subterranean chasm down in which there are mysterious vaults, concealed ways, and through passages invisible to men. These are deep withal and stretch to a very great distance. How they came to exist, and how they were excavated, the Indians do not say, nor do I concern myself to inquire. Hither the Indians bring more than thrice ten thousand head of cattle of different kinds, sheep and goats, and oxen and horses; and every person who has been terrified by an ominous dream, or a warning sound or prophetic voice, or who has seen a bird of evil augury, as a substitute for his life casts into the chasm such a victim as his private means can afford, giving the animal as a ransom to save his soul alive. The victims conducted thither are not led in chains nor otherwise coerced, but they go along this road willingly; as if urged forward by some mysterious spell; and as soon as they find themselves on the verge of the chasm they voluntarily leap in, and disappear for ever from human sight so soon as they fall into this mysterious and viewless cavern of the earth. But above there are heard the
bellowings of oxen, the bleating of sheep, the neighing of horses, and the plaintive cries of goats, and if any one goes near enough to the edge and closely applies his ear he will hear afar off the sounds just mentioned. This commingled sound is one that never ceases, for every day that passes men bring new victims to be their substitutes. Whether the cries of the animals last brought only are heard, or the cries also of those brought before, I know not,—all I know is that the cries are heard.

(17) In the sea which has been mentioned they say there is a very large island, of which, as I hear, the name is Taprobānā. From what I can learn, it appears to be a very long and mountainous island having a length of 7000 stadia and a breadth of 5000.* It has not, however, any cities, but only villages, of which the number amounts to 750. The houses in which the inhabitants lodge themselves are made of wood, and sometimes also of reeds.

(18.) In the sea which surrounds the islands, tortoises are bred of so vast a size that their shells are employed to make roofs for the houses: for a shell being fifteen cubits in length, can hold a good many people under it, screening them from the scorching heat of the sun, besides affording them a welcome shade. But, more than this, it is a protection against the violence of storms of rain far more effective than tiles, for it at once shakes off the rain that dashes against it, while those under its shelter hear the rain rattling as on the roof of a house. At all events they do not require to shift their abode, like those whose dwelling is shattered, for the shell is hard and like a hollowed rock and the vaulted roof of a natural cavern.

The island, then, in the great sea, which they call Taprobānā, has palm-groves, where the trees are planted with wonderful regularity all in a row, in the way we see the keepers of pleasure-parks plant out shady trees in the choicest spots. It has also herds of elephants, which are there very numerous and of the largest size. These island elephants are more powerful than those of the mainland, and in appearance larger, and may be pronounced to be in every possible way more intelligent. The islanders export them to the king of the Kalingāri. On account of the great size of the island, the inhabitants of the interior have never seen the sea, but pass their lives as if resident on a continent, though no doubt they learn from others that they are all around enclosed by the sea. The inhabitants, again, of the coast have no practical acquaintance with elephant-catching, and know of it only by report. All their energy is devoted to catching fish and the monsters of the deep; for the sea encircling the island is reported to breed an incredible number of fish, both of the smaller fry and of the monstros sort, among the latter being some which have the heads of lions and of panthers and of other wild beasts, and also of rains; and, what is still a greater marvel, there are monsters which in all points of their shape resemble satyrs. Others are in appearance like women, but, instead of having locks of hair, are furnished with prickles. It is even solemnly alleged that this sea contains certain strangely formed creatures, to represent which in a picture would baffle all the skill of the artists of the country, even though, with a view to make a profound sensation, they are wont to paint monsters which consist of different parts of different animals pieced together. These have their tails and the parts which are wreathed of great length, and have for feet either claws or fins. I learn further that they are amphibious, and by night graze on the pasturage, for they eat grass like cattle and birds that pick up seeds. They have also a great liking for the date when ripe enough to drop from the palms, and accordingly they twist their coils, which are supple, and large enough for the purpose, around these trees, and shake them so violently that the dates come tumbling down, and afford them a welcome repast. Thereafter when the night begins gradually to wane, but before there is yet clear daylight, they disappear by plunging into the sea just as the first fuésh of morning faintly illumines its surface. They say whales also frequent this sea, though it is not true that they come near the shore lying in wait for thammies. The dolphins are reported to be of two sorts—one fierce and armed with sharp-pointed teeth, which gives endless trouble to the fisherman, and is of a remorselessly cruel disposition, while the other kind is naturally mild and
KRISHNA NURSED BY DEVAKI.
FROM A HIGHLY FINISHED PICTURE.
tame, swims about in the friskiest way, and is quite like a fawning dog. It does not run away when any one tries to stroke it, and it takes with pleasure any food it is offered.

(19.) The sea-hare, by which I now mean the kind found in the great sea (for of the kind found in the other sea I have already spoken), resembles in every particular the land hare except only the fur, which in the case of the land animal is soft and lies smoothly down, and does not resist the touch, whereas its brother of the sea has bristling hair which is prickly, and inflicts a wound on any one who touches it. It is said to swim atop of the sea-ripple without ever living below, and to be very rapid in its movements. To catch it alive is no easy matter, as it never falls into the net, nor goes near the line and bait of the fishing-rod. When it butters, however, from disease, and, being in consequence hardly able to swim, is cast out on shore, then if any one touches it with his hand deaths ensues if he is not attended to, may, should one, were it only with a staff, touch this dead hare, he is affected in the same way as those who have touched a basilisk. But a root, it is said, grows along the coast of the island, well known to every one, which is a remedy for the swooning which ensues. It is brought close to the nostrils of the person who has fainted, who thereupon recovers consciousness. But should the remedy not be applied the injury proves fatal to life, such power for evil does this hare possess.

Frag. XV. B. follows here.

(22.) There is also a race called the Sikra-tai, whose country is beyond India. They are snub-nosed, either because in the tender years of infancy their nostrils are pressed down, and continue to be so throughout their after-life, or because such is the natural shape of the organ. Serpents of enormous size are bred in their country, of which some kinds seize the cattle when at pasture and devour them, while other kinds only suck the blood, as do the Aigithelai in Greece, of which I have already spoken in the proper place.

ON THE KRISHNAJANMASHTAMI, OR KRISHNA'S BIRTH-FESTIVAL.

BY PROF. A. WEBER, BERLIN.

Translated by Miss M. Thesedie.

(Concluded from p. 301, and vol. III. p. 52.)

§ 4.

We have still to glance also at the actual representations which the birth of Krishna, especially the god drinking at his mother's breast, has found in Indian art, or, to speak more accurately, at those specimens of these last which lie before us. Unfortunately, only a few pictures of the kind are known to me, and these obviously of quite modern origin, belonging, in all probability, to the century previous to that in which they come down to us—either precisely to that or to the times immediately preceding. No representations of the kind in any religious building, in temple-paintings or sculptures, are known to me. Great ignorance of the documents of Indian art must, unfortunately, be expected here in Europe, especially on the Continent. Still, it should not, without further evidence, be concluded, from the temporary want of other pictures and figures of the kind, that these do not exist. Rather may the existence of more such representations be inferred with certainty from the fact that the ritual of the Krishnajanmashtami itself puts them down as an integral element in the festival. In any case, however, the specimens before us suffice to divide them into two groups—namely, those which indicate a certain, even high, rank of artistic cultivation, and those which rather seem, so to speak, to be the products of uncultivated handicraft.

The latter group is soon disposed of; it consists of two pictures only. The first belonging to this group is the figure represented in front and what is specially called Krishna as the Eftas, some Morgens Mandara, others use their ears as a covering; they are horrible, black-faced, with but one foot but very fleet, who cannot be exterminated, are brave men, and cannibals." (Schwanbeck, p. 66.) (Lassen places one branch of them on the south bank of the Kaudi in Nipal, and another in Tiper.—Ed.)

African Oryx, the Indian Ass, and what is specially called the Unicorn.
back view in Moor's Hindu Pantheon (London, 1810) on plate 9, figs. 2, 3 (see the third plate to this, fig. 6, at p. 351), marked, it is true, as Lakshmî, but better referred to Devaki and Krišhna: for, as Moor himself does, p. 30, we must consider what the mother holds in her hand as a lotus-flower, and recognize in it a symbol of Lakshmî; then, ought the child to be regarded as her son Kánya, the god of love? Moreover, the question is not of a child actually drinking at its mother's breast, but only of a child stretching out towards it in its mother's arms. Similar figures in wood or metal are used even for purposes of domestic worship. Secondly, to this class belongs the painting on plate 58 in Moor (see accompanying plate I.), which represents Krišhna's birth, and "the miraculous escape of the infant over the Yamunâ, conveyed by his father, and protected by Śeshāṁśa, or Immortality; the guards placed by Kánya over his pregnant sister having failed in their vigilance." (Moor, p. 197—see before in § 1, p. 175.)

The other group will detain us much longer. It is true it also consists of only two pictures, but these furnish abundant material for questions of all kinds. The first of these pictures, which certainly represents to us Krišhna drinking at the breast of Devaki, is found in Nicolás Müller's curious book Glauben Kunst und Wissenschaft der alten Hindu (Mainz, 1822), plate I. fig. 10 (see the plate at p. 351, fig. 3). According to him, p. 553, it is a gift made "from the hand of a friend, a faithful copy, but in half-size, and must have come to Marseilles as an enamelled box-lid, the property of a French merchant's clerk." Nicolás Müller, on his part, agreeably to the French inscription which the picture bore, "La Nourriture de l'Enfant Camadeus, fils de Maya," refers the representation to the god of love and his mother Māyā or Lakshmî (compare Moor, Hindu Pantheon, pp. 134, 447), who is here seated on the bosom of a lotus "like a Byzantine Madonna with the infant Christ." However, on one hand the special emblems of both are wanting in part,—as, for example, we find on fig. 75 of the same plate in N. Müller (see our third plate, fig. 4) the bow with the line of bees as a string, the fish on the banner, the parrot as an animal for riding; then, too, the god of love is not given anywhere else as an infant at his mother's breast (and in fig. 7 he is not represented as such; at all—rather as a youth rejoicing over the beauty of his mother). It is much better to take it as Krišhna at the breast of Devaki, a conception that must have been copied numberless times at the yearly festival of Krišhna a's birth. The position of the child, too, corresponds here exactly with the statement of the text of the ritual (see above, p. 256), for, if it does not itself "press the point of the breast," it still "looks up lovingly to its mother," with one hand stroking her face, while the other is occupied with her other breast.

Far more important, however, is the second of these pictures, namely, the one given by Moor in his Hindu Pantheon, plate 59,—a beautiful painting (see the second plate) of "Krišhna nursed by Devaki," from a highly finished picture, copied, like all the other plates of that costly work, by "Mr. Haughton of the Royal Academy," and taken from a collection of "pictures and images" made in India by Moor towards the end of last century. Unfortunately, more particular accounts of the origin of the painting are wanting. In every respect it is a true work of art, and we could even imagine that we were occupied not with the work of an Indian but of a European artist if we had not in our possession other Indian pictures which indicate a similar master-hand: see, for example, in Moor himself, plates 17, 18, 22, 62, 63, 57, 88, 96. No direct reference to the special accounts of the manner in which the infant Krišhna is represented at the festival of the Krişnavjanmāśtamas is found in it: he is neither represented as "asleep drinking at the breast,"
(see p. 285), nor "pressing the point of the breast with his hand, and looking up lovingly into the face of D ev a k i!" (see p. 286); she, rather, is looking down lovingly on him, and, on her part, presses her breast, to make drinking easier for him. She appears, too, far past the condition of a confined woman, as K r i s n a does past that of a newly-born child. An immediate reference to the festival of the Jamnâdâtâvâ is not contained, then, in the picture. Of the identity of the persons, however, there can be no reasonable doubt. Nicias Müller, indeed, on p. 608, explains the picture as a "B h a v a nâl laying an infant to her nourishing breast in her paradise, as universal mother of earth, and source of life." Others have also recognized it in "B u d d h a suckled by M ā y ā, see Creuzer's Symbolik (3rd ed. Leipsic, 1837), I. 572: so especially Guigninaud, in his translation of Creuzer's work (Paris, 1825), I, 293. Nowhere, however, in Buddhist literature or elsewhere, is there any such representation of B u d d h a mentioned, which, moreover, would be inconsistent with his whole character (see § 3 in Ind. Ant. vol. III. p. 21). That the child we have here is to be considered as an incarnation of the Lord and Creator of the world, is testified by the shell* as a symbol, lying underneath on the ground at the right hand, with figures of animals (elephant, lion, bull, horse, &c.), which likewise are repeated elsewhere, namely, in N. Müller, on plate IV. fig. 64, in a group representing Ś i v a with his wife P â r â tī.† Under the seat of the latter there is a similar basket, a "dish of models of beings" W e e n m o d e l l e n c h a ß s e l, as N. Müller expresses himself,—in which an elephant, a cow, a horse, a gazelle, a bird, and two men are visible, so that the common interpretation of the symbols as denoting creative power is sufficiently apparent.

* Moor remarks on this, especially on the remaining shells, &c., "The tray and stand bearing fruits, animals, &c. one would imagine to be merely what they represent: but with enthusiastic Hindun everything is mysterious and they will affirm, that the dominion of K r i s n a over the animal and vegetable worlds is here typified: nor are legends wanting in the fabulous history of this extraordinary person, applicable to, and accounting for, each of the animals that are seen in the dish. The low table on the right of the nurse is similarly said to hold food, poison, and emblems, symbolic of life, death, and immortality; adverting of course to K r i s n a's power: while the triangular dish, denoting trinity in unity, marks his coequality with the grand powers of the Triad conjoined."

† Nicias Müller had this sketched along with others of the copies of Indian miniatures in the old Louvre, done by him in Paris, in the year 1794, at the request of G. Forster.

I This representation is, in fact, exceedingly frequent

And in fact it is to this idea, in all probability, as its source, that the Christian legend related in the two Gospels of the Infancy of Jesus, the Greek (Fabricius, p. 160) and the Arabic (cap. 36, 46, Fabricius, pp. 198, 206) is to be traced,—the legend of the making of animals out of clay and imparting life to them, as apes, oxen, birds, &c., especially sparrows, alluded to also in the Qârâdâ (Sâra iii. 43). In India this is ascribed sometimes to K r i s n a: compare, for example, Bhâgavata-Purâna X. 14, p. 59 of Pavâ's translation from the Hindi (Paris, 1852), where it is only flocks and shepherds, as in the case of Christ,—not, as here, elephants,—that are dealt with; partly also to king Ś â l i v ā h a n a, who belonged, as is asserted, to the first century of our era, who made elephants, horses, and riders out of clay, and imparted life to them (see Lassen, Ind. Ant. 1882-4). Consequently this symbol is exactly in its right place here, inasmuch as it is joined to an analogous circle of representations, springing from the same source. What further occurs to us here as specially worthy of attention among the representations lying before us, is the striking similarity which they show to the Egyptian type, Isis nourishing Horus (see before, § 3 in Ind. Ant. vol. III. p. 49), particularly as regards the attitude and upper part of the group, in so special a degree that a closer reference is superfluous—a comparative glance at the two pictures suffices (see the third plate, fig. 5). The explanation of this would be very easily found if Rnoul Rochette's or Mrs Jameson's opinion, that the type of Byzantine Madonnas rests upon this Egyptian group,† could be clearly proved by Byzantine pictures of the kind. We should then have to consider these last as the medium which had served as a model for the Indian picture.

* in Egypt, from ancient times even down to the time of the Ptolemies and the Romans: compare, for example, for the later age the great work of Legou, G i e y c h e d E n k h a s s e l, Part IV. plates 48, 50, 61, 64, 71 (this last is the picture fig. 6 on our plate). The picture which Mrs. Jameson gives on page xix. (Isis nursing Horus) is evidently borrowed from Sir J. G. Wilkinson's second series of M o n a r e s a n d C u t t u r s o f A n c i e n t E g y p t, London, 1841, Plate 53. Greek art also has representations of Hera giving the breast to Ares, or by mistake to Herakles (see Frazer's Greek Mythology, 1856, pp. 115, 116, but the only specimen of the kind accessible to me in Wieders's edition of O. C. Müller's D e n k h a s s e l d e r a l t e n K n u s t (Göttingen, 1856), tom. II. p. 6, plate v. No. 98—does not show the smallest reference to the Egyptian type. It is an en-face statue in the Vatican Museum (Mus. Pio Clementino). Hera, it is true, offers her left breast to Ares also, holds it with her right hand, while the left encircles the child, but the attitude and the rest of the arrangement differ entirely.
That such a Byzantine Madonna type should still be preserved so faithfully in India, while with us it belonged as a type to a departed age, would not be surprising: in similar cases the same thing often appears in the travelling of ideas to foreign lands. To show that the Indians keep firmly to a model of this kind when it has been once accepted, a remarkable analogue is found in the remarks made by me (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft XVIII. 507) regarding the complete identity of the Manjusri of the fourteenth century in Java with the one presently used in Tibet. Moreover in the pictures of the old cave-temples of Ajanta, fourteen of which were recently in the library of the India House, actual traces of Byzantine models are found along with a decided advance upon them, in so far, namely, as some of these, in architectonic reference, at least, already show a striving after perspective representation. This becomes clear from the following report on them in the Athenæum of February 3rd, 1849 (I borrow the passage from Hardy's Eastern Monachism, p. 205):—"In many of these, certain striking coincidences with Siennese and Pisan art under the influence of Byzantine taste are to be remarked. There are the same diagrammatic manifestations of the human form and the human countenance: similar conventions of actions and of feature; a like constraint in the choice of action and the delineation of form, in consequence of a like deficiency in knowledge of the human subject; and a like earnestness of intention and predominance of dramatic display. Assigning the date of the pictures to the period suggested it is at least remarkable that evidence of perspective should be found so very much earlier than the date of any existing specimens known in Southern Europe. The earliest examples of perspective principles in Italian art date somewhere about the middle of the fourteenth century."

Hitherto I have almost entirely proceeded on the supposition that in this picture we have the retention of a type transmitted from an earlier

---


¶ Regarding the special glory, see § 3, ante, vol. III. p. 52. Does not this form of the glory, perhaps, present a fixed point in the chronology of art? Indian pictures have in other cases properly only a golden ring encircling the whole head from above to below; see, for example, the Miniature Plate annexed to the Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Royal Library here.

Rev. J. B. Beards says, indeed, p. 166 of his curious work on the Trinity,—already quoted, J. A. vol. III. p. 50, time. But we have now to look, secondly, at the other possibility, intimated already, that it is rather direct intercourse between India and Europe, established through the arrival of the Portuguese (1493), that brought pictures of the Madonna of modern times to India, and that it is such modern pictures of the Renaissance that have served the painters of them as models. We know that besides the Christian, chiefly Jesuit, missionaries, other European adventurers of all kinds sought their fortune at the court of the Great Mogul, especially of the great Akbar (1556-1605), as well as at the small Indian courts. Might not, perhaps, some such Italian or Spanish-Portoguese genius in the service of an Indian raja have painted the picture? In this connection it might next be shown that, according to Moor's account, the figure of Krishna in it is "dark brown," not "dark azure" as naturally ought to be the case, and as is directly required by the texts which speak of the pictures and paintings prepared for the festival of the Janmashtamī (see before, pp. 285, 286). Unquestionably the subject was one very much loved and very frequently handled, especially at the yearly return of the festival: so that Indian artists could of course easily acquire a certain readiness and artistic finish in their representations, while, on the other hand, it might well appear congenial also to any European talent that wished to attempt it. The fineness of the perspective in the landscape background of the picture, visible through the window, deserves special attention. As for the rest, the attitude of it, in the minutest details, is certainly Indian (compare, for example, the position of the kneeling female servant's fingers), and, according to the account just mentioned, perspective arrangements show themselves pretty early in India. Consequently, in the complete uncertainty which exists in regard to the age and origin of the pictures on the Indian side, it might be a task rather for the historian of art or the Christian archaeologist* to investigate and prove their connection with any European models.†

---

*as follows:—"This represents a similar subject, whence also Christian idolatry received countenance—namely Krishna, the eighth avatar or incarnation of Vishnu, suckled by his mother, Devaki." In this case, however, rather the exact opposite seems to hold.

† Fig. 7 in the accompanying plate is from De Rossi's Imagines Selectae Deiparae Virginis, referred to in § 3 of this paper, Ind. Ant. vol. III. p. 50b.

Fig. 8 is from Bonnen, Die Basiliken des alten Rom. pl. xiv.; see Ind. Ant. vol. III. p. 48a.

Fig. 9 is from the cloister of Karyaia on Mount Athos, referred to ut sup. p. 50a.
Meanwhile we here subjoin a few more data which abundantly establish the existence in India during the last three or four centuries of a directly European influence in the field of art. First of all, then, according to p. 424 of the *Catalogue des Manuscrits et Xylographes Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale Publique de St. Pâtersbourg*, which appeared in the year 1852, in a manuscript collection of Mulaummadian-Indian pictures there (No. cillxxxix.) of date between the years 1621-1752, we find, among others, on p. 68, "an image of the Holy Virgin with the Child Jesus, and above, in letters scarcely recognizable from their smallness, the words يَا سَيْدُوكَ أَبا زُمَيْنَ 'O Seigneur du temps! ' Then we come to l. 77 vers. 'the Annunciation of the Holy Virgin,' with some words in Roman characters, in which we can distinguish Murrin and Noster (compare Ouseley, *Biographical Notes on Persian Poets*, p. cxxiv., London, 1816). And so, likewise, our Royal Library here is in possession of two similar collections of works. One of them (library pictures A 100) bears the title "A collection of original drawings to illustrate the costume and the manners of the Persians: it is not, however, Persian but Indian pictures that are contained in it, as, for example, two pictures of the blue Krishna, both of which represent him as a young man, the one as seated on a kind of stool, the other with a kind of umbrella on his head, which falls down like a mantle, and envelopes her whole body. The superscription runs thus: تُحْمَرُ حَمْسِيِّ بنُ عَمِّ ('s the name of Mary'). Of much greater importance, however, is the second of this collection (Access. 9278, 9350). The same thing appears from a border executed in gold painting and common to all the leaves, which on every leaf is adorned with separate figures—a single work of art. Of the larger pictures that are found in the middle of this frame, a considerable number are old European engravings, or at least copies of such. And in fact the subjects of these are borrowed for the most part from the history of Christ. Thus, for example, one engraving represents the murder of the children at Bethlehem, another the worship of the kings, another Christ's resurrection and descent into hell. A Madonna of Dürrer's (but not the Madonna Lactans) lies before us in a free copy, and also among the figures in the frames done in gold, we find the Madonna with the Child (although not, in this case, as a sucking child), or the child Christ alone, or other persons taken from sacred history. Beside them are numerous other representations having no reference to these, some European also, but most of them of decidedly Indian character and origin. Fortunately, the date of this remarkable work is preserved to us in a perfectly authentic way. On the concluding page the Indian artist, to whom the execution of the whole evidently belongs, has represented himself as offering a roll of paper to his high patron, by whose order he had executed his work, and on this roll, in Devaranāgarī, stand the words siyī (entered, and of this frame, a considerable number are old European engravings, or at least copies of such. And in fact the subjects of these are borrowed for the most part from the history of Christ. Thus, for example, one engraving represents the murder of the children at Bethlehem, another the worship of the kings, another Christ's resurrection and descent into hell. A Madonna of Dürrer's (but not the Madonna Lactans) lies before us in a free copy, and also among the figures in the frames done in gold, we find the Madonna with the Child (although not, in this case, as a sucking child), or the child Christ alone, or other persons taken from sacred history. Beside them are numerous other representations having no reference to these, some European also, but most of them of decidedly Indian character and origin. Fortunately, the date of this remarkable work is preserved to us in a perfectly authentic way. On the concluding page the Indian artist, to whom the execution of the whole evidently belongs, has represented himself as offering a roll of paper to his high patron, by whose order he had executed his work, and on this roll, in Devaranāgarī, stand the words siyī (!) 3580 Yālādānā Akarava Pātībhītī chirah jīva i sāvatva (!) 1646. pāusha sudī. maunī (?)
lishtan Kesavadasa chitrakara, that is, “May His Highness Jellal-ed-din Akbar Padishah live long! Saivat 1646 (= A.D. 1590) on the ninth of the light half of Pausha, written by Kesavadasa, the painter.” Thus, by order of the emperor Akbar, this beautiful work was executed by a native artist, called Kesavadasa. In this statement there is nothing surprising. On the one hand it is known how indulgent that truly great emperor was, how much he promoted the mingling of religious systems, how very warmly he interested himself in the Christian religion among others, so that for a long time the Jesuits reckoned confidently on his conversion. On the other hand, however, we know further from the statement of his like-minded great minister Fazl, in the excellent work called the Ayin-i-Akbari, that the emperor warmly favoured painting also, that he even founded a kind of academy of painting, whose members, among other things, had to illustrate Persian books with paintings (Humeza’s History contains not fewer than fourteen hundred of them); drawing portraits, too, of the chief officials of the court formed part of their business,—see Gladwin’s Ayin-i-Akbari, vol. I. p. 115, and the Petersburg Catalogue des Manuscrits. . p. 423.

ROCK-CUT TEMPLES AT BĀDĀMI, IN THE DEKHAN.

Bādāmi is a moderate-sized town in the Kālaḍiṇī collectorate, about twenty-three miles south-east from the town of Kālāḍiṇi, and nearly three from the Malprabha river. It is the chief town of the Ṭūಕa of the same name. A little to the south of it is Banaśaṅkarī; among the hills to the east is Marshikā; eight miles to the east and on the river is Paṭṭadkal; and another eight miles down the river is Aiḥo— all noted for their ancient temples and inscriptions. As pointed out by Mr. Fleet, there seems little doubt but that Bādāmi was the ancient Vatāpipuri or Vatāpingarī of the Chālukya kings of the Kanaraese country, and made the capital by Pulikēśi I. in the sixth century of the Christian era. Early in the seventh century it is mentioned by the name also of Bādāvi; Paṭṭadkal is the old Paṭṭadaṅkisuvolal, the capital of the Sindavamsa chiefs about 1162 A.D.; and Aiḥo may be the Ayāvole mentioned in a grant of the reign of the Chālukya king Vikramādiṭya the Great, 1093 A.D.*

Bādāmi is situated at the outlet between two rocky hills on its north and south sides, a dam to the east of the town between the bases of the hills forming a large tank for the supply of water to the town. All along the north side of this small lake are old temples, most of them built of very large blocks of hard stone, while the hill behind them is a ruined fort, taken by a British detachment under Sir Thomas Munro in 1818. It must have been a place of great strength in early times; the passages through it are cut to great depths in the rock and are narrow, long, and winding, so that if the gate were stormed the besieged had their enemies far below them, and from above they could easily hurl destruction on the heads of all that could enter the pathways before any of them could reach a place of vantage. In and about this rock-fort are some temples also. But it is in the scarp of the hill to the south-east that the cave temples are excavated. They are four in number: the lowest, on the west end of the hill, is a Śiva-volā or Śiva cave; the next is a Vaishnavi temple considerably higher up in the rock and to the north-east of the Śiva-volā; the largest, also Vaishnavi, is still further to the east on the north face of the hill; and the last is a little beyond it, but is a Jaina cave and of much smaller dimensions than the preceding three Brahmanical ones. All four are still in unusually excellent preservation, and are very rich in mythological sculpture.

The Great Cave is by far the finest of the series, and one of the most interesting Brahmanical temples in India; it is also the only cave-temple of which we know the age, for it is on a pilaster in it that the inscription of Māngalīśa, the son of Pulikēśi I., the Chālukya king who made Bādāmi his capital, is found. Though it cannot compare in size with Elephants or some of the larger caves at Ellur, naturally become doubtful in the highest degree.

SCULPTURES IN THE GREAT CAVE AT BADAMI.

1. VISHNU OR ADI NARAYANA.

2. VARAHA.
SCULPTURES IN THE GREAT CAVE AT BADAMI.
it is still a temple of considerable dimensions, the verandah measuring nearly seventy feet in length, and the cave inside sixty-five feet, with a total depth from the front of the verandah pillars to the back wall of forty-eight feet,—the shrine going into the rock about twelve feet farther, while the general height throughout verandah and hall is fifteen feet. It is considerably higher up in the rock than the other Vaishnava cave, and is entered by an ascending stair through a door in the west end of a square court in front of it, the north side of this court being formed by a large mass of rock left un-excavated there; the east and west ends are formed by old walls of masonry, that on the east entirely precluding all access from this side to the Jaina cave just beyond it, so that the Jainas must have formed a path for themselves from the shore of the talão below up to their rock-cut shrine.

The cave faces the north, and the level of the floor of it is eight or nine feet above that of the court outside. A narrow platform is built up the whole length of the front, the cave being entered by a flight of steps in the centre of it, but which have now been torn down,—probably because the long treads of the steps were found useful for some purpose or other in the village. The front of the platform has a moulded cornice, and under it a dado of blocks,—many of them seven feet in length—divided into more than thirty compartments throughout the length of it, and in each compartment two of those little fat dwarfs or ganas that are such favourites with the early Hindu sculptors for the decoration of basements, and which they were fond of representing in every possible attitude and in every form of grimace, even with the heads of animals. All sects—Brähmaṇa, Buddhists, and Jaina—seem to have employed such figures in similar positions: in fact they appear to have been conventionalities dependent more upon the taste and imagination of the craftsmen than upon the mythology of the sect for which any particular temple was constructed.

The verandah is supported in front by six pillars each two and a half feet square, and two pilasters, with deep bases and capitals,—the latter almost hidden by the three brackets attached to the lower part of the capitals on the backs and sides of each, and by the eave or drip which comes down in front. The brackets on each side the pillars in every case but one represent a pair of human or mythological figures—a male and female standing in various attitudes under foliage, in most cases attended by a small dwarf figure; the only exception to the pair of figures is one in which Archananā is represented, four-armed and with two dwarf attendants. The brackets on the backs or inner sides of the pillars are all tall single female figures, each with one or two small attendants. These brackets extend from near the bottom of the capitals to the roof. The necks of the pillars below the capitals are carved with broad bands of elaborate beaded festoon work, and on each of the four sides of the lower portions of the shafts are medallions carved with groups of figures within a border.

The verandah is nine feet wide, and is separated from the hall by four free-standing columns and two demi-columns in antis, all with high bases, the two central pillars being of that purely Hindu type, so often met with, consisting of a square shaft with thin and slightly narrower slabs applied to each face: in this case two of these slabs are superimposed on each side, forming five exterior angles at each of the four corners. The two pillars outside these are octagons with capitals of the Elephanta type. There are thus left for sculptures the two ends of the verandah, and the spaces on the back between the attached pillars and the ends.

In the east end of the verandah is a large figure of Viṣṇu seated (see Fig. 1) on the body of the great snake Śesha or Ananta, which is thrice coiled round below him, while its hoods—five in this instance—are spread out over and round his big mugula or crown as if to protect it. He is represented as four-armed (Chaturbhuja)—the front left hand resting on the calf of his leg, and the other holding up the satīkha or conch-shell, one of his most characteristic emblems,—being the shell that was among the fourteen precious things produced from the churning of the ocean which Viṣṇu conducted in his second or Kārmā avatāra, and which was said to confer victory on whoever should sound it. In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and Harivimśa, however, it is said that when Kṛṣṇa was getting up his military acquirements, his ṛṣi or tutor, Śāndipani Kasya complained that he had lost his only son in the sea at Prabhāsa (Somanatha). Kṛṣṇa
plunged into the sea, but was told by Samudra that it was the Daitya Pānchajāna or Sankhāsura, the chief of a race dwelling in shells, who had carried off the youth. Krishna, then, descending to the bottom of the ocean, encountered and slew him, bringing up his bones, or the shell he had inhabited, of which he made the Sākha Pānchajānya, that he bore ever after as an emblem.†

In the front right hand he holds some object perhaps representing wealth or fruit, and in the other his chakra or discus—a sharp-edged heavy quoit, which seems to have been used as a missile instrument in early warfare by the Hindus, being thrown with force against the enemy, and recovered by a string attached to it. In later mythological representations Vishnu is represented as twirling it round his forefinger, when, it is said, irresistible fire flames from its periphery, destroying all in its course. It is called sudarsana, and is said to have been formed from the rays of Tvashtarī for the destruction of the Daityas.† He has three necklaces, each represented with a mass of gems in front, among which it was perhaps intended to represent the Kaustubha or Bhriguūlīta. Round his waist is another belt of gems, while over his left shoulder and under his right arm hangs a thick cord apparently formed of twisted strands of strings of beads or pearls; and again round his loins are other richly embroidered belts; on his arms and wrists also he wears rich armlets and bracelets. To his right and below is Gāruḍa, his vahana or vehicle, who carries him and attends him also as a page, sitting with folded arms leaning against the coils of Sesha. Opposite to him sits a little female figure with high muguta, which may possibly represent Laksamāni, the wife of Vishnu. Above these stand two taller female figures, each holding a chaurī or fly-flap: they have jewelled head-dresses, and large chignons, out of which rises a single cobra-hood overshadowing the head. These attendants remind us of the supports we so often find under the Sadhams or lotus-thrones of figures of Buddha, where the male supporters of the lotus-stalk are represented with three, five, or even seven snake-hoods shielding their heads, while their female companions or wives have only one hood.

This large sculpture fills the end compartment of the verandah. Under it is a plinth the front of which is covered with little fat gambolling figures or ganas.

Turning to the right we find on the back wall of the verandah another large sculpture, and one which in the early ages seems to have been a great favourite, for we seldom miss it in a Vaishnava shrine (Fig. 2). It is also repeated in several of the Śiva rock-temples of Elurā, and always in nearly the same form as here. It is the Vāraha or third avatāra, assumed to rescue the earth from the Asura, Hiranyakaśipu, the chief of the Daityas, who had carried it off to the bottom of the ocean, when Vishnu, taking the form of a boar, dived down and rescued it, after a contest of a thousand years.|| Here he is represented again as four-armed, similarly dressed as in the other figure, and with the chakra and saṅkha in his uplifted hands, but with a boar's head, standing with his left foot on the coil of a snake, the head of which is human, with five hoods behind it—seen under his thigh. In one of his left hands he holds a lotus-flower on which stands Pṛithivī,—the Earth personified, steadying herself against his shoulder. Pṛithivī, also called Bhumīdevī or Bhumīdevī, derives her name from Pṛithu, the first king who taught the mode of cultivating the ground, and whose daughter she is said to have been. She is the wife of Vishnu in his Vāraha avatāra, and to her he delivered one of the Purāṇas. She is represented in mythology as a woman with two arms, standing on a lotus-flower, and holding in one hand another lotus-blossom, with a crown on her head, her long black locks reaching to her feet, of yellow complexion, and with a tilaka of red paste on her forehead. Bhumīdevī is the goddess of patience and endurance, but receives no special worship.‡

In front of Varāha's knee kneels a human female figure with the five Nagā-hoods over his jewelled muguta, and behind stands a female chaurī-bearer with the single hood; another figure lies between Varāha's feet, holding by the long cord or yajnopavita that hangs down from his shoulder, but which is broken away in front of the head and shoulder of the Nāga figure.

‡ Harivamśa, adh. ix. and cxv.
§ On his wrist Vishnu wears the jewel called Jayantakosa.

|| Conf. Harivamśa, adh. xii., cxiii., and cxiv.
‡ Pṛithivī is from pṛithu—'extended'. On Bhūmi devī see Moore, iii. 86, 86; ix. 311; Colebrooke's Essays, vol. I. p. 197.
SCULPTURES IN THE GREAT CAVE AT BADAMI.

3. NRISINHA

4. VIRATAKURA

W. Griggs photo-lith.
Over Varāha’s shoulders are two pairs of figures like the cherubs in Bandiha shrines, each apparently with offerings.

On the pilaster, beside this figure, is the inscription of the sixth century of our era (A.D. 570), to which we shall again refer below.

At the west end of the verandah we have another of the avatāras, namely the Nārāśīṁha or man-lion (Fig. 3), which, like the Varāha, is represented as having taken place in the Satya-yuga. The demon Hiranyakaśipu, the son of Kaśyapa and Diti, and brother of Hiranyakashipu, having, in consequence of severe penances, obtained from Brahmā the boon that he should be invulnerable to gods, men, snakes, &c., became imperious and troubled earth and heaven, when, at the desire of Prahlāda the son of Hiranyakasipu, Nārāśīṁha bursting out of a column destroyed him, to the great joy of the devotees. He is here represented four-armed, one of the left arms resting on his huge club or gadhā, called Kauśolodakā, beside which stands Gaṇuḍa in human form. On the other side is a dwarf attendant, and above Narasiṃha’s shoulders are figures floating with garlands and gifts. Over the lion-head is a lotus, and his jewelled necklaces are elaborately carved.

On the other side of the front pilaster of the verandah from this last is a large and very striking sculpture, repeated also on a smaller scale in the other Vaishnava cave here, in the Dīś Avatāra cave and in other places at Ellora (see Fig. 4). Locally it is called Viratrupa, but, from the place it occupies among these sculptures, there can be no doubt that it relates to V i s h n u in the fifth or Vāmanā avatāra of the Tretā-yuga. He is represented in this case as eight-armed (Aṣṭabhuj), with the chakra, the Nandaka, the sword, the gadhā or club, and an arrow in his right hands, and the ākṣikā, the bow called Sārīgā, and shield in the left, with both the fourth on that side he points to a round grinning face, perhaps Rāhu, to which he lifts also his left foot. Over this face is the crescent moon, beside Vishnu’s jewelled māgukta is a Varāha and two other figures, and below on his right Gānuḍa. In front stand three figures, probably representing Bali the son of Virochana and king of Mahābalipura, and his wife with Śukra his counsellor, the first holding the pot out of which he had, against Śukra’s advice, poured the water on the hands of the dwarf in confirmation of his promise to grant Vāmanā’s request for as much ground as he could compass at three strides. But scarcely was the water poured on his hands when, say the legends, “he developed all his divine form. The earth became his feet, the heaven his head, the sun and moon his eyes, the Piśāchas his toes, the Gruhyakas his fingers, the Viśvadvās his knees, the Sādhya his legs, the Yaksahs his nails, the Apsarasas the lines on his face, the lightning his glance, the solar rays his locks, the stars the spots on his person, the intermediate points of the horizon his arms, the cardinal points his ears, the Āsvins the interiors of his ears, Vayu his nose, Chandramas (moonbeams) the light of his face, duty his sentiment (manas), truth his voice, Sarasvatī his tongue, Aditi his neck, Mitrā and Vyāhtri his eyebrows, Agni his mouth, Brahmā his heart, the Vāsus his back, the Maruts his joints, the Chandras his teeth, &c. &c. At the sight of this divine form the Asuras, Bali’s subjects, enraged dashed at him.” Among them we find such names as Viprachitti, Hayagrīva, Kātumānas, Ugra, Prahlāda, Anhāradā, Haurī, Hara, Varāha, Virūpākṣa, Suprabha, Dwīchākṣa, Vāyu, Vikṣhara, Krodha, Nāraka, Puloman, Rāhu, &c. &c. They were of all animal and monstrous shapes, and armed with all sorts of instruments, their heads decked with diadems, earrings, &c. Vishnu’s form, however, grew as he dispersed them, until the sun and moon were no higher than his breast, and still he grew. “The Brāhmans say that the powerful Viṣṇu,* the conqueror of the Asuras, after subduing the three worlds, gave the earth to

---

* Vishnu, like Śiva, has a thousand names (Maheśhī. Aṣṭādasa Parvan, vr. 990-7060) of which the more usual are:

1. Achyuta—the undecayable.
2. Ananta-Sayana—who sleeps on the serpent Ananta.
3. Dāityākṣa—the enemy of the Dāityas.
4. Dāmodara—as Krishna, bound with a rope.
5. Govinda—raiser of the earth, or cowkeeper.

[6 Hari. 7 Janāḥdāna—of whom emancipation is sought.
8 Jalalādhana—lotus-eyed; 9 Puṇḍarikāksha—whose eyes are like the white lotus.
10 Kaitabha—of whom emancipation is sought.
11 Kesava—haired, or who gave being. 12 Keśimahīdāna.
13 Rāhu—wearing a tiara.
14 Lakshminā—lord of Lakshmi.
15 Śrīśhara—bearer of Śrī.]

---

ROCK-CUT TEMPLES AT BĀDĀMI. 357
Indra, and to Bali the sixth of the lower worlds (Pātāla), named Sūtāla."

Holding by his thigh is Garuda, and above the heads of the three figures before him is one with sword and shield falling down, and a half-figure behind.

Facing this, at the other end of the verandah, just outside the pilaster that separates it from the fourth portion of the head-dress is formed into a circular frill, somewhat resembling an aureole: this may be observed also in both the last described figure and in the next. He wears long pendant links hanging down from the ears, similar to what are found on many Baudhā images, and in the lower portion of the link is hung a heavy ring or jewel that rests against the collar. From the top of his high maṇiṭa, or cap, springs a figure of Nārasiṁha—four-armed and with chakra and saṅkha. Whom this is intended to represent is somewhat difficult to say; as it occupies a position beside the entrance, it may be intended merely as a figure of Viṣṇu in his more active and terrible form, while the next, inside, represents him in repose seated on Sesha—or it may be for Balarāma, the seventh avatāra. It is, like the others, well cut in a close-grained rock, and the only damage it has suffered is a piece out of the long sword, and some slight injury near the ankle. The dress is knotted behind the thighs, and round his body and thighs he wears a belt,—perhaps the same as the bāhupadāyat of Southern India, represented as worn by sages and other holy beings when they sit.

The last large sculpture to be noticed in this cave is a figure of Hariharā, as he is locally known. (Fig. 6.) This name is applied to the Ayaṇar of the south country, the alleged son of Śiva by Mōhini (a female manifestation of Viṣṇu), and who is the only male Grāmādēvata worshipped by the Tamils. But there is another legend of Hariharā which runs thus:—"In former times there lived an Asura named Guha, the son of a Rishi. He was exceedingly powerful, and performed extremely painful penances. On one occasion, after inhaling a draught of smoke, he performed the penance of standing on his head for ninety-six years, during sixty-four of which he lived solely on the leaves of trees, and for another portion of the time upon fruit, and for the rest of the period he lived entirely without food; and by this means he succeeded in bringing all his bodily senses into complete subjection. As a reward for this great penance, he obtained a boon from Brāhmaṇa, and this blessing so intoxicated him with pride that he became a trouble of the worlds. In course of time Indra and his attendant gods were obliged to make war upon him on account of the universal confusion which he created; but he assumed the different powers of all the gods—the power of Śūrya, of Indra, of Agni, of Anila, of Indu, of Yama, of Varuṇa, and of the other gods, and so succeeded in driving them out of their own paradise.

"Then those exiled gods, together with the Rishis, the Munis, the Gandharvas, the Yakshas, and the Rākshasas," went to Śiva, and "in order also to make it evident to all creatures that Viṣṇu and Śiva are one," says the Śaiva legend, "I (Śiva) assumed the form of Hari. For a thousand years of the gods I made war upon Guhāṣura with various divine and mighty weapons. For a while I merely hurled them at him in sport, but at last I pierced him mortally with the tremendous arrow Mahāpāṃpatāstra." "... When the gods saw the mysterious form which had been assumed to sorrow, or lord of the heaven named Vaikuṇṭha or limitless.

20 Nārasiṁha, the man-lion; 21 Vāmana, the dwarf; 22 Pārśu, the tortoise; 23 Vīṣṇu, the bow; 24 Nārasiṁha, the man-lion; 25 Vṛṣṇi, the dwarf; 26 Brahma; 27 Varahā, the son of Viṣṇu; 28 Vaikuṇṭha—the destroyer of the worlds. 16 Mādhanā, 17 Madhusūdana—destroyer of Madhu. 18 Mārkandya—passionless. 19 Māruk—foot of Mura. 20 Nārasiṁha—who dwells on the waters, or in the minds of the devout. 21 Padmanātha—in whose navel is a lotus. 22 Pāndavās—having fire weapons. 23 Pāthāmbar—wearing yellow garments. 24 Hrīṅkēśa—god of all the members of light. 25 Śarāṅga; 26 Śrīvāpi—bearing the bow of horn. 27 Śiva—self-existent. 28 Vaikuṇṭha. 29 Vāmana—the son of Viṣṇu. 30 Vaikuṇṭha; 31 Vaikuṇṭhanātha—the destroyer of the universe.
Indian Antiquary.

7. GROUP OF SCULPTURE IN THE SIVALAYA OR LOWEST CAVE AT BADAMI.
SCULPTURES ON THE ROOF OF THE GREAT CAVE AT BADAMI. Indian Antiquary.
destroy the Asura, they greatly wondered and were very much afraid,” until Brahmá explained the mystery.† In the Harivíshá (adh. clxx., clxxi.) is another account of the contest between Siva and Vishnu, and of their subsequent union in one, concluding with a hymn to Haríhara.§

Here the left side of the figure represents Hári or Vishnu with the šaṅkha in his uplifted hand, the other resting against his haunch, while the carring and cap are of a different pattern from that of Hára or Siva, on which is the crescent and a withering skull, while a cobra hangs from his ear, another from his belt, a third is on the front of his mūtra, and a fourth twines round the parásua or ax ó he holds in one hand. In the other hand he holds some oval object.

A more common double figure in Hindu mythology is that of Ardhánáríśvári, Ardhánásvári, or Ardhañaṅraṅinātēsvára, the union of Siva and Párvaṭi, in a half male, half female form. In the Káthaka Puráṇa it is said—”Hára offered his wife to take half of her body and give her half of his own, or vice versa; and at length she took the half of Siva and joined it to her right side, and the god took half of Párvaṭi and united it to his. Thus forming only one body with his wife, Siva has the name of Ardhánáríśvára.” Other stories are given in other Puráṇas.

In the lowest or Śaiva cave of the Bâdâmi group is a representation (Fig. 7) of this Ardhánárīśa, in pretty good preservation. It occupies the right end of the verandah, and, as is usually the case at Elephanta and elsewhere, the god is attended by his favourite white bull Nandi, which, the Śaiva Samaya Vindödáí says, is a form of Dharmaśiva, the god of justice, who offered himself to Siva in this form as a vehicle. Behind Nandi, with clasped hands, stands Bhríngí—a favourite devotee, or perhaps Kál, the form of Radrä or Siva himself as the author of destruction,—a gaunt and hideous skeleton. At the left or female side stands a female richly decked, and bearing some flat object in her left hand.

The right side, which is always the male half, represents Śiva,—the crescent moon and skull on his head-dress, a snake in his ear, another coiled round his arm, a third hanging from his belt (the heads of them broken off), and a fourth twining round the battle-axe he holds in his uplifted hand: a portion of the tiger-skin in which he wraps his person hanging down on his thigh, with richly jewelled necklaces, bracelets, &c.

The left half, representing Umá śakti, has a large flat earring, necklaces, belt, armlets, and bracelets of different patterns from those on the male half. The hair is made up in a sort of chignon over the shoulder, much as it is still worn by the lower classes in the Madras Presidency, and is covered with a network of pearls or gems. A cord hangs down in front of the throat, terminating in a small flat heart-shaped end—an ornament specially noticeable on many of the figures in the Kaññá a rock-temple at Eluṛá. On the foot are two heavy anklets, and these and the very long bracelets on the wrists and also on the female companion cannot fail to remind the observer of the similar abundance of bone and brass rings worn by the Wanjáris and other aboriginal tribes to the present day. She holds up a flower, and with the other hand grasps one end of a stick, or perhaps a lute, the other end of which is held by the front hand of the male half. The attendant female wears a loose kirtle held up by a richly jewelled belt. Her earrings are different—that in the right ear consisting of a long link hanging down to the shoulder, and in the end of it a thick jewelled ring and short pendant; the other is a broad thick disc like that known in Bengal by the name of åleśnì.|| Her hair is done up in a very elaborate style, with a profusion of pearls over the forehead. Floating overhead on each side are two figures, male and female, with offerings, and having elaborate head-dresses.

This union of Śiva and Párvaṭi in a single body personifies the principle of life and production in its double aspect—the active principle under the name of Purnásha, and the female or passive under that of Prakrití. It embodies the central idea of nature-worship, and occurred to the early Greeks, as we see from the old Orphic hymn preserved by Stobæus beginning Zeus ἄρσιν γένετο, Zeus ἄμμορος ἐπλέκτος νύμφην.

"Zeus was a male, Zeus became a deathless damsel."

‡ See also Ward's Hindoos (ed. 1817), vol. I. p. 242.
§ Bhandarkar's Miitra's Antiquities of Orissa, vol. I. p. 96, and plate XXVII. fig. 119. It is to be regretted that we have no descriptive catalogue of female ornaments used in India.

On the male side the figure of Ardhanarîṣvara is usually painted dark blue or black, and vermilion or orange on the left or female side, but sometimes the colours are white (Siva's proper colour) and yellow.

But to return to the great cave: The roof of the ca...
of the verandah is divided by cross beams cut in the rock into seven recessed panels each filled with sculpture. Of these, six are represented on the fifth plate to this paper. The first of these, being the panel to the left or east of the middle one, consists of a central circular compartment surrounded by four smaller oval ones, divided by bunches of water-lilies, so as to fill up a circle concentric with the first. The corners of the square are filled in with human and animal heads ending in arabesques. In the central area Śīva is represented, four-armed, seated on his bull, with his spouse Pārvatī behind him. The four oval compartments outside this contain each two figures, apparently all males; and one of them being Gāṇapati or Pramathādīpa, the son of Śiva and leader of his retinue, they are probably all intended as gāṇapātikas, or principal members of his gāna. The corner figures are—the heads of an elephant, man, makara, and fish, ending in floral terminations.

The second panel represented on the plate is the central one of the seven, and has Viṣṇu in the middle, as lord of the Zenith,—four-armed as usual, and holding up the chakra in one right hand, and the śāṅkha in a left one: he wears a high square-topped cap (as in Figs. 1, 4, and 5) already described, while his wives Śrī or Laksmana and Bṛhamidevi are huddled in beside him.† Round this central circle are eight ovals each containing some divinity, as in the usual figures of the Dikpāla-māndala. Above the śāṅkha Brahma is easily recognized, seated ascetic-fashion on his lotus, four-armed and three-faced, occupying the place usually assigned to Śiva or Iśāna. Below him is Indra, regent of the East, holding his vajra, with his wife Suchi or Indrāni, on the elephant Airāvati. Next to him is Agni, god of fire and regent of the South-East, on his ram, and above him a flying figure, probably of Dhūrma or Smoke. Below Viṣṇu is a figure on a lion with an attendant, which might be taken for Śoma or Chanḍa, but in the Dānakhandya (adh. v.) of the Chaturvarga Chintāmani, Vāyu, the Dikpāla of the north-west, is described as seated on a deer; and that at the top is probably intended for Chandra, who sometimes takes the place of Kuvera, as lord of the North.† Kuvera is sometimes figured as borne by a ram, Chandra on a hare, in a chariot, &c.

The third panel represents the compartment at the east end of the verandah, where again the figure in the centre is doubtless intended for Pradyumna, the son of Krishna, an incarnation of Kāma, and one of the four Vyuhas of Viṣṇu, two-armed, with his club in the right hand, seated on a pair of makaras, and attended by two female chaurni-bearers—perhaps his wives Rati and Prithi. The rest of the panel is filled by four square compartments in the corners, and as many oblong ones at the sides. The corners are filled with pairs, and in one case three figures—males and females much in the style of the flying attendants above both Bandha and Hindu images; and the side compartments have pairs of figures with human and brute heads, and ending in ornamental arabesques.

The next, being the second from the end and between this last and the first described, is arranged in the usual style, having Indra seated (rather awkwardly, it must be owned) on his favourite elephant, with an attendant holding the royal umbrella over his head as ancient king of gods. The eight smaller oval panels round him contain in five cases a pair—male and female—of gandharvas and asparasas, and in the remaining three a single female, all apparently enjoying or contributing to revels, dance.
ing, and music: for, curiously enough, physical enjoyment is the only employment ever pictured in the Hindu Svarga; intellectual or moral happiness is undreamt of. The corners are filled up with other varieties of the usual figures.

The fifth panel from the east end, or that on the west side of the central one, has Brahma as its chief occupant, seated upon his Vahana, three-faced and four-armed, with a very high cap, holding a sort of bottle—his kumandala, or drinking vessel—in his upraised left hand, and a piece of samidh, or sacrificial wood, in the corresponding right. In the small oval to his right is probably Varuna, and, according to some, the son of Brahman, seated on a sort of shark or makara, and on the opposite side Indra, with his attendant, on his elephant; above is Jâna or Śiva on a bull, with some sort of sceptre in his hand, and an attendant running after him at full speed with an umbrella; and below, Yama as lord of the South, or fourth cardinal point. In each of the four alternate spaces, which in this division are somewhat smaller, is a pair of figures—similar to those in the third panel described—probably Vidyādharas, several of them apparently with small bags, perhaps of money or other precious offerings, or possibly vessels containing something strong. The corners of the outer square are filled up in the usual way, none of them being exact copies from any of the previous ones.

The sixth panel contains in the centre perhaps Kâma, Kandarpa (Makaradvaja), the Hindu Cupid, or—as in the third—Praḍyumna, on a makara, with a high cap and earrings of very different shapes and sizes, holding in his right hand a bud with a long stalk. The eight little circular compartments surrounding this have been somewhat irregularly arranged, and the spaces between but indifferently filled up by water-lilies, sunflower, human figures, &c. The compartments themselves are occupied by Gandharvas and their mates the Apsarasas in nearly the same positions as in the last—doubtless regarded as one of love and dalliance. The two upper corners are filled with birds, and the other two with mukaras treated in the usual conventional way.

These by no means exhaust the sculptures of the first cave. The roof of the front aisle of the cave is likewise divided into compartments, in the central one of which are a male and female figure floating on clouds, much in the position of the pairs in the two last described panels of the verandah roof, but the male carrying a sword and shield. The panels right and left of this are occupied by expanded lotus-flowers.

The roof of the hall is divided into nine compartments, by divisions very slightly raised from the level of the ceiling. In the central one of the front row is a man or woman—perhaps Agni—riding on a ram, with other figures, one before and another behind. In the compartment to the right or west of this is a pair of flying figures, the male with a sword, but the group is defaced. In the left is a male with a sword, holding a shield overhead, and with him a small female. In the next row we have, in the centre, Brahma on a swan, which apparently pecks at a figure which touches Brahman's hand with his. In one of his left hands Brahma holds what appears to be a bag or bottle, and in the other a mrid or rosary; and a male touches his cheek with his hand. In the compartment to the right of this again is a deva, on a makara, holding up a circle or large ring. In the corresponding one on the left are three figures on an elephant, the second holding an umbrella over the first (Indra?). In the back row in the centre is a deva, three-faced, like Brahman, on a swan, and holding a śrīkula in his right hand, his left resting on his knee. Chauri-bearers accompany him before and behind. In the square to the left or east are two flying figures, the male with an offering, and the female with a round fan or mirror; in that to the right are a pair of flying figures, the male with a sword; but the group is damaged. The roofs of the side aisles are plain.

On two of the pillars of the hall are inscriptions in Kanarese characters, the full meaning of which, however, has not been made out. In one of them occur the words—Śālivadhana Śaka varshaṅkula 1476 gunāqi pramāthā dvilvata śatā śāhāhaba, 11. Hence it was inscribed in a.d. 1555, in the time of Sādāśiva ālaya-mahā-

5 By misreading the commencement of this inscription, Dr. Bird assumed that it was dated in an era he read as 'Hala Hala,' and which he assumed to commence from the Nirvāna of Buddha, and taking this as 543 B.C., he made the date of the cave 1476—543 or 933 A.D. See his Historical Researches (Bombay, 1847), pp. 50, 51.
hāraya, the successor of Kondaraja of Vijayanagura, mentioned below. Of the former, who reigned at least from A.D. 1552 to 1562, there is a short inscription in an old temple on the opposite hill. Again, on one of the pillars of the verandah is an inscription in three lines, thus transcribed and translated by Mr. J. F. Fleet, Bo. C.S.:—

Transcription.

[1] Sōbhakru(ṣrī)tatu-sanjāvatara Aśāda(Aśāda). 15-
[2] Ṛu Kondaraja-mahā(ḥ)-ramagalu ku-
[3] ti(ḥ)śida kota(ttu)ukke subham=sau(stu) Śri

“May prosperity attend the bastion which the great king Kondaraja caused to be built on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Aśāda, of the Sōbhakrit satvatsara! Śri!”

But the most important of all is the inscription, mentioned above, on a pilaster beside the figure of Varaha. A facsimile of it has already been given (vol. III. p. 305), with a translation, but, to render this account more complete in itself, the following by Mr. Fleet may be inserted here—

[1] ścases || Śristvamayaśuta(ḥ) ध्यानानवमयस्रोवत्राणाःहरितिपुष्पाणम्
[2] अभिधरिषी सचननवपूणामनीवामशेषवाय्
[3] मृत्युनावपूणातितिशिरं च संस्कृतं शरितवस्तं
[4] पनामाहवालामारणांचदः अनेकगुणावलंकारारस्त्
[5] वेजातार्तनिशिशेषुदुरक्तचरितप्राकृतवासकारांसपथः
[6] श्रीमकुलीवराणि
[7] कान्तः प्रजामानवाधीन(त)तस्ते द्वारस्ते आनुपतिरावाणिकवायनां(त)तस्ते
[8] वतिकानेषु पञ्चु सतिः निजमुकतविनितवाधरारामामृतवितिरोऽसम्
[9] कुटमणिप्रार्तवतितपादुगुल प्रशुसागरपरव्यनिशिशेषमुकुटीः
[10] गारः प्रसतताणवतध्याय(न) महाविणामुहाविद्धाव शान्तायकमयसयुक
[11] महिमविचित(त) भूताभिगमापहीयपितानितसर्वर्त्रनितायतं कृताः
[12] तवस्यन् महाकालिकपूणामाण्यां वद्यफर्णो महापदानन्दन भवावतः प्रलेषः
[13] यदित(त) क्रमण्डल (ल) कार्यकारितामरागिकस्वविषयः प्रतिमाविषय
[14] नायकदेश (य) निरस्त(त) तस्येकसर्वाय यवम्यमारणवलयुधरावै वेर्वर्षान्तेविषय
[15] इतिहास्यश्री सतिविनयमातिडिनमुपविधानुष्ठानः श्रेष्ठ च परिताकोभेन्
[16] अयन्तरानु सकलायनवण्डध (ला) बस्मात्याय च वसर्य्य्यघातानां कुलाः
[17] नेकतुलबध्यवंपतिकलकविलितचतुर्नषुमद्यर्मितिनिवारितयः परत
[18] नेप्तोधीत्यसे देविविषुपूष्णीताय वेर्मानमद्यविलिती कृतिविषये
[19] पराक्रामेश्वराय तपस्योपशयचत्वारितविसिद्धिवाहनमाजसम्बुकः
[20] मुद्वकपूणी विशााणीसम्बूझुष्ठ(ए) विकल्पस्मसं यशाविदित् (II) त(न) कृतिविषय
[21] परापिताब्यः च बहुविश्वेषु दत्त वहभिशानुभातिता यस्त
[22] वष्णु वदाभुमिः तस्य तस्य तदमलम् (II) सन्तानं परदवृत्ता वे(य)
[23] वायव युगिते महामहासिद्धी संह दानार्थयो तुमालय (II)
[24] सन्तानं परदवृत्ता वे हरित बुधवरां शरिहायां

|| Probably the Šaka year 1465 (A.D. 1543-4). For facsimiles of the originals of these three inscriptions see Archaeological Report, Western India, 1874, plates xxixii.

[1] In the original this letter, श, is inserted below the line, having been at first omitted.
Translation.

Hail! In the twelfth year of his prosperous reign, five hundred of the years of the royal installation of the Śaka king having expired, Śrī Mahāghaḷa śaiva, who is valorous in war,—whose two feet are tinted with the lustre of the jewels in the diadems of kings who have been caused to bow down before him by the edge of the sword which is wielded by his arm,—who is the sole auspicious abode of victory over the (whole) earth as far as the four oceans; who is a most excellent worshipper of (Vishnu as) the Holy One,—who is born in the lineage of the Chālkaśas who meditate on the feet of Śrī Svāmī, who are of the kindred of Mānaya, who are the offspring of Hāritī, and whose heads are purified by ablutions performed after the celebration of the Aṃśiṣṭhōma, who is the son of Hāritī, and whose two feet are tinted with the lustre of the jewels in regal power,—who is the fall moon of the sky which is intent upon the true essence of the Lord of lustre,—who is the race of the Ṣaṅgha, who is possessed of a body which is adorned with a multitude of many good qualities,—who has an intellect which is intent upon the true essence of the meaning of all the sacred writings,—who has possessed of extreme strength and prowess and energy,—having erected a temple, an abode of the great Vishnu, surpassing everything which is celestial or human, fashioned with most curious workmanship, most worthy to be looked at on the surface of any primary or secondary division of the earth, and having given rich gifts to Brāhmaṇas in it on the holy full-moon of (the month) Karttika, granted, on the occasion of the installation of the image of the holy Vishnu, who destroyed the army of the enemies of the gods with his discus the shape of which is like that of the sun risen (again) after the destruction of the universe, the village called Lāṭīśvara, having made a daily observance the bestowal of food and alms upon sixteen Brāhmaṇas for the purpose of offering the oblation to Nārāyaṇa, and (having set apart) the remainder for the sustenance of wandering religious mendicants,—saying “In the presence of the Sun, Fire, and the (guild of) merchants, the reward of this accumulation of religious merit has been made over, with oblations of water to my elder brother Kṛttivarman, the lord of valour, who was sufficiently powerful to protect the whole circle of the earth, who was adorned with a canopy consisting of his fame which was propped up by standards of victory acquired in many battles in which there were mêlées of chariots and elephants and horses and foot-soldiers, and which was bounded (only) by the waves of the four oceans], and who was worshipped by gods and Brāhmaṇas and spiritual preceptors; let whatever reward belongs to (me who am) possessed of a desire to obey my brother accrue to me.” (And this grant) is not to be diminished by any one; (for)—“Land has been given by many and has been continued in grant by many; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it. Carefully continue, O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings!, land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; continuing a grant is more excellent than giving. He, who confisicates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, becomes a worm in the excrement of a dog and sinks (into hell) with his ancestors! ’’—(these are) the verses sung by Vyāsā.

It only remains to notice the 6th and 7th plates: they represent the greater portion of a frieze round the inside of the verandah of the second cave, which is also Vaishāya. The figures are all small, but cut with considerable care, and are in remarkable preservation.}

* This inscription fixes the Śaka year 490 as the commencement of the reign of Maṅgallā. Saka 488 is the date obtained by Mr. W. Elliot for his predecessor Kṛttivarman I. This inscription also determines, with a precision not hitherto, I think, attained, the commencement of the Śaka era. The era has been considered to date from the birth of Śāliśhāna, a mythological prince of the Deccan, who opposed Viṭhamsūya, the Bṛāj of Ujjayinī. It is here said distinctly to date from the royal installation or coronation of the Śaka king.” (Prinsep’s Useful Tables, p. 154, in Thomas’ edition of Indian Antiquities, vol. II., F., F.)

† I.e., the northern, southern, eastern, and western oceans.

‡ “Parvāna-hāgyavat,” a most excellent worshipper of Bhagavāna or Vishnu.

|| A name of Kṛttikāya or Mahāśeṇa, the god of war. This and the following two titles also belong to the kings of the older Kālambha dynasty of Pallikaśa (see Nos. XXII., XXV., and XXVI. of my series in the Ind. Ant. vol. VI.), and probably to the kings of other old dynasties also.

†† Sva, majesty, the power of good counsel, and the force of energy.

†† This inscription fixes the Śaka year 490 as the commencement of the reign of Maṅgallā. Saka 488 is the date obtained by Mr. W. Elliot for his predecessor Kṛttivarman I. This inscription also determines, with a precision not hitherto, I think, attained, the commencement of the Śaka era. The era has been considered to date from the birth of Śāliśhāna, a mythological prince of the Deccan, who opposed Viṭhamsūya, the Bṛāj of Ujjayinī. It is here said distinctly to date from the royal installation or coronation of the Śaka king.” (Prinsep’s Useful Tables, p. 154, in Thomas’ edition of Indian Antiquities, vol. II., F., F.)

††† The merchants, or probably the chief men among them, constituted a village jury and investigated disputes, pronounced the results of trials by ordeal (see the Kālamā inscription of Kṛttikā, Jour. Bo. Br. X. & Soc. vol. IX. pp. 304 et seq.), and witnessed grants with a view to subsequently proving them if required, &c.

§ The meaning of the compound “bhūmikādhvapya,” &c. is obscure, and my interpretation of it may perhaps not be correct.

† See note † to the transcription.

$ The merchants, or probably the chief men among them, constituted a village jury and investigated disputes, pronounced the results of trials by ordeal (see the Kālamā inscription of Kṛttikā, Jour. Bo. Br. X. & Soc. vol. IX. pp. 304 et seq.), and witnessed grants with a view to subsequently proving them if required, &c.

|| i.e., which spread over and enveloped the whole inhabited earth.

& The artist has unfortunately intermixed the sections from the two sides of the verandah.
SCULPTURES ON THE FRIEZE OF THE VERANDAH IN CAVE II. AT BADAMP.
SCULPTURES ON THE FRIEZE OF THE VERANDAH IN CAVE II. AT BADAMI.
the last section of the 7th plate, where we have, first, K r i s h n a as Vishnu resting beside the Pārijatāka tree, with Garuda behind him, and several other figures, among whom are doubtless his wives Satyabhāma and Rukminī, and the sage Nārada under the tree; then he is shown mounted on Garuda; and, thirdly, going out to do battle with an army of Indra, in which some of his numerous opponents are Agni, Varuṇa, Yama, &c., mounted on elephants and on horses, continued also through the first section on the 6th plate. This is clearly enough the legend of the carrying off from Indra of the Pārijatā tree by Krishṇa, as told in the Hari-

valihās (adh. cxxiii. to cxxxiv.). After this follow in succession the 4th, 2nd, and 5th sections on the last plate. Here we have first Nārāyana reclining upon Śesha, with the lotus springing from his navel, and Brahmā seated upon it; Garuda is at his feet pointing two royal personages who are struggling to the god; these perhaps represent the wicked kings who pressed the earth and rendered a new avatāra necessary. Beyond them two persons are abusing an ox, representative perhaps of D h a r m a or Religion, and a cow, of P r i t h u—the Earth. Then two others are supplicating Vishnu. The 2nd section on the plate, which comes next on the walls, seems to represent Kāsī between two female chauri-bearers, perhaps Nārada before him, then the house of Vasudeva, then Kāsī having thrown the daughter of Yaśodā on a stone sees her assume the form of E k a nān sā (Harivāśiha, adh. lix. and civii.) or Durga. The next group perhaps is the apology of Kāsī to D ev akī and V a s u d e v a. Passing to the 5th section, we have Krishṇa sucking the life out of Pūtana (atrophy) sent by Kāsī as a nurse; then his waking from sleep and kicking over the cart beneath which his mother had laid him; the killing of V a t a sūra or A r i s h t a, who had taken the form of an ox;† the relieving of Nālakuśa and Maṇigrīva, two sons of Kuvera who were turned into trees by the curse of a sage; and the seizing and killing of the Asura Dhenuka, who had assumed the form of a donkey.‡

The next four sections are the 8th, 6th, 4th, and 2nd on the sixth plate. In the first of these Krishṇa is represented lying on a couch, playmates beside him, cows licking his feet, and gopās or herdsmen standing by. In the next are gopās and gopās with pots of milk, cows and Krishṇa in the midst of them stopping the way. And in the third are more of the herd, and Krishṇa slaying Kēśin, the brother of Kaśī, who assumed the form of a horse and attacked the Gopās, and of another enemy who took the form of the elephant Kuvalayāpiḍa.§ Then on the 2nd section on the plate we have the Gopās and Gopās on the banks of the Yamunā when Kṛṣṇa brings Kāliya, the great Nāga, whom he had subdued, and his two wives.||

The 3rd and 1st sections on the last plate belong to a different part of the legend: In the first of these we have B r a h ma, seated, and the gods or Suras assembled to ask his advice as to how they were to get the better of the Dāityas. He advised them to churn the sea of milk.¶ The Bhāgavata Purāṇa then describes a contest which arose as to which should hold the head of Vīsuki and which his tail, while they used him as a cord wherewith to twirl Mount Mandara as a churn-stick. Here they are twisting him round, a Deva being at his head, and a Dāitya, represented with an animal's face, at the other side, but not satisfied with the tail. Next come Indra, Brahmā, Śiva, and others seated ready to begin the task, and still further along the Dāitya has seized on the head of the serpent-king, which he considers it more honourable for his fellows to pull by. The next scene is on the 7th section of the sixth plate, where, the Asuras at the head and Devas at the tail, with Mount Mandara for a churn-stick, and Vishnu in the form of a Kārmaka or tortoise, as a pivot, and helping in another form above, all are working with a will to churn out the amṛtā, or ambrosia, that is to make them immortal. In the 5th section on the same plate the gods are assembled, and In d r a, who had got charge of the amṛtā, is delivering it to Varuṇa. Under the pot is the shining chakra of the gods, who stand on each side, while on the left, G a r u ṅa, the son of Vinātā, as described in the Mahā-

---

* Bhāgavata Dasmakonth. adh. vi.; Harivāśiha, adh. lixii.
† Hariv. liv., li., and lxxvi.; Bhag. Das. vii.
‡ Bhag. Das. x. and viii.; Harivāśiha, lix., also liv., civ., cxix., civii., and cxxi.
§ Hariv. adh. lxxx., civii., cxxi., and lxxvi., also xii., civ., civii.
|| Horiw. fir., bd., and harm.; Hariv. adh. lxviii., lix.
bhadra, is coming to carry it off. In the next section he is seen speeding off with it, and then, having placed it at the entrance of the dwelling of the Naga, Indra meets him and strikes him with his vajra, which, however, does him no harm, as he was previously met by Vishnu, who granted him immortality without the use of the amrut."
INDEX.

Abali.......................... 338, 339
Abanorit........................ 342
Abnya............................ 319
Abhā Sahamewan.................. 322-5
Abhā Sīrī suṅg bo................ 322-4, 328
Abhayā........................... 320-21
Abhayatilaka...................... 180, 182
Abhidharma......................... 217
Abhijit.................. 180
Abhimanyu....................... 270, 301, 304
Abhinavagupta Achārya......... 269
Abhir, Abhirī...................... 123, 184
Aboriginal Tribes of Bombay, by Dr. J. Wilson............. 233
Abu.................. 1, 187-190, 141
Abu'l Fuzl......................... 331
Achaldan...................... 1
Achārya...................... 27, 32, 305
Achyuta.......................... 357
Aden............................... 83, 215
Adhikdra........................ 107-8
Adhikothu......................... 50
Adhikvyūdā, adhikvyādu........ 157
Ādhibhūtā......................... 199
Ādī Granth......................... 160
Ādītī.............................. 50, 291, 357
Āditya.............................. 90-91
Ādityāśāmāra..................... 78
Ādityavarmā....................... 75-6
Ādityavācchumamvarmanus........ 85, 87-8
Āeguptas, riv..................... 129
Āēlian, Hiā. Anim.................. 128, 133, 333
āgama............................... 302
Agaunbhattā...................... 187-8, 195, 198-9
Agrāvāhālī........................ 93
Agrāśiyaka....................... 49, 50, 56
Agastya......................... 261
Aghāns............................. 229
Agui.............................. 357, 361
Agrabodhi......................... 326
Agrahāra........................... 273
āhā, ahāle......................... 157
akāṅkaṇā......................... 334
Ākāriśṭī....................... 32
Ahichchhatra..................... 50, 53
Ahīrānā........................... 210
Ahīra.............................. 123
Ahmadābād......................... 5, 6
Ahmadnagar....................... 71
Ahmad Shāh....................... 2, 3, 7
Ahriman............................ 314
Ahura Mazda....................... 314-15
Aigilhelai......................... 349
Aihole, etc., &c.................... 22, 28, 83, 188, 334
Aitkayikā......................... 194
Aindrāvyāṇa...................... 253
A'lin-akbarī...................... 49, 124, 331
Aitareya Brāhmanyā.............. 255
Āytakāsiā Rokhaṇya, by R. D. Sen........ 332
Ajāṭhā............................ 53, 352
Ājātā.............................. 194
Ājāyapāla 186, 196, 200, 208, 213-14
Ākālavars na...................... 60, 62, 65, 72
Ākbar...................... 7, 353-4
Ākesinēs........................... 121, 248, 340
Ākṣasāleī......................... 80
Ākroīrā......................... 291
Ākhamālā......................... 253
Ālāmīīv Nāma..................... 235
Ālamkāra......................... 267
Ālār 'd-īn Khilji................. 1, 2, 277
Al Bīrūnī.......................... 58
Āldobārān......................... 163, 173
Ālege............................... 94
Alexander 114-19, 121-6, 130, 335-6
Alexander's Pillars............... 247
Ālītrochādeśas................... 113, 115
Ālimorā............................ 97
Alphabet, Canarese................ 136
Ālavaṛāja......................... 91, 93
āvīs.............................. 157
Amanta............................. 343
Amara.............................. 75-6
Amate............................... 342
Āmāśārman......................... 189
Amazons........................... 344
Ambā, Ambikā..................... 36, 98
Ambārsāhā......................... 175
Ambrosius, de Moribus Brachmauroum.... 334
ām情景, anmisarī.................. 157
Amitagati......................... 51
Amitrājīt........................ 176
Amitrochādeśas................... 117
Amoghavars na................... 52, 62-5, 72
Amrāvatī......................... 105
Amrītā......................... 366
Amritrāṇī......................... 35
Amrityogā......................... 137
Amṛtiyogena...................... 143
Amukṭērēs......................... 133-4
Ānandīśvarā....................... 198, 203-4
Ānandā........................... 229
Ānandārīthā......................... 40
Ānanta............................. 162
Ānanta............................. 269
Ānantaḥatīta....................... 169
Ānantaṇ ADVa....................... 170, 282
Ānantisāyana...................... 357
Ānantaṭvira Ayya................... 102
Ānāo Luṇapasāka............... 199, 203
Ānartī.............................. 50
Āndhra, Andarē.................... 337, 338
Āndharabhrītyaṣ................... 43-6, 154
Āndrokkotos...................... 114
Āngha.............................. 317
Āṅgaja............................. 141
Āṅganaḥvatā........................ 204
Āṅgiras gotra...................... 23
Āṅgria.............................. 233
Āṅhivādā, Ānabhīllā-pātaka 1, 59, 60, 65, 180-2, 183, 195, 198, 200-212
Ānhrāmanīyus..................... 314
Ānīla............................... 358
Ānīṇa............................... 139
Āntigōnos......................... 114
Āntigōnos Karyst.................. 129
Āntiōch............................. 42
Āntiochus.......................... 115, 15
Āntipater.......................... 115
ants................................. 24-
Āntixeni............................ 34-
Ānurādhapura..................... 318-23, 327-9
awāsikā........................... 47-8, 136
awandra......................... 85, 10-
anyagārāyād...................... 110
Āorman.............................. 247
apaiadhiyengā..................... 157
Āppianus......................... 114
Āpsarasas......................... 174
Āpūpikā......................... 10
Ārabia.............................. 215
araṇ......................... 383
Ārakhdasī......................... 115, 124, 246, 348
Āraṅhaūra......................... 210
Āraṣṭa.............................. 316
Ārvall hills......................... 68
Ārābudaprasāṭi.................... 270
Ārchaeological Notes............. 41, 515
Ārchaeology of Dehli, by Carr Ste¬
phen................................ 145
Ārchetexture, Eastern and India, by J. Ferguson............ 130
<p>| INDEX. |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| Dāśāyāja .......... | 210              |
| Dastūr ..........   | 312              |
| Dasyu ..........    | 258              |
| Datta bhikshu ...... | 219              |
| Daulatābād ....... | 75               |
| Dehi ..........     | 145              |
| Dēmāchaos ..........| 113-17, 125-7, 133-4 |
| Delbrück, Prof. ... | 238              |
| Dēmēter ........   | 249              |
| Domokritos ......  | 130              |
| Darange ..........  | 342              |
| Desideri, Ip. ...  | 310              |
| Dēlavādā .......... | 196              |
| Devabhadrāpallika .......... | 10          |
| Devadura ........  | 269              |
| Devagadhi Bāriḥ ... | 9               |
| Devaṅgāpiye ........ | 155-6            |
| Dēvās ..........   | 49               |
| Dēvāsarmā ......... | 91               |
| Derā-suni .......... | 313              |
| Dēvāravarmā .......... | 28            |
| Dēvāyāja .......... | 74               |
| Dhamapati Bhaṭṭa .... | 50, 55           |
| Dhānḍaṭṭa .......... | 188, 190          |
| Dhāngers .......... | 123              |
| Dhenuṇa Vīṣṇu ...... | 58               |
| Dhāṛa ..........    | 54, 144           |
| Dhārākēṭha .......... | 10               |
| Dharmāṭṭha .......... | 9               |
| Dharmāpuram .......... | 215             |
| Dhārasena .......... | 9, 10, 13         |
| Dharavāda .......... | 184              |
| Dhāravārsha .......... | 62, 71-2         |
| Dhārma ..........   | 226, 365          |
| Dharmāṇandī .......... | 32             |
| Dharmādeva .......... | 359             |
| Dharmāpurī, Dharmāpur .......... | 50, 250         |
| Dharmānindhasāra .......... | 169             |
| Dharmāvyādha .......... | 254, 257        |
| dhrāni ..........   | 96               |
| Dhāravād plates ........ | 52              |
| dhāttu ..........   | 107              |
| Dhavala ..........   | 213-14           |
| Dhēqā ..........    | 234              |
| Dheuṇa ..........   | 280, 365          |
| Dhōkāvārā cave ........ | 99              |
| Dholkā ..........   | 16, 188, 190     |
| Dhrātavākṣha .......... | 253, 256         |
| Dhruva, Dhora .......... | 62, 69-9, 72     |
| Dhruvasena .......... | 9, 10-13         |
| Dwāriyā ..........   | 294              |
| Dhiulkā ..........   | 233              |
| Dūhrma ..........   | 361              |
| Dhvanyālaka .......... | 288             |
| Dīgarchī ..........  | 96               |
| Dīkapālakas .......... | 361             |
| Dīmrī (Dumras) .......... | 342            |
| Dīndumānē ......... | 152              |
| Dīdorūs ..........   | 114-7, 122       |
| Dīṅgūtes ..........  | 113, 115         |
| Dīnomusūs 115, 117, 122, 212, 246-250 .......... | 344     |
| Dīnagamahaveśvarīvikrīti .......... | 237 |
| Dīnī ..........     | 50               |
| Div ..........      | 5                |
| Divirnas ..........  | 10               |
| Dīvāyāyāni .......... | 158              |
| Dīyānaḍāva Pāṇṭhī .......... | 234           |
| Dīyānagaurī .......... | 234             |
| Dogs ..........     | 128              |
| Dohul ..........    | 3, 63            |
| Dōhol̥ali ........  | 369              |
| Dōlmaṇa ..........  | 230              |
| Dōtī ..........     | 97               |
| Dōrmusa ..........  | 340              |
| Droupādi ..........  | 236-1, 275, 315  |
| Drowns Northern Barrier of India, Drew's .......... | 148 |
| Druṇa ..........    | 55               |
| Drona ..........    | 260              |
| Dronasīniḥa .......... | 9               |
| Druḥūṇa ..........  | 270              |
| Drūtīs ..........   | 244              |
| Drupāda ..........  | 262              |
| Druṣus ..........   | 216              |
| Dubalīas .......... | 234              |
| Dūfīlā ..........   | 13               |
| Dūdāhhūkā .......... | 213              |
| Dudo Bhāti .......... | 9               |
| Dungārī, Dungarṇī .......... | 4             |
| Dungarpur .......... | 1               |
| Duṇumāndalakunda .......... | 318, 320     |
| Durgā ..........    | 289, 299         |
| Durgagāna .......... | 48               |
| Durlabhiukha .......... | 266-7           |
| Durlabha 191, 195, 198, 200, 213-14 .......... | 179 |
| Duravāsas .......... | 179              |
| Dusahyanta .......... | 132             |
| Duṭṭhakāmanāṭṭa .......... | 321           |
| dwe ..........     | 158              |
| Dvaṭṭaṁ̄rṇyaya .......... | 167             |
| Dvārakhī ..........  | 8                |
| Dvārasamudra .......... | 191            |
| Dvāravatāstikā .......... | 266         |
| Dvādagārakosha .......... | 159-66        |
| Edevōjala .......... | 91, 93-4         |
| Eel (electric) .......... | 129             |
| Egypt ..........     | 42, 238          |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kapila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapila-arta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kârâma Pantachala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karâchhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karât</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karâle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karânjapatri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kardâ plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kardamapati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karejil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karirâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karmk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kârkâ-Chhand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karkota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kârân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnaâdva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnâditya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnapragramas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnâthaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnât</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kârântiköya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karveerigød</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâsâinâlopâdhâyâyâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâsâmîr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâsâparaos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâsarapo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâsâyapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâsâyapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâsatapgos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâthâsvaridgara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâthhi, Kâthhiâdâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâthmândhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katakris, Katofois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katakgeri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâtiyânâa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaukâsos (Caucusus) 124-6, 133,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaulâta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauamûri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauamonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauambì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauâkika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâsâtros (Castrus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kastudka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâveri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâvi plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâyal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâvâvaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kekhoi Lalîhâba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kekirîwâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Këlas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kërala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keriân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kern, Prof. H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Këruks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kësava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kësava-Chakrabrît</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kësin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâchaar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâilââvokta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâilî Kûân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâhengdra, Kâhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâlîfê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâlîufa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâlist insc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâmbo and Thoibi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâmbhât</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâmbhilla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâmmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kândeshe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kârêpêlân plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kârjînâdi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâsîra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khâdrâpur insc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khânta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khânta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khânti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khârâvera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khîrîya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khîrhad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kîrîkkumudi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kîrti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kîrtinattarma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiru-Kâgâmâsî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kîs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kîttel's Uepp. des Linguistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiwâ/ms-Mukul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kîsobora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kîllarchos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kîłchîaîi Varmâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kîchirî insc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kîdaga, Kîdagu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kîmbatûr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kîkaris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kîkkonadas, Koononadas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kîlalbî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kîlalapura</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX.

Kolahapur coins .................................................. 275
Kolis ................................................................. 6, 186, 233
Kolkel, Kolkot ..................................................... 30
Komalmer ............................................................. 63
Kondaraja ............................................................. 363
Kondasketi ........................................................... 344
Kongani-Mahachiraja ............................................. 23
Konganivarman .................................................... 100
Kofo or Ganga incs ............................................... 99ff.
Kongambo ............................................................ 221ff.
Konaka ................................................................. 63
Kornadoi-Kondan .................................................. 143
Kontur incs ........................................................... 140
Kopaldurg ............................................................... 298
Kophes ................................................................. 246
Korabibi ............................................................... 344
Koreish ................................................................. 231
Korkei ................................................................. 80-83, 279
Kortalam ............................................................... 279
Koringa ................................................................. 130
Kopuwa, Koluvda .................................................... 129
Kopu ..................................................................... 80
Kose .................................................................... 80
Kottayam ............................................................... 45, 216
Kradeus ................................................................. 249
Krihchokhra .......................................................... 78
Krisna 171-80, 248, 260-1, 269-72, 272-3, 349-3, 385
Krisnada ................................................................. 88, 90, 105
Krisnapada ............................................................. 285
Krisnapanyadava ................................................... 23
Krisnapanyadeva ................................................... 23
Kritikkas ............................................................... 27
Kriyachintamani ..................................................... 167
Kruksa ................................................................. 126, 238
Kshatrapras ............................................................ 43-5, 57-8
Kshatriya ............................................................... 252-3, 258, 262, 316
Kshemendra .......................................................... 269
Kshipra riv ............................................................. 50
Kshiti Raja (or Patil) ............................................... 51
Khudrakas ............................................................. 247
Ktesias 113, 116, 118, 126, 131, 133, 135, 246
Kubja Vishnurdhana ................................................. 73
Kublai Khan .......................................................... 29-30
Kudara ................................................................. 162
Kuda caves ............................................................ 33
Kukalaya ............................................................... 210
Kukadi riv ............................................................. 35
Kula ..................................................................... 275
Kulashekadivada ................................................... 142-3
Kulashekhara insc ................................................ 323
Kulid ................................................................. 98
Kurne ................................................................. 115
Kunal ................................................................. 229, 222
Kunara ................................................................. 270
Kunradatta ............................................................ 27
Kumara Gupta ....................................................... 57
Kumrapala 154, 158, 159, 195, 198, 200, 213-14
Kumrapalochchrita ................................................ 180
Kumari, Cape ....................................................... 80
Kumarin ............................................................... 95, 97
Kumna ................................................................. 95, 97
Kumthapaka hill ................................................... 25, 29
Kumpa Rawal ....................................................... 31
Kanala ................................................................. 150
Kanada ................................................................. 262, 316
Kuvajalapura ........................................................ 101, 103
Kurali ................................................................. 210
Kurambas, Kurubhars ............................................. 41, 230
Kuribhakam mendicanta ........................................ 25, 31
Kurma avatara ....................................................... 355, 358, 365
Kuropolis ............................................................. 345
Kuros (Cyrus) ....................................................... 246-7, 250
Kurubhara ............................................................. 270
Kurukshetra .......................................................... 138, 142
Kurupakege ......................................................... 94
Kurus ................................................................. 260, 272-3
Kusa ................................................................. 273
Kushtaloda ......... 00ff. .............................................. 314
Kusumapura .......................................................... 114
Kutb-Minâr ............................................................ 145, 147
Kutu'ul Mulk Saiyid 'Abdu'l'llah .............................. 236
Kutira ................................................................. 40
Kuvera ................................................................. 118, 271, 361
Lag Vijayasimha Kit ................................................. 328
Lahor ................................................................. 105-6, 146-7
Lâhâl ................................................................. 98
Laiharouba ........................................................... 291
Lakedemonians ..................................................... 131
Lakkundha ........................................................... 100
Lakshmanantartha ................................................ 100
Lakshmi 16, 37, 262, 350, 356, 361
Lalitâditya ............................................................ 266
Lalkot ................................................................. 147
Lane, E. W. ............................................................ 161
Laññâvarama ......................................................... 364
Lanka ................................................................. 129
Lassen, C. ............................................................. 115, 130, 265-6
Lâta ................................................................. 16, 68, 184, 190
Latage ................................................................. 128
Laukika era .......................................................... 266, 268, 272
Lavâ ................................................................. 270, 273
Lavâgarasâda ......................................................... 188-90, 213
Lehândri .............................................................. 35
Lehândri ................................. 7ff. ........................................... 138
Lênaîos .............................................................. 122
Levâra ................................................................. 273
Libasa ................................................................. 96
Libya ................................................................. 130
Lichhavi incs ........................................................ 43
Lîdar ................................................................. 273
Lîkhpaya .............................................................. 159
Lîlâdevî .................. 7ff. .............................................. 181, 196
Lîlbhara ............................................................... 186
Limádja ............................................................... 4
Lîngâ worship ......................................................... 278
Lîvingstone, Dr ...................................................... 41
Lîti ................................................................. 239
Lokâ-kîl era .......................................................... 55
Lôkamahádevi ...................................................... 85, 91
Lôkâprakása .......................................................... 10
Lôkésvarâdeva ...................................................... 85
Lolhâ ................................................................. 274
Lólorâ ................................................................. 273
Luang ................................................................. 239
Lucian ............................................................... 338
Lûnapasi ............................................................. 198, 203, 206-12
Luqâválâ ............................................................... 9, 17
Lyççans .............................................................. 275
Macocoologie ........................................................ 337
Mâchhi Havêli ....................................................... 7, 8
MacKenzie Col ...................................................... 227
Macróbî ............................................................... 135
Mâdâkûlam ........................................................... 142
maçamadoâkkat-tâdî .............................................. 280
Ma'dan-al-hkmat ................................................... 160
Madanarâtna ....................................................... 169, 178
Madâr ................................................................. 275
Madâhava 23, 161-2, 169-70, 178-9, 358
Madhumati ........................................................... 271
Madhusudan ........................................................ 358
Madonna .............................................................. 351
Madras ............................................................... 306, 316
Mâdrî ................................................................. 316
Madrid ............................................................... 308
Maduchhânâ ........................................................ 206
Madurã ............................................................... 82, 280
Madhya .............................................................. 247
Magadha .............................................................. 318
Mâgama .............................................................. 320-31
Mâga-paîi ............................................................. 312
Magha ................................................................. 63
Mahâb(en) ............................................................. 247
Mahâbâdrata ......................................................... 107, 118, 133-4, 251-64, 315-17, 329
Mahâbhârata ......................................................... 301ff.
Mahakavi ............................................................. 161, 171, 277
Mahâdeva ............................................................. 366
Mahâdevarâja ....................................................... 366
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX.</th>
<th>375</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahâdevapura</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahâkâla</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahâkalattewa</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahâkâta</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahânadi</td>
<td>127, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahârâstra</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahâtrâba (padâhia)</td>
<td>139, 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahâsena</td>
<td>27, 31, 2, 364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahatâ</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahâvâsa</td>
<td>320-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahâvâra</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahâvratin</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahendra</td>
<td>151-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahendrapâla</td>
<td>44, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahendraprâpâ</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahâvaradûsenaka</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahi riv., Mahâwâsi</td>
<td>79, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahâpâla</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmûd</td>
<td>6, 184-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmûd Bigarah</td>
<td>1-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmûd Khiljî</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahodadhi</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahonali</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mânandros riv.</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâhill</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maitilas</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malada</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâlakâsarî</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâlâva 3, 4, 48-56, 63, 70, 188, 191, 212</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malâvas</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâlâvarâja</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malâyângiri</td>
<td>47-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malękâra</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malci, Maleus Mt., Mallii 127, 130, 338, 340</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malei Arriyâns</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâlpâsa</td>
<td>101-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik Asad</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik Áyáz Sulêtâni</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâlkheô, Mâlkheô</td>
<td>64-5, 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malînîtha</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâltocore</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mâmây</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâmluk Bahries</td>
<td>215-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mânâyâya</td>
<td>31-2, 74, 77, 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mândal</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mândal 127, 184, 193, 203, 206, 213</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mândanîs</td>
<td>245, 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mâmô</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandapâla</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandara, Mû</td>
<td>68, 865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mândeï</td>
<td>127, 130, 338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mândeliso, J. A.</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mândeville, Sir J.</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mândhâtîri</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandi</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mândiur</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mându</td>
<td>3-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mângâla</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mângâlâyâra</td>
<td>364, 364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mângâ</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mângîrîva</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâniupûr</td>
<td>219-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâniûrî</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mânîdr (Mâlkheô)</td>
<td>64-5, 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mânîmûci hill</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mânum gulf</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manning's Mission to Tibet</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manoharpur</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manouchi, M.</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mântûra</td>
<td>185-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâtraîstra</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manû</td>
<td>30, 292-4, 299, 332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manûsghoûdya</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mânayakheô (Mâlkheô)</td>
<td>64-5, 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâra</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâradinâkâsawalakanda</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâradî</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâramangalam</td>
<td>81, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâruasâva</td>
<td>63, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marco Polo</td>
<td>180-3, 215, 229-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marigouli</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mârkañêya</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markham's Tibet</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marolhe</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâranî</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mârreikhâmâyûnamuenu</td>
<td>85, 87-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marvan Sapor Iáo</td>
<td>386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâs</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mâsakriyâ</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâsdî</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâsûra</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mather, Dr. C.</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathurá 105, 154, 173, 216-9, 269,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâtrigupta</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâtrîsairî riv.</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâluyah</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâyûsas</td>
<td>149-50, 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâyá</td>
<td>17, 341, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâyana</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâyavûtu</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayâng Imphal</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayilagastota</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayûrakhândî</td>
<td>64, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayûravarmadêya</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mêşêpêta</td>
<td>191, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mêshûrû</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mêlî</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mêgalês (Mêvelas)</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megari (Mokars)</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megasthenes</td>
<td>113ff., 236ff., 333ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megh</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megh</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megh</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megh</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megh</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megh</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megh</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megh</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megh</td>
<td>219-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megh</td>
<td>338-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megh</td>
<td>127-8, 333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monkeys</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monopeds</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monopeds</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morânilî</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morh plate</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moorcroft</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morchanda</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moru</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrigêsa, Mrigêsavârah</td>
<td>24-5, 29-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrigêsavamâ</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mûdawebra</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mûdhol</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mûdrârikasa</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mûgalîputras</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mûhârân Khân</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mûhâmmed Shâh</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mûhâmmedâdâb</td>
<td>4, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mûhârâm</td>
<td>79, 230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukthâphala</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Index Entry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>Muntakhabul Lubdb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Muntahhab-al tovariJch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Munawaru'l-mulk Bukhari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>Mundas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227-8</td>
<td>Mundargi RaRa Rano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272</td>
<td>Munis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>munisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-51</td>
<td>Munja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Munjal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>Munakhab-al tovurikd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>MutaKhabal Lubdo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52-58</td>
<td>Mura, Murari (Krisba)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318</td>
<td>Murungahatikanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Mushika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>289</td>
<td>Musikanos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>Musumipara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>Mutastiva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>Muttukulam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, 6</td>
<td>Muzafiar (Sultan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>na, nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308</td>
<td>NabhÁ-Ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>246-8</td>
<td>Nabhodosor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>Nâjola plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>Nadula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220-70, 365-6</td>
<td>Nâgâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190, 212</td>
<td>Nâgadâa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>Nâgadeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49, 54</td>
<td>Nâgadraha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Nâgajhari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Nâgamanâlal plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>Nâgârajâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42-8</td>
<td>Nâgârâti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Nâgavarmâdeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>303, 305</td>
<td>Nâgâsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nâgor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nâbâni Umarwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Nahâpurâna insc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233-4</td>
<td>Naikras (Nâyakâdas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Naini Tâl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316-7</td>
<td>Naiks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>365</td>
<td>Nâlabobar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nâlochh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>Nâlodâd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43, 47, 96-7</td>
<td>Nâpil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120, 125</td>
<td>Nâl riv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>Nârung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>Nârââyâmyânu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195, 170</td>
<td>Nârâayâsivadhâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>307, 361</td>
<td>Nârîti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62, 69, 70, 72</td>
<td>Nârûpama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149ff</td>
<td>Nirvâna of Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>283-3, 285</td>
<td>Niśkâta Malla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>326-9</td>
<td>Niśâka Malla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>342</td>
<td>Nobundâ (Nûbêth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229-26</td>
<td>Nôngbål Choubâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Nyâgûjâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>Nûlo Mt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43, 143</td>
<td>Numerals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144-5</td>
<td>Nûthâgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247, 341, 343</td>
<td>Nyûsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ochêlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229-30</td>
<td>Odoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341</td>
<td>Odomborâ (Udumbari)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247</td>
<td>Ohînd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>Oâapodest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>342</td>
<td>Olostre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Omkarâla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>336</td>
<td>Onisêkraûâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113, 117, 126, 132</td>
<td>Onisêkritos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Ophir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>Opiştuhokûtûlîo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341</td>
<td>Onûrûre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>342</td>
<td>Ordakê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>342</td>
<td>Oganagâmâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>orgûââ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107, 278</td>
<td>Oriental MSS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Orissâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>314-5</td>
<td>Ormazd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>Oroôòs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341</td>
<td>Orrhotâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338</td>
<td>Orxulû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>343</td>
<td>Osîìi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>Ottorokorhûe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>overseroâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247-8</td>
<td>Oxsudrâkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271</td>
<td>Padma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>Padmânîhirâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179, 363</td>
<td>Padmanûbhâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>padmâtrâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>Pàddhàk Nîmâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Pàdumayâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Pahlânpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>366</td>
<td>Pahlavî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Pahlâmhil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>Pàjivana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Pâihâna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>paka, pakute, pakamasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Pâla insc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>Palâçovâo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>Pâlakâa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>palâkamanthu, palakamâte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22-32</td>
<td>Palâdiâkâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318</td>
<td>Palâtapâna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>Palemûndâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pàhnisêngâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>Pài insc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308</td>
<td>Pài</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126-7, 131, 338-40</td>
<td>Palîobothra, Palîobothra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Pàîtânâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index Entry</td>
<td>Page Numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāparāja</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saptamātrī</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saptarahi</td>
<td>218, 266, 268, 272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāradā alphabet</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sārma</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sārangadeva</td>
<td>191, 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saravati</td>
<td>192, 271, 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarmanai</td>
<td>243-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śadāguru, Śadāguru, Śadāguru</td>
<td>253, 344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarasvati</td>
<td>192, 271, 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarvadeva</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sātaka</td>
<td>231-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarropahages</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarvatobhadramāndala</td>
<td>284, 286-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sātaśādīvī</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sātāra</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sātāvāhanas</td>
<td>43, 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sātavīdeśa</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāthībhog</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sātection</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sātisaras</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sātālaj</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāṭāmānis</td>
<td>231-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sātrunyayagamahātmya</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sattikkara</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satyajit</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sātyakā</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sātyārāya. 72-4, 78, 85-90, 93, 141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satyavākyasāya</td>
<td>100, 102-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satyavatī</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sauraka, Saurasa</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāvīrās</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sārvīras</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sārachakalāsi, Sārakatā, Sāvane</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāvarāja</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāvāra</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sēyāna</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sēvanus</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schwanbeck, E. A</td>
<td>113-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scorpion</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scyrites</td>
<td>135, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ste</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea-hare</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seasons</td>
<td>28-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sekas</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seleucidan era</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seleukos</td>
<td>155, 244, 356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semiramis</td>
<td>246-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sena Siñamgho</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śēndraka</td>
<td>31-2, 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seno</td>
<td>322, 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senu</td>
<td>291-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sepulchral urns</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serendib</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śēkēka, Śēkēsa</td>
<td>131, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śēkē</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serpentai</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śēsā</td>
<td>272, 288, 350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śēsādevatī</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śēsārī</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śēsātrīs</td>
<td>246-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set, Seta</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>set barmud</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setuna deśa</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śkab-i-barāt</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śkaṭāṅga</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śhāh Jahan</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śhāh Nāme</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāhalar</td>
<td>146-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāhār cash</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāhātkā</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāhmātura</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shastāthi</td>
<td>174, 253, 325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shepherds</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shorāpur</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrimp</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shunyāvādīsa</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shīe</td>
<td>247-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shībāre, Sauvarās</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shībūtīs</td>
<td>115, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siddharāja... 186-8, 186-200, 212-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siddhās</td>
<td>198, 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siddhāya</td>
<td>139, 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siddānta Kaumūdi</td>
<td>110, 112-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shīhor</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shīhukhāra</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikandaś Shāh</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shītālītya</td>
<td>16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silkās, Silkās, riv.</td>
<td>191, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siddharājha (Sindhrājha). 49-51, 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shītahātī</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siddh</td>
<td>3, 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siddhu, Siddhus</td>
<td>299, 340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīdīā</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singhab</td>
<td>841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singhāna</td>
<td>191, 212, 366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīhā, Śīna, riv.</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīnasāvi</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīrigūḍa</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīrimeghavamō</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīrī saṅg boy</td>
<td>322-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvānī</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śūnāgās</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīrāla</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śītāpāli</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīva 37, 87, 182, 171, 180, 205, 260,</td>
<td>268, 291, 358-62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīvā lake</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīvagangt</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīvanāṭi</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīvāraṇi</td>
<td>32, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīvasama</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīvasāmarā</td>
<td>40, 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīva-Vijayesa</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śīty</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīyaka</td>
<td>49, 51-2, 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīvāyages</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śkanda</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śkandabhāṭa</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śīnūpdaspos</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śkiretal</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skythians</td>
<td>121, 247, 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skylax</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śmyrna</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōbī</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śoḥaṇa</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sokpo</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solanki, Solunci 182, 199, 203, 208</td>
<td>215, 234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solāpūr</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solāsade</td>
<td>115, 119, 129-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solobiase</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōlymi</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōma</td>
<td>78, 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śomāchārīya</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śomāditya</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śomānāthapāṭhan</td>
<td>181, 184-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śomānvaya</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śomavāśīya</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śomēvāra</td>
<td>51, 180-81, 185-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śomēvānadīva</td>
<td>139, 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śomandeva</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śoudrē</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōngadeja Ḫaḷōr</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōngiel Lāḥāba</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonus</td>
<td>130, 338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sophists</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōrāpur</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōrah</td>
<td>1, 13, 341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōrge</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōron</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōrtmēja</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spēnta-mainyus</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sphīnes</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śrīdēhas</td>
<td>301, 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrāmakṣa</td>
<td>32, 243-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrāvakas</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī</td>
<td>37, 262, 290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrībhavana</td>
<td>63, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīchhāvīlakāra</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīchārapura</td>
<td>213, 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīharas</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsiams</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuladāhāra</td>
<td>257-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulaj Līna</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulai Dās</td>
<td>160, 309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tungabhadra</td>
<td>63, 71, 85, 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tungagad</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tvaśṭrī</td>
<td>356-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uberse</td>
<td>338-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ubbhāda</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uchchāśrīnti</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uddālā</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udayādītya</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udayapura</td>
<td>49, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udayāsīniḥa</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udayo</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uddhava</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ugarol</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ugra</td>
<td>233, 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ugrasena</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ujjain</td>
<td>48-9, 53, 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uład,</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uḷḷaṇḍaṇa</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umāśakti</td>
<td>47-8, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upanayana</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upanāra</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upanāra</td>
<td>107-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upendrea</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdhvakṣea</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uṛi (Hauras)</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśravaṇa</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśravaṇa</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urmī</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uṣhavadvārak</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uskhaṇḍanagatam</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uśīmaras</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttarakuras</td>
<td>118, 125, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Mahāla</td>
<td>180, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśrisihā</td>
<td>49, 51-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśāmpayāna</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśāṇavī</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśāya</td>
<td>236, 252-3, 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśavasāta</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vajrata</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vakata numerals</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vakatā</td>
<td>16, 45-53, 143-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vākyopādīya</td>
<td>301-2, 304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāλabhādṛa</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vālubhī</td>
<td>9, 13, 43-8, 60, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāladeva</td>
<td>259, 200, 293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vālāuyā Pābhaka</td>
<td>187, 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vallabha</td>
<td>181, 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāllabharāja</td>
<td>198, 200, 201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vallabhasena</td>
<td>60, 61, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vālmīki</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāmāna</td>
<td>357-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāmanasthāl</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanapraṣṭhas</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanavāś</td>
<td>74, 87, 91, 93-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van Dindori plates</td>
<td>69, 64-5, 68-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāngas</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṇīṣa</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vappoika riv.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāraḥa</td>
<td>356, 358, 369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāraḥamihira</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāraḥi</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vārawāṣi</td>
<td>138, 142, 175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vārhamāṇa</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vārdhī</td>
<td>187-8, 193, 198, 203-8, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varetatē</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varaśā</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāriśeṇachārya</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varpī</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varsaḥ</td>
<td>219-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vārṣeṇi</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vārttānuśkarhas</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varuna</td>
<td>303, 361-2, 365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varvaraka</td>
<td>166, 195, 198, 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vas</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasabh</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasanāṭhārya</td>
<td>50, 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasantāvāṣaka</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasiṣṭha</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāsirṇiḥ, Vāṣīṭiḥ</td>
<td>28, 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāsishṭa, Vāsiṭṭiḥ</td>
<td>187, 189-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vastupāṇḍocharita</td>
<td>150-81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vastubāndha</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāsudēva, Vasudēva</td>
<td>88, 141, 173-8, 283, 285, 289, 290, 294, 299, 328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāsuntāvāṣak</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vātāpanagar</td>
<td>72, 74, 354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vata</td>
<td>62, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṭeṣeṇa</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṭṭagāmani</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vajjelutu</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vayajaladeva</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vayajasenā</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāya</td>
<td>357, 361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedas</td>
<td>228, 251-6, 262, 278, 315-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedagarbhārāsi</td>
<td>206, 208, 210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vēdāvata</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vēḷaṇaṇa</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vellu Vāla</td>
<td>49, 50, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vēṇādu</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venetian coins</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Věngi</td>
<td>63, 65, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vēmā riv.</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vēṣaṅgī riv.</td>
<td>318-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vēṣitārvīrāya</td>
<td>253, 256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidura</td>
<td>253, 256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīḍyāḍhāra</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīḷāras</td>
<td>33-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṣṇu</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṣṇyadītya</td>
<td>88, 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṣṇyānagara</td>
<td>85, 169, 363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṣṇyapālādeva</td>
<td>49, 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṣṇyāvuṭa</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṣṇyāvasena</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṣṇyāvāra</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṣṇyāvās</td>
<td>85, 58, 61, 75-8, 85, 87, 90-3, 101, 137-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṣṇyāvās</td>
<td>60, 61, 267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṣṇyoraśīyā</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīlas</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīrnalṣeṇa</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīnaya</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīnayādītya</td>
<td>75, 85, 87-8, 50-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīnāyaśkapāla</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīnḍhya</td>
<td>63, 70, 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīṇḍhyāvarma</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīpāsa</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vīkḷoṣṭa</td>
<td>302, 304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vīkḷupāvi</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīrābhu</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīrādāman</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīrāḍuvaḷa</td>
<td>9, 16, 187-91, 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vīrḍma</td>
<td>136-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīrāmādeva</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīrāমagṛma, Vīrāmga</td>
<td>190, 196, 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīrāmeva</td>
<td>206, 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīrāṇa</td>
<td>49, 50, 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra Pāṇḍyāyan</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīrātṛpura</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīraśena</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīra Śingh</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīrāpākyādāva</td>
<td>85, 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīraśāla</td>
<td>190-91, 212-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vīṣoṛga</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīshāya</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīśṭha</td>
<td>87, 264, 314, 355-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīśṭha Chakradhar</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page Number</td>
<td>Entry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Vishnugopa, Vishnuvarma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>358</td>
<td>Vishtharastra, Vishvakena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>Viśvamitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>358</td>
<td>Viśvamvara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>Viśvanātha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Viśvanātha Naikar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270-71</td>
<td>Vitastā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>274</td>
<td>Vitastātra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150, 156, 159</td>
<td>viinase, viivaha, viivaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271</td>
<td>Vollur lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161, 171, 277</td>
<td>Vopadeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161-2, 171</td>
<td>Vratakhandā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169, 177</td>
<td>Vratarāja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168, 178</td>
<td>Vratārakā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>Vrisha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272</td>
<td>Vrishnī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>257</td>
<td>Vyāðha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181, 187</td>
<td>Vyāghrapallī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Vyādromuchāds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Vyālogrīvās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75, 253, 256, 260-62</td>
<td>Vyāṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>269</td>
<td>Vyāsaidāsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150, 156, 159</td>
<td>vyātā, vyātāhena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>322</td>
<td>Wādigaḷa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319</td>
<td>Wahaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>Wākinkea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>326</td>
<td>Wālagam Abhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-8</td>
<td>Waliḥch, Dr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>359</td>
<td>Wanjāris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>Wāralis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>346</td>
<td>whales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278</td>
<td>Wheeler's Travels of Fryer and Roe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Wikstroemia salicifolia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Woodington, Col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308</td>
<td>Wüstenfeld, Prof.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179, 184, 191, 272, 366</td>
<td>Yādava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>314</td>
<td>Yajnaparītā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>332</td>
<td>Yājñavalkyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Yojna Veda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>346</td>
<td>yak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>265</td>
<td>Yaksha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313, 361-2</td>
<td>Yama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174, 177, 289, 291</td>
<td>Yamunā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>277</td>
<td>Yaśasatāka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Yaśaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td>Yaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>273</td>
<td>Yaśodā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49, 144, 183</td>
<td>Yaśovarmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>273</td>
<td>Yaśovati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114, 132, 304</td>
<td>Yavanas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>ydevatukutu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75, 227</td>
<td>Yēwūr insc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>yā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>yoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>Yogamāyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139, 141</td>
<td>Yogēśvara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>yogāha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>261-4, 267, 272</td>
<td>Yudhishtīhira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>263</td>
<td>Yugas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>yukti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278</td>
<td>Yule, Major-Gen. H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Yuvakīja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>Zaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>274</td>
<td>Zāvar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311, 313, 315</td>
<td>Zoroaster</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ERRATA IN VOL. VI.

p. 226, l. 16, for Chalukya read Chalukya.
   " 226. As regards the last two sentences of
this paragraph, I have now met with a stone-tabled
inscription from Lakshmanwar, to be published
hereafter as No. XXXVIII. of this Series, which
renders it necessary to abandon this identification
of the two Kanyakavarmas.

p. 23, transcription l. 6, for संसारवर read नाशक.
   " 23, note § §, for गृहसमागम.
   " 23, for Badovara read नाशक.
   " 24, note f, for नगर्वत्सिस, शिश्न, and varia,
read नगर्वत्सिस, शिश्न, and varia; read for a
Chalukya grant read a (?) Chalukya grant.

p. 25b, l. 12, for the purpose of supporting
the Kârachâs, who were naked religious mendicants
(read for the benefit of) the Yâpaniyâs, the
Nirgranthas, and the Kârachâs.

p. 27a, note b, for Chalukya read Chalukya.
   " 27b, l. 19, for that ascetics should be sup¬
ported during the four months of the rainy
season; that the learned men, the chief of whom
was Kumaradatta, * * * *, should according to justice
enjoy all the material substance of that greatness
read that the learned men, the chief of whom
was Kumaradatta, and who are ascetics of the
Yâpaniyâ sect, * * * *, should according to justice
enjoy all the material substance of that greatness
during the four months of the rainy season.

p. 30, transcr. l. 11, for नाननांतरे read नाननां
काः.

p. 31a, l. 35, for Vârishêechârîya read Vâri¬
shêechârîya.

p. 32a, note b, for the time of one of the
Vikramaâdiyas of the Chalukya family read the
time of Vamaâdiya of the Chalukya family; read
and erase the words — probably the first of that name
in Sir W. Elliot's list.'

p. 32b, l. 26, for temple read Chalîya hall.
   " 47b, last line but one, for कोक्ष read কোক্ষ.
   " 48a, l. 6, for पद्माकârya read पद्माकârya.
   " 48b, l. 3, for गृह read गृह.
   " 48b, l. 7, for " read गृह.
   " 49b, l. 2, for 1123 read 1133.
   " 50a, l. 24, for Râdha Sura Sang Kannatâ read
Râdha Sursanga Karâjâ.

p. 50b, l. 32, for Agâsîyâk read Agâsîyâka.
   " 72b, l. 1 of No. XXVII, and p. 73b, l. 16
and 17, for Châlukyas read Chalukyas.

p. 74a, l. 16, for Polikâsivallabha read Polikâsivallabha.
   " 75b, note f, for बिपला read बिपला.
   " 75b, l. 34, and 75b, l. 11, for Chalukya read
Chalukya.

p. 75b, l. 47, for Chalukyas read Chalukyas.
   " 77, transcr. l. 33, for अंतःकरणस्य read अन्तः
करणस्य.

p. 78a, note f, for Chalukyas read Chalukyas.
   " 80a, l. 7 and 18, and l. 28, for Chalukya
read Chalukya.

p. 81a, l. 26, for दुःखान्त गृह read दुःखान्त गृह.
   " 82, transcr. l. 21, for अभिज्ञ... read अभिज्ञ
व्यत्यास्यः.

The original plates have been examined by the
Rev. T. Foulkes of Bangalore, and some corrections
have been pointed out by him, which I shall
notice more fully hereafter. This is one of them.

p. 92, transcr. l. 27, for शास्त्रमणोऽ० read शास्त्रमणोऽ०
and erased note t.

p. 93, l. 19, for आणे...रा read आणे and
Gânges, and erased note f.

p. 93, l. 31, for चाँदाराम read चाँदाराम.
   133b, notes, last line but two, for Paschâdânu¬
gulajas read Paschâdânu-gulajas.

p. 134a, l. 24, for 37 read 47.
   " 134b, l. 26, for Mâdhava I read Mâdhava II.
   " 136a, in vol. 3 of the transliteration table,
opposite Jilvâmâliya, for l read r.
   " 137a, l. 18, for रंदिन read रंदिन.
   " 137a, l. 29, for लिपकार read लिपकार.

p. 139, transcr. l. 12, for दुःखान्ता read दुःखान्ता.

p. 141, transcr. l. 28, for चन्द्रायन=cyde read चन्द्रायन=cyde.

p. 142, note §, line 2, for Lesâijâ, or Lesâijâ,
read Lesâijâ (Lud. Ant. vol. IV. p. 72) as Lesâijâ, read
Lesâijâ, Lesâijâ (Lud. Ant. vol. IV. p. 72) or
Lesâijâ.

p. 219, note b, for Brâhmâputra read Brâhmâputra.
   " 219, l. 21 from bot. for 'Pearl-pool' read
'Pearl-pool.'

p. 219, l. 17 from bot., for камачी read камиачи.
   " 249, footnote f, l. 2, for सीकारवर read
Siiikâravara.

p. 234a, l. 29, for डॉक्टर read डॉक्टर.
   " 251b, last line, for कादे read कादे.
   " 274b, note l, for सूतंद्रa read सूतंद्रa.

334b, l. 1 and 3, for फरिरताब read फरिरताब.
ERRATA.

p. 337b, l. 2, for † read ‡, and in l. 3 dele ‡.
" 338, transcr. l. 2, for सूर्यनी read सूर्यनी.
" 363, transcr. l. 2, for पूर्ण read पूर्ण.
" 4, for पारकें read पारकें.
" 5, for पराम मौ read पराम (क) मौ.
" II. 5-6, for विकालत: read विकालत:.
" 1. 7, for स्कतिक्षा read विरक्षा.
" 1. 8, for मूके (श) का read मूके (का) का.

p. 363, transcr. l. 9, for दैव read दैव.

p. 364b, note *, l. 4, for वांसी read वांसी.

p. 366a to note *, add For the drawings that illustrate this paper I am indebted to the kindness of Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I.